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Who is a Loyal American? Some Thoughts on Patriotism and Superpatriotism, 1962.

WHO IS A LOYAL AMERICAN?

Some Thoughts on Patriotism and Superpatriotism

The Temple May 6, 1962

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

of recent months, Americans have been busy in increasing numbers going about accusing other Americans of being un-American. It's a shabby bit of business. For some of the organisers it's a big bit of business. But make no mistake about it, it's a deadly serious bit of business. Tens of thousands of our fellow citizens actually believe that there is a calculated giant conspiracy afoot to undermine and to betray our nation. And Every month tens of thousands of dellars are poured into this campaign of "awakening," to sponsor its meetings, indignation crusades, its over two hundred and fifty menthly publications, its professional speakers' bureau, all the activities which keep its shrill cry of treason before the American people.

Now, there are spies and there are traitors. Colonel Abel, whom we recently exchanged for our U-2 pilot, was a master spy and a successful one. The Air Force recently court-mastialed and cashiered a captain, one Joseph Kaufman, who was accused and convicted of passing security information to the East German government. The State Department had to release and convict one of its minor officials in the Warsaw legation, one Irving Starbeck, for a similar treasonable act. He had been blackmailed into it by fear of the exposure of an illicit remance.

There are spies and there are traitors, and Russia, as well as some of our allies, maintain in the United States and wherever the United States has bases a complex of intelligence agencies and agents designed to discover what

we do not wish to have revealed.

We ought not to be surprised that there are spies and that there are these traitors. We maintain a similar globe-encircling intelligence agency. We too appeal to the venality of the greedy, to the ego of the paranoid, to the defector and to the dissatisfied; we try and use them to our own immediate purpose. And We cannot be shocked when the tables are turned on us in kind.

If we wish to call this cold war of espionage a conspiracy, - such a conspiracy does exist. But, surprisingly, the two hundred and fifty publications of the extremist groups, the thousands of speeches of these groups hardly concern themselves with this area of cold war reality. When one listens carefully to the cries of indignation and the charges of betrayal of the Robert Welches and of the Amne Rands and of the William Bulkeleys and of the Billy Hargesses and of the Fred Schwartzes and of their ilk, one does not find there the echo familiar from the days of Senator McCarthy, that this this many men are card-carrying members of the Communist Party, that this many officials are members of Communist front organizations and either the dupes or the agents of Moscow. The line has veered. The charge now is not that there are these agents of Moscow in control of the vital core of our government, but that there is within the American polity tens of thousands of important officials and important citizens who are part of a giant conspiracy to undermine the American way of life. And How are they parts of this con-How do their allegiance to the Communist system? By being concerned with programs of social welfare. By being convinced that government organization of the economy and government regulation of the marketplace is not in and of itself wrong and undesirable. By being 67 The 6 provior That There CAN BE NO PORCE WITHOUT WORLD LAW AND A STROKE WORLD COAN SATION Robert Welch had to coin a new word to specify his target. He called

who dares to declare that the Constitution is color-blind. They are librarians who deres put on their shelves books which give the history and the theory of different political systems and economic attitudes and philosophies. They are college professors who insist on academic freedom. They are clergymen who insist that capitalism is the description of an economic way of life familiar in the early nineteenth century and not the content of the word revealed by God to Moses on Mount Sinai. They are the Freedom Riders. They are all the Senators and the Representatives who vote for Federal regulation of the Social Security, the Medicare, or any one of the welfare legislation now or beforehead in front of our Congress. They are members of the executive who submit to Congress bills necessary to care for the poverty and the illness which is abroad among us.

