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PLENARY SESSION REPORT
ASSAULT ON THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Presentations by:

* David R. Brink,
  President, American Bar Association

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PLENARY SESSION - HOUSTON - JANUARY 11-15, 1982

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
443 PARK AVENUE SOUTH   NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016
At the time that the 1982 NJCRAC Plenary Session met in Houston, over 30 proposals were pending before Congress that would significantly reduce the role of the federal judiciary on a wide variety of matters. These proposals would strip federal courts of jurisdiction, or power to grant remedies, on issues such as abortion, prayer in schools, busing as a means of achieving school desegregation, and a number of other important questions. Collectively, these court-limiting proposals could be viewed as an "Assault on the Bill of Rights," since they seek to abridge the power of the federal judiciary to guarantee rights that the Courts have held to be implicit within the Constitution.

To assist the Plenum in considering this question, David R. Brink, President of the American Bar Association, was invited to address the delegates at a general session on January 12, 1982, and to assess the impact of the pending proposals. The text of Brink's remarks is presented on the following pages.

Following Brink's address, David N. Saperstein, Co-Director and Counsel of the Religious Action Center of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, surveyed some of the specific proposals now before Congress that were broadly referred to by Brink. Excerpts from Saperstein's report, and a summary of the question and answer session that followed, are also presented here.

The session was chaired by NJCRAC Vice Chair Richard S. Volpert of Los Angeles. In introducing the session, Volpert noted that the appropriate role of the federal judiciary in interpreting the guarantees enumerated in the Bill of Rights was of significant concern to both our nation as a whole, and the American Jewish community, which has traditionally been actively involved in protecting and extending the rights of individuals.
CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS -
CONFRONTATION OF FUNDAMENTAL LAW WITH TEMPORAL LAW

Address by David R. Brink, President, American Bar Association

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

Plenary Session

Houston, Texas, January 12, 1982

No religion has been as deeply linked with law as Judaism. Over the centuries since Moses, rabbis and the Jewish people themselves have debated and developed this heritage of moral law. In America, we are the richer for this great contribution to the understanding of the common basis of Judaism and Christianity and for its poetic and eloquent expression.

The Midrash tells us that the law was given in three things, in fire, in water and in the wilderness. As these three are free to all the inhabitants of the world, so are the words of the law free to all the inhabitants of the world. The law was given in the wilderness because there all were equal. As the wilderness has no limit, so the words of the law have no limit, as it is said, "The measure thereof is larger than the earth and broader than the sea." Exodus records that when Moses had received the law, he chose able men and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds and rulers of tens. And they judged the people at all seasons: the hard cases they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves.

The cry for justice is as ancient and as universal as mankind itself. But the quest for justice is a dream without a hope of fulfillment unless there is also a final arbiter -- a court -- that can interpret the law and enforce justice. And as the Midrash tells us, the law must exist on two levels: the fundamental law that comes from fire and water and is given in the wilderness to all persons, great and small, and the temporal law that comes from those chosen to rule and the lawmakers we select to represent us in meeting our contemporary and changing needs. Whenever the fundamental law and the temporal law come into conflict, the conflict must be resolved by a court on the highest level and the fundamental law must prevail.

The founders of our great republic of America, a nation that celebrates pluralism and has become truly the melting pot of those from all cultures and beliefs, fully recognized in our American Constitution those eternal principles of justice so beautifully given voice in the Midrash. Those principles are now being challenged in America in a confrontation that could prove to be the most serious constitutional crisis since our great Civil war. For, if I may paraphrase Abraham Lincoln, our wise leader during that war, we are now engaged in a great confrontation testing whether our nation, or any nation, conceived in and dedicated to those principles, can long endure. I speak, of course, of the 32 proposals now before the Congress that would strip our federal courts of jurisdiction or the power to grant remedies in certain constitutional cases. Those proposals now in
Congress do threaten constitutional crisis, because they challenge our Constitution, our separation of powers and our very system of American government. They test, in other words, whether the temporal law shall be allowed to prevail over the fundamental law.

This nation, this successful melting pot, serves the world as a model of representative democracy through its fundamental law — a written Constitution and Bill of Rights. The genius of that model is the doctrine of separation of powers that divides government into three branches, each having an assigned role and each operating to a degree as a check and balance on the others. We have conferred on the executive a role of policy-making and administration, on the legislative the power to respond with temporal laws to serve changing public needs, and on the judicial the interpretation of law and the preservation of the rights and liberties secured to our citizens under fundamental law by our organic document.

Many of our citizens look back today to simpler, and perhaps happier, days when, in their view, we enjoyed more traditional values of home, family and religion. As a response to that view, a number of lawmakers are proposing legislation to enforce more traditional moral and social views in such areas as abortion, prayer in schools and busing as a means of school desegregation, among others. These bills pose troubling moral and social questions for all of us on which we are surely entitled to our own strong individual opinions. But the means being used — taking those questions away from the federal courts — are what threatens the crisis.

Assuming that the public truly desires a change in our mandated moral standards, how far should we go in our search for a solution? Some argue that we should go however far the solution requires — at whatever cost. But if we can justify violating our fundamental law — the Constitution — merely by claiming we need to, the Constitution will soon be a scrap of paper. Two hundred years ago, William Pitt said, "Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom. It is the argument of tyrants; it is the creed of slaves." If we are to remain free, necessity must yield to the Constitution and our system of government.

The current proposals for temporal change do respond to the views of some today that our traditional moral and social values have gone astray somehow through interpretations by our federal courts of our fundamental law. They pose challenges to our Constitution and to the independence and supremacy in constitutional questions of the federal trial and appellate courts and of the United States Supreme Court itself. In other words, they challenge our very form of government by threatening elimination of the third branch of government, the judicial.

