

WHO IS A CONSERVATIVE?

The Prophets, Thomas Jefferson, and Goldwater

High Holidays, 1964 - 5725 - Beth Am, South Miami - Rabbi Herbert M. Baumgard,
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(Note: This sermon is intended merely for the members of my congregation to whom I have the responsibility to speak out on all issues deeply affecting their lives as Jews and Americans. No part of this sermon may be used without the express permission of the author. It is not intended for distribution among the general population, and is available only to members upon request.)

IN RECENT MONTHS, WE HAVE HEARD MUCH TALK ABOUT A NEW, DYNAMIC, POLITICAL CONSERVATISM. THIS NEW ALLIANCE OF RIGHT WING REPUBLICANS AND SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS HAS ASSUMED THE CHARACTER OF A RELIGIOUS CRUSADE. COMPOSED OF A MINORITY OF AMERICANS WHO ARE EXCEEDINGLY MILITANT AND VOCAL, THE GROUP HAS SUCCEEDED, TO THE SURPRISE OF EVERYONE BUT THEMSELVES, IN CAPTURING CONTROL OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AND NOW THREATENS SERIOUSLY TO SEIZE CONTROL OF OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTION. AS JEWS, WE HAVE A SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE MAN WHO IS THE PROPHET OF THIS NEW MOVEMENT, FOR HE HAPPENS TO HAVE A JEWISH NAME AND A JEWISH FATHER. HE IS NOT WORSHIPPING TODAY IN A SYNAGOGUE, HOWEVER. HE DID HIS PRAYING YESTERDAY MORNING IN AN EPISCOPALIAN CHURCH. AS HARRY GOLDEN PUTS IT, "IT IS THE LUCK OF THE JEWS THAT WHEN A JEW IS NOMINATED FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES, HE TURNS OUT TO BE AN EPISCOPALIAN."

IT HAS BEEN SAID OF THE JEWS THAT THEY ARE, AT ONCE, A PROGRESSIVE GROUP, PUSHING FOR CHANGE, AND ON THE OTHER HAND, A HIGHLY-CONSERVATIVE GROUP, MOST RESISTANT TO CHANGE. THERE IS A LARGE MEASURE OF TRUTH IN THIS STATEMENT. THE JEWS OF RUSSIA TODAY ARE A THORN IN THE SIDE OF THE SOVIET UNION BECAUSE THEY OBSTINATELY REFUSE TO SURRENDER THE CUSTOMS OF THEIR FATHERS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE JEWS OF ISRAEL ARE PIONEERING IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FORMS.

THE HEBREW PROPHETS WHO APPEARED IN JUDEA AND ISRAEL IN THE NINTH CENTURY BCE AND THEREAFTER, ARE AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE OF THE CURIOUS CONSERVATISM DISPLAYED BY JEWS. IN THE 250 YEARS SINCE KING SAUL, A NATION ONCE COMPOSED OF 12 INDEPENDENT TRIBES, HAD BECOME A HIGHLY CENTRALIZED NATION. AT ONE TIME, EACH TRIBE HAD ITS OWN RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CENTER, BUT GRADUALLY, JERUSALEM BECAME THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS CENTER, AND IT WAS CONTROLLED BY A HIGHLY ORGANIZED PRIESTHOOD. SIMILARLY, THE TRIBES SLOWLY SURRENDERED THEIR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND MERGED INTO A CLOSELY KNIT NATION GOVERNED BY A SINGLE RULER. TO BE SURE, THE KING WAS BOUND BY A CONSTITUTION, PORTIONS OF WHICH ARE INCORPORATED IN OUR BIBLE, BUT WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME, THE ABUSES OF POWER BY THE KING AND PRIESTS INCREASED.