If I were to capsule for you the fulminations, the ramifications of charges which appear in this right-wing press I would say that this, in essence, is the framework of their thought: there is a giant Communist conspiracy. The Russians once hoped to be able to take over the world directly, by military action. And despite treason in high places, our government, however, has been able to build up sufficient defense so that Mr. Khruschev now recognizes that this is an implausible, if not an impossible, task. So he has turned and resorts now to the second arrow in his arsenal, and that second arrow is co-existence. For Khruschev, being a Marxist, is convinced that the capitalistic systems will fall of their own weight. And indeed, — and here the charges caps in — there are busy among us tens of thousands of people who are undermining the American system, insisting on Socialism (call it Communism), on welfare statism (call it Communism), on Faderal regulation

of the marketplace (call it Communism), on Federal management of our financial situation (call it Communism). And These are the forward edge of the Communist conspiracy, as are all those in the American polity who insist that we must be prepared to sit down, meet, and to discuss and to arrange the outstanding differences between the nations of the world.

And what is the solution of this extremist fringe? Turn out the rascals! And The rascals turn out to be almost every executive, almost every elected representative now in Washington. Replace them with loyal Americans. And how are we to discover the loyalty of these Americans? By their willingness to look on government as an evil except insofar as it organizes the defense of the nation. And Conce we have replaced these elected representatives, we are to embark on a policy of total victory. How is this policy to be achieved? It is to be achieved by military action if necessary. And if one asks the reasonable question: How will the cindering of a hundred million Russians and a hundred million Americans and of most of the Europeans in between achieve total victory? the answer is that this is the will of God. God has determined that evil must be exterpated, burnt out. And If you think I exaggerate, let me quote to you from an article republished in the Congressional Record Thursday last, submitted with approbration by an elected representative of the State of South Carolina, and reading in part:

The time has come for something to be said, from the scriptural standpoint, on this business of negotiating between the professedly godly nations and one avowedly, boastfully atheistic. Especially when such negotiations impinge upon moral values, involve the spiritual good of humanity, and prevent, or delay, the "doing of God's will on earth." The purchase of Alaska from the Russians was one thing. The artful give and take which jeopardizes, in some cases surrenders, the temporal and eternal welfare of mankind is quite another matter. Our day is cursed with a brand of summitry which, after bargaining and compromise, seals off huge pieces of the world from the blessings and benefits of Christianity. The question here is

this. What nation has the moral prerogative to sell the spiritual birthright of another for a temporizing mess of pottage?

Now, first of all, one cardinal point must be thoroughly understood. It is this. The function of the Christian nation may be quite different from that of the Christian church. The church's job includes the evangelizing of the world with the "Truth that makes men free," on a purely non-political, non-military level. "My kingdom is not of this world," said Jesus. The mission of the church is missions — minus force. But there is also a national directive. It has often been a punitive one, including the waging of holy wars.

The records show God as having sometimes used a nation "called by His name," to rise up and destroy a godless one when great issues were at stake. On the other hand, there is the total absence of divine sanction on the matter of negotiation.

Having rediscovered these truths, that evil cannot be negotiated, that a nation owned by God is forbidden to enter an immoral give-and-take agreement with an atheistic power, and that dire consequences can only come to those which do; let those nations claiming God as their Lord stand up and strike whatever blows are necessary, not so much to make the world safe for democracy as to smash the barriers that wicked systems have erected to prevent the doing of God's "will on earth." Let them stand up to their moral obligations -- military too -- and never fear the consequences of refusing to placate the godless.

The theology of this argument is absurd. The political reality implicit is absurd. And yet this type of tripe is finding an audience, is finding approval. Thousands and tens of thousands are shouting "Amen." There is a pathetic urgency among many, not only in the extreme right, for some program of total victory which will remove the niggling frustration of living in a world which cannot settle down. As if life ever settles itself down. And there is not the equal cold-eyed realization that there can be no victory without the holocaust, and that even were we able by atomic war to beat Russia to its knees, the fifty or sixty million strontium-ed Americans who might survive could hardly reach American in the log canoes which would be their only means of transportation.

