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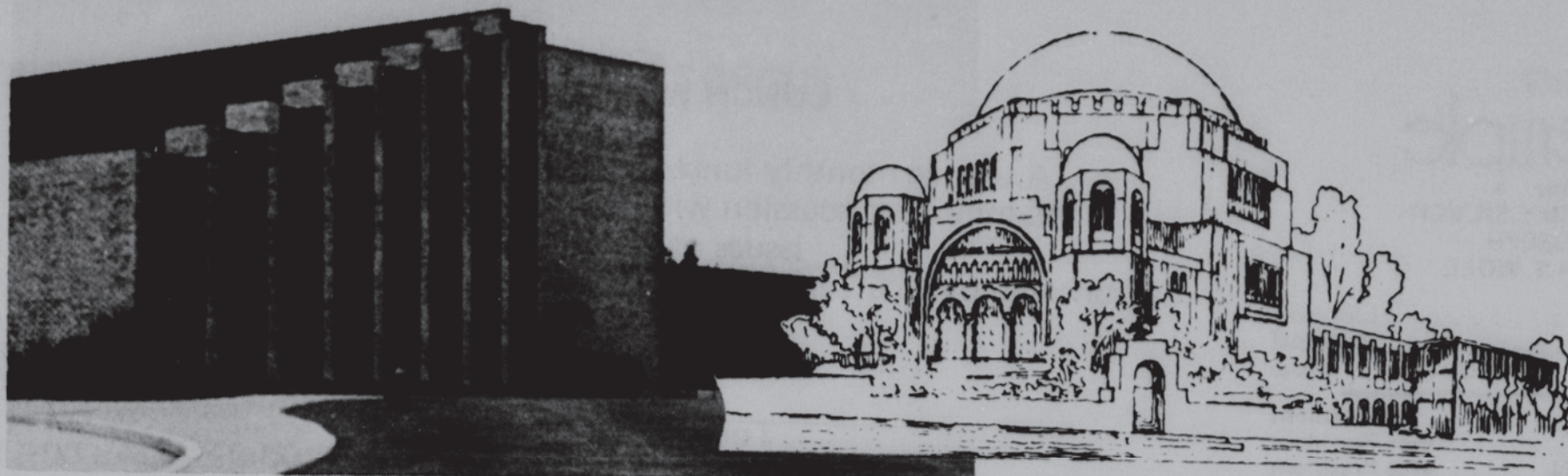
Sub-series B: Sermons, 1950-1989, undated.

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The President's Budget, 1981.



November 22, 1981
Vol. LXVII, No. 6

The Temple Bulletin

From the Rabbi's Desk: THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET

The sermon of November 1, 1981 is produced here in response to numerous requests.

Just a year ago this week, Ronald Reagan was elected president of the United States. Inflation and the faltering economy were the major factors behind the massive mandate which he received that November day. The real income of most Americans was dropping under the pressure of double-digit inflation. The economy was not expanding fast enough to provide sufficient jobs for those who were just entering into the work force and for many who had been employed. Last November few Americans believed that Jimmy Carter had a game plan or the will to turn the economy around.

Shortly after he took the oath of office, President Reagan announced what he called a Proposal for Economic Recovery whose major features were budget cuts and tax cuts. The theory behind his proposal bore the strange name of supply-side economics. Its major thesis was the proposition that increasing the available sums for investment in new ventures and the retooling of American industry would allow our companies to become competitive again in world markets and to produce the goods and the jobs required by the nation. Stagflation, a coined word which meant a flat economy falling further and further behind the rate of development in the rest of the world, would be cured, the president assured us, by increasing the pool of available capital which could be done by reducing the size and cost of government and consequently the taxes required by the government.

During the early months of Mr. Reagan's administration the magazines and newspapers were filled with articles extolling the idea that the 1980's would be the decade of the re-industrialization of America. New plants, more efficient equipment, new electronic robots, more research and development would be brought on line with the aim of making our economy prosperous, competitive and expansive.