INTO THIS SITUATION STEPPED THE GRANDEST FIGURES IN OUR HEBRAIC HISTORY, ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, HOSEA, AMOS, AND THE REST OF THE PROPHETS. THEY WERE THE STANDARD BEARERS OF THE OLDER AND MORE SIMPLE RELIGIOUS TRADITION WHICH WAS CLOSELY BOUND TO THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE EARLY TRIBES. THEY LOOKED UPON THEMSELVES AS CONSERVATIVES. STANDING IN THE MARKET PLACE, THE PROPHETS DECLARED, "GOD NEVER COMMANDED US TO SACRIFICE ANIMALS IN THIS EXTRAVAGANT TEMPLE. GOD IS NOT CONCERNED WITH THE MAINTAINANCE OF A POWERFUL PRIESTHOOD. HIS CONCERN IS WITH JUSTICE AND MERCY." "LOOK AT THE KING", PROCLAIMED THE PROPHET; "HE EXACTS HEAVY TAXES FOR HIS RESPLENDENT LIVING, AND HE CONSCRIPTS

YOUR SONS FOR HIS ARMIES TO WAGE UNNECESSARY WARS. IT IS BETTER, FAR BETTER, TO LIVE SIMPLY AS OUR FATHERS DID WHEN THEY DWELLED IN TENTS." * ? . . .

THIS IS TRULY THE LANGUAGE OF THE CONSERVATIVE, BUT THE PROPHETS WERE NOT POLITICALLY NAIVE. THEY KNEW THAT THE PROCESS OF URBANIZATION AND SOPHISTICATION COULD NOT BE REVERSED AFTER SEVERAL HUNDRED YEARS. IN THE TIME OF THE FIRST KING, SAUL, ISRAEL KNEW ONLY OF THE EXISTENCE OF HER IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORS, WHO, LIKE HERSELF, WERE SIMPLE FOLK, FRESH FROM THE DESERT SANDS. BUT NOW, 250 YEARS AFTER NATIONALIZATION, THE WORLD OF ISRAEL HAD BROADENED. TRAVEL BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND THE CAPITALS OF COUNTRIES FAR TO THE EAST AND NORTH HAD BECOME COMMON. THE EXCHANGE OF IDEAS AND CULTURES BETWEEN COUNTRIES WAS INEVITABLE. THE IDEAS THAT ABRAHAM AND MOSES HAD BROUGHT OUT OF THE DESERT HAD BECOME ENRICHED OR DILUTED, HOWEVER YOU WOULD INTERPRET IT, BY THE IDEAS OF EGYPT AND BABYLON. THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON WAS BUILT NOT WITH THE PERISHABLE TIMBER OF ISRAEL, BUT WITH THE LONG-LASTING "CEDARS OF LEBANON." FROM THE KINGDOM OF TYRE ALONG THE MEDITERRANEAN COAST, METALS AND SKILLED CRAFTSMEN HAD BEEN IMPORTED. IT IS OF THE NATURE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT THAT IF A NATION ENDURES AT ALL, IT MUST INTERACT WITH OTHER CULTURES AND PEOPLES.

THE PROPHETS WERE MORALISTIC CONSERVATIVES WHO WERE DEEPLY EDUCATED IN THE CULTURES OF THE PEOPLES AROUND THEM. THEY WERE WISE ENOUGH TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY COULD NOT HOPE FOR MORAL REFORM WITHIN ISRAEL UNLESS THEY COULD BRING ALL THE NATIONS WITHIN A GENERAL CONFEDERATION BASED ON COMMONLY ACCEPTED MORAL PRINCIPLES. WHILE THE KING, THE ARISTOCRACY, AND THE PRIESTHOOD SPOKE OF THE INNATE SUPERIORITY OF ISRAEL, THE PROPHETS SPOKE OF THE COMMON ROOTS OF ALL NATIONS IN THE ONE GOD. WHEN THE HEBREW KING SPOKE OF GOD FAVORING THE SELFISH MOTIVES OF THE HEBREW NATION, AMOS DECLARED, "JUST AS GOD BROUGHT ISRAEL OUT OF BONDAGE IN EGYPT, SO HE BROUGHT THE ARAMITES OUT OF BONDAGE IN THE LAND OF KIR, AND HE BROUGHT THE PHILISTINES OUT OF THE LAND OF CAPHTOR." GOD IS NOT JUST THE LORD OF ISRAEL, TAUGHT THE PROPHETS. HE DOES NOT FAVOR ONE NATION AGAINST ANOTHER. THE CHOSENNESS OF ISRAEL, SAID THE PROPHETS, MEANS ONLY THAT ISRAEL WAS CHOSEN TO BEAR THE YOKE OF MORAL LEADERSHIP.

