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The Year in Review, 1981.

The Year In Review Daniel Jeremy Silver January 4, 1981

Only in this city would it be necessary for a rabbi to say as he passes the year in review that the most important event of last year was not the victories of the football team which allowed them to play in this kind of bitter cold, but in a sense that hard work and the rather pointless results suggest something about the nature of the last year. It was a year of hard work, frenetic activity, great frustration and not much success. Throughout the year I found myself thinking of the book of Ecclesiastes from which I read this morning. From the question which ends that simple little poem which suggests to us that there's a certain futility to life, things do not really move ahead, progress. There's a time to build and there's a time to tear down, there's a time to sow, there's a time to rend, there's a time to be born and there's a time to die. That final line, to what profit then is all man's work? What's the long range benefit to all of our effort. And the more I turn the mood of Ecclesiastes over in my mind, it's a book written by someone who was worldly and much experienced and worldly wise and worldly weary. I felt that it captured so much of the mood of our times.

Somewhere in the book I came across the phrase, wisdom is better than strength but one sinner destroys much good, and I thought of the paranoid with a gun who has been shooting black children in Atlanta. I thought of all those years of determined and patient effort by tens of thousands of Americans to overcome racial prejudice and the way one paranoid with one gun can poison a city and disturb the relations between the races of a nation. And I thought of the events in San Salvador, the poor little Latin American country which has known centuries of oligarchy and misrule where finally a year and a half ago the oligarchy was overthrown and a moderate government elected by democratic procedures. Moderation can mean inaction or it can mean slow and deliberate progress. This government has nationalized the banks and this government has broken up the largest of the big land monopolies, but there are in San Salvador and throughout Latin America, throughout the Third World, idealogues

of the left and the right, men armed with guns, self-willed men, unelected, responsive to nothing but to their own sense of duty and self-interest who are determined to have their way and who are making it impossible for such a government to govern. The question is simply, will it be the right or the left which will force the peasantry, the poor of San Salvador and Guatemala and the other countries in the area to serve them and their interests.

We're a world which has much wisdom. We know what should be done in many cases but a small group of terrorists or a single man with a gun or a fanatic group of idealogues can unseat reason and do great harm. We live in a time which is full of passion and of ideology and of anger and of violence, so despite our vast libraries and our giant computers, in spite of all that we know and can spin out of our own minds as to the way in which society ought to go, the economy ought to be directed, politics ought to be managed. We seem somehow trapped, trapped by passion, trapped by the eccentricities of human emotions and feelings, trapped by the power of a small group among us to unseat reason, to sin and to have their own way.

What profit then to man from all of his labors? When I wished one of you this year a happy new year he answered me, let is only be no worse than the last. And fortunately that sense of reduced expectation, that sense that we're running in place or perhaps running in place and losing place, earning more money but having less buying power, that sense that the world is someriew running out from underneath us. It's part of the mood of our times.

Nineteen-eighty was a time when no one seemed to be able to achieve anything, any end, successfully. It began with the hostages in Iran. It ended with the hostages in Iran. And there were seven less Americans in Iran at the end of the year than at the beginning of the year. Six had not been caught by the Iranian scalled students, they had hidden out in the Canadian Embassy. You will recall the Canadian ambassador smuggled them out with his own staff. One came down with a mysterious disease which troubled the Iranians and they released him to the west, but

the fifty-two remained and whatever American policy was, and it was often difficult to describe what it was, it was not successful in freeing these fifty-two. By the beginning of last year we had made clear to the world that we were willing to, in effect, pay ransom for the release of the fifty-two. We should, in fact, have been claiming indemnity. We were willing to pay ransom. We were willing to negotiate. We were talking about being patient, but it was to no avail. And when patience seemed to run out and we attempted a commando attack to release the captives it was bungled and we went back to bargaining and we found again that there was no way to achieve our ebjective. Much effort, much energy, much frustration, little to show for it.

Nineteen-eighty was a year in which the boat people were again in the news. During 1979 the boat people had been from east Asia. During 1980 we brought into this country about 180,000 east Asian refugees as our part of a world relief attempt to free the Cambodians and the South Vietnamese from the poverty, from the displaced person camps in that part of the world. But last year the problem was the West Indian boat people, 110,000 Cubans who got onto the small crafts in Cuba and crossed the ninety miles of water to south Florida, and the ten thousand Haitans who crossed the slightly larger distance to come to south Florida; and the half a million Mexicans who walked across the Rio Grande to come to the American southwest. It was clear during 1980 that we had no seriously conceived immigration policy, and on the matter of the boat people the President was conflicted. On the one hand he had those humane instincts which said that America ought to be the land of the Statue of Liberty which is a land which welcomes those who flee from persecution. But, on the other hand, he had no way that he could devise to separate those who came as legitimate refugees from the azhan provocateurs and the prisoners that Mr. Castro was happily dumping on the United States. He dithered in Washington and south Florida suffered. There were no plans, really, to successfully take in this avalanche of refugees, to disperse them, to provide occupation, training, housing, shelter, all the things that any immigrant needs. Hundreds of them ended in our prisons. We didn't know what to

