



Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated.

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

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Election 1976, 1976.

Election 1976
Daniel Jeremy Silver
October 31, 1976

This president campaign is the first to be conducted under the campaign financing act of 1974. That act sets the limits that any individual may make to any single campaign and it also provides federal subsidies both for the primary and general elections for those candidates who qualify. Born in the days after the Watergate revelations when it became clear how much many of the major corporations of the United States have violated the law providing illegal and illicit contributions to the Republican campaign of 1972, this new campaign financing act was designed to eliminate some of the involvement of candidates with special interest groups, presumably to cut down the cost of elections.

It would be nice to report that candidates will spend less money this year, but in point of fact, both President Ford and Governor Carter will have spent slightly more money than Senator McGovern spent four years ago. What has been eliminated is the kind of paranoid extravagance which was exhibited in Nixon's campaign. What has been avoided is the need for candidates to go hand in hand to individuals and groups seeking the money, a major part of the money which they will need to run a campaign, and presumably this will reduce the obligations of the candidates to these groups. That's not yet proven. Special interest groups still have their private jets and their hunting lodges and they can still, many of them, turn out a large number of votes. As a matter of fact, an inordinate amount of money still in this campaign has come from special interest groups.

In the first nine months of 1976 the political action committee of the American Medical Association has already given over \$905,000 to various candidates and COPE, the committee on political education and the AFL-CIO has spent three quarters of a million dollars in direct subsidization of individual candidates, and nearly two million dollars in a massive voter registration drive in those areas and among those

groups who could be counted to vote for candidates of whom big labor approves. Often the reforms of one year work themselves out in strange ways. It is clear that the new Federal subsidy made it necessary for canvassers to be in the field before candidates, making sure that enough small individual contributions can be raised in the primaries so that a candidate can actually qualify for Federal subsidy, which suggests that it is often the paid public relations person who is the first and often the only personal contact between a candidate and a voter. It's also true that the distance between candidates and individuals even if they represent special interests has been enlarged because when you went to an individual with hat in hand with a request for funds you couldn't simply wave to him from a passing limousine. But, increasingly, in all ways, the distance has grown between the electorate and the elected, or those who want to be elected, and I think that's rather unfortunate for the long term health of our society. The campaign financing act of 1974 was designed as a reform act in order to eliminate some of the abuses that had been seen in earlier campaigns. It attacked the money problem. It did not attack the problem of length, the inordinate length of our campaigns. The primary was held in the state of New Hampshire on the 24th of February, this year, eight months ago. The final date for qualifying, for registering a candidate for that primary was December 25 of 1975, ten months ago. Governor Carter has been campaigning for the presidency for eighteen months. I'm sure he's incredibly tired, bone weary. And I know that most voters are tired, not only of Governor Carter, but of all the candidates. I'm sure I'm not the only one who reaches impatiently for his car radio whenever one of the innumerable and insufferable campaign advertisements comes on the air. We've had it with campaign rhetoric and hulabaloo. The inordinate length of the campaign has made for its fuzziness. Campaigns have tended to become frazzled

and unraveled and dissheveled. Candidates state their major themes early on in their first speeches, in their acceptance speeches, but they are surrounded by a horde of news hungry media people because an election, as we hold it now, is essentially a media event and the media people cannot feed to their newspaper and to our television news at seven o'clock the same broad statements over and over again. They want new things - news, hard news, and the candidates and/or their advisers have tried to present to them such news with the result that most Americans have been distracted from the central issues of the campaign. They've forgotten what they were if they were ever told and this campaign for the presidency has featured largely irrelevancies, trivial matters, peripheral issues, so much so that we have reduced this campaign to a beauty contest and most Americans would be hardpressed to tell you exactly how the two candidates differ on the major issues, the economy, civil rights, welfare, foreign policy and the like. It's all been said, they've said it, but what they've said was overlaid by this barrage of irrelevancy. For three weeks of this campaign we were told more about the problems of the unborn than^{of} those who are already born. We are filled with the news about the so-called abortion issue and if ever there was a trivial issue for a national campaign that was it. There were called in a delegation of the National Council of Roman Catholic Bishops, visited first with Governor Carter who in his years of public office has not been known to take a major stand one way or the other on the issue and Governor Carter came out four square against abortion, he disapproves of it, suddenly. But the bishops were not satisfied. Two weeks later they visited with President Ford and President Ford one-upped Governor Carter, he was not only opposed to abortion, but he was in favor of a constitutional amendment which would allow the states the rights to declare abortions illegal within their boundaries. In over a quarter century of public office President Ford has never favored such a constitutional amendment nor taken

