

fervent hope that his angina attacks will not hamper him in serving out his 24th year in the Senate.

He was an early holdout against civil rights legislation but mellowed....

Sen. Holland is a completely scrupulous man. He is one of the few members of Congress whose personal fortune has decreased as a result of his service in the Senate.

Florida will love a faithful servant when he retires next year.

From the Tampa (Fla.) Times,
Nov. 14, 1969

SENATOR HOLLAND'S DECISION

....a man of 77 who has been working for the same boss—the people—for 50 years has a right to call it quits and a claim on the gratitude of his employer.

Some persons, of course, have insisted his legislative record leans too much to the conservative side. True, he has not followed the path of the knee-jerk liberals.

In this connection, Senator Holland, during his press conference, offered Florida Democrats some excellent advice. He said they must "work together"....

He also called attention to the fact that he moved his announcement timetable ahead because Florida Democrats are planning a dinner

From the Sarasota (Fla.) Herald-Tribune, Nov. 14, 1969

BAD, GOOD NEWS

The announcement by Florida's senior U. S. Senator Spessard Holland that he will retire at the end of his present term is bad news for some and good news for others.

From the Miami Beach (Fla.) Sun,
Nov. 14, 1969

SENATOR SPESSARD HOLLAND

Although this newspaper has not always agreed with the ideas and approaches of Sen. Spessard Holland, it is genuinely saddened by his planned departure....

From the Lakeland (Fla.) Ledger,
Nov. 17, 1969

A LIFETIME OF SERVICE

"The Lord doesn't make many men like him." The words are those of a Polk County political figure of considerably less political stature than the man to whom he was referring. United States Senator Spessard Holland.

From the Miami (Fla.) Herald,
Nov. 13, 1969

POOR HEALTH TO FORCE HOLLAND OUT OF SENATE

Then he read a prepared statement, keeping control of his voice all the way through. At the door and in the reception room outside, the women on his staff were crying quietly.

Angina attacks result from fatty deposits in the arteries leading to the heart. Discomfort usually occurs when exercise, emotion or even a heavy meal causes the heart to speed up, forcing an increased amount of blood through the partly plugged arteries.

"He's the sort of man you can't slow down," Mrs. Ruth Fisher, Holland's

personal secretary, said. "For a while I got him to take a nap every afternoon, but he wouldn't keep it up. He thinks he has to be busy all the time."

From the Lakeland (Fla.) Ledger,
Nov. 17, 1969

SEN. HOLLAND'S CAREER SPANS HALF A CENTURY

Last Wednesday afternoon, Sen. Holland, who can still shoot a turkey on a hunting trip, stepped out of politics. It was a recent attack of angina that made the senator bow out....

Holland served eight years in the Florida Senate before he ran for Governor in 1940. And just maybe he won in the May primary because of a black tie.

On election day, Tom Session, a 70-year-old Negro handyman at an Emory University fraternity house sent Holland a telegram. Session said Holland should wear a black tie on election day, because it would bring him good luck. Holland did his undergraduate work at Emory.

From the Palm Beach (Fla.) Post,
Nov. 13, 1969

SPESSARD HOLLAND: A QUIET MAN IN POLITICS

Maybe Spessard L. (Lindsey) Holland, when he retires from the U. S. Senate in January 1971, will devote more time to bird watching.

He has taken credit for rescuing the Cross-Florida Barge Canal project when it had been scuttled by the House Appropriations Committee in 1963.

The canal, now about one fourth finished and which to date has cost \$40 million, has been challenged in federal court....

While governor of Florida, Holland lists the following as the greatest accomplishments during his administration:

Lowering the intangible tax from five to two mills.

And after the press came the storm, as the solons commenced to roar.

Mr. ERVIN, Mr. President. As I view the closing days of the 91st Congress, I have two great regrets in respect to the approaching retirement from the Senate of our great friend, Spessard L. Holland.

One of these regrets is personal in nature. I have had the rare privilege of sitting just behind Spessard in the Senate Chamber for a number of years.

He has exemplified what a public servant should be, one of whom we can say, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Mr. JORDAN of North Carolina. I rise on an occasion like this not to say good-bye but to say so long for a short period of time....