The pool of capital required to produce that happy result would be produced through tax cuts and

budget cuts. The tax cuts would be principally for the benefit of industry — more rapid depreciation allowances — and for the wealthy — lower graduated income for tax rates — on assumption that if such benefits went to the poor of the land they would spend their windfall for necessities rather than use it for investment. The inevitable result of acting on what came to be called 'Reaganomics' was the passing of tax schedules which effectively increased the wealth of the wealthy and the profits of industry and put increased burdens on the poor who would be given few tax breaks and would have to get along without many of the social programs on which they now depended. Since the president also proposed massive increases in defense spending, the cuts in social welfare supports would have to be sizeable. The other America, the 10% or 20% of Americans who even now do not fully enjoy the opportunity or the prosperity of our land, would be pushed farther away from its benefits.

Such was the size of the president's election victory that by July of this year he had on his desk legislation from the Congress agreeing to 35.2 billions of dollars in budget cuts from the last budget proposed by the Carter administration — the budget which went into effect on October 1. By the first week in August, the president's rhetoric has become the rule of the land insofar as tax cuts were concerned. He was then able to sign a bill which provided a tax cut of approximately 25% on personal incomes staggered over three years. These cuts, which were across the board, would largely benefit the rich and the corporations. Beyond this, the tax measure provided that the last budget of the present Reagan administration, the 1985 budget, would establish a level of expenditure by the government which could not be exceeded by subsequent administration. A system of indexing was passed which would limit the government to the same proportion of the Gross National Product that it would receive in taxes that year.

(Continued inside)

SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

November 22, 1981

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

THE JEWS OF CLEVELAND:
A NEW LOOK

November 29, 1981

10:30 a.m.

The Temple Branch

Rabbi

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

will speak on

A TALE WELL TOLD

ANNUAL THANKSGIVING DAY SERVICE — November 26

Epworth Euclid United Methodist Church

9:30 a.m. Breakfast

10:30 a.m. Service

Friday Evening Service — 5:30 - 6:10 — The Temple Chapel

Sabbath Service — 11:15 a.m. — The Branch

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK (Continued)

Most everyone is in favor of tax cuts and that since it is commonly accepted that years of pork-barreling by Congress and feather-nesting by bureaucrats has swollen Federal expenditures, it was generally agreed that there was a great deal of fat in the Federal budget and most of us felt that it was time to take a long hard look at what was being spent. The country as a whole was, I think, in agreement if not with the specifics of the 35.2 billion dollar budget cut then with the promise that it would trim the fat and leave the government more efficient and more effective. There was little argument about the need to spend our monies more wisely. When the president proposed that the cost of a number of services which only certain groups in the country used; airports by private pilots and for the use of waterways by yachtsmen and bargemen should be paid for by user fees, we agreed. They benefitted from the 2 billion dollars spent, most of us did not. And we approved the attempt to force those who managed existing programs to look at their programs and to make sure that we were receiving a dollar's worth of service for every dollar of expenditure.

But the president's plans go beyond trimming the fat from government. Mr. Reagan's budget cuts and tax cuts represent proposals which go far beyond 'more bang for the buck.' A budget is both a list of costs and a statement of the political philosophy of the administration — a statement of how the goods, services, benefits, and the power of the country will be distributed. I'm not an economist nor an economic theoretician, but I do recognize every economic theory is first and foremost a political statement. A number is only an artificial symbol. Most of the numbers used in presenting economic theories are simply symbols theoreticians use to compress historic and political facts into presumably quantifiable terms. We need to get some grip on the complexities and contradictions of the social order so we force human beings and their activities into numbers. Economics is taught in the university as a social science, and economists like to think of themselves as scientists who can accurately describe and predict the ways in which society operates and how it should operate. In point of fact, the social sciences, all of them — history, sociology, economics — are art forms rather than pure sciences. That is they deal in approximations not in certainties. And the numbers which the economists love — whether they be micro-economists or macro-economists or any other kind of economists — are simply symbols which give the semblance of order to the uncertainties and the vagueries of life.