this strong stand on the issue. Both men come from the heartland of Protestantism where family planning and abortion are not seen as major sins. Abortion news filled our headlines and then when the National Council of Bishops released the report of these two meetings with the clear indication that Catholics should take into serious consideration President Ford's stronger statement against abortion than Governor Carter, not only did they manage to anger family planning groups and women's groups of all kinds, civil libertarian groups of many of us who stand on the other side of the issue, but they managed to anger a vast number of Roman Catholics who are determined that no single issue, and certainly campaign rhetoric about no single issue, shall determine their vote, with the result that there was a hulabaloo even within the hierarchy of the Catholic church, charge and countercharge, denial and denials of denial, and the papers were filled with all of this and somehow we forgot the economy and we forgot detente and we forgot all the other issues of the campaign. It's gone that way. The major issues of this campaign have been the racist humor of Secretary Butz, the interview that Governor Carter gave to a raunchy magazine, those kinds of things and in the process, unfortunately, the issues were lost. In the process the candidates lost sight of the issues, not only we, and they began to think that all that was necessary was to find the one issue to which this group or that block of Americans responded and to outbid each other on the issue.

In the second of those television non-events which were called campaign debates, you recall that President Ford made the incredible gaff of saying that the countries of eastern Europe were not under Soviet domination. And that night Governor Carter scored some points by making the observation that it would be hard to tell Hungarian-Americans and Polish-Americans and Czech-Americans that their some-time homelands were not under Soviet domination. Now, the issue might have been left here

and it would have shown that the President was not as careful with his words as he might have been, not as up on foreign policy as we would expect a president to be and Governor Carter would have scored heavily, but Governor Carter couldn't leave it alone. And suddenly his staff was calling every turnverein and Sokol Hall looking for an audience in order to resurrect the issues of the early 1950's of the cold war, making it seem as if it was American policy to roll back Soviet sovereignty, domination, call it what you will, in eastern Europe. And the staff of President Ford was also calling every nationality hall, seeking for booking in order to assure the exiles of the children of exiles that he really did not mean what he had in fact said.

Somehow, in all of this, American people got the message that two candidates were being huckstered to us in the way Madison Avenue tries to sell us deodorant or soap. The American people got the idea that the two candidates, or at least their staffs, had very little respect for our mentality, that they still believed we took campaign rhetoric seriously, that, really, once you could find a group of so-called hyphenated Americans, Hungarian Americans or Italian Americans or Catholic Americans or Jewish Americans and you would speak to them of rolling back Soviet domination or of the abortion issue or of Israel that somehow you were guaranteed their vote provided you could come out a little more strongly than had your opponent.

Now, certainly, Israel is a major legitimate concern of the American Jewish community. And certainly the Jews of the United States gauge presidential candidates in terms of their long-term support or lack of it, understanding or lack of it, of the Middle East and all the issues involved there. And certainly we look to see whether or not these men have surrounded themselves with advisers and groups who are traditionally sympathetic to the Jewish community or not, but none of us are so foolish, however

