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If I were a dictator, 1932.

"IF I WERE A DICTATOR"

BY

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AT THE TEMPLE,

SUNDAY, APRIL 10th, 1932.

If I were offered the role of dictator of the United States I would decline the honor with thanks. I think it was William Allen White who said, "the more power a man has the greater fool he is." And no man ought to try to be a greater fool than he already is. No man is wise enough or good enough to be entrusted with absolute power.

I do not relish, never did, dictatorship. I am a liberal to such an extent that I believe that to be well governed is not as important as to be self governed and that benefits bestowed upon people are not half as desirable as benefits achieved by the people themselves. I believe in the collective wisdom of peoples and in the slow, even if at times blundering, progress of these people along the hard road of trial and error rather than in a quick millennium achieved by some autocratic ukase or fiat.

In the long run dictators whether of class or individual do more harm than good. In an emergency they first appear, these dictators, to be like saviors and do achieve a certain measure of dispatch and expeditiousness in public affairs. But in the long run they bring about their own downfall and carry their subjects along with them into disaster.

Dictators, of course, are not the invention of the twentieth century. Stalin and Lenin are no new phenomenon in the history of the world. For countless centuries there have been dictators, good, bad and indifferent. Finally it was decided to scrap them all and substitute for them popular representative government. But the sad state in which our world finds itself today, when popular representative governments are confronted with disorganization and terrific, unprecedented problems, made room for dictatorship. Representative government was not prepared in some countries to handle these problems and it yielded and gave way to dictatorship. But dictators never last.

I would not be a dictator at this time of all times because if I had all the delegated power that was necessary to correct all the evils of our time, frankly, I would not know how to go about it. The situation is far from being a simple one and

the difficulties are so ensnarled and so entangled, so world-wide, that no single individual, no single nostrum could set all things right at this time.

The World War disorganized the life of all peoples. That's a truism and yet a truism which has not sunk into the minds of all people, into their economic thinking.

The World War let loose upon mankind vast forces of conflict and disruption. And these forces are destined to remake and are now remaking the world. And the operations of these forces are as inevitable as they are ruthless.

The World War destroyed the accumulated wealth of centuries, of nations. It drove some nations into bankruptcy. It glutted other nations with a false, forced, short-lived prosperity. It created artificial markets, artificial demands for commodities, artificial prices and the artificial speeding up of production and economic expansion. The World War played havoc with the entire credit system of the world, created staggering national debts, increased public taxation to an unknown degree, criss-crossed the whole map of the world with trade barriers and tariff walls, increased armaments everywhere

and created everywhere in the world restlessness, hate and suspicion.

Now these evils were not created in a day and can not be cured in a day. Europe has been suffering them now almost two decades, since 1914. In the United States we have just begun to feel the real, sharp, bitter impact of the World War.

We came out of the World War the least scathed of the nations. During the major part of the war we were neutral and we made huge profits as a result of it. In the few years following the war we enjoyed an artificial prosperity. We sailed blissfully along on a high tide of economic prosperity, driven by favorable winds, not suspecting that the ~~storm~~ ^{storm} which overtook the nations of Europe would soon overtake us too.

The world today is too closely knit economically for any nation to continue indefinitely in a state of monopolistic prosperity while other nations are driven down to economic bankruptcy and insolvency.

This is not to say that all of our present problems

are due to the War or the international situation. Many of our problems are due to our own national economy. But I call attention to this fact to indicate that the problem is far from simple and no single act of economic wizardry and no single dictatorial genius can set all things aright.

But if the role of dictator were forced upon me, if I had the power to bring things to pass, I know some things that I would do, confident that the doing of them would contribute in a measure to the ultimate good.

I shall not speak this morning of what this ultimate good is. I shall not give you the counsel of perfection, the ideal economic state of the future. I have such an ideal, as every man has. I have an ideal of the social republic of tomorrow and in many ways this ideal of mine differs very little from the social ideal of the socialists even of Marx and Lenin. But I want to speak this morning not of what is ultimately desirable, but of what is presently feasible.

I know the slow gradation by which this ideal state which I have in mind can come about among a people such as

ours. Anyone who feels that the American people will overnight readjust its life after some new theory is simply ignoring completely the genius, the tradition, the centuries of experience of the American people.

I am of the opinion that economic readjustment in the United States will come by the slow way of economic liberalism rather than by the way of radical change or social upheaval, even if that upheaval is a bloodless upheaval.

