



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 38, Folder 15, Moral Majority, 1978-1980.

CHRISTIANITY TODAY

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEWS RELEASE
12-16-80

About 50 participants gathered for the second National Conference of Evangelical Christians and Jews, held at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Ill., Dec. 9-11.

The representatives from each faith were broadly diverse--consisting of orthodox, conservative and reform Jews, and fundamentalist evangelicals as well as those in the broad middle and more liberal shades of evangelicalism.

During the three days of academic presentations, informal sharing and formal addresses, Jews and evangelicals grew to a closer understanding of their common goals, their misconceptions about each other and their theological differences. One evangelical participant said "Evangelicals are the best friends Jews have today" and another sounded the call for Jewish assistance in the fight for freedom from government intrusion.

Both sides wholeheartedly repudiated the persecution of Jews and the anti-semitism that still arises in many quarters today. The sharpest disagreement emerged in the issue of conversion. Jews deeply resent the heavy-handed proselytizing and they look upon it as the final anti-semitic act of spiritual genocide. Evangelicals stood firm in their belief that the Christian gospel must be brought to all people, but one speaker urged that evangelizing be done in a humble and loving manner. Both sides also divided over the question of whether it is possible for a Jew to become a Christian while remaining a Jew. Most Jews felt that "Jewish Christian"

was a contradiction in terms, while most evangelicals didn't see any logical contradiction. They believe that Christianity is not the repudiation of Judaism, but its culmination in Jesus Christ as the Messiah of Old Testament prophecy.

Some of the evangelical speakers called for an admittance that despite all disclaimers, evangelicals have been guilty of anti-semitism in the past, and all called on evangelicals to join their Jewish brethren in vigorously opposing it wherever it is found. "Our culture must learn that to attack the Jews is to attack evangelicals, said one of the evangelical speakers.

Jewish participants cited instances of coercion and manipulation in Christian conversion attempts in the Jewish community, and representatives from both sides agreed that spreading the gospel by deceitful means should be stopped.

Evangelical speakers asserted that while they support Israel, this was not their only reason, nor even their main reason, for their general appreciation and support of Jews. This support is based on a sense of justice toward all people, the common heritage Jews and evangelicals enjoy by virtue of the Old Testament, and the political and personal values which both sides uphold, and which are so terribly needed in today's world.

Chairmen for the conference were Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national director of interreligious affairs of the American Jewish Committee, and Kenneth S. Kantzer, editor of CHRISTIANITY TODAY magazine. The two organizations sponsored the meeting. Conference coordinators were Marvin R. Wilson, professor of biblical studies at Gordon College, and Rabbi A. James Rudin, assistant national director of religious affairs of the American Jewish Committee.

(Over)

The first National Conference of Evangelical Christians and Jews took place five years ago in New York, and it was the first time American representatives of the two religions met in an extended consultation on the range of issues common to them.

Towards the Removal of Anti-Jewish Language
from Divine Principle: A First Step

Andrew M. Wilson
Harvard Divinity School
March 15, 1980

In recent decades, various Protestant and Catholic denominations have become sensitized to the problem of anti-Semitic language, and have made efforts to revise their doctrinal formulations and catechetical materials to excise such objectionable material. The Unification Church is a new religious movement that understands itself to be Christian. Though this church itself has no history of anti-Jewish prejudice, and has thereby attracted large numbers of Jewish young people into its ranks, even promoting many to leadership positions, some Jewish leaders, notably A. James Rudin, "Jews and Judaism in Rev. Moon's Divine Principle: a Report" (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1976), have pointed out the occasional use of language that may appear to be anti-Semitic in Divine Principle, the official textbook of the church. Written in Korea in 1966, Divine Principle contains some phrases that may have been drawn from the tradition of anti-Jewish polemic that runs throughout Christianity. Its authors had no contact with Jews, and they could not have been aware of the progress that has been made in identifying and removing such language in other American and European churches.

The most recent exposition of the theology contained in Divine Principle, prepared by Chung Hwan Kwak and entitled Outline of the Principle, Level 4 (New York: HSA-UWC, 1980), shows a marked reduction in language which would be objectionable to Jewish people. After receiving comments from church members of Jewish extraction, the author of this new text has eliminated many of the most objectionable phrases of anti-Jewish polemic in a manner consistent with its basic theology. Although Divine Principle remains the "official" text of the Unification Church, it is a bulky and difficult work, and has long ceased to be the primary catechetical source for a movement which does most of its teaching through lectures. Several lecture guides have been successively employed for instructing members in lecturing, and Outline is the most recent and comprehensive of these. Furthermore, the improved language and exposition in Outline will probably be incorporated into a new official text, which is expected to be written later in this decade. The concern to improve language and phraseology will continue in order to more accurately express the theological message of the church, not only on the issue of Jews, but also on issues raised by feminists, Evangelicals, blacks, and other theologians, many of whom have been consulted in Outline's preparation.

Language objectionable to Jews in Divine Principle has centered around two main themes: Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus, and the consequent punishment which the Jews have borne as a result of that sin. In Outline, the language of the first theme has been considerably clarified, and the second theme has been entirely eliminated. Let us compare corresponding passages of the two texts in detail.