intense our Zionism, our concern of Israel may be, to believe that what they say to us within ninety days of our going into the voting booth has any relevance to what they will do after they are elected and ensconced in the White House. We know enough to discount the President of the United States when he said that this administration moved heaven and earth to undo the worst excesses of the Arab boycott, we saw his minions on the Capital Hill scurrying around to see to it that corporate interests and the oil interests had their interests safeguarded. But, at the same time, we know that the clear, unequivocal statement of Governor Carter that he would wage economic warfare against the Arab states in order to void the boycott was so much hocus, that when he gets into Washington the State Department and the Commerce Department and the corporations of the United States will descend upon him as they have every right to do and he will moderate and he will adjust and he will in some ways find to compromise and to fudge what he said to us. But, unfortunately, as this campaign lengthened and came down towards the wire both candidates were being sent in more and more to these halls where special interest groups had assembled, and they were speaking more and more to a very narrow range of interests and less and less to the overarching interests which are of concern to us all. And the campaign got off the track and remains off the track. And when most of us vote Tuesday next we are not going to be very clear as to why we are voting because the candidates have not made it clear to us, really, where they stand.

Now length has had a deleterious effect on this campaign and so has the Madison Avenue flavor which surrounds it. Madison Avenue has taken over campaigns in the last twenty years or so, maybe thirty years, and the more the professional campaign

managers get their hands on campaigns, the greater the distance between those who are campaigning and the electorate because these Madison Avenue people are used to the hard sell. They think you can identify a single interest or a single market and gear your advertising to that interest and to that market. And even when they succeed in electing a president, that is, in getting our votes in sufficient numbers to elect a president, they somehow undo the president because they have reduced him and demeaned him sufficiently during the campaign that he really doesn't come in with a clear mandate for those things which he proposes to achieve. When you elect a beauty queen you're simply electing a person whom you think to have beauty in your particular eye at the moment. You're not saying anything about the quality of her mind or the quality of her person or the quality of her character and you elect a president on assumed qualities of personality, you're not electing him for his proposals, you're not electing him for the platform of his party, you're not electing him for the principles which he has enunciated. He'll be the weaker leader for it.

This campaign has been a campaign of missed opportunities. It's been a campaign of distance, growing distance, between the elected and the electors. Cleveland was visited by both candidates on Thursday of this week. Cleveland went on with its work as if neither candidate was in town. We're a community of two million people. The Democratic candidate timed his visit here for the lunch hour so that a few secretaries and gawkers might be found at East Sixth Street and Euclid and labor bussed in some of their people from outlying factory areas. Five areas later the President found himself at the heart of Cleveland, 53rd and Fleet St. Most of us don't ^{even} know where 53rd and Fleet St. is, and he was there because he was promised that there would be six shivering little girls dressed up in Czech, Polish and Hungarian costumes who

could present him flowers and some bread and some salt. Both men were determined not to speak to us, the two million people of Cleveland, but to create some images which could go out over the television cameras of the country to show that they were busy and active and concerned with eastern Europe or concerned with the inner city or whatever it may be. And when you watch a candidate's entourage descend you realize how nearly impossible it has become for a candidate to meet the people. Helicopters are overhead, secret service troops are in town two days ahead of time, halls are swept clean, there are snipers on every parapet, there's a phalanx of secret service around the candidates, and a herd, a horde, call it what you will, of media people with the cameras and the photographers and the microphones in the cars just behind, ready to surround the platform as soon as everybody plants himself there. And suddenly there appear the three or four local candidates who want their picture taken with the presidential candidate and then it's off to the next stop. The microphone hardly works. No one really listens because everyone knows that there's nothing to be said and that the bond which must exist in a democracy because our elected officials must be elected with the consent of the governed has been weakened, frayed. We have a sense that we're being manipulated, and that's a tragedy.

I had a man tell me the other day that he wasn't going to vote as a form of protest, as a way of saying you can't buy my vote, you've tried to put me down in this campaign and I'm not going to play your game and that's why I'm not voting. I suspect there's a good bit of that, the feeling among the electorate, because a strange thing happened on the way to November 2. The issue ceased to be this candidate or that candidate, what this man stands or what that man stands for, but we became the issue,

More columns and more media coverage was devoted to the so-called apathy of the electorate, our indecisiveness, our indecision, than to the principles and the platforms of the candidates themselves. And all kinds of propositions and explanations were put forward to say why only seventy one percent of us in the United States who are eligible to vote manage to qualify themselves to vote next Tuesday, down four percent from 1972, and that despite massive registration drives, and that despite reforms of the registration rules which are to a degree hard to conceive.

