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Some Thoughts on the Election, 1968.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE ELECTION

Sunday, October 20, 1968

The Temple

Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver

"The Dean of the Washington Cathedral, Dr. Sayre, anguished in public some Sundays ago that he was unhappy with both of the candidates for the presidency and the electorate, indeed with the entire context of our national life. The Dean's plight put me in mind of a delightful quatrain of Ogden Nash's: about men of such refined and delicate palates they could find no one worthy of their ballots. Then when someone terrible is elected, they say: 'that is what I always expected.' "

I began my comments to you on the eve of election in 1964 with that above exact paragraph. Men and children are again in anguish whether to vote or not to vote. Remember the bumper stickers of four years ago? Vote "no" for president. Mort Sahl was the Pat Paulson of the day, the anti-candidate of the snide set. Once again Kohelet has proven himself a shrewd observer, "that which has been is that which shall be." Four years ago I had few kind words for the political dropouts. I don't like childish men who insist that if you won't play my way with my ball and my being captain, I won't play. If anything, I have less sympathy for that position now.

In the United States a political election is not simply a beauty contest between two candidates. It is a party contest which to choose a party administration. Each party candidate is a party nominee. He runs on a party platform. By the nature of things in a country of 200 million people, parties are conglomerates and no one person or one group, however sizeable, can expect its platform and its personality to be fully ratified.

I know that there are some young purists who would have us change this system. If each party cannot speak with a single voice, then let us have a lot of parties. Three or four or ten. God love little Israel. She is the very model of a participatory democracy. Every minyan has its own political party, and yet in twenty years of the state's existence only one party has governed and Israel is still today being governed by the same old men.

A political system is a delicate and intricate mechanism, and I am troubled by those who advise us so cavalierly to tinker with it. There are ways of getting more freedom into the system, more air and more light. Yes, and there are also ways of getting less freedom. Frankly, if the exhibit of untrammelled freedom given ten months ago by the New Politics Convention is an example of what the new left means by freedom, I don't want any part of it. The electors at that convention were not only managed by caucuses and committee decisions by party mechanisms, but they had to agree before the convention voted that they would accept the platform and the candidates brought out of a black party caucus which had yet to publish its decisions. If that be freedom, I do not understand the meaning of the word.

As a theologian I recognize a certain caste of mind, which I call apocalyptic. A man who has an apocalyptic mind is so close to the future, and it is so real to him, that he can taste and see it. It is palpable. He can touch it and he lives in it. In the first Century such a man left his wife and his children to another's responsibility, his business and his country to be run by someone else and went out to the wilderness to prepare his soul for the coming of the Kingdom. Today our apocalypics do not go off into the desert but into the wastelands of our cities. But it is the same phenomenon. Someone else, probably their parents, must earn their living. Someone else, probably former classmates, must defend their freedoms. Someone else, you

and I, must maintain the political system which gives them the right to dissent and to desert.

By the very nature of things this world is imperfect and will remain so. The Greeks were quite right when they described the kingdom as Utopia. U Topos. Nowhere. It is the dream which keeps us going. It is the place we never reach. I hope that many of our young apocalyptics who do nothing today but dream of the glories of tomorrow may learn to live in the glories of today and help us move this great society a little bit further toward a better tomorrow. I confess also that occasionally I have a nightmare when I consider the political dropouts who will not vote, who feel above it. I am in a ball park. One team doesn't like the way the grass is cut. They are following their coach, his name is McCarthy, out of the ball park to find some other field. As they leave the ball park another team drives up. Their spikes are sharpened. Their coach has run on ahead and already he is upbraiding the men in black (the umpires, the judges): 'we play by my rules,' 'the old rules don't count anymore!' That man's name is George Wallace, and his team is called the White Lice. I must warn you also, that not only are there no black athletes on that team, but there is no Jewish name in the lineup.