I knew I could trust him all the way....

Mr. PASTORE. If anyone should ask me what it takes to make the whole man, I would readily say without hesitating, "Look at Spessard Holland." He is a gentleman in all seasons....

Mr. AIKEN. As far as I am concerned, I would like him to remain as a member of the Senate for the next 100 years.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, it is a distinct pleasure for me to join the encomiums expressing respect and affection

for our beloved colleague, the senior Senator from Florida.

Senator Holland comes from a farming family and is basically a man of the soil.

Mr. STENNIS. I express my best wishes also to his wonderful wife, Miss Mary, as I call her....

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. I first heard about Spessard Holland when he was Governor of Florida, 25 years ago. I was a welder in the shipyards, living in Tampa.

Mr. HOLLAND. I would not want anybody to think that I am other than humble and other than understanding of the courtesy of the Senate and that I realize that many, many of these statements have been overgenerous.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, for 24 of the 25 years I have served in the Senate it has been my pleasure to be....

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, all of us in public life must accept the march of time and anticipate the day....

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I wish to join with my colleagues in the Senate in paying tribute to Spessard Holland who is voluntarily retiring from the Senate.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, I am grateful for this opportunity to express a few words....

I shall miss Senator Holland and his lovely wife Mary.

AMEN

The Political Wastrels

John Moscow

At the time of Eugene McCarthy's fling into national politics many people thought that they were viewing the birth of a new political phenomenon, a portend of changes in the national political system. His nomination drive was viewed by many as the backbone of an anti-war movement dominated by students which, if it could not select the President in 1968 would at least serve as the base for a successful drive in 1972. Two years after the McCarthy campaign's high water mark in the spring of 1968 many of the same students were responsible for the Earth Day celebration that brought "ecology" into the everyday vocabulary of the American voter. Again pundits predicted that the new student movement would effect substantial changes in the way Americans run their country. At the time of the invasion of Cambodia and the shooting of students at Kent State and Jackson State colleges it seemed to many that a nationwide wave of student revulsion might seriously affect the composition of the new Congress, and make it more amenable to "the needs of the people." The "Youth Movement" was coming of age, we were all told, as campuses from New England to California set up centers of communications, presumably so that the campuses could talk to each other about how wonderful everything was that they were doing.

Kent State should be viewed, not as the birth of a student movement, but as its swan song. The circumstances that led to

the creation of nation-wide network of students was relatively difficult to reproduce, and yet the actions of the last few years effectively destroyed the nation-wide student movements so that the entire creative process will have to be gone through again if a student movement is to attain any vitality.

Youths were exceptionally active in politics during the 1960's. There were the Freedom Riders of the early 1960's, the Mississippi Summer project in 1964, the early activities for greater academic freedom and personal liberties on the campuses all during the decade, culminating in the abolition, on many campuses, of all rules barring student-invited speakers and regulating students' personal lives. Students in the Students for a Democratic Society, (SDS) when that organization consisted of people who believed in the idea represented by the name, did much to increase the political awareness of their more politically apathetic colleagues. But by a few months after the sending of American troops in large numbers to South Vietnam student opposition to the war began to grow. Over the summer of 1967 graduate student deferments were abolished, and student opposition grew ever more rapidly. Except for the SDS, which by this point was virulent in its anti-Americanism, however, and for the National Student Association (NSA) and the Collegiate Press Service (CPS), there were no nationwide groups opposing the war, and both the NSA and the CPS were doing so more at the local level than at the national.

Over the summer of 1967 the radicals took control of the CPS, but lost it to a bitterly antiwar, but anti-radical group at the summer convention. With their defeat the radicals established the Liberation News Service, but split the ranks of the college editors, almost all of whom were anti-war, and ready to politicize their campuses on the issue. The damage to CPS was not readily apparent, as all the editors were in essential agreement, but it became more obvious as the war faded as an issue and doubts crept in as to what should be run in the college papers.