I remember once falling off the registration roles during the time that I was in the military and when I came back I had to find my way all the way downtown to the Board of Elections six months before the election in order to qualify myself for the next general election. In Cuyahoga County this Summer and Fall there were two hundred and eighty places, two hundred and eighty local neighborhood places, where people could go and could register and they could register up to a fortnight before the campaign itself, and yet, only seventy-one percent of people qualified to vote in the United States are actually eligible to vote because they've registered. And you may recall, that at our first First Friday of this year, George Gallup, Jr. suggested from this pulpit that this may be the first election in the twentieth century in which less than half of those who have the right to cast a ballot will in fact cast that ballot. I suspect he'll be wrong. There has been a growth of interest in voting the last several weeks. But, clearly, apathy and indifference and indecisiveness has been part of the ethos of the American electorate these last weeks and months. The question asked is why? Why were we having so much trouble making up our minds? One popular explanation had to do with Watergate, that long list of scandals, crimes, affected our elected leaders in Washington

in the last four years, beginning with Watergate and continuing right on down to the latest scandal involving bribes paid directly by the government to the Republic of South Korea. There's been very little humor in this campaign and the only good story I've really heard is the Watergate kind of story. It involves a group of school children who were taken to visit the Senate of the United States and they arrived shortly before the Senate convened. They had a guide and as the senators were coming in they suddenly saw a man, rather formally garbed, coming from behind the rostrum and approaching the podium and the microphone and one of the students asked the guide, who is this man, and he was told that's the chaplain of the Senate. And the youngster said, well, what does he do? Does he pray for the Senate? And the response was, well, he comes here every morning and he looks out at the senators and he prays for the country. There is a growing cynicism or skepticism about the honesty of the elected officials, but I suspect that that cynicism and skepticism has always been part of the American ethos. We're not romantics. Elections have been bought throughout our history. There's been bribery, there's been corruption. We are not children who believe in the saintliness of mankind.

One other popular explanation of our indecision or our apathy might be called the twiddledy-dee and twiddledy-dum syndrome. This has two parts to it. One line of argument says that two parties put up two rather indifferent men, men who lack charisma or lustre or great skill, great appeal, and essentially we're having trouble choosing between two pieces of shoddy goods. I don't know, as I look back upon the candidates we've had, there have not been many who have been very much better. Another part of that explanation which is favored by those who argue that there needs to be a radical reconstruction of the political order, suggests that we have essentially are two candidates of adequate talent, but who essentially represent parties that represent the same interests,

that. America is governed ^{big}by business and ^{big}labor and a number of other groups and that these groups control the major parties and the parties put up men with slightly differing views, but essentially they are the same view. And proof, if proof there be for this position, is developed from the idea, from the fact that the younger the voter the less likely that person is to vote and the assumption is that these are the people who are the most idealistic, the people who are the most disenchanted, with the way we go about the business of governing themselves, they don't want to be part of the system. Well, it's a fact of our history that as long as there has been voting in the United States there's been an inverse ratio in the percentage ^{of voters} between one's age and one's youth and the vote, that is, the younger the person in every election the less likely he was to vote. That's not a new phenomenon. And I suspect, I believe, that one of the great strengths of our American system, one of the facts which has allowed us to develop pragmatically rather than to break up into divisive ideologies has been the fact that we have a broad consensus, extreme on the left and extreme on the right, ^{but} essentially a very very large middle, and that the party system has allowed the middle to find candidates of slightly or significantly in some instances differing positions, and that the in party has been willing, if outvoted, to relinquish office without riot or push or rebellion or revolution because everyone could be assured that America would evolve and reform rather than move ahead by frantic, frenetic fits and starts.