X The American method of progress in the field of economics will be a flexible method, not a dogmatic or doctrinaire method. The American people will not be bound by history or theory. It will be guided by the exigencies of the hour and by the practical compulsions of definite, given, situations.

And I think, by the way, that that is also the scientific method. John Dewey said that "science is fatal to all social system-making and programs of fixed ends." Science concerns itself with the concrete definite problem related to actualities of the hour, of the present. Therefore I think

that the American economic readjustment will take on the character of piece-meal experimentation.

That does not mean drifting. That does not mean aimless drifting, letting things take their course in the hope that some good break will be vouchsafed unto us. Quite the contrary. It means that the American people goaded on by the severe depression of the present will be forced to analyze its entire economic life and apply its free and creative intelligence to the solution of the given economic problem.

America, my friends, is not Russia. This is not in criticism of Russia or in praise of America. I am concerned with realities. And even if I were to be a dictator I would have to take cognizance of realities.

Russia came to the Bolshevik revolution in 191⁷ a beaten, betrayed and demoralized people. Russia came to the Bolshevik revolution with a tradition of a thousand years of despotism and only ~~six~~ months of democratic government. Russia came to the Bolshevik revolution with no record of progress achieved through legislation, through initiative of the people

themselves. That's a profound thing to keep in mind. The only type of movement of progress that they knew was progress by force. Russia came to the Bolshevik revolution almost eighty percent illiterate, two hundred years behind the rest of Western Europe, industrially backward, its standards of living, primitive in the extreme, with a working population not only exploited but denied the right to express itself through suffrage.

The American people on the other hand, is facing its crisis today with centuries of tradition, of self-government, of progress achieved through popular initiative and legislation, with a record of proud achievement of building a continent in a short period of time and establishing a new civilization through its own competence and intelligence, through its own self-reliance, a people which in normal times possessed a large, and by and large, satisfied middle class which Russia did not possess and a laboring class which while it never received what ideally, from a socialist point of view it should have received, nevertheless enjoyed a standard of living higher than that enjoyed by any other in the world. A dictator will have to take cognizance of these facts. And he would be inclined, I believe, having reconnoitred a bit, to

be content with taking the next step, rather than of attempting with one leap to reach the millennium.

Were I a dictator, I would begin at once, first and foremost, with the problem of relief. I would face the realities of the present hour. There are millions of unemployed, millions of them already driven to our eleemosynary institutions; millions more slowly being pauperized, their remaining reserves of savings and credit being steadily but surely consumed.

Were I a dictator, I would bring all the resources of the Federal Government to the problem of establishing adequate relief for these unemployed in the United States, to supplement private and state relief. I would not permit the slow impoverishment of one-third or one-half of our population. I would not wait until a man had been compelled to spend his last penny before I would extend to him relief. I would not permit my country to take on the terrific liability of broken down morale, weakened health, under-nourished childhood.

That would be my first job, - adequate relief in keeping with a decent standard of subsistence.

And I would proceed at once to initiate a vast Federal Construction Program. I spoke of that last week. I will speak of that again and again.

I would extend great credits to municipalities and counties to stimulate them to initiate building projects, to put men to work. Things must begin at the bottom, my friends, for an economic reconstruction and not at the top.

Advancing money to railroads and banks will not do the trick. Railroads can not meet their obligations because there is not sufficient freight or passenger traffic. Loaning them money to pay off debts will not increase this traffic. What earthly good is there in advancing millions of dollars to the Missouri Pacific Railroad when that Railroad does not use this money to put men to work, but to pay off debts to J. P. Morgan and Company for loans previously contracted?

The Federal Government should extend aid to municipalities who will undertake to wipe out their slums and tenement houses and build up homes for its working people. Put men to work! That would send a current of vivification throughout the land.

If I were a dictator in the present time I would reduce the hours of labor of all American workmen in order to absorb and give work to the idle workers. I would apportion all the work there is available among all the men and women who need work. That's only fair. The reduction of hours, however, will not be merely an emergency measure. It is clearly written in our new technological civilization that if the machine is not hopelessly to displace men and consign them to live in idleness, the hours of work of the individual workman will have to be reduced. And it helps the situation not at all to hope that some new invention will be discovered which will absorb the surplus labor. At best that's only a wish, not a prospect. There are no large-scale new industries, which promise to absorb the millions which have been displaced by our new machines, in sight to justify such optimism. Hours of labor in the future, I believe, will be flexible and will be determined by the conditions of the labor market at any given time.