I am not prepared to say today that all measures to curb the authority of the federal courts in these areas are flatly unconstitutional. That is a question for the courts themselves to decide. And if that question could be answered easily and definitely and if it did not lead to a confrontation among our three branches of government, there would be little difference between it and other constitutional questions that are disposed of daily by our federal courts. It is precisely though because the present legal question is not free from doubt that a constitutional crisis is threatened and that we must be especially vigilant to fight for the
voluntary policy that has given our judicial branch its independence, power and ultimate supremacy in dealing with constitutional cases.

It is true that constitutional scholars have expressed a variety of views on the proper interpretation of the Constitution respecting these bills in Congress. The materials from which the debate is made come from the Constitution itself and from our national history. Article III, Section 1, of the Constitution confers on our Supreme Court the supreme judicial power, subject to such exceptions as the Congress may make, and gives Congress the power to create so-called inferior federal courts. Article III, Section 2, extends the judicial power to all cases arising under the Constitution. Article VI makes the Constitution and federal laws and treaties the supreme law of the land. Article V creates procedures for the amendment of the Constitution. The first ten amendments to our Constitution -- our Bill of Rights -- date from 1791 and, like some other provisions of the original Constitution and further Amendments, guarantee all our citizens certain fundamental rights that may not be abridged by government. The Supreme Court of the United States does not have the capacity to hear all federal cases, and, therefore, Congress, under its Article III power, has created the district Courts and Courts of Appeal. But the hearing of constitutional cases has gone on in these so-called lower or inferior federal courts for so many years as to become well-nigh a vested right to a hearing before them.

To me, the most reasonable deduction from these materials is that Congress has no power to make any exceptions to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court that would limit the rights under fundamental law that are guaranteed our citizens by the Constitution and Bill of Rights. Congress doubtless can remove the jurisdiction of inferior federal courts to consider purely statutory matters or can create new courts or shift their responsibilities or define their procedures. But, considering the physical inability of the Supreme Court to hear all cases, it seems unreasonable that Congress can, by abolishing lower courts or limiting their subject matter or available remedies, deprive citizens of the right to be heard on all constitutional questions in the federal courts that I believe is guaranteed by Section 2 of Article III of the Constitution. Therefore, in my personal view, all bills that would limit the power of the federal courts at any level to consider or grant remedies in cases affecting the fundamental rights of citizens under the Constitution should be held unconstitutional.

Some have expressed an extreme contrary view, that the exceptions clause of Article III grants Congress unlimited power to take away the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and that the power of Congress to create inferior Article III courts implies the power to abolish those courts or any part of their jurisdiction. If that view prevailed, a door would be opened that would permit a future Congress to wipe out federal jurisdiction in all constitutional cases. At best, we would have 50 federal constitutions -- one for each state. But there are even worse possibilities. If state legislatures followed the example of Congress and deprived state courts of constitutional jurisdiction, we would have no judicial review at all in constitutional cases. And what if Congress, exercising national powers like the commerce power, in the name of federal supremacy, then undertook by statute to regulate our citizens in every state to the exclusion of state law? We would have a purely central parliamentary system of government -- one governed only by temporal law -- without an enforcable written national fundamental law.
But whether all the current proposals are constitutional or not, they represent dangerous policy and threaten constitutional crisis. The admitted purpose and intent of these bills is to change the constitutional law as interpreted by the branch of federal government to which the power of interpretation was entrusted by the Constitution. That intent demonstrates a conviction that our forefathers' trust in the federal judiciary was misplaced. It also betrays a terrible cynicism about our state judicial systems, for it is based on the belief that variations that are pleasing to current local majorities will be read into our national organic document by local courts. If that belief is unfounded, the bills are pointless. If it is well founded, it tells us that the proponents are willing to convert America into a kind of league of independent states instead of one nation. It is a kind of non-shooting civil war.

I cannot believe that any American today really wants a league of states rather than a nation. What is happening is that today's expediencies are blinding us to the fundamentals. We have come to take for granted our strength standing together as a nation, governed by one wise Constitution that has served well, under our federal courts, to protect the fundamental rights of all of us against the transient whims of local majorities and the shifting policies of our successive elected executive and legislative representatives.

But suppose, for a moment, that our Constitution or its interpretation by the courts are wrong, or are perceived wrong in changing times. We are not frozen into an inflexible document. Changing circumstances produce new cases and new court interpretations. If those interpretations are also deemed wrong, the framers wisely gave us the amendment process to change our organic document itself. It is true that the amendment process is cumbersome, or, as Justice Felix Frankfurter said, "leaden-footed." And so it should be. Before we alter our Constitution, we should be required to take more than usual care that we do not destroy the very fabric of our system. If we permit Congress, or even the people, to avoid this process at will by simple majorities, we have, at best, but a parliamentary system. We have lost our Constitution as the supreme law of this land. And if we lose that, we lose our system of government.

Abraham Lincoln, our leader through the Civil war, strongly disagreed with the Dred Scott decision of the United States Supreme Court. Yet he said: "We think its decisions on constitutional questions, when fully settled, should control, not only the particular cases decided, but the general policy of the country, subject to be disturbed only by amendments of the Constitution as provided in that instrument itself". And, significantly, he added: "More than this would be revolution."

Congress over many years has wisely rejected the temptation to heed calls from either the right or the left to substitute its role for that of the federal courts. In the past we have weighed the perceived needs of our time against the fundamental values of our unique system of government and invariably have concluded that, as a matter of policy, those values vastly outweigh our momentary needs. We have avoided the constitutional crisis -- the ultimate confrontation of the legislative or executive branches with the judicial. We must do so once again -- whatever the pressure may be. Benjamin Franklin said "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."
For I have a deep concern — a concern that I believe it is the duty of every American to put above all else — that far outweighs our concern over change in moral values. That is the concern that we may take for granted the rights under fundamental law that we achieved at such cost. I am concerned that as Americans — as a people who have lived with liberty for 200 years — it is becoming difficult for us to believe that that liberty will ever vanish. I am concerned that we no longer believe that we can ever be anything but free. That concern should be the business of every citizen, but it should be the special concern of every group that began as a minority, but under our Constitution has achieved freedom and equality.