I am a little troubled by some of the sense of frustration I sense among us that the two parties did not give us new faces - a Sir Galahad - someone who would wave a magic wand and the future would gloriously be here. There have been a lot of complaints against both parties that the party professionals went with old political loyalists, that they did not respond to a basic urge in the nation for a younger person, fresher ideas. In a strange way I think this politics as usual activity is a blessing in disguise. A democracy can not depend upon a saviour. Somehow saviours become dictators. Democracy depends upon people. However, vigorous, energetic, youthful, charismatic, there is nothing one man in the White House can do unless we will join with him in his crusade.

He cannot get a war on poverty funded in Congress unless we want it; and he cannot battle blight or urban dehumanization in the communities unless we join that militia. What disturbs me this election year is that I see little indication of a willingness to join in energetic, vigorous activity against the social evils. We want somebody, some savior to do it for us. In this sense, Mr. Nixon is not the one and Mr. Humphrey is not the one. We are the only ones who can make this country go forward. We are the only ones who can sculpt the peace and a decent tomorrow. And, if we are as selfish as we seem to be, and as short-sighted and as peevish and as prejudiced as this electorate seems to be, no man on a white horse will lead us anywhere except into his snares and traps; or failing a power-hungry demagogue, this self evolved nation may pull itself apart at the seams as each group seeks only its own advantage.

Now, if Mr. Nixon is not the one and Mr. Humphrey is not the one, neither are they the Tweddle-De and Tweedle-Dum mediocracies which some of their snide denigrators claim them to be. Both men have given fine service to their nation. After an unfortunate and brash start in California politics, Nixon has served in many of the important posts in our land. Probably more than anyone else he is responsible for the renewal of the Republican Party after the shambles of 1964. If this is a partisan achievement - and it is, of course - it is also an important achievement for all of us, because a two-party system requires two strong parties.

Mr. Humphrey has a record of life-long dedication to civil rights and social legislation. He is the author of the national Medicare program. As a senator he was involved in most of the significant social legislation of that period. As Vice President, he has helped to write and push through Congress some of the most important programs of the Great Society. In their record of public service and in the quality of their person, both men, easily outdistanced most of these who are

so quick to label them mediocracies and worse. Both men would rank well up on a comparative listing of all of the candidates who have run for the Presidency. Now, both of them, of course, have faults. Someone observed that Mr. Humphrey does not know yet that a speech to be immortal does not have to be eternal. Mr. Nixon seems not yet clear where public relations ends and public responsibility begins. There are other faults, obviously. They are human. But let him who is faultless throw the first stone.

This year I am more disturbed by the measure of the electorate than I am by the measure of the candidates. When we look at ourselves in the mirror we do not present a particularly pretty sight. There is a new left and there is a new right. You can take your pick. Both of them remind me of children who are trying to break down some tinker toy construction so that they can play God and build it up again to suit their own tastes. When the new right does not like the law of the land and the judgment of the courts, it stands in the schoolhouse door in open defiance. When the new left does not like the way the Establishment operates, it sits down in the schoolhouse doors in open defiance. When both of them are picked up and summarily ejected so that students can come in and study and teachers can come in and teach, they cry "I am above the law. You can't touch me." Both groups are fundamentally undemocratic. Both of them have only contempt for due process. Neither of them respects law and order. One, the new left, happily and disingenuously proclaims itself anarchistic while the new right uses the technique of the big lie. The man who leads this ilk has only one credential, that for ten years he has been in open defiance of the law. One can argue that we have always had such extremist fringes in American politics and will always, but what disturbs me even more is the fact that so many of the so-called moderate center have joined with them. How many of the fat-bellied middle class are showing their racist prejudices and joining

Mr. Wallace and how many of the lean-bellied college class are showing their prejudices and joining the Mark Rudds and the Jerry Rubins.