In its discussion of the crucifixion, Divine Principle (pp. 142-47, 342-71) speaks of the Jews as a faithless people, who opposed Jesus and finally collectively crucified him. Although the role of the leaders is noted, and especially the failure of John the Baptist is regarded as a stumbling-block to the Israelites' acceptance of Jesus, their own faithlessness is accented as if it were deliberate "treachery" and "rebellion" against God. In Outline (pp. 57-64, 167-70, 177, 202-3), the theme of ignorance is stressed more than faithlessness, and words like "treachery" and "rebellion" are avoided. John the Baptist's failure, which confused the people based on their messianic expectations, is characterized as "the main factor that prevented the people of Israel from coming to Jesus." The people's inability to recognize Jesus as the messiah was the logical result of John's loss of faith, given the trust the people had put in him:

[John's] personal ignorance and disbelief led not only to his individual loss, but also to the disbelief of most of the people and ultimately to Jesus' crucifixion. (p. 64)

The theme of faithlessness of the Israelite people is also present in Outline, but it is nuanced: faith in God is distinguished from faith in Jesus. This is an important distinction; the Jews were "faithless" only in respect to Jesus, not in respect to God (though it was God's will that they believe in Jesus, according to the Principle).

When Jesus came two thousand years ago, there was great faith--of a sort--among the people. Some prayed day and night in the temple, and they memorized the commandments. They tried hard to keep all of the commandments and laws that God had ordered them to keep. They faithfully offered their tithes, and they fasted. In this sense, they had great faith in God, yet there was no true faith. Why didn't they have a faith that would allow them to believe in Jesus as the Messiah sent by God? (p. 202f.)

Generally, the Jews of Jesus' day are considered to be analagous to the Christians of today, and the picture which is presented of both groups is mixed (p. 213). The leaders who rejected Jesus are contrasted with the "simple lower class Jews" who accepted his teachings, just as among today's Christians, the Unification Church is reaching out to the layman and the "unchurched" in the face of total rejection by the ministers and bishops in the established denominations.

The second theme concerning the Jews in Divine Principle, that their later suffering was a result of their negative response to Jesus, is completely eliminated in the new text. Unfortunate phrases such as:

due to the Jewish people's disbelief in Jesus, all were sentenced to hell, (p. 146)

Since then, the Jews... have been scattered, suffering persecution through the present day... (p. 147)

... because they delivered Jesus to be crucified; and therefore, the chosen nation was scattered. (p. 200)

... from the moment of their rebellion against Jesus, who appeared as the Messiah, God was compelled to deliver them, His elect, into the hands of Satan. Thus God, together with His son, who was betrayed by the Israelites, had to abandon and turn against His chosen nation. (p. 359)

have been systematically excised from the corresponding sections of Outline. Instead, the Outline has this to say concerning the consequences of the crucifixion of Jesus for the Jewish people: Israel lost the opportunity to become the "glorious core of Heaven," the Jewish and Christian worlds were divided, and the people of Israel would have a "troubled future," (pp. 58-9) along with the suffering which would result for the early Christians who would have to bear the brunt of the indemnity for that historical failure.

Perhaps the clearest illustration of how the theme of the guilt for the crucifixion has been reworked is seen in a comparison of Divine Principle and Outline on their explanations of the notion of collective sin, i.e. the sin each person shares by being a member of a nation, religion, or other social group. Divine Principle (p. 88f.) uses the fate of the Jews as its primary example:

The chief priests and scribes of the people had Jesus crucified, therefore all the Jews have undergone God's punishment, taking responsibility as a whole.

But in Outline (p. 51) we read:

The faithlessness of John the Baptist, the chief priests, and the scribes toward Jesus was responsible for his crucifixion. Though a relatively small group of people was directly responsible for the crucifixion, Christianity in particular, and mankind as a whole, have had to bear responsibility for that sin and as a result have suffered greatly. (emphasis mine)

The theology in the new text is actually more consistent with the larger thrust of the Principle, which sees Christian history as restoring the history of Israel by following a parallel course. Christianity, as the second Israel, took all of the indemnity of the first Israel upon itself, and therefore it has had to pay for the sin of the crucifixion, rather than the Jews. This is the only way a theology of election can be consistent with the notion of divine punishment; for if Christians are to consider themselves the new chosen people, they ought to bear the chosen people's responsibility. To hold otherwise is to separate the blessings of Israel (to the Christians) from their responsibilities (to the Jews), and hence to encourage the worst sort of triumphalism.

In the discussion of the several Israels, Divine Principle mainly follows the Pauline theology of Romans 9-11. But one unfortunate phrase, not Pauline, is that the Jews had "God's heritage" taken away (p. 519). Outline removes this phrase, and with good reason. The concept of the chosen nation refers only to the special providence to receive the messiah, while the heritage of Judaism, its history, traditions, and achievements, should not be taken as lost even though the position of "Israel" has been transferred. The entire discussion must be seen in light of the universal purpose of the providence of God:

The Lord does not come to save Christians alone. While Christians are the central nation in God's dispensation, all people are to be God's children, and God himself has created and guided all of the major religions toward the restoration of the people of their particular region, time period, and circumstances. (p. 210)

However, a serious problem remains in defining the place of post-Biblical Judaism in terms of a theology of several discontinuous "Israels", considered in terms of a linear providence in which the Jewish portion runs from Moses up to Jesus, followed by the Christian portion which begins with Jesus and continues to the present day. This language seems to imply that Judaism is an anachronism, having lost its purpose since the establishment of Christianity. The idea that God has created and guided all the major religions, quoted above, suggests that this interpretation may be too harsh, but a positive role for post-Biblical Judaism is nowhere specified in either text. Perhaps a starting-point for considering the role of modern Judaism is to be found in the text of Rev. Moon's Washington Monument address:

Judaism was God's first central religion, and Christianity was the second. The Unification Church is the third, coming with the new revelation that will fulfill the final chapter of God's Providence. These central religions must unite in America and reach out to unite religions of the world.