We must never lose our love for this nation and the liberty it bestows upon us. We must feel deeply what it means to be free — and contemplate the alternative. We must glory in the genius of our fundamental law — the Constitution and Bill of Rights. We must never forget that it is the federal courts that guarantee us our precious constitutional rights. So long as we guard our system and preserve the proper function of each branch of government, we cannot help but remain American and free and equal members of one nation. Those principles came to us through fire and water in the wilderness that was the beginning of our nation. We must ensure that those fundamentals of law again prevail over unwise temporal substitutes.
Following the address by David Brink, the Plenum general session on "The Assault on the Bill of Rights" continued with a report by David N. Saperstein, Co-Director and Counsel of the Religious Action Center of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, which surveyed some of the specific legislation now pending in Congress that were broadly discussed by Brink. Excerpts from Saperstein's report follow:

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During the 206 years of this nation's history, there have been but a few moments when the very form and essence of the Republic have been imperiled. We face such a moment now. I wish that David Brink's eloquent and thoughtful analysis could be heard by every American, for the challenge of this moment is so perilous precisely because this nation as a whole has not yet recognized the danger. No domestic agenda item is more pressing for the Jewish community relations field than the necessity to respond to the attack of the religious and secular right on the Bill of Rights and on our Constitutional system of government. The announced purpose of a number of bills before Congress is to first, try to change the results reached in specific Supreme Court decisions of the last twenty years; and second, to prevent the Supreme Court from interfering with future efforts of Congress to redefine the fundamental Constitutional rights and liberties of the American people.

The Congressional battle over these Court jurisdiction bills is a most profound one. It is a struggle for the very future of this nation -- a struggle reflecting two radically different views of politics, of the Constitution, and the human condition. The founders of this nation proclaimed through our Bill of Rights, the existence of inalienable rights inhering so deeply in the essence of every human being that not the President, not the Congress, not the majority of the people, not even the totality of all Americans, short of scrapping the very essence of our Constitution or our Constitutional system, not all of them together, can deprive a single citizen of such rights. Thus, for example, even if every other American believed, wrongly I'm sure, that what you had to say was incorrect, or that your religious beliefs were flawed, nonetheless, you would be guaranteed the inalienable right to speak and worship as you believe.

Since 1803 (Marbury vs. Madison) our independent Federal judiciary has been the final arbiter and protector of those individual rights and of the Constitutional system which protects those rights. But today, there has risen in our land, the religious right and its supporters who would seek to redefine our fundamental Constitutional liberties and freedoms. Faced with a Court which has rejected their ability to do this, they now seek to change the powers and jurisdictional authority of those Courts. Thus, what is at stake in this struggle is the very survival of a central feature of our democratic political system for over two centuries: the essential role played by an independent federal judiciary in our system of checks and balances and separation of powers.

In total, 32 bills have now been introduced in this Congress which would circumscribe the jurisdiction or other powers of the Supreme Court or the lower federal courts. These bills cover the gamut of the political agenda of the religious and the secular right groups. If they succeed in implementing their political agenda, we will have a very different nation than we have known for 200 years. The fundamental Constitutional framework which has been the bulwark of our liberties, our freedoms, and therefore our progress, is in danger. After all, what use are the Constitutional protections of our rights, if by a simple majority vote the Congress of the United States can pass a blatantly unconstitutional law and then prevent the federal court system from declaring that law to be unconstitutional?
Among the 32 bills already introduced, the religious right and their congressional supporters are focusing on those three areas where they believe they have the best chance for success: abortion; what they misleadingly refer to as "school busing"; and school prayer. In the last session of Congress, which was decidedly more liberal than this Congress, the Helms School-Prayer Bill passed the Senate, and was only narrowly defeated in the House. The Congress we have now is far more conservative. Indeed, last January, the newly-elected conservatives arrived with great hopes that they would move rapidly on this legislation.

However, while the bills have moved along the legislative process, none of them have yet passed. There are three reasons for this: First, due to the work that some of you have been doing, there is increasing opposition across the country to this legislation. Secondly, to the chagrin of conservatives in the Congress, the White House has taken an extremely low profile on these issues. The President has indicated he would sign legislation if passed, but has shown no willingness to push for the passage of such legislation, as he has done with his economic program and with AWACS. Third, and most importantly, at the beginning of this Congress, Senate conservatives, the President, and Senate Republican leaders reached an agreement that they would put aside the more controversial social issues until they had succeeded in implementing the President's economic program. In return for this agreement, Senator Baker, the Senate Republican leader, promised that there would be a "free-standing debate" on these issues. While there have been some preliminary skirmishes on these issues, all of which we have lost, there has not been that free-standing debate nor a firm move to bring this legislation to a vote. However, it is quite likely that we will face votes on these issues in the first few months of the coming second session of this Congress. So now is the time for us to gear up to oppose and defeat such efforts.

Let me sketch briefly, the legislation in the three areas of priority concern for the Right which has the best chances for passage. First, is school-prayer legislation. While a number of school-prayer bills have been introduced in this Congress, the focus has been, and will continue to be, on Senator Helms' Bill S-481 which would simply prevent the lower federal courts and the Supreme Court from hearing cases on voluntary school prayer. There have as yet been no hearings in Senator East's sub-committee on this bill, but Senator Helms has been promised that such hearings would be held during the Spring. I am certain when that happens we will be well geared-up to testify at those hearings and respond to that challenge.