Were I a dictator I would at once inaugurate a system of unemployment insurance. Of this too, I have spoken

in the past and shall speak again and again.

It might interest you to know that the Ohio Bill for Unemployment Insurance which was presented in the Ohio State Legislature at its last session, was drafted right here in the Temple by a group of leading economists, students and social workers who met here regularly over a period of a year and studied unemployment insurance.

I would demand all employers and employees to make provisions for the economic hazard of unemployment. I would drive the specter of the fear of losing his job from the home of the American toiler. I would also protect him against the economic disabilities of old age and sickness. I would introduce a sense of security into life which today is so tragically missing.

Were I a dictator I would at once proceed to abolish all tariff walls and I would call upon all other nations to join with me in removing these artificial obstacles in the way of the free flow of goods and commodities and the business of the world. If the tariff ever protected American business and the workingman it is not doing it today. For if the tariff could do that, then ours would be the most protected business and the most protected working class in the world,

because we have preposterously the most extreme tariff walls.

Were I a dictator I would at once proceed with the dismantling of the whole war machine which today consumes 75% of our Federal income and I would set the pace and example for the rest of the world to do likewise. I would send all the soldiers and sailors back as civilians into the productive life of our country. The argument that we need a large army and navy to protect our national wealth against foreign aggression is becoming more and more ridiculous because if things go on as they are we won't have much national wealth to protect. And France has shown us how national wealth and great gold reserves in a country can be raided by other means than by sending in an invading army.

Were I a dictator, I would cancel the war debts of all nations, provided they would agree to the scrapping of their military war machines.

Were I a dictator I would also scrap half of our own governmental machinery and send home half of the bureaucrats who are battenning today upon the hard-earned income of the American tax payers. Too many today are living off our government. There are too many useless or partially useful government enterprizes. I would force off the government payroll every war pensioner who is not disabled by old age or sickness. There would be no bonuses to the American Legion either now or at any future time.

Were I a dictator at this moment I would abolish prohibition. It has been tried and found wanting. There is much to be said in favor of prohibition. The fatal weakness of prohibition is of course, the fact that it is unenforceable, and not being enforceable, it has given rise to a subsidized empire of crime which has cast its horrible shadow over every home in America. We shall have to return to a system of governmentally controlled sale of intoxicants, and what is more important the training of people in the way of sobriety and temperance and self-restraint. I would abolish prohibition as the lesser of two evils.

Were I a dictator I would pack up the whole gang of gamblers and financial racketeers in Wall Street, the bear raiders and the margin speculators and I would give them a long vacation in Leavenworth or Atlanta. And in extreme cases I would resort to the lamp-posts of New York and use them as the lamp-posts were used in Paris during the French Revolution. They are scavengers. They are marauders. They are filthy swine, these men who bring nothing to the economic life of America but a gambling passion, who do nothing but disorganize and disrupt.

Our national economy does not require men who sell stock which they do not possess or own in order artificially to depress the market so that they may roll in profits which they never earned by honest labor of hand or mind.

The Stock Exchange under our present system is a legitimate institution for legitimate trading, but it has been befouled, particularly in the last decade and a half, by professional high-binders.

If I were a dictator, fortunately I am not, but if I were I would convoke a counsel of the representatives *of capital,* ~~of~~ labor and government and I would call upon them to proceed with the intelligent planning and organization of America's industrial future. The era of unrestricted competitive individualism in our economic life is definitely over. We have entered a new age of corporate economic action - corporate action in production, corporate action in finance and corporate action in labor. Economic forces must now be controlled and directed with an eye to social utility or they will play havoc with our economic life.

Professor Commons, one of ~~the~~ America's great economists points out that we have passed through, particularly

in Europe since the beginning of the Common Era, three epochs, - three economic eras. The first he calls the Era of Scarcity. That lasted up to the sixteenth century. This was a period in human history characterized by extreme want and penury and characterized by a minimum of freedom and a minimum of governmental control. Things were almost ^{equally} rationed during that period of scarcity.