AS A NATURAL CONSEQUENCE OF THIS ATTITUDE, THE PROPHETS OPPOSED THE USE OF MILITARY FORCE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY. THEY KNEW THAT LARGE ARMIES MERELY REINFORCED THE POWER OF THE KING AND HIS MILITARY COHORTS. THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH PROCLAIMED IN THE NAME OF GOD, "NOT BY MILITARY MIGHT, AND NOT BY FORCE, BUT BY MY SPIRIT, SAITH THE LORD." THIS, SOME OF YOU WILL RECOGNIZE IS THE SCRIPTURE EMBLAZONED ON OUR ARK, "LO B' HAYIL KI IM B'RUCHI." NOTHING WAS MORE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PROPHETS THAN THEIR EMPHASIS ON INTERNATIONALISM AND NON-VIOLENCE.

WE TURN NOW FROM AN ANALYSIS OF THE HEBREW CONSERVATIVES OF THE NINTH CENTURY BCE TO AN ANALYSIS OF THE MODERN CONSERVATIVES. LIKE THE HEBREW PROPHETS, THE CALL OF THE NEW CONSERVATIVES IS TO AN IDEAL PAST. NOT A HIGHLY CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT, THEY CRY, BUT POWER INVESTED IN THE STATES, (IN THE TRIBES, IF YOU WILL). MANY PEOPLE ARE DISPOSED TO LAUGH AT THIS APPEAL TO STATES RIGHTS, BUT I DO NOT. THOMAS JEFFERSON TAUGHT THAT WHEN MEN ARE PROPERLY EDUCATED, THE BEST GOVERNMENT IS THE LEAST. AND THE PROPHET JEREMIAH LOOKED TO THE TIME WHEN MEN WOULD HAVE GOD'S LAW WRITTEN ON THEIR HEARTS, SO THAT ORGANIZED RELIGION WOULD NO LONGER BE NEEDED. THE DREAM THAT INDIVIDUAL MEN WILL HAVE SUCH KNOWLEDGE AND INTEGRITY, THAT THEY WILL BE ABLE TO GOVERN THEMSELVES IS THE GRANDEST OF DREAMS. THIS PROPHECY AS EXPRESSED BY JEREMIAH, IS INSCRIBED IN THIS SANCTUARY ON THE WINDOW FOURTH FROM YOUR LEFT. EVEN KARL MARX HAD THIS DREAM, WHEN HE LOOKED TO THE TIME WHEN THE

* A paraphrase of selected texts.

COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP WOULD NO LONGER BE NEEDED, AND THE STATE WOULD WITHER AWAY, BECAUSE ITS CITIZENS WOULD ALL BE WELL-INFORMED AND RIGHT-DEALING.

