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The men who rule America, 1930.

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THE MEN WHO RULE AMERICA
BY
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
AT THE TEMPLE
SUNDAY, NOV. 16th, 1930

Recently an American Ex-Ambassador, James W. Gerard made a statement to the effect that there were sixty-four men in this country who ruled the United States. He made this statement in connection with his advocacy of free trade as among the constituent groups of the British Empire in behalf of a high protective tariff for the British Empire against all other countries. And he declared, that with such a high protective tariff; "give the forty men who rule the United States" (originally there were only forty in the list. He later increased it to sixty-four) "ten years for the development of this industrial empire, and no country on earth could approach it in per capita wealth."

Seemingly Mr. Gerard has great confidence in a high protective tariff and in the rare ability of these sixty-four men, although one fails to understand why the high protective tariff and these sixty-four men of valor could not save their own country from the present economic depression. And it is rather questionable whether they could succeed in England which has for a hundred years under free trade and which has a few men of brains and intelligence itself.

I am so suspicious of ambassadors and ex-ambassadors on general principles, that I am inclined to take this announcement of

Mr. Gerard cum grano salis. Someone has said that ambassadors are people who lie abroad for their country. I wonder whether ex-ambassadors are people who lie at home for their country.

Yet this list of Mr. Gerard's, as I scan it, is a very interesting and a very challenging one. In the first place one notes that the entire list is composed almost exclusively of bankers, financiers, men who control the steel industry, mining industry and similar huge industries in our country. Here and there you will find a journalist, a publisher, and here and there a man who is prominent in the field of amusements. But otherwise the list of these sixty-four of America is altogether free from such people as scientists, statesmen, educators, philosophers, artists, jurists, - even Mr. Herbert Hoover, the President of these United States is not included among these sixty four rulers of America. Not a senator among them, not to speak of congressmen; not a governor, only one politician, if you can call him such - Mr. John Jacob Rascob. And I suppose he was included because he was the only democrat in captivity who has any money.

One notes for example, in studying this list a little more closely, that the great jurists of our land who interpret the law and who might readily be asked to exercise some influence upon the life and destiny of our government, that such names as Elihu Root, Justice Hughes, Justice Brandeis, were not included in this list. On further thought one finds that the fine men of our country who

received the Nobel prize for monumental contributions to science and literature, the men who were singled out as America's agreatest contribution to mankind; Michelson, Milliken, Correl, and the last great scientist who received the Nobel prize, Carl Landsteiner; Sinclair Lewis who won the Nobel prize recently for literature - that these five men are not included at all in this catagory of American rulers.

Now some people have become rather resentful about this list of Mr. Gerard's and have criticized him severely for it. Well, in a way, that list does hurt and a real democrat would be prone to resent the list and yet upon considerate thought one must come to the conclusion that this list is substantially correct. These men do rule America. No doubt about it. Mr. Gerard says the actual power behind the throne is wielded by men whose wealth and important industrial positions in the nation give them a permanent influence in American life, whereas statesmen, diplomats and politicians owe their influence to the offices which they hold and are usually shorn of most of their power when they retire. There is no doubt about that.

Above all, our political powers are controlled directly or indirectly by the money interests of our country. These interests do dictate our economic legislation and if necessary they dictate the candidates for office. There are, of course, very notable exceptions and one should not overlook these exceptions. From time to time there is a great popular movement in our country which

challenges the dominance of control by Big Business and sometimes is dangerous in its challenge. From time to time there does arise an outstanding man of independence who is not shackled or controlled by the great business interests of the land. And at times he too, is triumphant. But by and large this country, and for that matter other countries, - this country is controlled as Mr. Gerard says, by the men of wealth and their industrial positions in the nation give them a permanent influence in American life. And for that reason, governors, statesmen are just puppets.

Now you may ask, and rightly ask, what becomes of democracy? What becomes of the voice of the people which is the voice of God? What becomes of the ballot? Frankly, in an industrial civilization like ours where business interests are more important than political interests, this democratic paraphernalia, machinery, really counts for very little. Government always serves the dominant interests of the age. It should. For that matter government is expressive of the major interests of any given age and the dominant interests of our age are the industrial, the economic, the big business. And government, of course, will serve that interest. Another age may have other interests and then government and governmental institutions will reflect those interests.