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do with them. It was a sad spectacle, a spectacle which redounded to no one's credit. But to Americans it was a symbol in many ways of an administration which was very active and very full of plans but seemed unable to bring any plan of any kind to fruition. And so in November when Americans went to the polls, at least one in two of us went to the polls, we voted out of office a man whose basic decency we tended not to suspect but whose good judgment we tended to suspect, a man who did not seem to be able to separate the forest from the trees and we elected a man who spoke to us simply and directly who has a great desire for simple answers to the complex problems. We were tired of being frustrated, not knowing where we were going, moving zig zag in international affairs and foreign policy and the like. A man was voted out more than another man being voted in; most Americans that faced the new year January 20 simply praying that Mr. Reagan will have wisdom to go with his simplicity and that he will have judgment to go with the very forceful expression of the national will which he was able to utter.

And my favorite New Year's phrase, I don't remember where I read it, was the one that said, ring out the old, ring in the older for we had elected as President of the United States the oldest man ever to be elected to that office in the history of the nation, but the United States was not the only country caught up in energy, activity, frustration and lack of success. It was only the year before the last new years that the Russians invaded Afghanistan. They found themselves mired in their own Vietnam. We don't know the cost to the Russians in manpower or equipment of this year-long counter-insurgency effort but we do know, as it was with American troops in the 1960's in Vietnam, that the Russians occupied the cities and the roads and insurgents occupied the countryside and the hills, and the major equipment and the high technology of the Soviet troops do not seem able to destroy the pockets of insurgent resistance, the takeover of that mountainous country.

Our reaction is much of the same. The President said that we would not ship to the Soviet sixteen million metric tons of grain which had been ordered. The

Argentinians would not go along and they picked up the delivery schedule and later in the year, because America had not been able to make good the embargo, Australia and Canada agreed to make up the rest of the Soviet grain purchase needs. And we announced that we would embargo the sale of high technology computers and drilling equipment to the Soviet Union, but because we had announced the embargo without consulting our allies and because our allies are what our allies are the French and the West Germans quickly agreed to sell high-technology computers and drilling equipment to the Soviet Union. And so we were reduced to saying that we would boycott the Moscow Olympics and boycott it we did, and the Moscow Olympics went on in any case to the delectation of some few thousand spectators and tens of thousands of Russian security police. Mr. Brezhnev probably gained some consolation by the fact that the Olympics were able to go on, but he could gain no sense of accomplishment from what was happening in eastern Europe, particularly in Poland, where he faced his inability to take effective action. In Poland, as you know, the workers struck, particularly in northern seaports. The Polish economy is in shambles. There has been a lack of food and basic staples; there's been inflation, lack of consumer items; and that ultimate anamoly occurred in that Communist nation whose government is presumably devoted to the well-being of the laboring classes, found itself suddenly confronted by the laboring classes demanding the right to organize themselves into a movement called Solidarity, a labor union, an independent labor union organized because they could not trust the Communist Party government. Idealogues cannot tolerate this kind of challenge to Marxian dialectics and the Soviets closed the east German border and they marched their troops and countermarched them in eastern Europe and in Russia, but for many reasons Mr. Brezhnev found it impossible, or has found it as yet impossible, to cross the border, to take the situation in hand, to do what he must want to do and that is to break the Solidarity movement and reduce the laboring classes again to subservience to the Communist Party largely, I suspect, because he does not know how he would be able to survive the conquest, how many tens of thousands of Russian troops

would be on police duty for years to keep the Polish population in line.