The second era he calls the Era of Abundance which began in the sixteenth century with the opening up of the new world, with the treasures of silver and gold brought into the old world from the new world, - with the rise of the price of commodities. That era of abundance continued through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the rise of technology, the invention of steam, electricity and the machine. And that era of abundance reached its climax in the nineteenth century. That era was characterized by a minimum of government control and a maximum of freedom. That was the golden era of freedom. - Let business alone. Let the individual follow his own best economic interests and the ends of society as a whole will best be served.

Now says, Prof. Commons, we have entered a third era, the last era. And he calls this the Era of Stabilization.

In this era individual freedom must be attenuated or subjected to the requirements of the group, of society as a whole, because in this era corporate industrial units have been established, - associations, corporations, unions. The individual has automatically by economic forces been driven into group activity. Therefore economic forces can no longer be allowed to operate at will. They must now be controlled preferably, voluntarily by group organizations among industry and business, otherwise coersively by government.

In this new era of stabilization we have discovered that wealth can be conserved only if it is distributed. And I would call upon this council which I, as dictator would bring into existence, to bear this fact in mind as the primary principle in their deliberations. Wealth can be conserved only if distributed broadly over the masses who would then be enabled to buy what the masses and their machines produce. Otherwise wealth disappears even from the coffers of the richest of the rich.

I would call this council into existence

because I believe that our economic system is not breaking down and because I believe that tomorrow we shall have a more glorious era of economic wellbeing than any of our yesterdays offered to us.

I want to read a sentence or two from the work of one who is perhaps the outstanding economist of Great Britain, Mr. John Maynard Keynes, in an article which he calls "Economic Possibilities for our Grandchildren."

Speaking of the future, he says: "The prevailing world depression, the enormous anomaly of unemployment in a world full of wants, the disastrous mistakes we have made, blind us to what is going on under the surface - to the true interpretation of the trend of things. For I predict that both of the two opposed errors of pessimism which now make so much noise in the world will be proved wrong in our own time - the pessimism of the revolutionaries who think that things are so bad that nothing can save us but violent change, and the pessimism of the reactionaries who consider the balance of our economic and social life so precarious that we must risk no experiments..."

"For the moment the very rapidity of these changes is hurting us and bringing difficult problems to solve. Those countries are suffering relatively which are not in the vanguard of progress. We are being afflicted with a new ~~XX~~ disease of which some readers may not yet have heard the name, but of which they will hear a great deal in the years to come - namely, technological unemployment. This means unemployment due to our discovery of means of economising the use of labour outrunning the pace at which we can find new uses for labour."

"But this is only a temporary phase of maladjustment. All this means in the long run that mankind is solving its economic problem. I would predict that the standard of life in progressive countries one hundred years hence will be between four and eight times as high as it is today. There would be nothing surprising in this even in the light of our present knowledge. It would not be foolish to contemplate the possibility of a far greater progress still."

And so having accomplished all this, I would call it a day. I would ask to be relieved of my job as dictator and would gratefully retire to the quiet sanctuary of my rabbinical study.



An Abstract of the Address

"IF I WERE A DICTATOR" by

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple, Sunday,
April 10th, 1932

If I were offered the role of dictator of the United States I would decline the honor with thanks. It was I believe, William Allen White who said, "the more power a man has the bigger fool he is." And no man should want to be a bigger fool than he already is. No man is wise enough or good enough to be trusted with absolute power.

I am a liberal to such an extent that I believe that it is less important to be well governed than self governed. I believe in the collective wisdom of a people and in its slow, even though at times blundering, progress along the painful road of trial and error rather than in a quick millenium ushered in by fiat and ukase.

I certainly would not wish to be a dictator at this time. If I had all the delegated power to correct all the evils of our time I am not sure that I would know how to go about it. The situation is far from simple. The difficulties are world-wide and almost hopelessly entangled. And no single act of economic wizardry promulgated by a dictatorial genius can set all things right.

But if I had the role of dictator thrust upon me, I know of a few things that I would set about doing in the present

them money to pay off debts will not increase this traffic upon the railroads. What earthly good is there in advancing millions of dollars to the Missouri Pacific Railroad when that Railroad does not use this money to put men to work, but to pay off debts to the J. P. Morgan & Company for loans previously contracted?

The Federal Government should extend aid to municipalities who will undertake to wipe out their slums and tenement houses and build up homes for its working people. Put men to work! That would send a current of vivification throughout the land.