Now I do not mean to imply at all at this time that the regime of this industrial era or the rule of these industrial magnates has been uniformly bad. Not at all. This industrial age, which in a sense gave rise to these men, of which these men are the

symbol rather than the creator, - this age has given us much greater wealth than any other age. It has given a larger number of people many more comforts than the people of any other age possessed. In times of prosperity, this industrial civilization of course does give the workingman a standard of living much higher than that possessed by the workingman in any other part of the world or in any other history.

These industrial magnates have been great philanthropists, in the literal sense of the word, for they have given lavishly to the support of institutions, schools, colleges, universities, etc.

They have, of course, evil to this kind of civilization in which we live.

In the first place, man has been subordinated to the machine. The chief interest of the age is production of wealth, rather than the conservation of the finest in human life; that by the increase in wealth in which not merely a few but many have shared, there has not come to pass a greater security in the lives of the working people. The fear of the job hangs like a curse over the heads of millions of working people. The fear of losing the job, the insecurity that comes with employment today and the other fear of becoming old, old at forty, old at forty-five, and being unable to obtain employment because of age. These fears are terrific social, moral liabilities in our industrial civilization.

To be sure, wealth has been increased at a miraculous rate. The total wealth of this nation is estimated at the staggering figure of \$ and yet sixty per cent of that wealth is owned by two per

cent of the people. Fourteen millions of people earn less than a thousand dollars a year. Eighty per cent of the people earn less than two thousand dollars a year. Sixty-five per cent of our population is altogether property-less; that is, over and above their weekly wage envelope, their furniture, their clothing, they own practically nothing else in the world. And while this business civilization of ours has made it possible for some five hundred men to have an income of over a million dollars a year, there are today in this country whose income is practically nil.

Above all, this unique civilization, and it is unique in the history of mankind, has brought about a too great pre-ⁱⁿpossession/and a too great over-concentration on material things. Everything about us is conducive to the over-possession of things and of material success and we have neglected in many ways to cultivate the spiritual, the artistic value, of life.

But whether good or evil, this is our civilization and no one man created it and no one man is responsible for it. And in this type of civilization the men who control Big Business will control government. And these men actually then, indirectly of course, rule.

Don't get the impression that these men secretly get together and conspire and agree. They do not always agree. They are not of the same mind and many of them are not at all interested in government or in the institutions of government. But it is true that when their interests are at stake, when advantages

can be wrested from the government for office or when government can be induced to serve the interests of Big Business, they will exert the dominant and decisive interests in our country, in the to these men who control money and therefore control power.

Now a generation ago if Mr. Gerard had been called upon to draft such a list he would have selected different men altogether, men possessing different power. In a generation from today or perhaps two generations from today, a different list would be drafted. But for today this list is correct.

There is one statement of Mr. Gerard's with which I can not altogether agree. His statement that "these men rule by virtue of their ability." If he says by virtue of their money or power, but when he states that these men rule by virtue of their ability, that's something else again.

One of these sixty-four, one of our own people, a fine genial, honest soul who has no desire to control government or to pull strings in Washington, whose wealth and power, I am sure, future ages will not remember, but whose philanthropies, whose tremendous service to mankind, future ages can never forget, - Julius Rosenwald, has this to say about the relationship between great success and ability. He was asked what was responsible for his great financial success. The little fellow would say, of course my brains, my genius. Mr. Rosenwald said: "It was luck - ten per cent work and common sense, maybe, and ninety per cent luck." "No I think I ought to revise those figures; it was ninety-five per cent luck. I never could understand the popular belief that because a man makes a lot of money he has a lot of brains. Some of the

richest men I have met in my life have been the most stupid. There are men in America today, financial failures, who have more real brains than I will ever have. I had the luck to get my opportunity; their opportunity never came."

Now you won't believe me when I say that. But you may credit Julius Rosenwald.

Some of these sixty-four men enumerated are men of unusual ability, men of tremendous mental capacity, who would succeed in any department of human activity. But that is not at all true of all of them. And there is no especial relationship at all in our day between financial success and ability, or financial success and character. Therefore the element of humility is in order all along the line. It seems to me that if these men who have been singled out as the rulers of this country were as omnipotent as Mr. Gerard wishes them to be, capable of making Great Britain in ten years the greatest empire in the world, I would think that they would be able to do more than they have for this country.

Sometimes I think they are quite as helpless as some of us are and they are carried along by these tidal waves of economic processes and they are unable to control them. Else how can you account for the fact that in the midst of you would have these cycles of business collapse and depression, these almost periodic cycles of terrific loss, of disorganization, debacle, unemployment, suffering, the bread line. If there is any genius among

these men, any real economic vision, leadership, this condition prevalent in our country today, this condition which occurs over and over again ought to be a challenge of their ingenuity.