That same summer the NSA split, in a move that has essentially destroyed the

organization. The NSA had lost a number of conservatives when it established the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee in the early Sixties, but it had weathered that loss fairly well. In 1966-67 however, the story of NSA's funding by the CIA broke, and the students who assembled at the summer convention were very much disturbed about the state of the nation, and the course it was pursuing. The best of them had not lost faith in the democratic process, but were wondering how it could serve them. They were told how by Allard Lowenstein, a former NSA president, who chose the summer convention as the kick-off spot for his "Dump Johnson" movement—the movement that was later converted into the McCarthy campaign. Lowenstein started by recruiting Sam Brown, then a Harvard divinity student, who had just been defeated for NSA President and was looking for something to do. Brown in turn picked up his staff at the congress, or some weeks later when the details were worked out. Brown and company went on to reach out for help to their acquaintances on the many college campuses, using their NSA experience to develop an amazingly successful campaign, and a strong political force.

As happens with issue oriented campaigns, however, the youth movement that Brown built has collapsed. The enthusiasm and idealism that motivated the students originally couldn't be maintained in the face of daily routines and political stagnation. Worse than the destruction of Brown's movement, however, was its effect on the NSA. The students most interested in creating a student movement either went into Brown's campaign, or were driven out of NSA as too conservative, in fairly short order. The Congress that followed the start of the "Dump Johnson" movement was almost lunatic in its politics; Lowenstein, the "deliverer" of a year before, was denounced and booed when he spoke for selling out to the Establishment. Since then the NSA, still bereft of any organizational ability has gone from bad to worse, so that today it represents nothing to anyone.

Other groups are similarly in trouble.

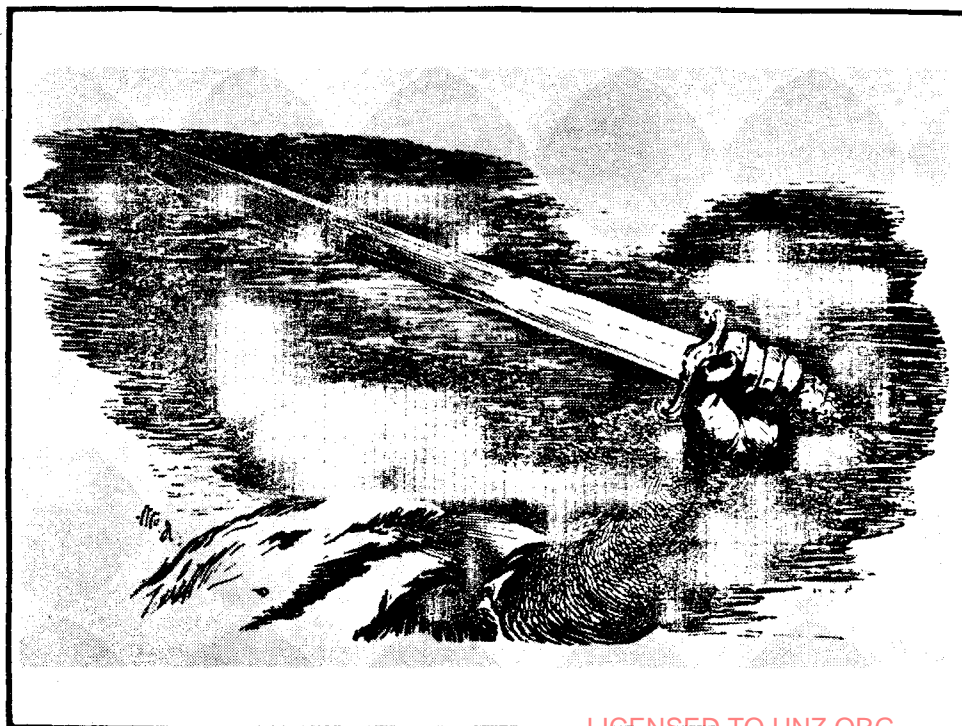
The Young Democrats never did represent much, but they systematically disestablished themselves in 1968, rather than support the regular Democratic nominee for President. The Young Republicans are strong on some campuses, but the political in-fighting for spoils seems to occupy them more than recruiting new members. The SDS was destroyed at its 1969 national convention.