The second issue is abortion rights. There are two major bills now awaiting action by the full Senate Judiciary Committee. The first of these bills, S-158, introduced by Senator East, is known as the "Human Life Bill." Section I. of the bill would redefine life as beginning at conception. This section attempts to overrule the 1973 Supreme Court ruling in Roe vs. Wade simply by redefining a Constitutional term; i.e., life. Section II. would prohibit the lower federal courts from issuing injunctions or other court orders in abortion cases. If a woman is illegally being denied her right to choose to have an abortion, the lower federal courts would then be powerless to prohibit that illegal government activity. The other pending abortion measure SJ Res. 110, does not focus so directly on court jurisdiction. Although it impacts on that, but is rather a proposed Constitutional Amendment that would give Congress and the States joint authority to restrict abortions, taking it away from the federal courts and would declare as a matter of Constitutional law that no right to an abortion is secured in the Constitution.

The final area which is likely to be addressed as soon as Congress reconvenes, is that of school integration, misleadingly referred to as the so-called "busing bills." I say misleadingly, because in fact, these bills restrict a great deal more than just busing. Again, there are two basic pieces of legislation in this area. The first,
Senator Hatch's Bill S-1760, would limit the ability of the lower federal courts to issue remedies in school desegregation cases. The Bill would prohibit federal courts from issuing injunctions, or other orders which involve busing or pupil assignments, except in instances of intentional segregation. Now, every single major desegregation order since Brown vs. Board of Education in 1954 has utilized some form of pupil assignment. You can't change the old patterns without rearranging the schools. S-1760 would, therefore, bar courts from issuing any meaningful desegregation orders. The bill would also permit all past cases involving pupil assignment, all past cases since Brown vs. Board of Education, to be re-opened upon the motion of any citizen in the community. The burden would then be on the original plaintiffs in the case to prove intentional segregative activities.

The second Bill in this area is S-1647, sponsored by Senator East, which would not only prevent federal courts from issuing busing orders, but would also prevent them from issuing school pupil-assignment orders, but would also prevent them from ordering teacher transfers, or even school closings, as a means of desegregation. Furthermore, the bill would require federal judges to dissolve existing orders, stemming from past cases, upon the application of a State or local educational agency that has been affected by busing. Unlike Hatch's bill, such dissolution of past orders is automatic, without any hearing of the factual legal issues by the Court. In essence, as far as remedies which the Court can use to promote integration are concerned, these bills would reverse Brown vs. Board of Education and remove the federal court system as a protector of this fundamental civil right for all Americans.

Saperstein went on to state that the possibilities of passage for this type of legislation may be more immediate than some realize. He noted that some restriction on the Court's powers or jurisdiction has already been enacted in language attached to the Justice Department authorization bill S-981. Saperstein also indicated that although the more liberal House can be expected to kill such bills in Committee, once such a bill is passed by the Republican-controlled Senate, it might go directly to the House floor through the use of a "discharge petition." Indeed, he noted, a discharge petition, submitted by Representative Mott, to bring an anti-busing Constitutional Amendment directly to the House floor, has already gathered 202 of the needed 218 signatures. Similarly, Saperstein cited the dangers of the rarely-used Senate Rule 12, which permits a single Senator, if there is no objection, to bring legislation to be held at the Clerk's desk, which can then be brought to the floor at any time at the sponsor's request. Saperstein noted that Senator Jesse Helms has already placed three dangerous court-limiting bills at the Clerk's desk under Rule 12. Helms found himself alone in the Senate Chamber one evening, and took this step which greatly increases the potential danger of Senate passage.

Saperstein ended his report by proposing five areas of activity for the efforts needed to defeat the legislation which poses the potential "Assault on the Bill of Rights":

First, there needs to be a massive letter writing and political advocacy campaign. If we can achieve only half of the communications with Senators and Congress members which we did on AWACS, we will have this struggle won. We should be proud of what we did on AWACS. The AWACS battle was one of the finest examples of effective use of legitimate democratic rights which we have ever seen in the whole history of this nation. It should be a model for us in addressing struggles like federal court jurisdiction. I would suggest to you that the stakes in this issue are at least as consequential to the well-being of the Jewish community and this nation as was AWACS. Think of this: Some quick math indicates that if each of the Reformed, Conservative and Orthodox Congregations; if each of the chapters of the national agencies...
represented here; if each of the local organizations represented on your CRC — if each of these produced only 50 letters per month on crucial issues like this, we would be producing a quarter of a million letters each month. The impact of such a campaign on the political process would be enormous, making us probably, the single, most effective force in Washington. I hope each of you will make such an institutionalized letter-writing campaign a major priority when you return home. Fifty letters a month is not such a great task to accomplish.

Second, this issue provides perhaps the finest opportunity for strengthening coalitional ties which we have been given in the past fifteen years. These issues should be a priority for all of our traditional coalitional groups. Particular emphasis should be placed on working with the Black and Hispanic communities on the school integration bills; with the women’s groups on the abortion rights bills; and with the Christian community on the school prayer bills.

Third, this effort must be as broad-based as possible. It must be non-partisan, involving Republicans and Democrats alike. Despite Senator Hatch’s contention, he is dead wrong about AIPAC. AIPAC’s work should be a paragon for us in cultivating bipartisan support. Much of the lobbying staff of AIPAC came from Republican Senate and House offices. AIPAC encouraged mainstream Republican leaders like Senators Packwood and Boshwitz to lead the fight. We must emulate that pattern in this political fight as well. We must reach out to liberals and conservatives alike. The single most consequential argument is that it does not matter what you believe about school prayer, abortion and school integration. These bills should be opposed because they undermine the very Constitutional system of government no matter what your views are. We must remind potential allies that this is nothing less than assault on the judiciary. If successful, a more liberal Congress in the future might well restrict the rights of conservatives. The Courts protect us all. This principle, if it is imposed into law as the right-wing seeks to do, is a very, very difficult principle to stop in its application to future events.