This condition must be corrected and the prime mandate calls upon those who are the rulers, the economic dictators of our land to set about correcting these things. Men will not permanently put up with an economic dictatorship which victimizes them and their families, politically robs them of their security and their peace of mind, drives them from time to time to the doors of charity, to the need of begging for help.

Soon after this list was published the New York Times sent a questionnaire to these sixty-four men requesting their solution for the problem of unemployment. Very few of them responded. Many of them were on their vacations. Some of them hesitated about giving a response and those who did uniformly gave a banal, stupid answer - more work and less talk.

The fifty thousand men lined up the other day before the court house did ask for more work and couldn't get it. No, there doesn't seem to be any real leadership, economic sagacity.

After twelve months of this terrific depression, of wide-spread suffering, no new ray of insight on the whole subject has been forthcoming from these leaders of our American life except the stagger system of unemployment; that is making the man who works support the man who doesn't work, and the doles and charity and soup-kitchens. This in the midst of a land profuse with an abundance of

wealth.

Some day I hope these rulers of America will find more capable and more dignified ways of protecting the men who labor against the disabilities of unemployment and sickness and old age. That's the great challenge of the day.

And finally, my friends, while I believe with Mr. Gerard that these men do rule the financial life of this country, I do not confuse in my mind power with greatness. The great men of our country are not these. Long after these will have been forgotten, and it won't be long for most of them are not even remembered by name, some of their contemporaries, less noble, will be remembered and blessed by future generations.

History, my friends, has a way of annihilating those who have contributed nothing to the social assets of their country. It immortalizes those who have carved a way of life, those who have enriched life, who have added something of the true and the good and the beautiful to mankind, who have opened new worlds for the venturing spirit of man, who have enabled mankind to control more ways and surer ways for freedom and the good life. And when you scan the scene of history and go as far as you can go and then you want to pick out the great men of the world, who will you pick out? You will pick out Moses, Budha, Jesus, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Darwin, Newton, Galilao, Postaire and Einstein, Bethoven, Angelo. Who are these men? Rich men? No. Men who manipulated government in their day and were potentates of their principalities for a time? They come and go. They have their day and cease to be. It is these men

who out of their own inner greatness, nobility and genuineness fashion new values of truth and beauty, new insights and bequeath them as an eternal legacy to the human race.

And there are in this country today, working quietly in our scientific laboratories, in our medical laboratories in our colleges and institutions, there are today working, men and women, who are fashioning these new values for mankind.

When these will be forgotten, these other men will be remembered. They are the men through whom God hath wrought great glory. A Jane Adams, a John Dewey, a Thomas Edison, a Milliken, men of that standard, they are our great men. They are all we hope for mankind. They make the new civilization even as they do not rule the present civilization.

I don't think there are sixty-four of them in this country. But there are enough to give us confidence and pride in ourselves.

Our Sixty-Four "Rulers"

LET JAMES W. GERARD "run for public office and announce that his magnates are behind him—then let him see what happens to him," suggests the *Kansas City Star*, as a practical test of his list of the sixty-four big business men he picked out as actual "rulers" of this country.

"Mr. Gerard has placed the cart before the horse. The men he names as rulers of the United States wield power in great quantities, but only such power as the mass of the people see fit to allow them," declares the *Columbus Ohio State Journal*.

Mr. Gerard should add still another "to his list of our rulers. Al Capone also wields huge economic power," concludes the *Baltimore Evening Sun*.

"From the mouth of Gerard, himself a capitalist, comes the proof of the statement made by the Communist party, that the Government is owned and controlled by the big capitalists. Hoover is the mere office-boy of Rockefeller, and is not even mentioned by Gerard," says the Communist *New York Daily Worker*.

Names on the Gerard list, which makes such a stir in the press, are reproduced herewith.

Originally our ex-Ambassador to Germany, in a pamphlet advocating "salvation" of the whole British Empire readjusted to a protective tariff policy, said:

"Give the forty men who rule the United States ten years for development of this industrial empire, and no country on earth could approach it in per capita wealth."

ASKED to name the forty men, he listed fifty-nine and then raised the number to sixty-four American leaders, chiefly in finance, industry, and utilities, plus several headmen in journalism, amusements, and labor. He explains that purposely his pronouncement was confined to the economic field of national development:

"These men rule by virtue of their ability. They themselves are too busy to hold political office, but they determine who shall hold such office.