THE GREATER THE DREAM, THE LONGER ITS FULFILLMENT IS DELAYED, AND THE MORE SECURE MUST BE THE FOUNDATION. THIS PARTICULAR DREAM, OF THE SELF-GOVERNING INDIVIDUAL, IS ONE WHICH WE OUGHT NEVER TO SURRENDER, BUT IT CAN BE REALIZED ONLY WHEN EACH OF US IS EDUCATED TO THE HIGHEST AND NOBLEST DEGREE. THE NEW CONSERVATIVES WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE THAT THE TIME TO PUT THIS IDEAL TO THE TEST IS NOW. THEY TELL US THAT WE NO LONGER NEED A HIGHLY CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT, AND THAT AMERICANS ARE READY TO GOVERN THEMSELVES GUIDED BY MOTIVES OF PERSONAL INTEGRITY AND RIGHT-DEALING. THOSE WHO MAKE THIS CLAIM ASSUME A GREAT BURDEN. FOR THEY ARE SAYING, NOT MERELY, THAT AMERICANS ARE TODAY EQUAL TO THE IDEALISTIC DREAM OF JEREMIAH AND OF JEFFERSON, BUT THAT THEY, THE NEW CONSERVATIVES, ARE PREPARED TO SET THE INTELLECTUAL AND MORALISTIC PATTERN TO SERVE AS THE EXAMPLE FOR A NATION OF NOBLEMEN.

IN MY TRAVELS THROUGHOUT MY NATIVE SOUTH THIS SUMMER, I MADE IT MY BUSINESS TO TALK TO A NUMBER OF THE NEW CONSERVATIVES. I MUST SADLY CONFESS THAT I FOUND VERY FEW OF THEM TO BE INTELLECTUAL AND IDEALISTIC GIANTS. ON THE CONTRARY, I FOUND MOST OF THEM (NOT ALL) TO BE THE MOST POLITICALLY UNINFORMED, THE MOST CULTURALLY ILLITERATE, AND THE MOST NARROW AND BIGOTED PEOPLE I HAVE MET. WHILE THE PROPHETS WERE ADVOCATES OF AN EXPANDED BROTHERHOOD EMBRACING ALL NATIONS, INCLUDING THE COLORED ETHIOPIANS, THE NEW CONSERVATIVES IN THE SOUTH ARE, BY AND LARGE, THOSE ESPECIALLY OPPOSED TO CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATIONS. WHILE THE PROPHETS SUPPORTED THE POOR AND THE UNDERPRIVILEGED, THE LEADER OF THE NEW CONSERVATIVES VOTED IN THE SENATE AGAINST THE ANTI-POVERTY BILL, AND AGAINST MOST OF THE MEASURES DESIGNED TO HELP THE UNDERPRIVILEGED.

IT IS CLEAR THAT THE NEW CONSERVATIVES ARE NOT CONSERVATIVES IN THE SAME SENSE AS THE PROPHETS WHO WERE TRYING TO CONSERVE THE OLD MORAL VALUES BY PROJECTING THEM OVER TO NEW AND MORE EMBRACING INSTITUTIONS. ARE THE NEW CONSERVATIVES, THEN, CLOSER, PERHAPS, TO THE CONSERVATISM OF THOMAS JEFFERSON? JEFFERSON, AS YOU KNOW, WAS THE CHAMPION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. HE SOUGHT TO PRESERVE RELIGIOUS FREEDOM BY SPONSORING THE VIRGINIA STATUTE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM WHICH BOLDLY STATES THAT NO AMERICAN CAN BE FORCED TO ATTEND A WORSHIP SESSION AGAINST HIS WILL, NOR CAN HE BE EMBARRASSED IN ANY WAY BECAUSE OF HIS PRIVATE RELIGIOUS BELIEF. THE PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AS FRAMED IN SAN FRANCISCO, CALLS FOR THE PARTY TO SUPPORT THOSE WHO ARE TRYING TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION SO AS TO ENCOURAGE RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. THE JEFFERSON WHO FOUNDED MY ALMA MATER, THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, AND WHO PASSIONATELY SOUGHT LEARNING IN EVERY POSSIBLE FIELD, WOULD HARDLY QUALIFY AS HIS REPRESENTATIVE TODAY THE SENATOR FROM ARIZONA WHO DISLIKED HIS ONE YEAR IN COLLEGE, WHO IS UNEASY ABOUT NEW IDEAS, AND WHO IS SUSPICIOUS ABOUT THOSE WHO THINK DIFFERENTLY THAN HE DOES.