A budget presents the history and the purposes of a society and is the result of innumerable political decisions and political events so much so that most presidents have simply tried to modify a bit the policies of their predecessors. But this president apparently proposes to use these tools to effect a radical redistribution of wealth and of power. My thesis this morning is that his budget is not simply a shrinking of Federal expenditures by cutting waste and unnecessary spending, but a program of income and benefit redistribution. Historically one could say that this administration seems to be committed to a policy which is the very reverse of the policy of the New Deal and the Fair Deal which also aimed at redistribution

of power and benefits of our society, but aimed to favor the people who had less — the other America. Over a half century those policies made possible the upward mobility of our society which has been the strength of our community and the envy of the world. Mr. Reagan proposes to reverse that policy. Supply-side economics is simply another economic theory which like all economic theories, Marxian, Keynesian, Socialist, are in effect ideologies, convenient doctrines whose real purpose is to justify a redistribution of wealth and power according to preconceived political and social principles. If Mr. Reagan and his minions have their way, the wealthy will get richer, the poorer will get poorer, there will be fewer social services, the power of the corporate world will be greater and few from the lower classes will be able to rise above their station.

One can criticize supply-side economics in many ways. I wonder, for instance, whether this new pool of corporate and individual profits which presumably will come into being will, in fact, be invested in research and retooling — in positive ways. Recent experience suggests otherwise. Some energy companies which have had large windfall profits these last year have spent much of it to take over other productive companies rather than to research new forms of energy. One thinks of Conoco. One thinks of yesterday's headlines about Mobil seeking the acquisition of Marathon Oil. There is no reason to be confident, greed being what it is, that the leaders of American business will operate the ways supply-side theory assumes that they will. Then too a percentage of the American industrial establishment is owned by noncitizens. We now have the multi-national corporation. We now have major investments by citizens of key Western European and energy-rich countries in our economy, and there's obviously no guarantee that those additional profits under the new tax reduction will be reinvested in the American economy. They may simply take their money and go home.

I could go on with such criticisms, but the point I want to emphasize is that supply-side economics, Reaganomics, is based on a theory of the redistribution of wealth and power which I, at least, and I hope many of you, find unacceptable for moral as well as economic reasons. I look on Reaganomics as an attempt to entice the American people with a nostalgic dream which is no longer realizable. His Program for Economic Recovery seems to claim that we can have again that incredible level of prosperity which we enjoyed in the 1950's and early 1960's. In those years just after the second world war, the American dollar was the only currency that counted. Our industrial plant was the only truly productive economy in the world. We didn't have much competition and enjoyed an inordinate share of the world's wealth. Supply-side economics notwithstanding, those days, my friends, are gone forever. We are no longer the industrial monolith whose products dominate the market. Across the globe there are any number of countries with the will and the wit to compete with us effectively. Japan and Germany produce cars, computers and high-technology equipment equal to and sometimes superior to our products — and often cheaper. South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore are able to compete with us for major building contracts in the Near East which we once took for granted as belonging to us. Shoes, textiles and leather goods can be pro-

duced more cheaply and efficiently by other countries. Twenty years ago we dominated the armaments market — that profitable market that led to the AWACS sale — now the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, West Germany, France and England are active and efficient competitors. As the world industrialized, our prosperity which was based to a certain degree on an unrecoverable quick start, must decrease. We can't expect the kind of prosperity we enjoyed twenty-five years ago to return. Any administration who promises us otherwise misleads us.

And don't forget 1973 — the oil shock. Oil which had cost us \$6 a barrel in 1972 will cost us \$34 a barrel in 1982. Incidentally, I hope you noticed how grateful the Saudis were for the AWACS sale. The very next day they thanked President Reagan by increasing their base cost by \$2 a barrel and more importantly they decreased their oil output by nearly 1 billion barrels, thus guaranteeing further rises in oil costs next year.

Whatever the theoretical strength and weakness of Reaganomics may be, I think it's clear that if the president continues to be able to shape Federal fiscal policy his way the result will be a major redistribution of social benefits. Fortunately there's no guarantee that he will. Pressures have already built up against the second and third year tax cuts and as the budget cuts begin to pinch, pressures will also build against many proposals in that area. The 16 billion dollar tax cut proposal which the administration recently submitted to Congress has led to attempts by many Legislators to shift its impact from social to defense programs. If David Stockman proposes, as he says he wants to, another multi-billion dollar budget cut early next year, those proposed cuts will be vigorously opposed. But let us be clear, if the country continues in the way Mr. Reagan has headed us we must be prepared for two inevitable and unfortunate consequences. Without question the quality of life, particularly urban life, will be reduced for all of us; our roads will be full of pot holes. Our bridges will deteriorate. Our parks will become unkept. Our public school system will not be able to provide many important services and may even lose its central democratizing role in our society as the administration finds ways to encourage private schools. Our clinics will provide fewer medical services particularly the subsidized services now provided the poor. The infrastructure, to use that terrible word which economists love, the infrastructure of American life: mass transit, water and sewage systems, our ports, parks, airfields, will become shabbier and less available to us. The second, and in the long run, the more dangerous consequence of Reaganomics will be that the division between the have and the have-nots will increase and harden. It will be more and more difficult for the have-nots to cross into the land of opportunity and it will be more and more difficult for them to even believe that they will have a chance to do so. Rising expectations will give way to frustration and anger and, I am afraid, violence.