I think that the explanation for the apathy of our electorate is the fact that both candidates in both parties misread us and misunderstood us and put us down. I sense in America a great willingness to come together for common purpose. The giddy days of prosperity of the fifties and the giddy days of messianic conviction of the sixties are behind us. We know we face many problems crying out for reform, for change, for solutions if there be solutions. We know we're going to have to tighten our belt. We're

going to have to do things differently. We know that we cannot be as careless with the national resource. We know that there are responsibilities as well as rights. We know that we cannot remake the world overnight. Those perceptions have come home to the American people. Some wrote about a sourness in America - I don't sense it - I sense a new devotion, a new dedication, a new concern, a new sobriety, and neither candidate managed to speak to these new feelings, to this new concensus, and this new seriousness. They tried an old-fashioned to outbid each other when we were looking for people who would say honestly to us either I don't know or not less taxes but more in order to achieve the things which you're talking about achieving, or more concern with human welfare and more concern with the economy both at a cost and recognize it. Neither candidate, I think, was willing to face head on the real deep profound concerns and crises which face America and which will face America in the future. They tried to con us and we're too savvy. They tried to put us down when we should have been brought up, lifted up, and the issues lifted up before us. Great opportunity was lost in this campaign by both candidates.

There was to be a great national debate. Two men were given nearly five hours to speak to the American people and to speak to the issues which confront the American people, but, unfortunately, the so-called great debates were rigidly organized; there was minimal time allowed for each question; it was organized as a press conference, not a discussion or debate; the questions were fired from here or there and each question, significant or insignificant, was given the same amount of time for an answer; and instead of a debate going on between the two men and the major issues being gone over again and again, questions raised, answers raised, charges raised, issues raised, with a give and take, a process in which we could see both the quality of the mind of each candidate and the reasoning, the way in which the man goes about

working out his answers, we got instead questions, three minute answers which had been carefully programmed by the lackeys and the minions and the experts who do this kind of programming for the major candidates, so much so that I had the sense that all that was happening was that we had before us two roller pianos and every time a question was answered, a proper disc was put in and it began to spin and you could see the man reading the answer and then the answer from over here or the rebuttal was another disc and the discs weren't touching, the music wasn't in the same key. We really didn't have discussion. There was no growth of perception. There was no insight. All we had was proof that both men are quick studies, good memorizers, they can assimilate quite an amount of fact and both were eager to do nothing which would reveal themselves to be as human as we are. You remember those famous thirty minutes, standing there, in correct silence, that's not what people do. People talk and people make mistakes when they talk, mistakes of grammar, mistakes of fact sometimes. That kind of conversation is human and we would have responded to it. There was no humor in this campaign. There was no humanity in this campaign. What there was was two things called candidates who were being professionally sold to the American people, ^{and} both men I believe to be better than the image they were allowed to project, and that's part of the tragedy of this campaign. Neither man was allowed by his advisers or by the media, by the demands of the media, to project himself as a human being, put his real face forward.

I'm going to vote next Tuesday. I'm going to vote as a statement, a personal commitment to the political system which is ours. It's a great system; ^{it's} a system which works and guarantees our freedom and a measure of prosperity, and I think that it's important that we vote as a statement that we believe in the system. I'm going to vote next Tuesday because I believe that there are significant differences between the

candidates even though they didn't manage to project these to the American people. One man is much more of an interventionist in economic affairs, and one man is much more likely to trust the mechanisms of the marketplace. One's man perceptions begin with human need, another's begin with the needs of business and labor. Each man speaks from a visible, definable, political base and it's not hard to understand the needs and the priorities of that base. I'm going to vote next Tuesday because I believe that either man is as well qualified to be president of the United States as most others who might have been placed before us. I am not a believer in The Leader, capital T, capital L. I believe the greatness of America lies ^{with} its people, the whole range of its elected representatives. Most of the problems which face America today are not problems that a leader can solve for us. One of the basic facts about this election it's one of the first in recent memory, in the last twenty or twenty-five years, where there's not been a single overriding international issue. The problems are essentially domestic, economic, social, racial and here the president of the United States does not rule or even significantly govern. Public welfare measures, the tax laws, are initiated in and begun by the Congress. It is we the people who determine how our communities will be governed and what will be the nature of the relationship between groups and racism in the community. It is in the domestic area that the president of the United States is the weakest. It is in the domestic area that the institutions, the bureaucracies, the corporations, the unions, are the strongest and the institutions the most complex. The real power of a president lies in foreign policy and perhaps the greatest tragedy of this campaign is that neither man has been able to make clear what his foreign policy would be. We have no idea of what Mr. Ford's foreign policy will be once his entire foreign policy, Mr. Kissinger, leaves the cabinet. And we have no idea of what Governor Carter's foreign policy will be because he hasn't really talked about it, he has no experience, no way of proving