SHALL WE SAY, THEN, THAT THE NEW CONSERVATISM IS AT LEAST IN THE TRADITION OF GREAT REPUBLICAN CONSERVATIVES LIKE TAFT OF OHIO? IF WE LOOK AT THE LATE SENATOR TAFT'S RECORD, WE FIND THAT HE WAS THE LEADER OF THOSE WHO TRIED TO LIMIT AMERICA'S MILITARY INVOLVEMENT OUTSIDE OF THIS COUNTRY. BOTH TAFT AND THE HEBREW PROPHETS WOULD SAY THAT AMERICA CAN GAIN NOTHING BY SENDING TROOPS TO VIET NAM, THE THE SENATOR FROM ARIZONA INSISTS THAT WE SEND MORE TROOPS, AND THAT WE AUTHORIZE OUR FIELD COMMANDERS TO USE SMALL ATOMIC WEAPONS. THIS BLOOD-THIRSTINESS IS NOT CHARACTERISTIC OF CONSERVATIVES OF OLD. IN FACT, THE CONSERVATIVES WHO FOLLOW TAFT'S TRADITION SAY THAT THE NEW CONSERVATISM IS NOT CONSERVATISM AT ALL!

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WHICH GENERALLY FAVORS THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE, EDITORIALY DECLARED ON JULY 13TH, "...THE GOLDWATER PLATFORM IS NEITHER FORWARD-LOOKING NOR CONSERVATIVE. ON THE CONTRARY, IT GIVES A NEW AND REACTIONARY LOOK TO THE G.O.P...." ON JULY 15TH, THE TIMES COMMENTED, "HOW UNFAITHFUL IT IS TO THE TRADITIONS OF THE MODERATE REPUBLICAN PARTY TO BE CHOOSING AS ITS PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE A MAN WHO, IN FOREIGN AND NUCLEAR ARMS POLICY, IS A RECKLESS RADICAL, ALARMING OUR ALLIES ABROAD, AND IN DOMESTIC POLICY, IS A REACTIONARY WHO CAN HARDLY WAIT FOR HIS CHANCE TO RETURN THE COUNTRY TO THE FICTION OF THE 'GOOD OLD DAYS.'"

WHEN THE SENATOR FROM ARIZONA GAVE HIS ACCEPTANCE SPEECH IN SAN FRANCISCO, THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK SAID OF THE SPEECH THAT IT WAS, "DANGEROUS, IRRESPONSIBLE, AND FRIGHTENING." IT WAS FRIGHTENING NOT MERELY BECAUSE THE SENATOR SAID THE NOW FAMOUS WORDS, "EXTREMISM IN DEFENSE OF LIBERTY IS NO VICE." IT WAS FRIGHTENING BECAUSE THE VIEWS AND THE ACTS OF THOSE GATHERING AROUND THE SENATOR GAVE THESE WORDS A THREATENING MEANING.

IN SAN FRANCISCO, THE NOMINEE REFUSED TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE K.K.K. AND THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY. THIS REFUSAL CAN ONLY BE INTERPRETED AS AN APPEAL TO THOSE WHO FORM THE EXTREME POLITICAL RIGHT IN AMERICA. TO BE SURE, THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE HAS SINCE DISAVOWED THE SUPPORT OF THE K.K.K., BUT HE DID THIS ONLY AFTER REPEATED PRESSURE BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, AND HE HAS STILL REFUSED TO DISAVOW THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY WHOSE LEADERS HAVE LABELED EISENHOWER, KENNEDY, TRUMAN, NIXON, AND MANY OTHERS AS COMMUNIST DUPES AND TRAITORS.