"The actual 'power behind the throne' is wielded by men whose wealth and important industrial positions in the nation give them a permanent influence in American life, whereas statesmen, diplomats, and politicians owe their influence to the offices which they hold and are usually shorn of most of their power when they retire."

FROM the newspaper sky came a cloudburst of epithets like these: "The heat has 'got' James" (*Detroit Free Press*); "Why spoil anything so nicely fitted to the campaign needs of, say, a Mr. Brookhart?" (*Buffalo Courier-Express*); "hero worship is an American trait and is frequently carried to absurdity" (*Wall Street Journal*); "all that Mr. Gerard's little essay in government amounts to is to confirm the Communists in their fanatical belief that this country is literally in the grip of a few score plutocrats and that democracy is the great god Sham" (*Springfield Republican*).

The essence of much more prevailing serious comment is represented by the *Chicago Daily News'* editorial:

"The receivership suggestion made to Great Britain is silly

enough, but even more childish is the list of invisible rulers of the United States. Mr. Gerard must have heard of Marx's doctrine of economic materialism. He assumes that it is self-evident that the bankers, utility executives, and heads of other powerful corporations are the real rulers of the United States, the elected national and State officials being mere tools or yes men.

"That philosophy of government will be hailed with delight by the organs of the Soviet Russian régime. But it is puerile and fallacious.

"The men listed by Mr. Gerard as the real rulers of America did not order the enactment of the Sherman antitrust law, or the Clayton law, or the Adamson law, or the farm-relief law. They did not elect Woodrow Wilson or Herbert Hoover.

"American legislation generally represents a compromise, and no single interest ever gets its way fully. The farmers have forced concessions from urban business men, as have the organized wage-workers. In republics give and take in public policy and legislation is unavoidable, and that implies open discussion of national questions, and the absence of dictation by invisible rulers."

OTHER papers emphasize the lack of common ideas among such alleged "overlords" necessary to the exercise of joint control. The *St. Louis Star* pointedly says:

"What is there in common between Henry Ford and Andrew W. Mellon? One manufactures and sells automobiles at the lowest possible price, pays the highest possible wages, and makes his profit by huge sales in a competitive market. The other manufactures and sells aluminum products at the highest possible price and makes his profit in a market from which competition is excluded by monopoly of raw materials and by the protective tariff. Ford and Mellon live in different business and financial worlds. The ideas they represent are engaged in a struggle which may last a century. It represents in business what the struggle between democracy and autocracy represents in politics."

THAT power behind the throne is wielded almost exclusively by bankers and capitalists is a false assumption, according to the *Washington Post*:

"The bankers of Europe were anything but 'rulers' when war broke out. If a crisis should come the real rulers of the United States—the people—would soon put every individual in his place."

SIMILARLY the *New York Herald Tribune* notes the popularity of disdaining politicians, but adds, in part:

"Mr. Gerard's little list serves as a striking illustration of the fact that if the significance of politics has been overemphasized, the significance of wealth and industrial power can be overemphasized still more easily. A list of the rulers of America which includes no physician or scientist, no ecclesiastical leader, no jurist, and no one, with the possible exception of a handful of publishers, who has ever attempted to appeal to the emotions or sway the intelligences of his fellow men, seems a *reductio ad absurdum* of the materialist idolatry."

FEW compliments appear to be passing in Mr. Gerard's direction. However, the *Milwaukee Journal* thinks "there is too large a grain of truth in his pronouncement to leave us comfortable," and the *Waterbury (Conn.) Republican* remarks that "we need look no further than our own State Government to realize that Mr. Gerard is nearly right."