The extreme fringe is convicted of its own illogic. In the twentieth century, in the 1960's, in this year of complicated economic arrangements, in

this year far advanced in the industrial and technical revolution, in this year of automation and of overproduction, one cannot arrange the continuing economic progress of a nation by the absence of all regulation. All governments free and unfree, must balance out their conflicting responsibilities to business and to labor and to the public and to the farm and to the nation and to its security. All these must be balanced out. And there can be no balancing, no arrangement without planning. In the nineteenth century, in the small American towns traffic could circulate freely without stop signs, without policemen, but in the megalopolis of the twentieth century we need policemen, we need stop signs, we need traffic lanes, else all traffic in sur cities would grind to a halt. There needs to be government regulation, basic regulation of all that takes place. And there needs to be government arrangement with other governments. A hundred and eighty-five million Americans cannot dictate to two billion world citizens their destiny, despite our preponderance in certain military potential. We need to sit down with those who agree with us and with those who disagree, the same way a business man daily sits down and establishes contracts with competitors and clients of whom he approves and of whom he does not approve. Of course, there needs to be ways of enforcing these contracts. Of course, we must see to it that we do not agree to a contract we cannot abide nor to one of which we cannot approve. However, we cannot expect this contract to give us all that we ask -there is a bargaining, a give and take, and it is simply this bargaining, this give and take, which most of us call the possibility of co-existence.

This extremist group is convicted of its own illogic, and it is convicted equally of its scurrilous irascibility and irresponsibility. There is no scruple, no dignity among these demagogues, these self-serving, self-seeking

men about when they attack and on what basis they attack.

Mr. Welch, in his salad days, before he had focused upon him the limelight, was able to include everyone from the President of the United States on down in his categorization of the Comsimp. And they do not scruple, any of these people, to besmirch any citizen, however great his contribution to our society. Just this past week one of the most shameful episodes in the history of the United States Senate took place. The frustrated segregationalist, Senator Eastland from Mississippi, believe it or not the Chairman of our Judiciary Committee, got up on the floor of the Senate and announced to his startled peers that in some seventy cases involving the national interest which had been decided by the Supreme Court over the last ten years, the Justices of that Court had voted deciding according to Communist policy in forty-eight of these cases. No concern for the dignity of the Court. No concern for the responsibility of the men who made these decisions, but simply a bitter diatribe of invective against a Court which had told the good Senator that his private prejudices were not the sanctified law of the land.

Now, there are some indications that the vast majority of Americans are keeping their balance despite this cacaphony of charges of treason and betrayal. In California, in his campaign for the gubernatorial nomination, Mr. Nixon, the titular head of the Republican Party, has denounced these extremist groups, refused to allow them to be associated with his campaign. The Army, just Army, ago, summarily cashiered the vitriolic Major Ward, who directly disobeyed an order and appeared before the national convention of the DAR, the Daughters of the American Revolution, to libel and to label some of our finest citizens.

There are signs that we are keeping our head. There is the feeling

among many of us that if given their voice, the sounds will become shrill and will be seen for the empty sounds that they are by the average American. But I caution you on this: that there is a new factor in this extremist lunatic fringe, and that is that for the first time in the last two decades or so; it is well financed. It has the means to continue in operation. In the last twelve months twenty millions of dollars of corporate money, of money from the biggest industries of the United States, from the Richardson interests, from the Pugh interests, from the Getty interests, from Texaco, from Union Oil of California, and from other of our great corporations, have been poured into the coffers of one or another of these campaigns. For selfish purpose, of course, but nevertheless the money is there and it is being spent, and it is guaranteeing an audience through the mass media, through radio and television and publication which these men on their own could not command and which their congregations on their own could not grant And it is strangely and soberly reminiscent of the support which the Essens and the Krupps gave to National Socialism in the early 1930's. CERTAIN Business here, seeking its narrow selfish interest, seeking to be freed of some of the tax schedules and some of the regulations of the past thirty years, is playing a dangerous game. For the extreme right wing has other interests than those of the business interests themselves. It is a marriage of convenience, and like such marriages, it will not withstand the long haul. But a marriage, nevertheless, it is, and it is a marriage of wealth and one of concern.