Fourth, every CRC, every chapter of a national agency, and every synagogue should undertake a comprehensive educational campaign in our communities. A concerted letter-writing campaign to the editors of local newspapers; educational public forums utilizing civic leaders, judges, law professors, ABA leaders, particularly non-Jews and wherever possible, political moderates and conservatives should be undertaken. Each one of your CRC’s should hold such a forum in the next two to three months.

And finally, it is terribly important to monitor the developments that emerge on this issue. There is superb material being produced on these issues by almost all of our national agencies. Saperstein reviewed some of the available material, including UAEC’s 250-page resource manual entitled "The Challenge of the Religious Right: A Jewish Response." He noted that the manual reviews each issue posed by the religious right, and follows up with action suggestions.

Saperstein also recommended that each agency should be plugged into one of the information networks, such as Chai Impact, that provides updates and action alerts on the progress of rights-limiting legislation.

Saperstein concluded by stating: This is, as Jerry Falwell has claimed, the decade of destiny for America. The only question which you must answer is whose vision will be the destiny of your children, Falwell’s or your own.
Assault on the Bill of Rights

Summary of Question & Answer Period

Q. Mr. Brink was asked what kind of action campaign is the American Bar Association planning to deal with the "Assault on the Bill of Rights" he described.

A. David Brink: I suspect that I have gotten some good advice from Mr. Saperstein. We have our mid-year meeting coming up next week. At that time, I will have a legislative priorities meeting with our Washington staff. What we have done to date is to testify at every opportunity we have, and to speak to our members. I agree with him that we need a national mail campaign. I intend when I speak to the convention next week to urge that, and to subsequently organize it; and I want to get our legislative representative working with Mr. Saperstein and with whatever other network is working on this. Frankly, I think we, like many others, did not appreciate that these bills would be taken that seriously. When the year started, we were against them, we opposed them strongly, almost unanimously in our last meeting in August; but they have been sleepers, and we now see that they are much more to be taken seriously than we perceived at first. We do intend to pursue it much along the lines that Mr. Saperstein described.

Q. Mr. Brink was asked to assess the role that the courts might assume on these bills, and the chances of them actually becoming law, since they may be subject to some immediate judicial review.

A. David Brink: If I understand your question, it is even if these bills are passed, will they not be held unconstitutional. I think they will be, but I think there may be serious problems, especially if there are procedural blocks that are put in the way of bringing such cases before the Court; and conceivably some of them might even be held Constitutional. What I think is extremely dangerous for this country, though, even if we assume that the Supreme Court will knock out any of those bills that survive the process, is the great polarization that will occur. Everybody on the extreme right who is already saying that the Courts are over-stepping their bounds, that they are outside their own Constitutional powers, that they are too activist, etc., will say this proves it, and we will have almost a revolution in this country if the only thing that stands between the enforcement of these bills and their enactment is the United States Supreme Court. I think it would be tragic if we got to the position where all of the wrath of everyone in the country who feels that the substance is good and does not understand the law, were directed at our Court system. I think some very dangerous consequences would follow as a further step. So I think as a policy matter, we must stop them before they ever get to the Supreme Court.

A good deal of discussion focused on the situation at the state legislative level, which parallels the federal situation in many regards. Mr. Saperstein pointed out that "in almost every state across the country," amendments similar to those described are being proposed to State Constitutions. Saperstein urged equally strenuous efforts to defeat these state measures, and recommended that delegates communicate with appropriate information networks, such as Impact, which can provide updated information on specific state situations.

Delegates also discussed so-called "motel bills" that are being proposed in many state legislatures, which seek to accomplish similar rights-limiting goals as the Federal proposals discussed during the session. Vigilance, strong opposition, and coalitional efforts to defeat these state measures were urged.
Q. A tactic currently being employed in "The Assault on the Bill of Rights," a call for a federal Constitutional Convention, links activity at both the state and federal level. At the time of the Plenum, 31 states had already passed some form of a call for a Constitutional Convention on the specific question of considering an Amendment to the Constitution that would require a balanced federal budget. The speakers were asked to comment on the Convention call, and the danger it poses.

A. David Saperstein: Not all of the Constitutional Convention calls have come out in the same form. The law is not clear about whether or not a pattern of calls for a convention will actually trigger a convention unless the wording of what they call for is identical. That also points out the extreme danger. Once that Constitutional Convention is held, there is no way to regulate what it can or cannot do. Theoretically, it could scrap the entire Constitution and radically change and alter the essence of the country, so it's very important to oppose these Convention calls in the states.
TO: Mr. Harry Hurwitz
Mr. Gideon Shamron
Mr. Mordecai Artzieli
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Rabbi David Teitlebaum
Rabbi Lester Frazin
Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein
Rabbi Martin Weiner

FROM: The TAV Staff

Dear Friends in the Israel Government and American Jewish Community:

First of all, it is with deep appreciation that we announce the following schedule - in particular, we appreciate the marvelous cooperation extended to us by Mr. Arnold Feder of the Sacramento Jewish Federation and Mr. Mordecai Artzieli of the Israeli Consulate General in San Francisco.

These responsible "channels of communication" have enabled us to rally responsible evangelical-Christian support for the coming events. We are assured that both Mr. Artzieli and Mr. Feder, as schedules are confirmed, will keep you in immediate touch with unfolding events.