The Gerard List

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, Jr.—Oil.	
ANDREW W. MELLON—Finance.	
J. P. MORGAN—Finance.	
GEORGE F. BAKER—Finance.	
JOHN D. RYAN—Copper.	
WALTER C. TEAGLE—Oil.	
HENRY FORD—Automobiles.	
FREDERICK K. WEYERHAEUSER—Lumber.	
MYRON C. TAYLOR—Steel.	
JAMES A. FARRELL—Steel.	
CHARLES M. SCHWAB—Steel.	
EUGENE G. GRACE—Steel.	
H. M. WARNER—Motion-Pictures.	
ADOLPH ZUKOR—Motion-Pictures.	
WILLIAM H. CROCKER—Finance.	
O. P. VAN SWERINGEN—Railroads.	
M. J. VAN SWERINGEN—Railroads.	
W. W. ATTERBURY—Railroads.	
ARTHUR CURTISS JAMES—Railroads.	
CHARLES HAYDEN—Finance.	
DANIEL C. JACKLING—Copper.	
ARTHUR V. DAVIS—Aluminum.	
P. G. GOSSLER—Utilities.	
R. C. HOLMES—Oil.	
JOHN J. RASKOB—Finance.	
P. S. DU PONT	Explosives and Manufacturing
IRENEE DU PONT	
LAMMOT DU PONT	
H. F. DU PONT	
EUGENE DU PONT	
A. FELIX DU PONT	Automobiles
EUGENE E. DU PONT	
EDWARD J. BEERWIND—Coal.	
DANIEL WILLARD—Railroads.	
SOSTHENES BEHN—Telephone and Telegraph.	
WALTER S. GIFFORD—Telephone and Telegraph.	
OWEN D. YOUNG—Electric Equipment.	
GERARD SWOPE—Electric Equipment.	
THOMAS W. LAMONT—Finance.	
ALBERT H. WIGGIN—Finance.	
CHARLES E. MITCHELL—Finance.	
SAMUEL INSULL—Utilities.	
FRED J. FISHER	Automobiles
CHARLES T. FISHER	
LAWRENCE P. FISHER	
WILLIAM A. FISHER	
EDWARD F. FISHER	
ALBERT J. FISHER	
HOWARD FISHER	
DANIEL GUGGENHEIM—Mining and Finance.	
WILLIAM LOEB—Mining and Finance.	
G. W. HILL—Tobacco.	
ADOLPH S. OCHS—Publisher.	
W. R. HEARST—Publisher.	
ROBERT R. MCCORMICK—Publisher.	
JOSEPH MEDILL PATTERSON—Publisher.	
JULIUS ROSENWALD—Mail Order Retailing.	
CYRUS H. K. CURTIS—Publisher.	
ROY W. HOWARD—Publisher.	
SIDNEY Z. MITCHELL—Utilities.	
WALTER EDWIN FREW—Finance.	
AMADEO P. GIANNINI—Finance.	
WILLIAM GREEN—Labor.	
MATTHEW WOLL—Labor.	

Peru's President Out

FLEEING FOR PROTECTION TO A WAR-SHIP after forced resignation to a military junta, Augusto B. Leguia, President and "virtual dictator" of the destinies of Peru for eleven years, ends his régime with the "rather pathetic" declaration, "I hereby close another chapter in Peru's history."

Subservience to "imperialism" and foreign capitalists, weakness in the controversy with Chile over Tacna-Arica territory corruption, and favoritism to friends are alleged causes behind this ousting of President Leguia by the military, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Cerro at Arequipa and General Ponce at Lima, the capital.

Such charges appear in the news of student demonstrations and interviews with persons exiled by Leguia, who criticize his marked friendship toward the United States and endorsement of the Monroe Doctrine. On the other hand, correspondents describe the revolution as simply a successful military *coup d'état*.

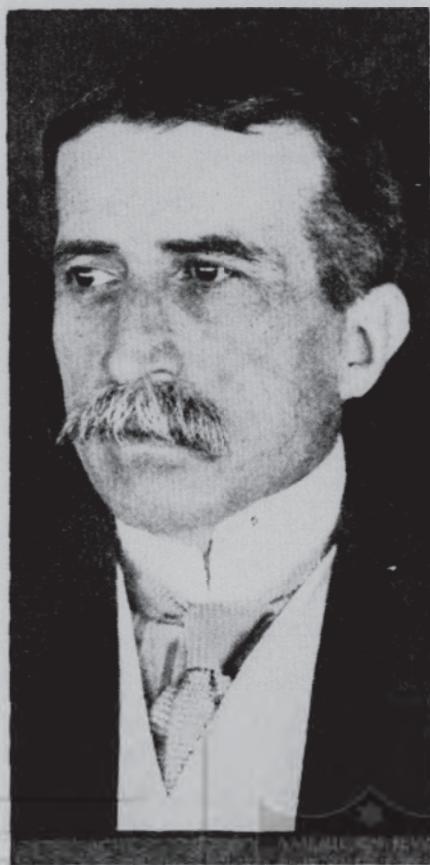
Many of our papers pay sympathetic tributes to Leguia's accomplishments. They emphasize his success in establishing confidence among foreign investors, not only in industries but in civic and national improvements. They refer to his introduction of administrative reforms, health measures, and other social reforms. They recall Leguia's "superenthusiastic" reception of Mr. Hoover on his pre-Presidential tour of Latin-America. "He had become a sort of habit," says the *New York Times*, "and in personal force and political sagacity has shown himself the ablest man in Peru."