It is difficult to see where the leadership of any student movement will arise until a new, non-ideological student movement is created. The NSA had the advantage of bringing together students from different political views, with different political styles from different parts of the country, and making them accomodate each other. Without a student organization that is national in scope each student movement will stick to locally appropriate tactics that may repel people elsewhere in the nation, discouraging progress on issues. More important, without a national organization there is no effective way a student leader can reach the student leaders at other campuses. The infrastructure of the liberal student movement, which had been built up since the late 1940's, was destroyed in the McCarthy campaigns and the subsequent efforts of the same group.

Even without a national group bringing people together there will still be national student movements. After all the "student generation" in America changes very quickly, but is quite rich, exceptionally mobile, and replete with leisure time. It is subject to a great deal of faddishness, so that the pressing issue of today becomes passe tomorrow, as the sophomores become juniors and "outgrow" the issues of maintaining a favorable ecology for mankind, or of peace and war. One year the student movement was interested in pot, the next in politics, then in ecology, now perhaps in heroin, or in the arts, or in anything else not connected with the "real" world.

In many ways the student movement in America is a dangerous force, for it acts as a mob, with all the rationality of a beheaded chicken, the insistence of a spoiled child, and the ferocity of a wounded tiger. The speed with which the NSA was willing to denounce their erstwhile hero Lowenstein for selling out was dramatic evidence of the loyalty of students in politics. More than any labor union member whose selfishness and bigotry they denounce the students ask each candidate "What have you done for me lately?" and only those politicians with exceptional mental and ethical elasticity stay very long in their favor.

The McCarthy campaign, together with the Earth Day celebration and the Kent State and Jackson State incidents should be viewed as a triumph of the ad hoc organizers over the people who believe in organization. The traditionalists either left for their crusade, as in Sam Brown's case, or were driven out later. In their place came those students interested in a one-shot endeavor, willing to destroy the organization they were in to achieve their ends. They achieved the destruction of their organizations, but without getting the goals they wanted. Whether those are still obtainable following the bankruptcy of the student movement only time will tell. But



there are parallels on which one can draw for analogies. The plight of the New York State Democratic Party is perhaps the best of these.

Ten years ago a small wave of "reform" became monstrously large as the "reformers" entered politics determined to destroy the evil "boss" of New York politics, Carmine DeSapio. DeSapio was destroyed, but with only one exception other than in Presidential years the party has lost every election since then. The one-issue people came into the party, defeated the regulars, and drove them out. They then left the party themselves, finding the daily routine of yeararound political organization being too time-consuming. Just as the New York Democratic Party was destroyed when the people who stayed in year-in and year-out left, so too the youth movement was debilitated. The youth movement has the advantage of faster generational turnover, but there are no signs that any period of rebuilding is scheduled.

In a sense it is particularly ironic that one of the last major operations of the student movement should have been in the field of ecology. For the students themselves, over the past five years, have acted like nothing so much as a group of get-rich-quick artists who, not satisfied with a small and steady profit on an investment, insist on ravaging the natural resources of the territory they are in without regard to the future, in the hope of a quick killing. They destroyed the territory, but failed to get their killing; it remains to see if others can restore matters to their once high potential. □

Mr. Moscow, a graduate of the Collegiate School and the University of Chicago, is currently studying law at Harvard. He is a club house Democrat and firm believer in the Boss System.

The Importance of Being Jewish

The Jewish Mystique

By Ernest van den Haag
Stein and Day, \$5.95

Like most Jews, I love to read—like most everyone, I love to read about myself. This double passion for 1) reading and 2) self-examination sends me off in the direction of the nearest bookstore whenever I happen upon a review or announcement of a new "book about the Jews." Weekly perusal of the national best seller lists has led me to conclude that I am far from alone in these habits. Week after week, one finds that a majority or at least a large minority of the books so listed are either by or about Jews. It may well be that Jews make up the single largest group among the American reading public—a remarkable possibility when one considers that only three percent of our population is Jewish. We do know that the State of Israel boasts the highest per capita book sales in the world. From the figures available, it is clear that the Israelis devour books with the same ferocity with which the Arabs would like to devour the Israelis.