If I were a dictator in the present time I would reduce the hours of labor of all American workmen in order to absorb and give work to the idle workers. I would apportion all the work there is among all the men and women who need work. That's only fair. The reduction of hours, however, will not be merely an emergency measure. It is clearly written in our new technological civilization that if the machine is not hopelessly to displace men and consign them to live in idleness, the hours of work of the individual workman will have to be reduced. And it helps the situation not at all to hope that some new invention will be discovered which will absorb the surplus labor. At best that's only a wish, not a prospect. There are no large scale new industries which promise to absorb the millions, which have been displaced by our new machines, in sight to justify such optimism. Hours of labor in the future, I believe, will be flexible and will be determined by the conditions of the labor market at any given time.

Were I a dictator I would at once inaugurate a system of unemployment insurance. Of this too, I have spoken in the past and shall speak again and again.

It might interest you to know that the Ohio Bill for Unemployment Insurance which was presented to the last legislature of Ohio was drafted right here in the Temple by a group of economists, students and social workers who met here regularly over a period of a year and studied unemployment insurance.

I would demand all employers and employees to make provisions for the economic hazard of unemployment. I would drive the specter of the fear of losing his job out of the homes of the American toiler. I would also protect him against the economic disabilities of old age and sickness. I would introduce a sense of security into life which today is so tragically missing.

Were I a dictator, I would begin at once, first and foremost with the problem of relief. I would face the realities of the present hour. There are millions of unemployed, millions of them already driven to our eleemosynary institutions; millions more slowly being pauperized, their remaining reserves or savings and credit being steadily but surely consumed.

Were I a dictator I would bring all the resources of the Federal Government to the problem of establishing adequate relief for these unemployed in the United States, to supplement private and state relief. I would not permit the slow impoverishment of one-third or one-half of our population. I would not wait until a man had been compelled to spend his last penny before I would extend to him relief. I would not permit my country to take on the terrific liability in broken down morale, weakened health, under-nourished childhood.

That would be my first job, - adequate relief in keeping with a decent standard of subsistence..

And I would proceed at once to initiate a vast Federal Construction Program. I spoke of that last week, I will speak of that again and again.

I would extend great credits to municipalities and counties to stimulate them to initiate building projects, to put men to work. Things must begin at the bottom, my friends, for an economic reconstruction and not at the top.

Advancing money to railroads and banks will not do the trick. Railroads can not meet their obligations because there is not a sufficient rate of passage or traffic upon our railroads. Lending

present emergency confident that they would contribute in a measure to the ultimate solution.

I would begin realistically with the problem of relief. I would bring all the resources of the government back of an adequate relief program supplementing private and state relief. I would not wait until a man is totally impoverished before I would help him. I would grant a measure of relief to all the unemployed consistent with a decent standard of living.

I would at once initiate a vast construction program to put men to work. I would have the government advance credit to counties and municipalities to do likewise. I would concentrate on giving people work, not on saving railroads and banks. Railroads and banks will become solvent again when business revives. What earthly good is there in advancing millions of dollars to the Missouri Pacific Railroad when that money goes not into construction but into reimbursing the J. P. Morgan & Co. for loans previously contracted.

I would reduce hours of work for all workers. I would apportion the amount of work there is among all the workers. Reduction of hours will not be merely an emergency measure. To keep machines from displacing men the hours of the men must be reduced. It helps the situation not at all to hope that new inventions will appear which will absorb all the surplus labor. No new large scale industries are in sight to justify such optimism. Hours of labor should be flexible and periodically regulated to meet conditions in the labor market.

I would introduce compulsory unemployment insurance. I would insist that employer and employee should make provisions for meeting to a degree at least, the economic hazards of unemployment. I

would drive the specter of fear of losing his job from the home of the toiler. I would protect him against ^{the} economic disabilities of old age and sickness.

I would lead the way to an abolition of protective tariffs and to the removal of all trade barriers between peoples.

I would dismantle the entire war machine which eats up 75% of our national revenue. I would summon all other nations to do likewise. The argument that a large navy and army are necessary to protect our vast national wealth is fast becoming ridiculous, for at the rate we are going there will be no national wealth to protect. And France has shown us that there are more effective ways of raiding the gold treasures of a nation without recourse to an invading army.

I would offer to cancel all war debts if the nations of Europe would agree to total disarmament.

I would scrap half of the government bureaucracy which now bats on the American tax payer. Too many people are living off the government. I would force off the payroll every war pensioner who is not disabled by sickness or old age. There would be no bonuses for the American Legion now or in the future.