Characteristic of much comment, the *New York World* points out that Leguia's "enemies seem to have utilized the unrest due to the wide-spread economic depression to force him from power." "Perhaps, for the moment," says the *Baltimore Sun*, "it is enough to note that another dictatorship, built on the idea that people are willing to sacrifice freedom for efficiency and material gain, has fallen."

"**P**ERU Switches Dictators" summarily disposes of the situation as viewed by a large quota of press commentators.

"The best thing about army-managed revolutions is that they are orderly; only mob revolutions destroy values," remarks the *Philadelphia Record*, pointing out that "\$200,000,000 of American capital in Peru seems not gravely threatened."

"Peru will go on, and America-in-Peru will lose little."



Ousted by the Army
Ex-President Leguia of Peru.

The End of an Arctic Mystery

TO AN OLD COOKING-POT the world is indebted, it seems, for the solution of the thirty-three-year-old mystery surrounding the fate of the three men who first defied the Arctic in a balloon, striking out for the North Pole itself, and paid for their intrepidity with their lives.

Back from the North come the bodies of Salomon-August Andrée, Swedish explorer, and his two companions, to receive the highest posthumous honors of a nation, one-third of a century after they were swallowed in the icy silence of the polar wastes.

How luck played an important part in the solution of this tragic mystery of the first attempt to reach the North Pole through the air, which had so long resisted all efforts to solve it, is related by a United Press dispatch from Oslo, Norway:

"An old cooking-pot lying on the ground led to the discovery of the bodies of Salomon-August Andrée and his two companions, frozen in the ice thirty-three years. Dr. Gunnar Horn, leader of the scientific expedition which found them, informed the Norwegian and Swedish governments. His report adds:

"We later found the sled on which their boat, filled with ice, still perched. Under the sled we found the remains of a human form. We found another body near another sled, around which books and instruments were scattered. In a pocket of the clothing was a pedometer.

"We were amazed when we read the name 'Andrée' on these articles. We realized a world-wide mystery had been solved. Removing our caps, we stood bare-headed, paying silent homage to our valiant predecessors. In a canyon we found another body, and before departing we built a cairn of stones in honor of the dead."

It was on White Island, which lies east of the northeast island of the Spitsbergen group, that the bodies of the aerial pioneers were found, we read. Another fortuitous circumstance that contributed to the discovery was the fact that an unusually mild August had melted the ice for several feet. An earlier expedition had visited the same point a fortnight before without discovering any trace of Andrée's last camp. For further details we borrow from an Associated Press dispatch from Oslo:

"The discovery was reported at Tromsø by the Norwegian sealer *Terningen*, which met the sealer *Brattvaag* of the Horn expedition in Arctic waters.

"The *Brattvaag* had aboard the bodies of Andrée and one of his companions. As it is not equipped with wireless, the captain of the *Terningen* was requested to announce the finding.

What Do You Know About That?

Test your knowledge by the questions below. If you can not answer them, turn to the pages indicated. Each one counts 5.

1. Can gorillas count? (p. 30).
2. How does fear retard business recovery? (p. 42).
3. What is the missionaries' chief trouble in China? (p. 22).
4. What long-dead Arctic explorer was recently found? (p. 8).
5. Where are human sweat glands most densely located? (p. 16).
6. What section of the country pays the highest wages? (p. 42).
7. Why was the planet Pluto so named? (p. 18).
8. How is lacquer applied to large surfaces? (p. 17).
9. What party pilots the Fascist movement in Germany? (p. 14).
10. Who taught Betty Nuthall how to play tennis? (p. 37).
11. How did the moon bring us the drought? (p. 16).
12. Who is England's most photographed young woman? (p. 36).
13. Do polar bears need pity in summer? (p. 17).
14. What animals prey on young gorillas? (p. 30).
15. Which are the longest-lived of mammals? (p. 16).
16. Are unclean plays the most successful? (p. 20).
17. How old is the Women's National Tennis trophy? (p. 34).
18. What is Masefield's first poem as Laureate? (p. 29).
19. What Bostonian first studied architecture abroad? (p. 19).
20. What dialect did Elizabethan speech resemble? (p. 21).