I have had occasion these past few weeks to speak to a number of the congressional candidates in our State. All of them have told me: 'You know, you can't talk issues this election. You can't be reasonable with people. All they want are slogans. They want to shout and shout again. They want to shout Hurrah without listening to what you are saying, or to shout "Down with the bum" without listening to what you are saying.' It's true, isn't it? What's coming through the television or newspapers? The candidate's speeches or the heckling, ideas or the demonstration, the protesting, the paid clique in the front row or the semi-professional dissenters in the back row. In this campaign it has been difficult not only to sort out issues, but even to hear the issues. Many no longer want to hear them. A significant number of the working class will vote for a man whose record in office marks him as the enemy of their economic interest. A significant number of the intellectual class proposes to sit out an election, in the name of freedom, knowing that they are giving aid to a man determined to destroy the very freedom they claim to be championing. That is the way it is in 1968.

Let us try to understand why. In part the situation exists, I believe, because this campaign was over five months ago. In our two-party system a political campaign is essentially a campaign between an administration which runs on its record, and an out party, which challenges that record and says to us: the others have been leading us down the wrong road. We want to get back to the highway. Now, the polls and Senator McCarthy's victory in New Hampshire led the President to make his concession speech on the last Sunday in March. From then on there was no record over which this election could be fought. Mr. Johnson saved his ego from a bad bruising and made his graceful entry into the history books more

likely; but by doing his thing, by withdrawing from the campaign, he did the nation a disservice. We needed a record against which to judge a party and the claims each party is making. What we have had since March is a mad scramble by office seekers seeking political advantage. It has been an ice cream and lollipop campaign; to every group, those things which the group most wants. Senator Thurman got his vice-presidential campaign. If Mr. Nixon wins, God keep him in good health. Mr. Daly got his convention in Chicago. God save us from any more such displays. Every group got a piece of the action. Candidates ceased to speak of the issues, they spoke only of the glory road and not of the cost of the trip. The issues became fuzzy and most of us developed the sick feeling that we were being manipulated. This campaign was shot down at an incredibility gap. No one was speaking honestly to us. I suspect that is the reason the two vice-presidential candidates have become so important in this campaign. Mr. Agnew may have the foot and mouth disease, but he is at least a genuine human being. Senator Muskie has spoken with a moderate common sense, a balance and an openness most of us have appreciated. Indeed, this is the first time in our history where a massive public relations campaign has been mounted by one of the parties hoping that the Presidential candidate could ride in on the vice-presidential candidate's coat tails.

Mr. Humphrey and his unwillingness to run in the primaries before Chicago, and Mr. Nixon, in his aloofness since Miami, have disturbed all of us. We need a quadrennial election campaign in order to re-inform ourselves to the problems of the nation and in order to re-acquaint ourselves with our national options. This campaign has not given us that opportunity. No one has spoken EMET, the simple, unvarnished common sense. Fortunately, Mr. Humphrey at least in these last several weeks has shaken himself loose of the leash which bound him to the White House and has begun to speak of the issue. Recently he has said some important

things about the price of progress, but I wonder how many are listening.

Frankly, Mr. Nixon's domestic policies confuse me. I fail to understand how cutting the Federal Budget, cutting taxes, and cutting some of the welfare programs, and turning others over to the private sector, and putting all our eggs in an employment program is going to solve the problems of the cities. There have been a number of studies of the rolls of public assistance which have shown that only ten in a hundred recipients are able-bodied men who could be put to work. The rest are mothers and children, the aged and the institutionalized, the blind, the infirm and the crippled who must remain on the public assistance no matter how many jobs are available. The cost of maintaining them and rehabilitating them is going to rise, not decrease. If we are at all serious about doing something about the blight of our cities, about the pollution of our air and of our water, about the need to rehabilitate those who have been educated inadequately, it is going to cost billions upon billions of dollars. You cannot hold out the carrot at the end of the stick and not be honest enough to tell the American people that there is a bill. Anybody who says America can solve these problems at little cost or at no cost while maintaining the same level of individual luxury and abundance that so many of our privileged citizens enjoy---lies.