him in this area. We have to go on faith that somehow the American interest will be preserved. The men have talked about the domestic issues, the complicated issues, they've not been clear on them, but there are differences and each of us will on Tuesday next vote for the man who most closely approximates the interests and the hopes and the vision which is ours. But I hope when you go to the polls Tuesday next, and I trust you will go, that you won't go with any heaviness of heart, as if somehow you're being demeaned by entering the poll and voting for either of these men. You're not. They're good, ordinary, garden variety Americans. They both seem to be honest men, both religious men, both men of family, loyalty to their marriages, their children seem to have grown well. They're both men who have some claim on respectability and no one knows when a man enters the White House whether he will meet the challenges which will be his. No man was ever elected to the White House with greater preparation or greater intellectual ability than Woodrow Wilson and he was unequal to many of the challenges. No man was ever elected to the White House with less training for this kind of administration and less intellectual ability than Harry Truman and he was equal to many of those challenges. When you elect a person you never know exactly how the mix of his personal qualities will come down when the fire is on the stove and the fat's on the fire. And that's why on Tuesday next I'm going to vote and I'm going to pray.

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1890

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to the Board of Directors (what) to replace - The same
of full representative new rules - Capital Resources
at 280 sites and up to 3 months before
day



Value capital has been taken as the way of
some great work - an internal def. m.
Cuba based in many ways as one
reproduction of the capital - the same
we need a new brown in Washington, cutting

the society has been working with a view to
the of the rights of the Jewish people
and the Jewish community in the United States
to the Jewish people in the United States
of the Jewish people in the United States
of the Jewish people in the United States
of the Jewish people in the United States

and, in the United States, the Jewish people
are in a position to be able to do so
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elated, they represent ~~some~~ my view (10)
 differences to some privileged group. ~~which~~ are
 noted ~~concern~~ for the ~~entire~~

2. a case ~~can~~ is ~~the~~ ad ~~for~~ any ~~of~~
the COM FORTUNE - ~~any~~ present ~~based~~ on ~~the~~
content of the present the present

Concurrence -- that concurrent method days on
the year, just once a month usually seen in
Conte's Time idea was also valued to compare
method in open a page to see if it was the
valued to report method on method reporting
right as last

Pray dear, 2 weeks and 10 days
receiving them -- and that makes 10 and
more 100 2 weeks and 10 days

position
the Ford - ~~can~~ ~~be~~ ~~used~~ - ~~much~~
better of the market place. ~~Learn~~
of people - ~~interested~~ of ~~improved~~ reflection

low costs - more efficient - a selection
of primary - lower cost
energy & more rapid
improved selection

Yes, there are other who are excluded because
"everyone is eligible in a way"

Yes, there are other who are excluded because
the current law and need a new

WRHS
but, 2 hundred thousand people are not in the zone
Army and unpaid judges - - need a
do not have any way to get it done
Compulsory and unpaid judges are not in the zone

Just as electoral as the zone is

SAD PENDING

Successful will make part of the zone
candidate is eligible to run as a person

7 am going to ride Tuesday -

12 days ride & before that was when
I was in the same old. when - for several and
of the morning, before present - but never -
trav - present - when & present trav - and

then present - unpresent

and unpresent and unpresent and unpresent

being offered and unpresent and unpresent
unpresent - unpresent and unpresent and unpresent
unpresent and unpresent and unpresent and unpresent

to be going to ride Tuesday and unpresent
unpresent and unpresent, and unpresent and unpresent

think and unpresent and unpresent