Judaism, centered upon the Old Testament, was the first work of God and is in an elder brother's position. Christianity, centered upon the New Testament, is in the position of the second brother. The Unification Church, through which God has given a new revelation, the Completed Testament, is in the position of the youngest brother.

These three religions are indeed three brothers in the Providence of God....

From this point of view, Judaism has a very active and central role to play in today's world. How these two viewpoints can be reconciled should be an important topic of discussion for future expositions of the Principle.

The newly-published Outline of the Principle, Level 4 clearly has attempted to give a more accurate picture of Judaism and its theological position in God's dispensation. Though the improvement is dramatic, there are still some remaining problems. We can only hope that further discussions on these issues by interested parties, both from within the Unification movement and from the Jewish community, can bring more clarifications in future textbooks which explain the tenets of the Unification Principles. We also hope that Unification Church leaders on the local level will become conscious of these changes and the issues behind them, to advance the education of individual church members.

**BAPTIST BOARD VOTES FUNDS
FOR 100-STATION TV SYSTEM**

By Religious News Service (1-14-81)

FORT WORTH, Texas (RNS) -- The Southern Baptist Radio and Television Commission plans to spend millions of dollars to establish a national television network of 100 stations.

Its board of directors voted here to create a corporation called the American Christian Television System (ACTS) to oversee the project.

"I asked the Lord to give me \$28 million," Commission President Jimmy R. Allen told the trustees. He noted that the satellite transponder linkup cost for a planned six years of telecasting has been estimated at \$18 million alone -- a figure about equal to the commission's annual budget for the next six years.

The Southern Baptist Sunday School Board has agreed to provide a \$10 million "insurance credit" to assure the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) that the new corporation will have adequate financial backing. But none of that money is expected to be spent, since it is anticipated that local Baptist groups will construct the low-power stations.

(more)

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Hundreds of low-power 100 and 1,000 watt stations are expected to be established in the next few years, broadcasting over a limited radius of 10 miles. The FCC announced a freeze on license applications for such stations effective Jan. 15, and the Southern Baptist commission decided to act before that time.

The proposal still needs the approval of the Southern Baptist Executive Committee, which meets in Nashville Feb. 16-18, and the Sunday School Board's involvement, which has been approved by its executive committee, must be ratified by the full board when it meets in Nashville Jan. 27-28.

Cost of the stations is expected to vary from \$50,000 to \$100,000 each. In some cases, a station could consist of a room in a church, if it simply transmits network programming and does not originate anything locally.

Grady Cothen, president of the Sunday School Board, said, "The potential for the Southern Baptist Convention is that within 10 years as many as 10,000 churches may have the equipment to receive telecommunications."

MORAL MAJORITY

Candidate Questionnaire

Candidate _____ Office sought _____ Date _____

1. Do you believe the U.S. Constitution to be a viable, effective instrument with which to guide our government? YES
2. Should loyalty to the Constitution of the U.S. be a requisite for holding public office or teaching public school? _____
3. Should persons on strike be entitled to welfare benefits, especially food stamps? _____
4. Do you believe that abortion on demand should be legal? _____
Government subsidized? _____
5. What is your position on the Equal Rights Amendment? _____
6. Are you in favor of legalized gambling? _____ Dog Track? _____
Horse Track? _____ Lottery? _____
7. Are you in favor of legalizing marijuana? _____ Decriminalizing marijuana? _____
8. Are you in favor of permitting, within this state, the establishment of companies to manufacture alcoholic beverages? _____
9. What is your attitude on capital punishment for specific crimes? _____
10. Do you believe pornographic films and literature should be permitted for general distribution? _____
11. Will you make an effort to stop or control pornography? _____
12. Do you favor equal rights for homosexuals? _____
13. Do you favor allowing homosexuals to teach in public schools? _____
14. Where does primary responsibility for children rest? _____
15. What causes inflation? _____
16. Will you support pro-family legislation? _____
17. Do you favor child advocacy legislation? _____
18. Do you believe legitimate ministries of religion such as churches, schools, and child care should be licensed and/or regulated by the state? _____
19. Do you think that any form of government should have authority over any legitimate, Biblical ministry of God? _____
20. Do you favor charitable contribution tax deductions as they now stand? _____
21. What is your attitude on separation of church and state? _____