I don't know if Federal expenditure equal to 21% of the Gross National Product is too great a figure or too little a figure. I suggest the answers depend upon the validity of the programs being funded and the value of these programs on the society. I can't imagine a complex, highly industrialized
(Continued)

FROM THE RABBI'S DESK (Continued)

society such as ours not requiring sustained high levels of Federal expenditures. The days of small government are gone forever. We need services, services of all kinds from the government, and we will become aware of how much we depend on these services as they are stripped away one by one. Contrary to Reagonomics it's simply not more efficient to do things on a local level than on a national level. If this were so we would not have fought for years for county or metropolitan government. It's surely more efficient to have the police, fire and safety forces in one bureau and to provide utilities, transit and cultural activities to a whole region.

It seems to me that Mr. Reagan has done all of us a disservice by focusing our attention on the bigness of government as if this fact alone was the cause of our economic woes. This country has serious economic problems, but these problems are not solely the result of the size of government and its inefficiency. We may be paying too much in taxes, we may be getting too little back in return but that's not the core problem. At the root of our economic woes lies our inefficient, often outmoded and often badly run industrial plants. In the lush years our captains of industry maximized profits at the expense of research and reindustrialization. Many were incredibly shortsighted. I give you Lockheed, I give you the railroad, I give you our shipyards and steelmills. Another major problem is that labor is not productive and has been more interested in fringe benefits than in first-rate products. The basic industries on which our city depends — steel, iron ore and the like — had a record until the last lean years of investing miniscule percentages of their profits in retooling and research and now they're asking the government to do it for them. Industry is at fault. Labor is at fault. The consumer society is at fault. Big government must bear some degree of fault but it's not the major culprit and shrinking the size of government will not automatically bring prosperity to the land.

Mr. Reagan has also practiced a certain amount of misdirection by focusing our attention on the size of the national debt. He has made it appear that if we could balance the budget the country would miraculously become prosperous again. If he by some miracle balances the budget the Federal debt will still be over a trillion dollars. He's made us all conscious of the image of the one trillion dollar budget debt as a stack of thousand dollar bills 67 miles high. Since you and I cannot imagine what one trillion dollars means, it's an overwhelming sum and we tend to agree with him when he says: 'yes, we must balance the budget at all costs and immediately.' But when you read the conomists you discover that during the heyday of our prosperity, the decade which followed the end of the second world war, the Federal debt in proportion to the Gross National Product was two to three times what it is today. Around 1950, the debt in terms of the Gross National Product was 135% of that sum. Today it is less than 35% and the ratio of debt to the total goods and services produced in the land has been decreasing slowly over time. Most economists seem to believe that the level of debt which we now maintain is not the real problem this society faces. It would be better if the government were not paying double-digit

interest on the monies it has to borrow, but that's really not the crux of the matter. We had prosperity when we were much more in debt than we are today. Our problems have to do with archaic machinery, unproductive manpower, inadequate planning, inadequate research, lack of competitive will, materialism, and the foolish belief that no one could industrialize to compete with us. Remember how we laughed at Japan's first competitive efforts. Mr. Reagan has used the specter of the trillion dollar debt in order to frighten us to approve his plan to shrink the government. This is not an austerity budget, but a redistribution of power, a redistribution of wealth, a redistribution of benefits budget. Much is taken away and much is given. Farm subsidies remain. Windfall profits for energy companies remain. Faster and deeper writeoffs for business are included. Tax rates for the wealthy are reduced. The wealthy are allowed to pass on larger amounts of their substance to their children. Many forms of protection are given to American business against foreign competition.