The result of all this has been a continuous flood of books of Jewish interest—some excellent, some ghastly, most of only passing interest. Lately there have appeared so many works belonging in the last two of these categories, that I was hardly prepared for what I found between the covers of *The Jewish Mystique*. I opened the book as a skeptic; I review it as a convert. It is compact, to the point, occasionally truly original, often insightful, very often highly amusing, and always absorbing. It is written with a sympathetic understanding of its human subject which may be accounted for by the author's psychoanalytic training—or simply by his essential humanity and goodwill which shine from every page of the book, yet never cloud his vision nor lessen his objectivity.

Dr. Van den Haag begins his study with a short yet comprehensive discussion of Jewish character, religion, and history. He observes, correctly, that all three are inseparably intertwined and he clearly knows his subject when he writes:

The endogenous Jewish self-image, carefully cultivated in a lifelong process of education, remained strong enough to vouchsafe survival and self-respect. The essence of it was that God had chosen the Jews for a special destiny which required their suffering and absolute fidelity to the laws He had given . . . Survival—survival as Jews—for millenia was their first priority. For that they suffered; for that they bore burdens no slave could be lashed or bribed into bearing; for that they underwent toil which no pleasure or pain addressed to the senses would lead one to undergo. For that, they survived.

Here, as elsewhere, Van den Haag rises to his subject and offers us heroic writing for a heroic theme. But, he is also perfectly capable of using humor to make his always telling points. In his chapter on "Why Anti-Semitism," we find the following conversation:

"Everything that is rotten in the world," said the anti-Semite to the Jew, "is the fault of the Jews."

"That's true," said the Jew with great conviction. "You're absolutely right. The Jews and the people who eat bananas."

"Why the people who eat bananas?"

"Why the Jews?"

But, he does not dismiss anti-Semitism with a joke—or even with a simple description of its various manifestations.

True to his psychoanalytic calling, he offers an analysis—introductory and generalized, to be sure, but strikingly accurate as far as it goes—of the psychological roots of this irrational hate-projection which has so long afflicted the western world.

Elsewhere in the book, Dr. Van den Haag deals with the potentially explosive question of whether Jews are more intelligent than other people. His most interesting remarks in this regard deal with genetic continuity and patterns of breeding. He points out that for a period of perhaps one thousand years, the best minds in the Christian world entered the priesthood; pledged to celibacy, they failed to reproduce, thus impoverishing the gene pool and lowering the general intelligence level of Christian Europe. Meanwhile, back in the ghetto, the best Jewish minds, entering the rabbinate and heeding the Divine command to "be fruitful and multiply," did just that and enriched the Jewish community with great numbers of intellectually superior offspring—this, steadily raising the average Jewish I.Q. level. Van den Haag concludes that "if Jews had deliberately decided to breed children so as to maximize genetic intelligence, they could not have done much better."

Having dealt with the sensitive issue of Jewish intellectual superiority, the author moves on to a question of almost equal volatility—that of the Jews and the radical left. His psychological treatment of the question of Jewish political behavior is as clear, as honest, and as accurate as any I have ever read. He is careful to define the exact nature of the problem:

Although few Jews are radicals, very many radicals are Jews: out of one hundred Jews, five may be radicals, but out of ten radicals, five are likely to be Jewish. Thus it is incorrect to say that a disproportionate number of Jews are radicals but quite correct to say that a disproportionate number of radicals are Jews.

Why are so many radicals Jewish? Van den Haag tells his readers, but I will not tell you. This question is sufficiently perplexing to thoughtful conservatives to cause many of you to buy *The Jewish Mystique* to find out the answer. And because I want you to have the pleasure of reading this book, I will not relieve you of the need to do so by spilling the beans here.

The one serious flaw in this book may be the chapter on "Jews and Sex" which might be sub-titled "Freud takes a bad trip." It contains a perfectly ridiculous—and completely, though unintentionally, hilarious—psycho-sexual analysis of the causes for Jewish dominance in the brassiere and corset industry. The value of this chapter and its subject matter can be summed-up in the same words: a bust!

Van den Haag concludes his book with a lament for the "vanishing Jews" of America. His statistics on Jewish rates of intermarriage (rising) and birth (declining) will give pause to readers concerned with Jewish survival; but, at the same time, it is difficult to imagine that a people who resisted and outlasted Nineveh, Babylon and Rome will finally be destroyed by Scarsdale.