I would abolish prohibition. It has been tried and found wanting. There is much to recommend it but the fatal thing about it is that it can not be enforced and the lack of enforcement has brought into existence an empire of crime which has cast its threatening shadow over every American home.

I would pack up the whole gang of stock gamblers and speculators and bear raiders and the margin artists in Wall Street and give them a long vacation in Leavenworth or Atlanta. In extreme cases I would put to use the lamp posts of New York. They are scavengers. The Stock Exchange is a legitimate business agency in our present system but it has been befouled by financial racketeers.

I would summon a council of leaders of industry and finance, of labor and government to plan America's industrial future. The age of unrestricted competitive individualism is over. This is a new age of corporate economic action. Economic forces today must be controlled and directed with an eye to social utility. Stabilization is the key-word to the new age. I would give this council as a guiding principle the thought that wealth in this new age must be widely distributed if it is to be conserved; that concentration of wealth in the hands of a few is the deadliest enemy of the new industrial era which is built upon a program of mass production.

1. If I were offered the role of D. I am. I would decline the honor with thanks. It was William Allen Wheeler who said "The more power a man has the bigger fool he is" and no man ~~should~~ want to be a bigger fool than he already is. No man is wise enough or just enough to be trusted with absolute power.

(a) I don't relish D. I am a liberal to such an extent that I believe that ~~to~~ to be well-governed is not as important as to be self-governed, that benefits bestowed are not as desirable as benefits achieved. I believe in the collective wisdom of a people, and in the slow, even if a times, blundering, progress of men ^{along} ~~through~~ the painful road, trial and error, rather than in artificial millennium ushered in by fiat and ukase.

(b) In the long run dictators - class or persons - do more harm than good. In an emergency, they appear at first as saviors, and achieve a certain measure of ^{dispatch and} expediency in the affairs of govt. Their victories are early victories - and not lasting. In the long run they bring about their own downfall, and carry their subjects with them into disaster. - Wh. are no new invention, thruo. Manus has had them for countless centuries - govt, least indifferent - finally crash them - restoration pop. rep. govt The unhappy truth, the world - made room for D. They will not last.

(c) I would not wish to be a D. at that time & all times. If I had all the power - I would ^{leg.} attempt to correct all the evils & evils. I am not sure that I would know how to go about it. The situation is far from simple. Difficulties - more wide & almost hopelessly entangled, too high mixed & too high mixed. nothing can set all things right.

2. The World War let loose upon the uncontested vast forces, conflict and disruption. These forces are destined to remake our world. Their operations are as inevitable as they are inevitable. War disorg. Econ. life & all nations - destroyed untold accumulated wealth & ages - drive some nat. into

1. If I were made d. 9 am. - I would just the first day.



bankruptcy - glutted others with anti-pain & short-lived purp-
creator for a time artificial demands for commodities & art.
prices - speeded up prod. & econ. expansion abnormally -
played havoc with credit system, unless - created staggering
nat. debts - increased the burdens, taxation - criss-crossed
the map, the world with trade barriers & tariff walls -
increased armaments everywhere & filled world with unrest
& abt. & suspicion. These evils - not effected in a day &
cannot be cured in a day. Europe has suffered from them
for nearly 2 decades. Am. is now feeling their sharp
& bitter impact. The emergence from war least scathed -
during major part, was - neutral - largely profitable but -
in a few years after war - ruined blissfully along - driven
along by private owners & as unique purp. But Stern-
over take us too. - World to-day a close-knit Econ. unit.
No nation can long continue in its purp. while the
nations are crushing into bankruptcy & Econ. insolvency.

7. This is not to say - all our present troubles are due to war
& internat. situation. Our own nat. Econ. has been askew
responsible - But I call attention - to reiterate how far from
simple the problem is & that no single only Econ. wizardry
& no single dis. genius can set all things any way -

Medicine - convalescence -
^{potent-draught}

4. But if I had not, I, thrust upon me, i.e. if I had the power to
bring certain things to pass, I know a few things that I would
not about doing in the present emergency, confident that they would
contribute in a measure to the ultimate good.