We know our problems. We see them daily etched in the headlines. We hear the noise of the police sirens on our streets. If we want to solve these problems, for God's sake let us tell our leaders to stop painting a rosy picture which doesn't include sacrifice, citizenship, higher taxes and less special privilege.

I am tired of hearing so many say, "they" want too much too fast. Always, "they" want too much too fast. All "they," the critics want is lower taxes, a higher pay check, the privilege of saying who can live on their street, the best

education for their child, and security for their family. But "they" want too much too fast and I am tired of paying the taxes for it.

I don't know if Mr. Nixon will manage to throw away the tremendous advantage with which he entered this campaign. But, if he does, it would be for one reason only. The American people do not want a leader of Olympian aloofness. They want somebody who will talk common sense. As the young people put it, 'tell it as it is,' not, 'give out with the platitudes.'

I have long since come to feel that the basic judgment which must be made in a Presidential campaign is a judgment on the conduct of foreign policy. On the domestic scene the President can suggest and clarify issues but ultimately it is up to Congress. Congress really makes the social policy of the nation, but not our foreign policy. Mr. Truman involved us in Korea; Mr. Kennedy involved us in the Bay of Pigs; Mr. Johnson escalated the war in Viet Nam. Mr. Fulbright may cavil after this initiative and complain that Congress was not consulted, but ultimately the kind of deliberate debate social legislation receives can not be held in the foreign policy field; this is the prerogative and the responsibility of the President.

I am not disturbed that the foreign political issues have not been discussed by either candidate. I do not know where either of them stands on the basic issues which confront this nation as a world power. Oh yes, there has been a lot of talk about negotiations in Paris. But that decision was made in March of 1968. It is not the issue this November. The polls in New Hampshire settled that issue. You can't debate the pace of a negotiation. The issue before the American people is how to prevent another Vietnam. What are the limitations of American power? Neither candidate has discussed whether or not the domino theory and the concept of building bases around the fringe of China and on the mainland of Asia or bases around the Communist world generally, is, in fact, a viable policy. After the

Middle East crisis, after Czechoslovakia, after a series of revolutions in Latin America and Africa, 1968 is a different year requiring different policies. But, how is it different and what new policies are required? What should be the guiding principle of our foreign policy? Have you heard either candidate discuss these principles? I haven't. I have heard Mr. Nixon speak of our having a Navy second to none. I heard him speak yesterday about peace through power, which I translate to be more of the arms race. But I have not heard him explain how America can assert its legitimate rights, yet avoid over-extending itself; maintaining its freedoms without plunging into a morass of another Vietnamese or Korean over-involvement. I have heard Mr. Humphrey speak hopefully about the passage of the nuclear proliferation treaty. I have heard him speak on the importance of negotiating in Viet Nam, but I have not heard him speak about the future directions of American policy. Will he disentangle us from Thailand? What are our long-range commitments to the Phillipines which now has aggressive political ambitions toward its Island neighbors to the south? How do we respond to another Czechoslovakia?

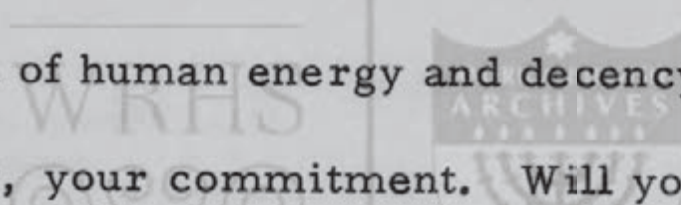
The way both candidates have handled Israel is a case in point. There is no Zionist issue in this campaign. Both candidates, as you know, have long records of friendliness toward the State of Israel. Both spoke out early, Mr. Nixon first, about the need to sell Israel supersonic fighters, the Phantom jets, in order to compensate for the re-arming by the Soviet Union of the United Arab Republic. That is all to the good. But this is in a sense the ice cream and lollipops that I have been talking about earlier. This isn't foreign policy. The basic issue is what can America do to bring stability to the Middle East? The basic answer remains that if America is at all concerned with Israel, it will give Israel certain rather permanent support, the same way the Soviet Union gives Egypt support, so that the Arab world will know that there it is never going to drive a wedge between the big democracy and the little one.