1. Recently - Ex. Am. James W. Grand picked out 64 men as the actual rulers of the U.S. - He made public his list in connection with his advocacy of a protective tariff for U.S. K. He said that if G. H. would adopt a pr. tariff and then give (quote)

(a) Mr. G. has put Conf. in the pr. tariff and in the ability (then 64 men) were - altho whether they say the pr. tariff could avert the industrial depression ^{and Unemployment} in this country - there was - the native habitat, the industrial Aladdin of the pr. T. - which they could succeed were in England - which has got the along ^{for 100 years without} pr. T. - & which has a little, the world's ^{does appear to export goods freely} demand itself, difficult to say.

(b) I am personally rather surprised, the accuracy and sound judgment, the premeditated work by Ex. Am. - taken by ambassadors - lies abroad for his country - & lies at home - This utterance are largely propaganda, aimed not at conveying truth but at dispursing facts - I recall this same Ex. Am. G. after his return from his post in Ger. during the war - when he had presumably met a few men had to observe actual fact - yet stopping to popularize the most vulgar & deceptive untruths about Ger's part in the war (In Cleveland in Oct. 1917 to said date)

(c) Am. game sales - And set his list of the 64 of which of him is interesting & challenging. Confessed entire of bankers, steel, rail, mining, & pub. utility monopolists a few merchants and a few in the

fields, government and journalism - Not an educator,
statesman, jurist, scientist, artist, musician among them -
~~Her~~ ^{Her} ~~House~~ ^{House}. He, U.S. not included - Not a single legislator.
Not a single member of the U.S. Supreme Court, not a
justice of a State. Only politician John J. Raskob
- In his case, I guess, his pol. leadership is due to fact
that he is only lieutenant in captivity who has
money -

(d). One note too that jurists, the high types Elihu
Rort & Chas. E. Hughes - Justices Holmes & Brandeis
are missing from this list of jurists. Can. One would
think that those charged with interp. of laws, nation
would be consulted with a measure of influence on
nat. policy & destiny -

e) One notes too that 3 notable prize winners of
Am. - for science & literature - Albert Michelson, R. G.
Millikan, Wm. Alex. Powell, Pauline Davis &
Karl J. - are not included. One would acclaim
them as the best product of Am. mind - But they
are not among the mighty men who actually rule
Am. -

2. Many have criticized G. I. resent the list but I cannot
~~at~~ deny its essential correctness. Every objection is deemed
resents it - but a calm ^{objection} survey of conditions as they are, as
they may be in the future - will convince the reasonable deem.

③ We do not want to forget that the rule, this shanty
wealth has been uniformly bad. Under the new order,
regime, ~~governed~~ ^{governed} by these ~~great~~ ^{chilling} manner, Am. has
waxed very rich. Many desirable comforts have been
added to every average man - In times of pros. standing
5 ways for well-being was high - Many fine philan.
works have sprung & great educ. instns. have been
built & endowed by money that was by rule
& ~~thus~~ other, this class -

④ ~~But~~ Many evils, too, have resulted from the ~~rise of~~ our civilization which modern industry & industrial methods. Man has been subjected to the machine - the even, security has not been beyond but breeds - Unemployment, Fear & Long 'his job' hangs like a sword over Am. working. & Fear, young old - wealth has been accum. to a man - But 27% own 60% of wealth - 80% less \$1000 a year - 14 million men receive less \$1000 - 65% are propertyless - There are 496 men who receive is \$1 million dollar a year - But there are 5 million unemployed to day who receive is exactly nothing -

⑤ Along all the Bus. Art, & which these 6/ are perhaps
more the exhibitors than creators, has given us

a pre-ponderance of concentration on material things -
all over-emphasis on ~~material~~ possessions & things,
a neglect of the cultural & the spiritual.

⑤ But, whether good or evil, this is our civilization
and these men are its rulers - They do not get
together in secret council - They do not always agree - But they always work
together with full vigor and ~~adversity~~ ^{they will not permit public opinion to} ~~adversity~~ ^{they will not permit public opinion to} ~~adversity~~ ^{they will not permit public opinion to}
3. There is no thing which I seriously question in
H. statement. He says: "These men rule by virtue
their ability" - by virtue of their wealth, yes. By virtue
(their ability) That is another thing again -

① Julius Rosenberg -

② There is no essential relation bet. great wealth &
great ability. Some exceedingly able men - others -
just lucky men. Hence a woman planner is in
order -

4. I should like to In many ways these rulers are
not as powerful & dominant as H. would like
to believe - Why could not these combined
genius save our Econ. Structure from the present
collapse - prevent terrific loss - & bread lines.
Seemingly with all their sagacity they are helpless
in face of vast Econ. process which they see set
in operation -

① If this is really Econ. leadership & power among
them - here is their challenge - Let them apply Econ.