Moral Majority Candidate Questionnaire

- What is the proper place of God in the affairs of Government? _____
23. Would you support an active program to stop narcotics traffic in public schools? _____
24. What is your feeling about voluntary prayer and Bible reading in public schools? _____
25. What do you feel about teacher and administration accountability for tax dollars spent on public education? _____
26. Do you favor competency tests for students? _____ Teachers? _____
27. Would you favor court action (____) or legislative remedy (____) for correction of constitutionally questionable laws on church-state issues? _____
28. Do you favor taxation of churches, Christian schools, and other non-profit church ministries? _____
29. Do you view churches as a charitable public trust? _____
30. Will you support the reform of the judicial system by reducing plea bargaining? _____ Lenient jail sentences? _____ Tightening probation policies? _____ Uniform punishment for crimes? _____
31. What do you feel about free enterprise as opposed to a controlled economy? _____
32. Are you a church member? _____
33. Where? _____
34. Do you attend church regularly? _____
35. How often? _____ (times per month)
36. What is the Bible? _____ What is your attitude toward it? _____
37. Have you read any of the Bible within the last month? _____
38. How can Biblical standards be applied in government today? _____
39. Do you believe statesmen should look to the Bible for guidance in making political decisions? _____
40. Would you pledge to seek out and apply Biblical standards and God's guidance in the implementation of your office? _____
41. If you stood before Heaven's gate and were asked on what grounds you sought admission, how would you reply? _____
42. Have you ever been born again? _____
43. If you died today do you know you would go to Heaven? _____

The above answers basically summarize my positions and I consent to their release by Moral Majority.

Signature _____

7-1-12-81

SUICIDES INCREASE AFTER HOLIDAYS, PSYCHIATRIC NURSE WARNS (520)

WASHINGTON (NC) -- "There is a seasonality for suicides," said Sharon Sloboda, associate professor of psychiatric and mental health nursing at the Catholic University of America in Washington.

"The likely seasons for suicide follow the Christmas and New Year holidays, the suicidal individual's birthday and the anniversary of a particularly significant event for the person, such as a divorce or the death of a loved one," Ms. Sloboda said.

"More suicides probably occur during January than in other months because expectations for the holidays were unfulfilled," she stated. "There is something magical about our expectations" at Christmas that "are intensified by all of the advertising, television specials and musical broadcasts. Suicidal individuals think about childhood joys and family fun once experienced, but when such happiness is not repeated during the holidays they can become extremely despondent."

The likely suicide has a deep-seated emotional and mental depression, Ms. Sloboda said. Other signs to look for in someone seriously thinking of committing suicide include a loss of interest in what is happening in the household, sad and empty talk, a break-up in a relationship or failure in school or at work, giving away prized possessions, expressing suicidal sentiments, a change in eating or sleeping patterns. Previous attempts at suicide, even if they were not overt efforts such as taking a few more aspirins than usual, are also an indication.

Suicide ranks in the top 10 causes of death in the United States, she said, with approximately 30,000 suicides reported each year.

The psychiatric nurse said statistics show that more women than men attempt suicide, but that men actually kill themselves more often. "Men employ more lethal methods like shooting and hanging, whereas women usually attempt to die from a drug overdose which means more women can be saved from suicide attempts."

If a person is concerned that a friend or relative may try to kill himself, Ms. Sloboda recommended listening and watching for clues which are often verbalized: directly question the person about his intention to commit suicide and his plans to carry out the act; seek assistance through crisis intervention centers, which are located in almost all communities, and use an affirmative and directive approach dealing with the person. "Depressed people cannot direct themselves," she said, "and if they are suicidal you have to meddle in their lives."

The nurse advised persons contemplating suicide to lower their expectations and try to be more realistic during periods of high stress, not to overextend themselves, to keep social events or job commitments within manageable range and avoid financial pressures by not overspending money. If they are alone and depressed, she urged them to plan a schedule of enjoyable activities with friends or treat themselves to a gift or special meal. If the holidays or some other events are depressing, she said, find someone to talk realistically about the issues involved. That someone, she said, does not need to be psychological therapist but can be a friend, relative or clergyman.

END

8-1-12-81

CHICAGO PROGRAM AIMS FOR NATIONAL AUDIENCE ON CABLE TV (520 -- With NC photo to come)

By Bob Zyskowski

CHICAGO (NC) -- "American Catholic with Father John Powell, S.J.," a Catholic television program with a popular host, minicam features and state-of-the-art production techniques, is set to go on the air in late January.

Aiming for a nationwide audience, "American Catholic" will be broadcast on more than 1,600 cable television stations and several conventional stations throughout the United States.

Taped before a live audience and produced in the studios of the Catholic Television Network of Chicago (CTN-C), the weekly half-hour series has a potential audience of 9 million homes, according to officials at CTN-C, where

(MORE)

production of the first 13 segments has been going on since last summer.

"American Catholic" enters the Catholic Church in an age that is being called the "electronic church," where the latest technology -- including satellite transmission in the case of this new program -- is used to spread a religious message to a mass audience.

"We wanted to do Catholic TV in a way it hadn't been done before," producer Dennis Wilcox told The Chicago Catholic, weekly archdiocesan newspaper. "We didn't want it to be a lecture. Anybody who wants to hear a lecture will go to one anyway. We wanted something that would grab the viewer and pull him in.

"Maybe it's from my news background, but I thought we had to use the visual aspects of TV. TV is a visual medium."

The visuals Wilcox and executive producer Mrs. Judy Muntz will put on home television screens throughout the U.S. blend a colorful set, modern stylized logo, Father Powell -- with his expressive face and hands and heartwarming stories -- and the special minicam features, short glimpses into the lives of everyday Catholics.