This is not an austerity for all budget. It is an austerity for the poor budget and next year's budget will be an austerity for the middle class budget. One can hardly call the budget an austerity for the corporate society budget. It's not austerity for the kind of people who surround Mr. Reagan.

We are only one month into the first round of budget cuts and most of us have not yet begun to feel the shoe pinch. Because of the political bargaining which went into that bill, these first cuts will affect the poor more than they will affect the middle class. Mr. Reagan agreed not to touch for now most of the income redistribution proposals which affect the middle class: social security, Medicare, veterans benefits and basic unemployment insurance. Instead he cut some 14% from food stamps program. As an aside I must tell you a conversation I had this summer. It was at a country club and the subject was the Federal budget. One of the men with whom I was talking was particularly delighted with the cut in the food stamp program. He told me about people driving up to supermarkets in new cars and loading up with all kinds of wines and luxury items rather than staples. He went on for fifteen minutes. Within a half hour he was telling me with some glee how he had had his children apply to the government for low-interest scholarship loans because he could reinvest that money at a high rate of interest and pocket the difference.

Mr. Reagan has talked about a safety net, a safety net which he will put under social benefits for the poor so that no one will fall to his death because of the lack of food or medical care or heat. Unfortunately the safety net has a lot of holes in it. Money has been cut from the food stamp program, the Federal lunch program and Medicaid. The effect of many of these cuts will not be felt until the states begin to apportion the reduced funding they will receive. Yet some things are already clear. The entire program of free legal aid to the poor has been chopped — 300 million dollars, not a great deal of money. Its effect: the poor will no longer have the ability to challenge bureaucracy or slum lord. Many a family will not conform to the rigid standards which are being set up for enrollment and will be denied the benefits on which decency, if not life, depends. Did you see the other day that one of the ways the administration proposes to save some money is to declare catsup to

be a vegetable and therefore the law no longer requires schools to serve a vegetable to children in the free lunch program. Where will the poor get their vitamins and do we really want to go back to the era of malnutrition and junk foods? Most consumer defense programs have gone by the board. Health services have seen cuts.

Though the middle class feels secure for the moment, I'm firmly convinced that in order to achieve real ends this administration will also soon attack other benefit programs. Social security benefits will be held in place or shrunk. Various pension benefits will be held or shrunk relative to the cost of living. None of this, of course will happen unless the Congress votes for what the administration proposes and it is for this reason that we must be clear as to where the administration would like to go and what they would like to achieve. They propose, I believe, a return to the America of the 1920's where there were few legal protections for the poor, where the constitution was read as a document designed to protect property rather than people, and where little attention was shown to the inalienable rights of every citizen to enter into the society mainstream. I'm not arguing that all Fair Deal programs were wise or necessary. That's no longer the issue. I am in favor on constant review of all social programs. Over the last year a lot of dollars have been thrown away, but that period is over — at least for the poor. This administration seeks to put America on the path towards a redistribution of power, wealth and benefit, which is the reverse of the direction we have followed for the last fifty years. And I for one consider this change of direction, tragic. I believe that the economy must be made more competitive. I believe that industry must retool. I believe we need greater productivity but I believe that all of this must be achieved insofar as it can be achieved, within the context of the American dream — my dream and not Mr. Reagan's — the dream of the Founding Fathers and not of Mr. Reagan. The dream which looks to the commonwealth and the larger good and to human beings and human resources rather than simply to numbers on balance sheets and production charts. I am not arguing that we oughtn't to take a look at taxes or that government should not be made more accountable, but I do argue that the economic theories which we should use should assume values which include the human dimension as well as purely the corporate dimension, social benefits as well as the benefit of the elite. I want you to know that this Rabbi is not impressed with an economics game plan which is so indifferent to the human equation. I'm prepared as an individual and I think we all ought to be prepared to pay more and to have less in order for this society to remain an open society. I'm not prepared to have less to support an administration which bases its vision of American prosperity on belt-tightening for those who have the least and on tax relief for those who have the most. Amen.

Daniel Jeremy Silver

Jude

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↳ Budget

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- 4 pages -

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WORK FORCE -- and few were convinced that Mr. Carter
had any idea or the need to turn the economy around

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Recovery -- the idea was that joint work was the
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unemployment to lose control of the economy and control
inflation -- and the program focused on unemployment just
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called supply side economics where main thesis
was that by increasing the flow of investment capital
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