LET NO ONE UNDERESTIMATE THE TREMENDOUS UPSURGE OF THE HATE GROUPS SINCE THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION! MOTELS ARE FILLED WITH HATE LITERATURE ENDORSING THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE AND ATTACKING PRESIDENT JOHNSON, NOT FOR HIS REAL FAULTS WHICH ARE THERE, BUT LINKING HIM FALSELY TO THE SOCIALISTS AND TO THE COMMUNISTS. EVERY RACIST AND ANTI-SEMITE, WHO EVER HAD HOPES FOR A POGROM IN AMERICA, HAS BEEN RESURRECTED BY THE NEW CONSERVATISM. UNDER THE DECEPTIVE BANNER OF STATES RIGHTS, LIBERTY FOR THE INDIVIDUAL, AND ANTI-COMMUNISM, PEOPLE WHO REPRESENT THE MOST REACTIONARY VIEWPOINTS HAVE COME ALIVE, AND ARE ONCE AGAIN HONORED AND RESPECTED IN THEIR COMMUNITIES. UNFORTUNATELY, THE HIGH-SOUNDING SLOGANS OF THE CALL TO CONSERVATISM HAS ATTRACTED MANY PEOPLE WHOSE INTENTIONS ARE HONORABLE AND GOOD. THESE PEOPLE WOULD DO WELL TO LOOK MORE CLOSELY INTO THE REAL MEANING OF THE NEW CONSERVATISM.

RECENTLY, WE READ IN THE NEWSPAPER, THE MIAMI HERALD, AUGUST 6TH, 11-C, OF THE REACTIONS OF MISSISSIPIANS TO THE FBI DISCOVERY OF THE BODIES OF THE THREE CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS MURDERED IN MISSISSIPPI. THESE ADVOCATES OF THE NEW CONSERVATISM WERE HORRIFIED THAT ANY LOYAL MISSISSIPPIAN MIGHT HAVE INFORMED. THEY WERE NOT SO CONCERNED ABOUT THE MURDER OF THREE IDEALISTIC AMERICANS. THEY WERE CONCERNED THAT ANY MISSISSIPIAN WOULD BETRAY THE MURDERERS. THIS IS THE KIND OF FREEDOM ABOUT WHICH MANY OF THE SOUTHERN "CONSERVATIVES" SPEAK...THE FREEDOM TO PRESERVE AN ANCIENT WRONG BY ANY POSSIBLE MEANS, THE FREEDOM TO PREVENT SOME AMERICANS FROM VOTING, THE FREEDOM TO PRESENT SECTARIAN RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. IT IS TO THESE PEOPLE THAT WE ARE ASKED TO SURRENDER THE LEADERSHIP OF AMERICA THAT THEY MIGHT STRIP THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF ITS POWER TO PROTECT THE INNOCENT AND TO UPLIFT THE REJECTED. WE WANT TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT WE ARE SPEAKING, IN THIS REGARD, OF THE EXTREMISTS WHO ARE FOLLOWING THE SENATOR, AND NOT OF THE SENATOR HIMSELF. UNFORTUNATELY, MANY OF THESE EXTREMISTS HOPE TO RIDE INTO OFFICE IN LOCAL ELECTIONS ON THE STRENGTH OF THEIR BEING "NEW CONSERVATIVES."