(a) I shall not speak, this ultimate good. I shall not speak
what is ultimately desirable but what is practically possible.
Course of perfection - the ideal Econ. state. I have such an
ideal of a Social Republic, which is not far removed from the ideal
of the socialist. But I know the slow gradations by which such

a state must be achieved among a people such as ours. To assume that the Am. people will overnight transform its entire system is to ignore completely its genius, its facilities, its centuries, its experience. The Am. way will be the slow way, Econ. liberalism, not that of radical reorg. or upheaval, even bloodless upheaval. The Am. method will be flexible and realistic, not dogmatic or doctrinaire. It will be guided method by inst. by theory guided by experience by home-practice compulsions. That, I believe, is the Am. way the sc. method. John Dewey - Science is fatal to all social system - making and programs of fixed ends! So. seeks solutions in terms, concrete problems as they arise, related to the present and the actual. Am. Econ. reorg. must take as the character, prev. w. exp. expectations. This of course does not mean amnesia [slipping] into the contrary. It calls for study and analysis & the application of a careless intelligence to a solution of specific problems as they practically as they arise.

(a) Am. is not Russia - Russia came to the hol. Rev. a black, broken, belayed & decentralized country - with a population of 1000 years, deportations & only 6 months of democ. - with no record of proper then legislation - 80% illiterate - 200 yrs. behind W. Europe - industrially backward - standards, living production - with a working pop. devoid the spirit of org. or a voice in govt.

(b) Am. trained in centuries of self-govt. self-reliant - undivided - pride in knowledge - standard, living -

(c) Am. way (unless calculated) - will be dramatically opposite from this way - even tho goal may be same.

5. As a ? I would bear this in mind. I would seek to work next steps - rather attempt by one leaps to reach goal.

6. I would begin with problem of Relief. Face present day realities - millions are unemployed. 1 out of every 3 - charity - other handouts. Must be feel - all resources - supplement private state R. - would not permit.

7. I initiate Wart Construction program - put men immediately to work - advance credit to other countries - would not begin at top - railroads & Banks - Railroads cannot meet - What can they spend - re-unions
8. ~~For time being~~ I would reduce hours of all workers - affection - Reduction of hours is not merely an emergency measure. To keep machines from displacing men - hours must be reduced. It helps the situation not at all to hope that new inventions will appear which will absorb surplus labor. No new large-scale industries are in sight to justify such optimism. Hours, labor should be flexible, periodically regulated to meet conditions in labor market.
9. I would introduce V. Insurance. I would make unemployment make provision for meeting ^{to a degree at least} the Economic hazard of unemployment. I would draw this expense from the house & the state. I would also protect him against the economic disabilities, old age & retirement.
10. I would lead the way to the abolition of tariff walls. The tariff is no longer - even assuming that it once was - a protection for Am. bus. or Am. workers. Removal of tariff walls will expedite the flow of commerce and stimulate industry.
11. I would disarm the whole war machine which eats up 15% of our total revenue. I would send our soldiers & sailors back to civilian life. I would summon all other nations to do likewise. The argument - Berndt France has shown that there are more effective ways of raising - gold reserves, & nations - without recourse to an unending army.
12. I would offer to cancel all war debts of nations will disarm.

13. I would scrap half the govt. bureaucracy which are
batters as the Am. taxpayer, too many people are living
off the govt. too many useless or partly useful govt. jobs.
And entirely - I would pay off the pay roll every
was permanence who is not disabled by sickness or
old age - There would be no bonuses for the Am. Legis.
now or in the future.

14. I would prohibit Prohibition. Trind I would want
men during enforce - Must to recommenced at
Fatal thing - We will have to return to a system
of legal control & sale, intoxicants & training
also not entirely satisfactory - less & 2 ev. l.

15. I would pick up the whole gang & trust gamblers
& speculation as half street, the house wider European
organ & split them a long vocation in beauty & a
Atlanta - I am extreme care - conf. posts
They are European - Stock Exchange - leg. trust, be lacked
by financial real estate -

16. I would transmission & council of captains / wealthy, power,
reps. & labor & govt to plan for Am. industrial
future. The age of unrestricted comp. indv. is over.
This is a new age - & Corporate Econ. activity.
→ Econ. power must be controlled & directed with an eye to social stability.
(1) Prof. Econ. wars - Scarcity - Abundance - Stabilization.
(2) In this era & Stabilization - wealth must be distributed.
(3) Plan to go round - future not dark. (Note)
17. Having done all that I would ask to be released, say
John D. and return to the govt reclusion & my Reb. study.