> Let us turn from the extremist groups, from those who would define a party line in Communist fashion, and declare any and all of us who dissent or disagree deviationists, heretics, un-American, because we dare to insist that America in 1960 cannot live by the same code and the same laws which

were fit for America in the 1860's. What is of specific concern this morning to me is this: that increasingly among moderates, liberal or conservative, among moderate citizens I hear an echo of the frame of reference of these extremist groups. It was once upon the time the way that when people discussed a particular bit of regulation before the Congress, they discussed it on its merits — whether it was needed, whether its provisions were carefully written, whether it could be financed within the current tax structure, whether it could be financed within the current tax structure, whether it could be delayed until a more appropriate occasion. But today, whenever a discussion takes place — some Federal aid to education, or medicare, or an extension of Social Security or the like — the discussion is immediately translated from the reasonable to the theoretical. It is as if today there is in the minds of many an American party line, a single American way of looking at any piece of legislation, and that any deviation from this dogma brands one as heretic.

There is danger in this. "America," Justice Holmes once said, "is an experiment, not a conclusion." The Constitution of the United States does not establish a party line, but is a guide line to the growth, to establish a not establish a party line, but is a guide line to the growth, to establish a same of us a guide line to the growth, to establish a same of us a guide line to the growth, to establish a same of us a guide line to the growth, to establish a same of us the hopes and the basic framework of rights of our citizens. This excessive literalness with which some of us have begun to view the Constitution, our idolization of a concept which we call free enterprise, has led many of us into grievous mistake, and has allowed many of us to be used by those who argue for selfish interest. None of us would accept the morality of segregation, but let the segregationist argue in terms of States' rights and we will be a see a right to work and many of us find curselves again in the enemy camp. None of us would argue for an irresponsible business community or an irresponsible labor community

or an irresponsible farming community, but let the issue be raised as one of free enterprise and almost every positive program, every necessary program of government regulation becomes tabu, and again we find ourselves party-linked with narrow selfish interest.

There is no term more confusing on our American scene than that of free enterprise. We have never had free enterprise in its pristine sense. The first act passed by the first convention of the Congress of the United States was a tariff act, an invasion of free enterprise. Indeed, those who argue for free enterprise are by and large arguing for special privilege. When I hear a big business man arguing for free enterprise I would remind him of the depreciation allowances, of the depletion provisions in oil, of the government in building his plants and his research facilities which he SMALL BUSINESS ADMITISTRATION AND ITS LOAMS has received. When I hear a farmer arguing free enterprise, I would remind him that the government is artificially pegging the price of his crops, and if this is not an invasion of the market, what is? When I hear a unionist arguing for free enterprise, I would remind him that the establishment of unionization and of collective bargaining was achieved through the interference and the legislation of the government, and this, too, is an invasion of free enterprise. America has progressed because it has understood free enterprise to be, not the absence of all restraints, but the presence of justifiable regulation, freedom to build, to experiment, to progress, not freedom to cut the throats of all those across the table from us in any business arrangement. Ideology does not fit well into the American context. The right and the left are terms which have been borrowed from European politics, and European ALWAYS politics has lacked the reasonableness and humaneness and progressive spirit which we have had here in America. They argue and debate. They vote. A decision is made. And then they begin to hurl stones and to rebel. Tradi-