As further reports enter our office, we find ourselves convinced that the PLO fully intends to implement a nationwide effort to discredit Israel before the general public of this nation. Thus, we have accepted this overt challenge to moral and Scriptural decency and have launched a "counter effort" through the drafting of "An Evangelical Christian Declaration on Behalf of Israel and the American Jewish Community." The Declaration will be presented as the centerpiece of a nationwide effort to secure signatories which will be presented to both the Government of Israel and the American Jewish Community leadership at the 35th Anniversary of the State of Israel in 1983.

Below, we have affirmed the following schedule to take place:

June 11, 1982

8:30 AM - June 11, 1982 - "Declaration Breakfast" to be held at the El Rancho Racquet Resort in West Sacramento - notify Mr. Feder of any who would desire to attend. Local and national Israeli/Evangelical, and Jewish leaders will participate.

11:00 AM - Press Conference held after Breakfast - We will clearly present to the press exactly what we are doing and why—again reps. from all three communities will participate.

7:00 PM - "Praise Celebration" - In front of Parking Area of Capitol Christian Center - Jewish and Christian leaders of both communities.

Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; though the labour of the olive shall fail and the fields shall yield no meat; though the flock shall be cut off from the fold and there shall be no herd in the stalls: yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation.
will participate.

8:00 PM - 8:30 PM - "SHALOM TO ISRAEL PROCESSIONAL"
From parking area of CCC to
2300 Sierra Blvd. (Mosaic Law
Congregation)

8:30 PM - Shabbat Worship Service & Joint Worship
Celebration - includes formal presentation
of "Declaration" by leading Evangelicals
to Israeli and American Jewish Leadership.

We heartily encourage your participation at these events
as well. It has been a real pleasure talking and communicating
in writing with everyone of you - forgive us if we have left
anyone out of this communication who should be included - it is
purely unintentional.

We are all taking some bold steps these days - may the Lord
grant us all large hearts and wide understanding as to the impor­
tance of this current "engagement" and strengthen our resolve that
we will be found faithful to Him in these matters. The misunder­
standings from within and without simply do not compare to the
urgency to bring both of our communities into a greater under­
standing and spiritual fulfillment of each other's role. Certainly,
we would be so foolish to assume that we grasp all that is taking
place among us - but that is as it should be. We firmly believe
that as we begin to live honestly, sincerely and peacefully with
one another that such an experience is contagious and will bear
eternal fruit - we have a long ways to go but we are starting.

God bless,

TAV EVANGELICAL MINISTRIES

Doug Krieger
TAV West Coast Rep.

P.S. Please review the enclosed draft and return your comments
to us as quickly as possible. It is a "rough draft" and
needs work to be done on it - please, do not be polite - be
responsible!
EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN DECLARATION
OF SUPPORT FOR
ISRAEL AND THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

1. We are committed to the security of Israel. We believe that the Land of Palestine is the inalienable possession of the Jewish People; that the promises made to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob have never been abrogated; and that the establishment of modern Israel is an unmistakable fulfillment of Biblical prophecy. The rebirth of Israel points to God's faithfulness and to the sustaining might which undergirds all of His promises.

2. We believe that Jerusalem is the eternal capitol of the Jewish State and should not be internationalized or made the subject of any negotiation or compromise.

3. We are vehemently opposed to anti-Zionism - not to a reasoned and morally sound criticism of the policies of an Israeli government - we do not find fault with that. Surely, the Israelis must be held accountable to the same standards of international law and justice by which all nations are judged. But we are opposed to a blind, irrational hatred of Zion - a hatred which demands that Israel be judged by an impossible standard of righteousness; a hatred which hails her before the Court of World Opinion for conduct which cannot be condemned by any measure of fairness and equity.

4. We cannot ascribe even a modicum of virtue to the PLO until its leaders unequivocally renounce the use of terror and embrace the legitimacy of the Israeli State.

5. We support the efforts of the American Jewish Community in behalf of Israel. Those efforts reflect a natural and understandable affinity and must never be made the basis for accusing our Jewish friends of dual loyalty.

6. We believe that God has never abandoned His covenant relationship with the Jewish People and continues to bless those who bless them and curse those who curse them.

Your remarks (additions/deletions) are greatly appreciated - please review before June 5, 1982 - contact TAV Evangelical Ministries at (916) 443-7735 or P.O. Box 160711, Sacramento, CA 95816 - Mr. Douglas Shearer.
"DECLARATION BREAKFAST" - JUNE 11, 1982 - 8:30 AM
($5.50 per person RSVP - pay at door)
The blessings for OBEDIENCE, (Leviticus 26:1-13) the punishment for DISOBEDIENCE.


PS: God will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children of ISRAEL (Deut. 5:9) The true RELIGION OF ISRAEL was a blood SACRIFICE. (Leviticus 17:1) The New Testament completes God's Holy Bible. (Isaiah 8:16) MORE SCRIPTURES ON THE APPEARANCE OF MESSIAH: PSALM 94:9 PSALM 97:6 PROVERBS 4:5 ISAIAS 35:4 ISA. 25:9 ISA. 26:1 DANIEL 7:13-14

All who have sinned against me, I will blot him out of my book of LIFE. (Exodus 32:33) Israel rejected God, as their King. (1 Samuel 8:7)
TO: Marc Tannenbaum
FROM: Jayne Galpern

Date 3/10/83

For approval
✓ For your information
__ Please handle
__ Please talk to me about this
__ Read and file
__ Returned as requested
__ Your comments please

Remarks:

Should we make contact with these people?
December 21, 1982

Dear Friend of Israel:

"Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; may they prosper who love you." Psalm 122:6.


"I will bless those who bless you---" Genesis 12:3.