Father Powell, a professor of theology at Chicago's Loyola University, has been in front of the camera before for three short television series which continue to be aired throughout the country. Shown in Toledo, Ohio, one show from an earlier series outdrew the popular "Mork and Mindy" program.

Father Powell may be better known, however, as the author of several million-selling books, including "Why Am I Afraid to Love?" and "Why Am I Afraid to Tell You Who I Am?"

On "American Catholic" the Jesuit priest talks both to the studio audience and the camera on themes such as faith, Christian attitudes and love during several segments which vary in length from three to seven minutes.

In between Father Powell's messages are feature presentations filmed in locations from Boys Town in Nebraska to the training camp for the Chicago Bears professional football team in Lake Forest, Ill.

The segments have become Catholic versions of ABC television's "up close and personal" approach to personalities featuring, for example, spots on jazz pianist Mary Lou Williams talking about her faith; Coach Ray Meyer of highly-ranked De Paul University explaining the importance of self-esteem and how he instills it in his basketball players and some not-so-well-known Catholics -- a suburban mother of seven, a Hispanic businesswoman and a Midwestern farmer -- describing the meaning of faith in their lives.

END

9-1-12-81

NEW RELIGIOUS PERIODICAL PUBLISHED IN CANADA (140)

CALGARY, Alberta (NC) -- A new periodical, Religious Studies Bulletin, started publication in Calgary in January and plans to publish five times a year.

The bulletin "intends to inform clergymen and educators on important publications in the field of Scripture and religion, providing at the same time academic guidance on modern religious trends, in the light of revelation and tradition," said Jesuit Father Leopold Sabourin, editor of the bulletin.

Father Sabourin is a member of the Religious Studies Department at the University of Calgary. Previously he taught Scripture for 15 years at the Biblical Institute in Jerusalem and in Rome. He is author of the book, "The Psalms, Their Origin and Meaning."

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Editors: Religious Studies Bulletin is available only by subscription. Annual subscription is \$8 in the United States and \$9 in Canada. The address is Religious Studies Bulletin, P.O. Box 3391, Station B, Calgary, Alberta T2M 4M1, Canada.

END

DEC 6 1980

Your
opinion

'Moral Majority' fights for all'

As a supporter of the Moral Majority, I must take issue with some points raised by Solomon Herbst, critical of the "religious right." Groups such as the Moral Majority are working to prevent a future Holocaust. How? One way, believe it or not, is by opposing abortion on demand. Why? Because a fetus is a human being not yet born. It looks and acts like a human being, even in the first trimester of pregnancies.

What has this to do with preventing another Holocaust? Simply this. In order to accept abortion, one has to believe that preventing one person's "inconvenience" is more important than another person's life.

If one believes this, he has no grounds to disapprove Stalin's slaughter of the bourgeoisie, Idi Amin's slaughter of Christians, and Hitler's slaughter of Jewish people. All these groups' existence were "inconvenient" to those rulers.

Nobody is safe if his existence depends on whether a highplaced ruler happens to like him. Groups such as the Moral Majority believe that a person has worth entirely apart from any "inconvenience" his existence causes others. This is opposed to the current secular humanist thinking that puts one person's "convenience" above another person's life, and which could easily lead to another Holocaust. This could happen if, for instance, Jews were considered "inconvenient" in regard to getting enough Arab oil.

So please, Solomon, easy on the attacks. We are on your side. — PAUL ADAMS, Bayonne





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M. Jannet

JAN 2 1981

December 31, 1980

Mr. Hyman Bookbinder
American Jewish Committee
818 18th St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20034

Dear Hy:

Following our brief discussion of the new Israel Embassy, I thought you might be interested in the enclosed letter and telegram which was sent to Nate Perlmutter by Jacob Nehushtan, the Minister of the Embassy of Israel.

I really am very concerned about the part that the Israelis play in this delicate and, to me, dangerous game. Perhaps we ought to try to meet and talk about this at some stage.

My best wishes to you for a happy New Year.

Warm regards,

[Signature]
Dr. Daniel Thursz
Executive Vice President

DT/jcg
enclosure

[start]

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1 7035253795 MGM TDMT ARLINGTON VA 11-18 0527P EST

RELIGIOUS ROUNDTABLE Z ROWE
1500 WILSON BLVD
ARLINGTON VA 22209

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

7035253795 MGM TDMT ARLINGTON VA 209 11-18 0527P EST
ZIP
PRESIDENT-ELECT
HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN
1726 M ST NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON DC 20036

WE THE UNDERSIGNED, HAVE MET ON NOVEMBER 18, 1980, TO AFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF INCREASED UNDERSTANDING AND ACTION AMONG BIBLE-BELIEVING CHRISTIANS AND JEWS FOR A RETURN TO MORALITY AND ENLIGHTENED NATIONAL POLICIES IN AMERICA.

WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT MORALITY AND REAFFIRMATION OF PRINCIPLES OF FAITH NOT ONLY ON THE DOMESTIC AMERICAN SCENE, BUT ALSO IN TERMS OF OUR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. FROM OUR RELIGIOUS, MORAL AND STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE, ISRAEL SUPREMELY REPRESENTS OUR VALUES AND HOPES FOR SECURITY AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

YOU YOURSELF HAVE ON MANY OCCASIONS PUBLICLY RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, PARTICULARLY IN YOUR WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE OF AUGUST 15, 1979, ENTITLED "RECOGNIZING THE ISRAELI ASSET."

WE THEREFORE URGE YOU TO IMPLEMENT THIS NATIONAL SECURITY AND MORAL PERSPECTIVE THROUGH YOUR APPOINTMENTS IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE FIELDS. UNFORTUNATELY MANY OF THOSE VYING FOR SUCH POSITIONS HOLD VIEWS WHICH ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH YOUR POLICY PERSPECTIVE ON ISRAEL. NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE FULL CONFIDENCE AND TRUST THAT YOU WILL EXERCISE GOOD JUDGMENT REGARDING SUCH CRITICAL APPOINTMENTS.

SIGNED:

REVEREND DOCTOR JERRY FALWELL, PRESIDENT, THE MORAL MAJORITY
EDWARD E. MCATEER, PRESIDENT, THE RELIGIOUS ROUNDTABLE
PAUL WEYRICH, PRESIDENT, COMMITTEE FOR THE SURVIVAL OF A FREE CONGRESS

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**INTERFAITH LEADERS ATTACK
THE CHRISTIAN 'NEW RIGHT'**

By Religious News Service (10-7-80)

WASHINGTON (RNS) -- Led by former Southern Baptist Convention President Jimmy Allen, an interfaith panel attempted here to put some distance between mainline American religious groups and the partisan politics of the "Christian right."

While affirming the right of all Americans, including the Christian right, to become involved in the political process, the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders protested partisan efforts to label political positions "Christian" or "un-Christian" and to transform the country into a "Christian republic."

Speaking at a National Press Club news conference, Mr. Allen, now president of his denomination's Radio and Television Commission, described the new right as a "very complex constellation of people."

He added that the term New Right is something of a misnomer "because many of them have been around for a long time in the political right and have found a new place to work in the religious electronic world."

Contending that persons on the extreme right and left have both the right and responsibility to hold and share points of view in "the marketplace of ideas," Mr. Allen said they do not have a right to "label their political solutions as the Christian answer and reject as un-Christian those who address the problem's solution in another way."

The Rev. Charles V. Bergstrom, executive director of the Office of Governmental Affairs Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., agreed, calling such an approach "arrogant."

Right-leaning religious organizations such as The Roundtable, headed by Southern Baptists E.E. McAteer and James Robison, Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority and Christian Voice have garnered heavy attention in the political arena this year.

(more)

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Although Mr. Falwell and Moral Majority claim to be non-partisan, the Lynchburg, Va., television preacher has publicly announced that he plans to vote for Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan. Christian Voice is more overtly partisan in its endorsement of the Republican nominee through its "Christians for Reagan" organization.

Decrying such activity, Mr. Allen said the principle of separation of church and state was never meant to "produce a bloc vote for a particular candidate or party in the name of religion." He said such an attempt "damages the churches by creating a political test for religious fellowship," and "damages the state by producing a religious test for public office."

Msgr. George G. Higgins, a Catholic priest and until Sept. 1 a long-time public affairs specialist for the U.S. Catholic Conference, was also critical of the Christian right's "highly partisan approach" which he described as "strangely selective and extremely simplistic."

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, interreligious affairs director for the American Jewish Committee, expressed concern also over efforts by the New Right to establish a "Christian republic."

Pointing to the writings of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and James Madison, Rabbi Tanenbaum challenged the assertion of some New Right spokesmen that the nation's founders envisioned such a Christian nation.

Rabbi Tanenbaum further commended the writings of the nation's founders to Southern Baptist Convention President Bailey Smith and "others who share his views about uniformity of conscience and religion."

The Jewish leader said Mr. Smith's August comment that God does not hear the prayer of a Jew "is not only religiously presumptuous and morally offensive, it is dangerous to the future of our democratic pluralistic society."

"He is saying," Mr. Tanenbaum added, "not only that the Jewish people have been living a religious lie for 4,000 years across 30 civilizations, he is also saying that because they are religiously invalid there is no place for them in presidential inaugurations or political conventions and ultimately there is no place for them in democratic America."

Protestants, Catholics, Jews *AJC Interfaith* Attack Christian Far Right 10.7.50

By Marjorie Hyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

15

A group of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious leaders yesterday criticized efforts of the Christian far right to mobilize a Christian vote in the political campaign.

"Religious and political extremism produce a no-win situation" for everyone, said the Rev. Dr. Jimmy R. Allen, past president of the Southern Baptist Convention and currently head of that denomination's massive radio and television operation.

"Churches lose because the anticlerical anger roused by such activities increases harassment by various political leaders at every level of political life," he said. "The religious message loses because its voice is lost in the din of political disagreement."

If the extremists win at the polls, Allen said, "government loses because the deals made with religious leaders put people in power representing a narrow sectarian point of view on matters vital to all the public."

Southern Baptist sources have said that a group of evangelicals met with Republican presidential nominee Ronald Reagan during his visit to a Dallas religious-political convention in August and received a promise from him to appoint right-wing evangelicals to office, in return for their political support. A Reagan spokesman confirmed that the evangelical leaders had met with the candidate and that the question was discussed, but the spokesman said no commitments were made.