tionally we have argued and debated, we have voted, we have defected, we have tested the law in the courts, and we have shaken hands, tinkered a bit with the law, compromised a bit, and moved ahead. The American way is one which has been essentially pragmatic. The American way has been one of adjusting to the various needs of the compenents in our population. We have never belabored the issue that there is a single American party line, a single American way, and that any moving aside from this way, any deviation from it must be condemned as unorthodox, proscribed as beyond our dogma. We have in our system elements which are capitalist and elements which are socialist and elements which are combinations and elements which are neither. We have all of these elements in our politics and our economics because they are necessary, because they work, because they have permitted the abundance and the blessing and the freedom which we now enjoy. It is wrong for all of us to immediately take in argument a discussion of any piece of legislation and raise it one decibel to the level of theory, for We will find only confusion in arguing such ideology. Let all of us beware of accepting this extremist intrusion into the American pattern of thought. There is no single standard of Americanism. We have always had those who wished us to move with desperate speed into the be careful to OF The future; we have always had those who wished us to /held on to the sanctities of the past. We have blended these two basic attitudes of men, and we have blended them well, and we have blended them successfully. But these are not men of the right only, men of the left only, destrinaires. Once upon a time the man who was Mr. Conservative, Senator Taft of our own state, could still get up in the Senate and propose, sponsor the first Federal Housing Law, proposed after the war. And the arch-radical of his time, Mr. Wallace, could be the arch-conservationist. Men could be men. Men could judge issues

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practically, reasonably, seeking an effective, workable solution. But now, somehow, we must be living dogmas, doctrinaire, and now there are abroad agencies which compile a record of the vote of every congressman. And They establish some arbitrary standard, usually it's called constitutional government, which means the absence of all Federal regulation, and every Representative is graded according to his orthodoxy or his deviation. There is no orthodoxy and there is no deviation. There are simply reasonable men applying themselves to the complicated, variegated facts of political and social life.

And let us recognize that there is more than one way of looking at the problems, the serious, confusing problems of change confronting America.

Mr. Walter Lippman, in a recent article which was published in the Atlantic Monthly, had some wise words of caution to all of us. He said that there had been a spirit of progressivism, he called it, of tinkering in American politics visible since the days of Teddy Roosevelt and the first Anti-Trust legislation. He reminded us that every Democrat believes that the nation is also a republic under law, and every Republican believes that the nation is also a democracy, responsive to the will of the people. He reminded us that we are human beings, with complicated needs, with incomplete philosophies, and that it has been the greatness of our tradition that we have been willing to live with an eye to the past, our feet in the present and our other eye on the future. That we have attempted to blend. That we have seen our Constitution not as a corseting law, limiting, frustrating progress, but as a statement of first principle, as a statement of basic hope, as a statement of elemental right, as a statement which will premit us to grow and to develop, to change and to exchange, to build up and to tear down. Indeed, this is the way in which our courts have always understood the Constitution.

If one would understand the vitriol, the bitterness which the extreme fringes pour upon the Supreme Court of the United States, it is precisely because the Court, as the ultimate interpreter of our Constitution, has insisted that it is a document by which men must live. It must never be seen as a document which forces men linto a living death. A theologian understands this, because the Bible can be read narrowly, fundamentalistically, literally, and cause men to move from generation to generation, from century to century carrying an ever-lengthening burden of the past with them, or it can be read as a doctrine of promise, of challenge, as a basic statement of passion and conviction which allows men to move, to exchange their costume of the centuries, to move continuously in a line which is progressive, and hopeful, and freighted with promise for the future.

Who is a loyal American? Anyone who is not specifically a traitor or a spy. Anyone who does not willfully, for whatever reason, violate the confidence of office. Who is a loyal American? The man who disagrees with you most vehemently, who will argue with you any and every regulation openly and reasonably, who will allow the issue to be submitted to the ballot, who will test if need be, if he feels compelled, your decision or his in the courts and who, once the final decision has been reached, will turn to you, well shake hands with you, and will say, "Now let's move on. This has been established. I may not agree; I reserve my judgment. If it needs to be undone I will work for its undoing. But I recognize your view. We have submitted our decision to the bar of public opinion. We have had a fair chance, a fair run at it. Perhaps I'll win the next time."