NEW RABBI, YOU MIGHT SAY, YOU ARE BEING UNFAIR TO THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE. HE DOES NOT THINK THE SAME AS THESE FRIGHTENED MISSISSIPPIANS. I MUST SAY THAT I DON'T THINK HE DOES IN SOME WAYS. BUT I THINK THAT HE HAS ENCOURAGED THESE VERY PEOPLE BY HIS SHORT-SIGHTED GOALS AND VIEWS. IT IS TO HIM THAT THEY HAVE COME FOR HELP, AND FOR SOME REASON, THEY SEE HIM AS THEIR HERO ON HORSEBACK. HE IS A HERO TO THEM BECAUSE HE HAS WRITTEN AND SPOKEN ABOUT THEIR RACIST AND NARROW VIEWS IN SUCH A WAY AS TO MAKE THEIR OBVIOUSLY DESTRUCTIVE VIEWS SEEM TO BE A MERE YEARNING FOR A LOFTY CONSERVATISM. IN SHORT, HE HAS MADE THEIR NARROW VIEWS RESPECTABLE. IN HIS BOOK, "THE CONSCIENCE OF A CONSERVATIVE", THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE SAYS THAT THE INTEGRATION OF SCHOOLS IS NOT A CIVIL RIGHT OF THE NEGRO, AND WHILE HE, PERSONALLY, IS IN FAVOR OF INTEGRATED SCHOOLS, THIS MATTER SHOULD BE HANDLED BY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND NOT BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THIS SOUNDS NICE, PERHAPS, BUT ANYONE WHO HAS LIVED IN THE SOUTH, AS I HAVE, KNOWS WHAT PROGRESS WILL BE MADE BY MISSISSIPPI OR ALABAMA NEGROES IF THEIR FATE IS TO BE DETERMINED SOLELY BY THE POPULATION OF THOSE STATES. THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE'S SUPPORT OF "STATES RIGHTS" IN THIS SITUATION IS A SUPPORT OF THE STATUS QUO. NO WONDER THE WHITE MISSISSIPPIANS LOVE HIM!

SECONDLY, THE SENATOR WRITES IN THIS BOOK THAT HE IS, OF COURSE, CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE POOR AND THE AGED, BUT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT DO ANYTHING TO HELP THEM. HE WRITES ON PAGE 74, "LET WELFARE BE A PRIVATE CONCERN," LET PEOPLE THROUGH VOLUNTARY GIFTS TO CHARITY SUPPORT THE POOR, OR LET THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT HANDLE THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY. THIS SOUNDS PRETTY, TOO, BUT IT IS NAIVE. THE WHITE PEOPLE OF SOME SOUTHERN STATES WON'T GIVE THE NEGRO JUSTICE, MUCH LESS CHARITY. OBVIOUSLY, SOME PROGRAM ON A NATIONAL LEVEL IS ESSENTIAL IN THESE AREAS. IT IS MY BELIEF THAT THE HEBREW PROPHETS WOULD BE THE FIRST TO SUGGEST THIS.

THIRDLY, THE SENATOR WRITES THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD BE MERELY AN INSTRUMENT OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. HE IS FOR WITHDRAWING DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND FOR FORCING THEM OUT OF THE U.N. HE IS AGAINST THE BANNING OF TESTS ON NUCLEAR BOMBS, HE IS FOR GIVING FIELD COMMANDERS THE RIGHT TO USE SMALLER NUCLEAR WEAPONS AT THEIR DISCRETION. HE OPENLY DECLARES THAT HE IS NOT INTERESTED IN PEACE BUT IN VICTORY. THOSE WHO THINK THAT THE SOVIET UNION CANNOT BE ELIMINATED, AND WHO SPEAK OF CO-EXISTENCE, ARE, IN THE SENATOR'S MIND, NOT INTERESTED IN "VICTORY." THIS KIND OF POLICY, HE SUGGESTS, SMACKS OF TREASON. (p. 109)

THUS, WE SEE THAT THE SENATOR ALLIES HIMSELF WITH THE MORE AGGRESSIVE RIGHT-WING MILITARISTS OF AMERICA, WHILE HE SPEAKS HIMSELF THE LANGUAGE OF THE BIRCHITES INCASTING SUSPICION UPON THOSE WHO ADVOCATE A MORE MODERATE COURSE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. WE UNDERSTAND, AFTER READING HIS BOOK, WHY HE WILL NOT DISAVOW THE BIRCHITES, AND WHY CERTAIN REACTIONARY ELEMENTS IN OUR COUNTRY ARE AT THIS MOMENT WORKING FEVERISHLY IN HIS BEHALF.