I haven't heard either candidate say this, nor for that matter did any of their predecessors say it either. What I am saying is simply this: Both candidates during the last weeks of the campaign must speak forcefully, directly to the issues - and show their respect for the wisdom of the American people. Maybe twenty years ago you could have a Madison Avenue competition into the Presidency. We have watched television sets for the last twenty years and every kind of publicity ploy has been tried on us. We are street wise. I think there is a counter reaction developing among us. We feel that we are being sold a President the way we are sold soap or detergent. We want a President who can advocate, who is principled, who has conviction. We want a President who can lead where we think this nation can go. We are disabused long since with the game of politics. We forget and forgive the inevitable oratorical embellishments of an election year. But only if there is a hard core of understandable commonsense - a platform, a principle, so that we know where a man stands specifically. If he wants to wear an Indian headdress or march in a Freedom Day for Ireland parade, we understand that. But let him be clear on the basic issues of foreign policy, race, finance and poverty.

I am glad to see Mr. Humphrey has begun to speak clearly, and loudly. He is beginning to emerge as a man of conviction. I pray that Mr. Nixon may yet do so, so that we can choose the man and the party with whose principles we agree. Whatever else we do, come this November, none of us can look himself in the mirror on the 6th unless he votes in the Presidential campaign, unless he votes against evil, Mr. Wallace, and unless he promises himself as he pulls the lever of the voting machine that this is not the end of my political duty. My country needs my skills, my energies and my convictions. I am one of those general built people who love freedom, expect justice and hope for the best. I have learned to

make do and to let live. I think it is time now my country heard my voice. Not the raucous revolutionary voice of the left. Not the ugly racist voice of the right, but the voice of deliberate common sense, the voice of determination, courage, a voice proud of the institutions of freedom, a voice which insists on sanity in political debate, the voice of one who is open to new ideas and will never accept the destruction of the political systems simply for the childish glee of destroying it.

Whoever is elected on the 6th of November, I will say Kaddish for this great nation. Our resources have not yet been tested. But I must say this to you: the hour grows late, the debate grows more bitter. The forces of ugliness and of violence grow stronger. Some chose to cop out four years ago. More will choose to do so this year. The only therapy I know for the diseases which afflict this nation is a transfusion of human energy and decency and commitment - your energy, your decency, your commitment. Will you be one of the donors?



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'It will always be in the day that men before us.'

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and some the candidate's - very much interesting democracy -
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candidate - & the same party is the same old game has
ruled for 20 years.

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WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
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only to the end. One member has not yet been
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The U.N. ~~was~~ at the ~~disposal~~ of World, The Council was
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1944

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The purpose of a printed law passed in the field of foreign affairs, for domestic purposes must be satisfied by Congress under a 100% provision as well as international decisions are made in a short time & few men - undoubtedly by the President, Mr. Tamm, and the very best of them like Mr. Brandeis, Mr. Cardozo, and Mr. Hughes, and the numerous cases at the May 7 Pass. There are certainly no other suitable persons

being forced to go along with the military, manipulation in U.N.
There are many good people who are probably more able -
not to be used in uncontrolled power - but surely they
never provided individual case to people a
can experience of the plausibility of foreign affairs. What
are these? The answer is: unplanned - what is
his sense of the contingency of human power? What is his
view of military, foreign affairs, of U.N., of NATO, of
disarmament, or war, or peace, What attention can be
prepared to the present and future. unplanned, then, are
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