While upholding the right of right-wing evangelicals such as the Rev. Dr. Jerry Falwell to express their viewpoint, the churchmen yesterday cited the dangers of efforts to "Christianize" government and politics. The Rev. Dr. Charles V. Bergstrom, director of the Lutheran

Council's Office for Governmental Affairs, said, "It is arrogant to assert that one's position on a political issue is 'Christian' and that all others are 'un-Christian,' 'immoral' or 'sinful.' There is no 'Christian' position; there are Christians who hold positions."

Bergstrom said it is "unnecessary and unbiblical for any church group or individual to seek to 'Christianize' the government or to label political views of members of Congress as 'Christian' or 'religious.'"

Msgr. George Higgins, a consultant to the United States Catholic Conference, called the campaign of the Christian right to create a "Christian republic" in this country "ominous and, particularly for Jews, cause for profound anxiety."

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, interreligious affairs director for the American Jewish Committee, said the emergence of the new Christian right is of concern to "a great many American Jews" as well as Americans generally. Tanenbaum said "there is too much demonology" in political discussions and assailed what he called the far right's oversimplification of complex political issues.

Several participants in yesterday's press conference, which was organized by Allen, said mainline religious leaders have been reluctant to go public with criticism of the evangelical right for ecumenical reasons.

Higgins, who like the others emphasized that he was speaking only for himself, added: "It's a delicate ecumenical affair. . . I don't want to get into a theological dispute."

On the other hand, Tanenbaum said that Falwell, the Lynchburg, Va., TV evangelist, "has begun to change as issues are raised. There seems to be a learning process going on."

Speaking on behalf of her family, Mrs. Martuscelli summed up Bishop Welsh's visit, "He made each of us realize the need to commit ourselves more fully to the Lord and to each other."

Family members described the 45-year-old bishop as "instantly friendly."

"Within five minutes of his arrival, we felt completely at ease with him and he felt comfortable with us," said Don Martuscelli, who works in Walla Walla County's road maintenance division.

"We didn't expect him to be so friendly and outgoing as he was," Mrs. Martuscelli added.

Bishop Welsh participated in all the family's usual activities, including attending a parish council meeting with Don and a DeSales High School football game. At home, the bishop relaxed with the family by wrestling with Eric and his 10-year-old brother Dean and watching a baseball game on television.

One night Bishop Welsh treated the family to pizza at a nearby restaurant.

"Bishop Welsh is a really neat and a really nice man," said 13-year-old Michelle, a student at DeSales Junior High School. "He was always joking with us about things."

"It was fun to have him here," Eric said. "Some of my friends did not believe me when I told them that the bishop was living at my house, but I think most of them believe me now after seeing the newspaper articles." He was referring to the extensive coverage of the visit by the Walla Walla Union-Bulletin.

The Martuscellis said they had profited by discussions with Bishop Welsh on prayer, finances and the strengths and weaknesses of a Christian family.

"We all agreed that money is not everything," said Don Martuscelli, capsulizing only a small portion of their talks.

Besides Michelle, Eric and Dean, the Martuscelli children are: Lisa, 18; Lynn, 17; Greg, 14; and Jeff, 12.

Bishop Welsh said his stay with the Martuscellis helped to remind him of the daily struggles of Catholic families and of the sacrifices demanded of them. "The Martuscellis are putting all seven children through Catholic schools," he said. "The tuition bills call for a great sacrifice on their part if they are to continue with their children's Catholic education."

The bishop praised the Martuscellis for setting time aside each evening for family prayer. "The only way a family can become strong and united is to live out their faith together and to pray together," he said. "Praying together is extremely important to ward off the secular ideologies hurled at families today through the media and other channels."

Bishop Welsh stressed that home is the best place to expose children to Christian values. "If parents believe in Gospel values and live those values, the children will surely inherit them," he said.

Last August Bishop Welsh asked Catholic families in the Spokane Diocese to write him a letter inviting him to live with them. The letter sent by the Martuscellis was the basis for their selection by a special committee of the diocesan Family Life Office. The committee judged that the letter best reflected the typical interests, needs, concerns and strengths of families today.

During his stay in Walla Walla, Bishop Welsh also visited what he called "the larger family of the church." He made calls at Assumption grade school, DeSales Junior and Senior High Schools, St. Mary's Hospital and parishes in the city. He also spent a day touring the state penitentiary.

END

13-10-7-80

RELIGIOUS LEADERS SCORE NEW RIGHT'S RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM (850)

By Jim Lackey

WASHINGTON (NC) -- The political and religious extremism of the so-called New Right poses a serious threat to American pluralism, a panel of four religious leaders said Oct. 6.

The four -- including Msgr. George G. Higgins -- said right-wing political activists do not have the right to claim that theirs is the Christian position and that those who disagree are un-Christian.

Msgr. Higgins, who retired in September after 36 years at the U.S. Catholic Conference, told a news conference in Washington that all organizations, whether secular or religious, have the right to speak out on public policy issues and even to try to persuade people to vote for their views.

"Nevertheless, I find their highly partisan approach to such issues to be strangely selective and extremely simplistic -- simplistic in the sense that it makes little if any allowance for the complexity of these issues and for the complexity of the political process itself," said Msgr. Higgins.