Who is a loyal American? Almost every American. Every American who is determined to maintain the universe of political discourse. And, indeed, and

challenge as un-American, those who see as conspirators any and every human being who stands opposed to them, these bear a taintime if not disloyalty, centrality of trink Dear To heresy from the basic American tradition. But they do not permit discussion and debate. They do not assume the honesty and integrity of those who are opposed to them. They vilify, they disgrace, they shout down, but they reject reason, they reject democracy, they reject the Bill of Rights, and they reject the democratic process.



Winds de Monte Man

# THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK



28 May 1962

Isaiah II: IV

"Swords into Plowshares"

DONALD SZANTHO HARRINGTON
Minister

MELVIN C. VAN de WORKEEN

Minister to the Congregation

RICHARD D. LEONARD

Minister of Education

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
Minister Emeritus

Dear Daniel Silver:

It was such a pleasure to meet you at the Federalist Assembly in Philadelphia, and to know that your father has such a powerfully persuasive son and successor. I wish that whenever you are in New York you would stop to say hello. We live right in town, at Hotel Ten Park Avenue, and would be pleased to know when you are coming so that we could plan a visit.

I hope that we may have you as a visiting preacher sometime within the next year, and will be getting in touch with you again regarding this.

Thanks for sending me "Who is a Loyal American?" It is a superb piece of work!

Won't you convey my good wishes to your father, and your family.

Yours sincerely,

Donald Szantho Harrington

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver The Temple University Circle at Silver Park Cleveland 6, Ohio

May 24, 1962

Reverend Don Harrington 10 Park Avenue New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Harrington:

It is a pleasure to include a copy of this lecture which you requested, together with my hopes that our paths will cross sometime in the near future and we will have a chance to exchange ideas.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

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The following article was written by Clay Cooper, president of Vision, Inc.

He says, "The article is a distillation of long Bible study, strengthened by observation in more than 50 countries where we have spent the last dozen years."

The time has come for something to be said, from the scriptural standpoint, on this business of negotiating between the professedly godly nation and one avowedly, boastfully atheistic. Especially when such negotations impinge upon moral value, involve the spiritual good of humanity, and prevent, or delay, the "doing of God's will on earth." The purchase of Alaska from the Russians was one thing. The artful give and take which jegpordizes, in some cases surrenders, the temporal and eternal welfare of mankind is quite another matter. Our day is cursed with a brand of summitry which ,after bargaining and compromise, seals off huge pieces of the world from the blessings and benefits of Christianity. The question here, is this. What nation has the moral prerogative to sell the spiritual birthright of another for a temporizing mess of pottage?

### THE NATIONAL DIRECTIVE

Now, first of all, one cardinal point must be thoroughly understood. It's this.

the function of the Christian nation may be quite different from that of the

Chritian church. The church's job includes the evangelizing of the world with the "

"Truth that makes men free," on a purely non-political, nonmilitary level. "My

kingdom is not of this world\*\*\* else my servants would fight," said Jesus. The

mission of the church is missions—minus force. But there is also a national

directive. It has often been a punitive one, including the waging of holy wars.

Proof of this can be found in the record of God's own judgment falling upon a

chosen people who were cursed only for "keeping back the sword from clood."

This failure is viewed in Holy Writ, as a national crime and described as "neglecting the work of the Lord." (Jeremiah 48:10)

### WHAT ABOUT DIVINE SANCTION?

The records show God as having sometimes used a nation "called by Has name,"

to rise up and destroy a godless one when great issues were at stake. On the other hand, there is the total absence of divine sanction on the matter of negotiation.



### EVIL NONNEGOTIABLE

Having rediscovered these truth, that evil cannot be negotiated, that a nation owned by God is forbidden to enter an immoral give-and-take agreement with an atheistic power, and that dire consequences can only come to those which do; let those nations claiming God as Lord stand up and strike whatever blows are necessary, not so much to make the world safe for democracy as to smash the barriers that wicked systems have erected to prevent the doing of God's "will on earth." Let them stand up to their moral obligations—military too-and never fear the consequences of refusing to placate the godless.