So Mr. Carter had his frustrations, Mr. Brezhnev had his frustrations, and throughout our world there was inflation and unemployment. National economies were growing at a much reduced rate from the fifties and from the sixties and early seventies. And even in that one part of the world which should be enjoying all the good things of life, the OPEC world, things were not going the way that they should be, there was little success. A hundred billion dollars of wealth was transferred from the free world and from the Third World to the OPEC world last year. That world should be enjoying a renaissance, security and wealth, all the good things. The ground work should be there for the massive development of these nations as nations which enjoy advanced technology and industry and commerce of all kinds, but what do we see? We saw on the one hand the wealthiest of these nations, Saudi Arabia, fearing for its life, spending much of the wealth that was coming into it to hire mercenaries from Pakistan to keep the oil workers in line, competing with the United States for various kinds of advanced military equipment to guarantee its borders. We saw Iraq and Iran fall into a war in which was seemingly enjoying grinding the others' oil lines and oil refineries into the dust from which they had originally sprouted. We saw Syria and Jordan fighting a battle of words which threatened during the latter part of the year to become an active war. We saw Libya and Algeria fall out over the control of the polissario, the insurgency movement in southern Morocco. We saw the Libyans begin to move against black Africa and conquering the northern part of Chad. We saw insurgency in Iran itself, the Kerds, the Arabs, moving against the Shiites. We saw insurgency in Iran, the Kerds and the Shiites moving against the alowie. We saw north Yemen and south Yemen again heating up their border war. Frustration, tension, violence, war, instability, and so the great wealth which is being transferred from the free world, our monies and the little wealth that is being transferred from the impoverished world and is preventing that world from having any opportunity to emerge from its backwardness is being wasted in rivalries and competetion of all kinds, being salted away in Swiss banks and gold bars instead of even that part of the world

enjoying the renaissance which great wealth should bring to it.

Nineteen—eighty was a time of tension and of danger and of war. And when we look from international affairs to domestic affairs we found little in our country or any country to take great stock of pride in. It was not a year in which America moved in a major way towards a solution of any of our domestic problems.

More importantly, it was a year in which we recognized that most of our problems did not permit the kind of utopian solutions which we had once envisaged.

Take the question of immigration which I've already raised. We want to help the world but what limits does our nation have? Can we continue as we did throughout the 1970's to take in perhaps ten million people, ten million semi-skilled, many illiterate peoples. About eight percent of our population in the work force is out of work. Now, obviously, it need not be an either/or situation, open doors or closed doors, but clearly the kinds of situation that we were faced with from Cuba and Haiti when people were simply dumped on our shores, when we simply took them in without thought to the social cost, the economic cost or the employment cost involved, without thought to their own purposes in coming, for saying some came here to act in the refugee communities as agents of a foreign government clearly. All of this showed that there needs to be a forthright, hopefully humane, immigration policy which will take into consideration all of the complex needs of the society.

We've talked a great deal in the last decade about an economy of limits. We're beginning to realize what this means, that we can't have all the guns we want and all the butter that we want. We can't take in all the immigrants we'd like to and have full employment. We can't provide all the welfare and government services we'd like to provide and have lower taxes. You can't have everything that you want in the economy of limits. This new administration must clearly face some very hard decisions as to where priorities will be placed, what these priorities will be. In the months and the years ahead it's going to be for all of us a question not of more but of less. Mr. Reagan was elected on a platform which promised a reduction

in our taxes, but everyone of us knows that as of the first of the year our Social Security taxes have already been decreed that they shall go up. And we know that Ohio had a 500 million dollar budget deficit and our taxes will be going up. We know that the city of Cleveland has an eight million dollar deficit and fifty million dollars in debts and those taxes must go up. And we know that if Mr. Reagan is to make good on his pledge to increase defense spending and it is true, as a Rand study showed during last year, that the Soviets spent a hundred billion dollars more than the United States during 1970 on armaments. It is true that we're going to spend more on arms and there's going to be less to be spent on social welfare programs and other areas of the economy. And if we spend less money on those areas of the economy there will be many who will be hurt, those least able to survive, least able to make their voices heard, and the amount of frustration in the society will rise and the tension between classes and between races will increase and there will be a spillover into the increase of crime and there will be a social cost to pay which will not be seen on our tax forms but it will be seen in the amenity and the gentleness and the decency of our lives.

We face a future not of more but of less. Now there were those who looked on last year and saw the problems as I tried to lay them out and who analyzed the problems, I suspect, as I would analyze them that basically the economic problems which face the nation, and almost that Trows domestically flows from a lack of moving prosperity, all this throughout the world is to be laid at the feet of two major causes: the high cost of energy, the deficit in our national economy in terms of international trade caused by energy; and by the population explosion and the parallel explosion of expectations. You can't take a hundred billion dollars out of the economies of the western world and expect prosperity. The growth of the gross national product of the various countries and of the western hemisphere have diminished. Less jobs are being created. It's increasingly difficult for companies to compete. There is less money to invest in capital and new industry, a slowdown, a snowballed slowdown in the economy. And beyond that the world seems incapable, unwilling to bring