We are providing many with an opportunity to do just that—to pray for, comfort and bless Israel. In order to become aware of and recognize the newly formed Pittsburgh Consulate of the United States Christian Embassy, Israel, you are cordially invited to attend a "Bless Israel Luncheon" for both the Jewish and Christian communities to be held on January 5, 1983 at 12:30 P.M. in the fellowship hall of South Hills Assembly of God, 2725 Bethel Church Road, Bethel Park, Pa. 15102.

We are privileged to have as our guest speaker, Jan Willem van der Hoeven, Chief Spokesman for the International Christian Embassy, Jerusalem. Accompanying Mr. van der Hoeven will be Merv and Merla Watson, Co-founders of the Embassy in Jerusalem, who have been blessed by God with a worldwide music ministry.

Reservations are being taken by Ginny Kaffka at 278-0171 and Lee Hoffman (during the day) at 831-1910. There will be no charge for the luncheon, but a "love offering" will be taken to bless Israel.

Our guests will also be appearing live during "Getting Together" on Channel 40 the same evening at 9:00 P.M.

Shalom,

Rich Kaffka, Interim Director
Pittsburgh Consulate

cc: USCEI

"I will bless those that bless thee..." Gen. 12:3
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 9, 1984
to Area Directors
from Sonya F. Kaufer
subject Op-eds

The two op-eds attached are both related to the very timely church-state issues dominating the news.

Please try to make quick use of them, and send clips as they appear.

Reagrrds,

Sonya F. Kaufer
DON'T FORCE PRAYER IN THE SCHOOLS

Advocates of Constitutional amendments to permit organized prayer in the public schools argue that recent Supreme Court decisions have been hostile to religion. The fact is, however, that children are perfectly free to pray on their own, whenever and wherever they wish.

All that the Constitution says -- and the Court has underscored -- is that the public schools may not organize official prayer during the school day or provide school property for organized prayer.

The clear intent of the proposed Constitutional amendments now under discussion is to encourage state and local governments to include prayer sessions in their class scheduling. Even a "silent prayer" amendment would allow the state to set aside time during the school day for religious observance.

Such amendments are fraught with danger. Any prayers selected for classroom are likely to violate the religious beliefs of some children, forcing them to suffer in conspicuous silence or leave the classroom and bear the stigma of being "different." And so-called theologically neutral prayers are likely to be bland, trivial and meaningless.

Far from eliminating religion, Supreme Court decisions are carefully worded to allow freedom of worship, to block government interference with it, and to protect our First Amendment guarantee against "establishment of religion." Congress would be well advised to reject emotional appeals to tamper with the delicate balance between church and state in this country.
UNITY AMIDST DIFFERENCE

Recent debates about creches on public property and proposed school prayer amendments have pointed up the differences between Jews and conservative Evangelical Christians on these issues. But they should not obscure the many issues and concerns the two faith communities have in common.

Over the past decade three national conferences have brought Jewish and Evangelical theologians and scholars together to share their legacies and discover common values. The last such conference, co-sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and Gordon College, took place only recently, in Wenham, Massachusetts.

Jews and Evangelicals both revere the Hebrew Bible and base the moral education of their children on the stories of its heroes and heroines. Both love Israel, the land of the Bible, share an admiration for the achievements of modern Israel and a concern for its security. Both repudiate anti-Semitism and are pledged to eradicate it. And both are familiar with the ugly history of religious persecution, and therefore esteem and defend the American system of voluntarism and pluralism.

While Jews and Evangelicals continue to differ over conversion and mission, the decade-long dialogue has made each group sensitive to the other's views and feelings. Many Evangelicals now repudiate tactless, hard-sell techniques of proselytization, while many Jews now recognize the legitimacy of a personal witness as a Christian's expression of faith.

That two religious communities so separated by geography and ignorance of one another have learned to talk and trust is surely a healthy sign of the times.
Dear Family and Special Friends,

It has been more than two years since we have been in touch with many of you—what better time to renew our contact than at this Christmas season, when we celebrate the birth of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. We trust this will be a spiritually meaningful time for you in spite of the problems facing our world today. The past three years have been very different and eventful years for us. We have been away from our home more than at any other time, and we have been privileged to be a part of several unprecedented events.

Three significant ones have been of primary interest in our ministry over this period. The International Conference for Itinerant Evangelists in Amsterdam in July, 1983, was the result of a vision which began in Billy Graham’s heart several years ago—to bring together from all over the world men and women who are in the same type of ministry in which he has been involved for over 40 years. Billy asked me to be chairman of this event, and it was a thrilling experience, with over 4,000 attending from 134 countries. These evangelists came expecting God to do something in their hearts, lives and ministries—and He did. The meetings were electrifying, especially through the singing, as some 4,000 voices were lifted—as one—in praise to God, each in his own language! We have been inspired and encouraged since the conference through letters from thousands of those evangelists, sharing with us their joy in the way God has been blessing in their ministry, as a result of the conference.

Second, there was Mission England—three months of meetings in six cities (Bristol, Sunderland, Norwich, Birmingham, Liverpool and Ipswich) in a three-year program of evangelism. The results far exceeded all of our expectations, both as to attendance and the number responding to the invitation to receive Christ. More than 5,000 churches cooperated, and a total of over one million people attended the 41 meetings.

The average response was just under 10 percent (almost double the normal average). BBC-TV and Radio and Independent TV, as well as the national and regional newspapers and magazines gave outstanding coverage. BBC-TV ran a five-
day series at prime evening time culminating with a one-and-a-half hour program from Birmingham, including the invitation and the opportunity for the audience to write for materials and, to the astonishment of all concerned, over 8,000 responded!