THE MEMBERS OF THIS CONGREGATION WHO LIVED IN GERMANY AND IN EUROPE DURING THE HITLERIAN DAYS, HAVE SAID TO ME, "RABBI, THE HATE THAT FILLS THE AIR NOW SMELLS MUCH THE SAME AS THE HATE THAT CAME FROM THE GROUPS THAT SUPPORTED HITLER." HITLER CAME TO POWER BY LUMPING TOGETHER THE MODERATES WITH THE COMMUNISTS. IN THIS WAY, HE DEFEATED THE MODERATES. THIS SAME PROCESS IS UNDER WAY IN AMERICA TODAY. PEOPLE ARE BEING FRIGHTENED BY A VAST PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN TEACHING THAT EVERYONE NOT ON THE FAR RIGHT IS "SOFT ON COMMUNISM." THIS IS NOT TO SUGGEST THAT THE SENATOR EVEN REMOTELY RESEMBLES HITLER. THIS WOULD BE A MOST UNKIND CHARACTERIZATION. HOWEVER, THE SENATOR

HAS NOT DISAVOWED THE SUPPORT OF THESE HATE GROUPS, AND IN SOME WAYS, HAS SOLICITED THEIR SUPPORT. IT IS NOT UNFAIR TO SUGGEST THAT THE SENATOR IS MAKING THE SAME MISTAKE IN HIS ALLIANCE WITH THE FAR RIGHT THAT HENRY WALLACE MADE WHEN HE RAN FOR PRESIDENT IN AN ALLIANCE WITH THE FAR LEFT.

OVER AND OVER AGAIN, THE T.V. ANNOUNCERS IN SAN FRANCISCO SAID, "THE NEW CONSERVATIVES ARE INSPIRED WITH A RELIGIOUS FERVOR." MY FRIENDS, THEY WILL BE DEFEATED ONLY IF THEIR OPPONENTS ARE INSPIRED WITH A STRONGER RELIGIOUS FERVOR. EVEN THOUGH WE WANT TO BE CAREFUL NOT TO COMPARE THE SENATOR IN ANY WAY TO THE LEADER OF NAZIISM, PERHAPS THE RECENT HISTORY OF GERMANY HAS SOMETHING TO TEACH US ABOUT HOW EXTREMISTS COME TO POWER. WILLIAM SHIRER HAS WRITTEN THAT AT ANY ONE OF MANY POINTS, HITLER COULD HAVE BEEN STOPPED, BUT NO ONE CORRECTLY INTERPRETED HIS AIMS, AND EVERYONE UNDERESTIMATED HIS POWER TO COMMAND SUPPORT. THE SURPRISING STRENGTH OF THE SO-CALLED CONSERVATIVE FORCES IN THE CALIFORNIA REPUBLICAN PRIMARY OUGHT TO PUT US ON GUARD WITH RESPECT TO THE DEEP WELL-SPRINGS OF REACTION THAT EXIST IN OUR COUNTRY. A CELEBRATED HISTORIAN ONCE WROTE ABOUT THIS DISSIDENT ELEMENT, "THERE IS ANOTHER AMERICA, AN AMERICA THAT IS DISTURBING AND WORRISOME." WE WOULD BE FOOLISH TO UNDERESTIMATE THE POWER OF THIS "OTHER AMERICA."

AT THIS VERY MOMENT, THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN THIS NEW CONSERVATIVE RELIGION ARE HARD AT WORK, MAILING THEIR PAMPHLETS, HOLDING THEIR MEETINGS, TALKING TO NEW PEOPLE, FRIGHTENING THEM INTO AGREEMENT. WHAT WILL YOU BE DOING, DEAR FRIENDS, TO COUNTERACT THESE ACTIONS? IF YOU SIT ON YOUR HANDS THROUGH THIS ELECTION, IT IS LIKELY THAT YOU WILL LOSE MUCH MORE THAN JUST AN ELECTION!