the population explosion to an end. We finally had our dessenial census, whether the figures be correct or not, the country has grown by some 20 or 25 percent in a decade, and that growth has been largely in those areas of the society which have the least money, least ability to provide for their young, and there are probably another ten million or more illegal immigrants in the United States, and the United States is not really an overpopulated country by any means. The world is and we have still the great empty spaces. When you look across our world in the last century you find not a 20 percent increase in population but a 40 to 45 percent increase in the world's population. And you find that we have twice as many illiterates in the world in 1980 as we had in 1970; and you find major churches of the world still opposed theologically, because of medieval theological doctrine, to programs of birth control. You find the world unwilling to face up to the sheer fact of numbers. Numbers require space. Numbers require food. Numbers require shelter. You have to provide for them, jobs and opportunity. The jobs, opportunity, the food is not infinitely expandable, but it's not only a matter of numbers. It's a matter of want, of expectation. Once upon a time the world consisted of a small elite and an urban proletariat and a peasantry, largely peasantry, who had very few wants and expectations. The children expected to live in the misery that their parents lived, but now there's a transistor. Now there's a television. Now there are movies. Now there are mass communications and everyone wants what anybody else has and everybody can't have what everybody else has. Though it may be just to say everybody should have the same you can't simply take up wealth and chop it up in equal portions and say here is yours. Wealth must be produced, and though it's clear that the United States and the other prosperous nations of the western world will have proportionately less in the years ahead, there is no easy way to divert this money elsewhere, and when it is diverted as in the case of OPEC it doesn't necessarily add up to the sum total of happiness for tens of millions of people. The OPEC countries are the most underpopulated countries on the face of the earth, the countries that need it the least and the countries who seem

to be able to handle it hardly at all.

More expectations, higher expectations, wanting expectations, more people, more mouths, more illiterates, less with which to cope with massive social problems. That's the reality, the cold winter reality of the 1980's.

Now, it's not a hopeless reality, by any means. We have wisdom. We know some of the things that can be done. There are programs, economic, social, educational and otherwise which can be put in place. Wise men and women, when the going gets tough roll up their sleeves and get going. The book of Ecclesiastes tells us that sweet is the sleep of the toiler whether he has much or he has little. In the 1980's more will be demanded of us in terms of energy, in terms of citizenship, in terms of commitment. In many ways that's to our good because many of us have gotten awfully unhappy living lives turned in on themselves. There's plenty of work out there and there's a great deal of satisfaction that can come to us as we face work as best we can to solve the problems of the world for the problems will not be solved in any utopian way. And the great great problem which faces our world, and I don't know whether it can be resolved, is the gap between expectations and possibilities. We cannot provide enough for everyone. It's a fact of life. We cannot do everything that needs to be done to bring equal justice into this, the largest and most prosperous country on the face of the earth, much less across the globe.

Will people be satisfied with reasonable progress, with a reasonable resolution of their needs? Are expectations so fueled, passions so high, anger so deep that nothing short of bringing the whole house, the whole temple down on us as Samson once brought down on the temple on the Philistines, to satisfy anyone?

San Salvador suggests that the solution may be, in a sense, a form of national suicide. That's not the only possible scenario, but it means if we're going to walk any other way that we must walk with reason and with strength and with conviction, with determination and not give in to passion or superstition. One of the things that worried me most this past week or so was a strange little phenomenon

that I began to read in the public press all manners of pontification by those who look into crystal balls and those who write horoscopes and the Jean Dixons of our world about the future. Somehow, Mt. St. Helen and the earthquakes in Algeria and the earthquakes in southern Italy were held to be evil portends of the times. How credulous have we become? How much have we given over reason to a desire to feel that somehow nature is conspiring against us? No one is conspiring against us. We are. We, the human race, are conspiring against the human race. Judaism rests upon a very simple proposition. The meteors mean nothing. The way the planets pass each other in their cycles means nothing. There is no such thing as a destiny written in the stars. If you are willing and obedient, God says, you shall eat of the good of the earth and if you're selfish and self-centered and committed to goals which are illegitimate you shall be destroyed from off the face of the earth.

The future is in our hands. Ecclesiastes was dispeptic. He was an old man, world-weary, yet he, too, recognized that life goes on and life is not fated. The end of the matter all having been said hear the Lord and obey His commandments for that is the whole of it. Fear God and have faith and do the right and we'll muddle through. We will - provided - provided we lower our expectations and provided we recognize the tremendous demands that are going to be made on us in the years that lie ahead.

I'm glad that this New Year's I don't have to say to you shanah towa, may it be only a good year, it should be a good year for all of us, but it's up to us to make it so.

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