And third, there was our trip to four cities in the Soviet Union (Moscow, Leningrad, Tallinn, and Novosibirsk). In 12 days Billy Graham spoke over 50 times, including messages in Baptist and Orthodox churches in each of the cities. This was an exciting and spiritually rewarding trip, with unprecedented opportunities for Mr. Graham to preach the Gospel with simplicity and authority to government officials, theological students and crowds of people in all the churches. Many responded when the invitation was given at the close—for all of this, we give the glory to God and thank you for your prayers.

These have been just three of the highlights. There were additional meetings, of course—some larger, and some smaller perhaps, but no less significant in God’s sight.

What’s ahead? We have already started preparations for Crusades in Sheffield, England, in 1985 and Paris, France, in ‘86, as well as another Conference for evangelists in Amsterdam in July of ’86. This will be for evangelists whom we could not accommodate in ‘83 and others whose names have been sent to us by those who did attend. The total has grown to between ten and eleven thousand! This all means that we will again be out of the country a great deal of the time in the next two years.

From time to time we are asked what about retirement? Yes, we’ve thought about it, but at the moment there is just too much to do! In October, I celebrated the 33rd anniversary of my 39th birthday! We have so much for which to be thankful to our Lord. We are both well and happy in our ministry. Our children and nine grandchildren are also well. We miss seeing them as much as we would like to, but, over the past months, there have been several happy occasions when we have either been able to visit them or to have them visit us.

We have come to the conclusion that “home” to us is wherever we are together in the world. However, it is always good to get back to our little place among the pines in South Florida.

We thank God for every remembrance of you. Your friendship over the years, and especially your prayers, have meant much to us. Now—as we pray for you—we ask you to pray with us and for us during 1985 and 1986. May God richly bless you.

With our love,

Ethel and Walter Smyth.
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
611 Olive - Suite 1923
St. Louis, MO.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

FROM: Randy Czarlinsky, St. Louis

GENE DU BOW
HAROLD APPLEBAUM
SUSIE SCHUB
ABE KARLIKOW
GEORGE GRUEN
LOIS GOTTESMAN
MARC TANENBAUM
JIM RUDIN
YEHUDA ROSENMAN
EVAN BAYER
ADAM SIMMS
MORT YARMON
JONATHAN SCHENKER
SHEBA MITTLEMAN
ST. LOUIS, FEB. 28...Citing the many varieties of Christian people and varieties of Evangelicalism, an Illinois Evangelical theologian told two St. Louis Jewish groups last week that there is a potential danger for Jews from fundamentalist Evangelicalism.

Dr. Robert Webber, a professor of theology at Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois, and an author of a number of books on the theology and activity of Evangelicalism, said "the word 'Evangelical' is tossed around so much by the media it is misunderstood."

In separate addresses to the St. Louis Chapters of the American Jewish Committee and the National Council of Jewish Women, Dr. Webber said there are four usages of Evangelical:

- the first is linguistic. Evangelical is derived from a Greek word meaning 'good news' (such as Jesus came preaching the good news - Kingdom of God has arrived) Every group of Christians is Evangelical in that sense.

- Historical - Christians were never called Evangelicals until Reformation when Erasmus referred to Luther as Evangelical. Evangelical came to refer to reforming groups of Protestantism.

- Theological, which is affirmation of particular theological ideas. Evangelicals are those who want to maintain credal of 6th Century Church, which is where Christianity was before breakoffs occurred.

- Through the 20th century there have been breakoffs in Evangelicalism.

Dr. Webber, who calls himself a centrist Evangelical, said there are at least 14 cultural Evangelical sub-groups that run from fundamentalist to conservative to Reform, to Pentacostal, etc.
"Jerry Falwell does not have a monopoly on Evangelicalism. There are not as many people involved in fundamentalist churches, as one is led to believe," he said.

"There is so much opposition among Christians to their extreme right view, it won't go far."

He said one must remember that there are over 300 different expressions of Christian faith, and the response of the Christian community has been so overwhelmingly negative that it has stopped the religious right in their tracks.

In describing their marketing techniques to AJCommittee's board, he said "Their appeal is the correlation between religion and patriotism toward a divine destiny. They have wrapped the Bible and cross in the flag."

"Their people are ignorant of history, for they believe the United States was founded by God as a Christian nation."

"Falwellians believe God's basis for operation is the U.S.A. There is great danger in this premise," Dr. Webber warned.

In explaining the danger, he said "the religious right is trying to rewrite U.S. history."

"While I'm Christian, this is not a Christian country, nor should it be, this is a pluralistic society. If you don't agree with the religious right you are labelled as non-Christian and un-American. So where's the place for Jews and other non-Christian groups?"

Dr. Webber recalled his own non-conformist experience and the consequences as an undergraduate at Bob Jones University where he says, "there is no freedom of thought."

"You are told how to act and think."

"The program at Bob Jones is a curriculum for bigotry." Dr. Webber also noted that he was expelled from Bob Jones for not conforming.

Webber, who has also been barred by administrators from speaking at certain Evangelical seminaries warns "not to get caught up in making compromises with fundamentalist Evangelicals."

"Be in touch with your own perspective, which is totally apart from Falwell."
Aligning with Fundamentalists...

Responding to the question on whether Jews should seek help from fundamentalists because of their support of Israel, Webber cautioned those who support such an idea.

"The fundamentalist believe God continues to work with the Jewish people - evidence is the creation of the State of Israel, which inaugurates the end of the world. The fundamentalist supports Israel not because of Jews, but because of Christian theological perspectives," he said.

"Christianity," Dr. Webber says, "is essentially not attached to any political or economic ideology; yet, the religious right is webbing itself with political right ideology," he said. "If it's taken to the extreme, the religious right would control the executive branch, Congress, education, media and literature."

"Christianity must not, under any circumstances attach itself to a political or economic ideology, for it can function in any society."

"The church is not there for political purposes. The church must address values and issues, but allow individuals to determine their actions through learning."