A generation ago, a diff. but never been
drawn - A gen. been, it is probable, that a diff.
but will be drawn. To-day, the best is
fair accurate & representation



to the problem of the Jews & brutal Evil needed in
the system where they rule - People are not for-
gotten. I believe a ^{European} dictatorship which, ^{giving} ^{personally}
victims their ^{own} families ^(Dutchman ship, train) 12 months of ^{very} ^{un-} ^{stable}
depression, ^{has} so far weakened no way of ^{5 mil}
^{new} leadership - beyond debt, charity, govern-
ment, & stagger system, employment in
other words, making the rule who is employed
support the rule who is not employed -
They must find new men, new just, but by every
way of protecting Am. labor - in any way -
but nothing old age

The central one, freedom, our position

5. Finally - They are rules - but just men & are day -
they after they are just others - & then men, then contemptuous
& less noticeably & less influence on pol. Evil will
be remembered - History remembers those who
came out by ways for human that - who extend
man's intellect, hunger, who contribute to mind
and new values, faith, freedom & beauty -
The ^{discovery} ^{of} ^{the} ^{land} ^{whose} ^{discovery}
has been really making possible this modern
age - the inventors, the medical research men, the
educators, ^{of} ^{science} ^{philosophers}, social workers, faith painters
- There are no great men then when for her wrought

If you were to mention the great men
mentioned, how many rules or how
many rich men would you include
among them -

Nemo, Homer, Jesus, Buddha, Plato, Dante,
Galileo, Gutenberg, Goethe, Shakespeare,
Newton, Pasteur, Beethoven - men, their
stamps -

WRHS



1. Recently - Ex. Am. James W. Gerard -
64 - Made public, connection - G. B. Fair
(quote) - Has great confidence - altho-
whether they could succeed mounting.

2. ~~Personally~~ rather suspicious of Am. Ex-
- ~~aspects~~ - had department - (quote 2)

3. Cum grano salis - And yet list is
interesting + challenging.

① Conford entirely - Herbert Hoover.
Supreme Court - Government - Only politi-
cian John F. Roosevelt

② One notes - Justs - Elmer Rorts.

③ " " 5 Noble Rugs W. A. R.

Michelson - Millikan - Carr - Sun. Lewis - Karl Landsteiner

4. Many have criticized - Resist it -
commit - Every one who believes in
democ. objection - (quote 3)

- who can doubt?

- Our pol. parties uncontrolled - unmerged
- Utah ess. Econ. legisla. candidates

- There are notable exceptions - popular ⁽²⁾
movement - indep. man in the
But by stage U.S. controlled as S.
says - They actually rule -
puppets

5. What becomes of democracy - Voice -
ballot - Fraud in an indust. age -
where bus. is more imp. & just -
- Just. always serves dom. interest

6. We do not wish to suggest rule
of oligarchy uniformly bad -
① Waxed rich - corrupt - standard -
philanthropies

② Many evils - Machine - man -
Fear of job - Increase, Unemp -
Old Age - 2% - 60% - etc.
14m. less 1000 - 80% less 2000 -
65% population -
while 496 men 1m. more - 5m.

③ above all - preference - over ③
Concentration material things -
- no - emphasis on possessions -
- neglect of the cultural & spiritual

④ But whether good or evil - this is our
our legacy & these men are its rulers.
- do not get together recon- struction - ago.
Flawed public -
- a generation ago different -

7. "Here men rule by virtue, their
ability" - Rosenwald (quote)

8. In many ways these men are not
omnipotent - Helpers - Brood-lives

① If there is real genius & leadership
let them solve this problem.

- People will not never tolerate
Econ. dictatorialship.

- Dauntman & N.Y. Times

- 12 months diffusion -

- Must find some way to protect them.

9. Finally - They are real - financial
- political - let's great men.

- Long after they are just then - other -

- History - can't by way

- If you will enumerate great

- Our great are - Scents - sh.

- They are just then when for
both wrong at just play