Others appearing at the news conference were Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, the Rev. Jimmy R. Allen, a past president of the Southern Baptist Convention, and the Rev. Charles Bergstrom, executive director of the governmental affairs division of the Lutheran Council, comprised of the three major Lutheran branches in the United States.

Msgr. Higgins said he was disturbed by religious evangelicals' "repeated and not very subtle emphasis on getting out what they indiscriminately call 'the Christian vote' or, even more ominously, creating in this country 'a Christian Republic.'"

He said such efforts have frightening implications for religious freedom and the separation of church and state.

"For members of the Jewish faith the very notion of turning this country into 'a Christian Republic,' in the ominous sense in which certain New Right spokesmen are using that term, must be a cause of profound anxiety," Msgr. Higgins said, noting especially the comment by the Rev. Bailey Smith, current president of the Southern Baptist Convention, that God does not hear the prayers of a Jew.

On the same subject, Rabbi Tanenbaum said such utterances about Jewish prayers are morally offensive, religiously presumptuous and dangerous to pluralism.

"He (Dr. Smith) is saying not only that the Jewish people have been living a religious lie for 4,000 years across 30 civilizations; he is also saying that because they are religiously invalid there is no place for them at presidential inaugurations or political conventions," said the rabbi.

Rabbi Tanenbaum also said it is a myth that America has sunk to a period of religious and moral inadequacy. He argued that America does not have a history of being overwhelmingly religious and that current enrollment in churches and synagogues is greater than ever.

Dr. Allen called "a dangerous distortion" the practice of labeling un-Christian opponents of the New Right's political agenda. He cited opposition by New Right religious groups to the creation of a new federal Department of Education and said arguments that creation of the department was immoral and would seriously hurt the family were "extremist."

Several questions by reporters at the news conference were directed at Msgr. Higgins and centered on the Catholic Church's involvement in politics.

Asked to compare New Right religious activism and the recent letter to Catholics by Cardinal Humberto Medeiros of Boston urging votes against candidates who support abortion, Msgr. Higgins said the cardinal's letter was an "isolated incident" and that there is no political movement in the Catholic Church similar to that of the evangelicals.

(MORE)

He added that Cardinal Medeiros' action was "open to serious questioning" and might not have been prudent, but he quickly pointed out that the cardinal's statement did not constitute a violation of separation of church and state.

He also wondered why the press gave so much attention to the cardinal's statement on abortion and so little attention to a similar letter by Bishop Leo T. Maher of San Diego, who recently warned Catholics that members and supporters of the Ku Klux Klan "are accomplices in the sin of racism." A Klan leader is running for Congress from a district within the San Diego Diocese.

"The question arises whether we've been selective in our church-state issues," said Msgr. Higgins. "The overwhelming majority probably will agree with what he (Bishop Maher) did."

Msgr. Higgins, who said he was a strong supporter of Israel, also wondered whether an extreme view of separation of church and state might ultimately give the Jewish community problems in trying to maintain U.S. support for Israel.

Citing another example where politics and the churches have intermixed, Msgr. Higgins remarked that in his years in Washington no one ever has objected to the practice of politicians for local and national office making pitches for the black vote from the pulpits of black churches in the District of Columbia.

Asked why Jesuit Father Robert Drinan, a Democratic congressman from Massachusetts, was asked to remove himself from office while Precious Blood Father Donald Shea, religious and ethnic liaison for the Republican National Committee, was not, Msgr. Higgins said he did not know the specifics of the Vatican decision on Father Drinan but said the church always has been concerned about priests holding elective office.

Noting that Father Shea does not hold an elective office, Msgr. Higgins nevertheless said, "I myself think he'd be better off doing something else."

END

14-10-7-80

MISSIONARY BISHOP NAMED AUXILIARY OF ST. PAUL-MINNEAPOLIS (310)

ST. PAUL, Minn. (NC) -- Bishop Richard J. Ham, a Maryknoll missionary bishop who served 21 years in Latin America, was named auxiliary bishop of St. Paul-Minneapolis by Pope John Paul II Oct. 7.

Bishop Ham, 59, had been serving as episcopal vicar for Hispanic ministry in the archdiocese since January. As a missionary in Guatemala he established the first seminary in that country in 120 years. In 1971 Bishop Ham opened the National Major Seminary of the Assumption in Guatemala at the direction of the Bishops' Conference of Guatemala.

Born in Chicago, Bishop Ham was ordained a priest in 1948. He was superior and director of the Maryknoll House in Minneapolis from 1954 to 1958.

After his Minneapolis assignment he began his 21-year career in Latin America, first as an associate pastor in Guilo, Guatemala, and later as pastor of a parish of Mayan Indians in Ixtahauca in that country.

Then he was transferred for one year to El Salvador where he founded both a parish and a Christian Family Movement in the Santa Ana Diocese. He returned to Guatemala in 1962 and served for six years as a pastor in Guatemala City. As archdiocesan director of lay movements there he established a Cursillo Movement.

He was ordained a bishop Jan. 6, 1968, and served as auxiliary to the archbishop of Guatemala City. He was in charge of a minor seminary and cathedral rector. During this period he supervised the building and opening of Guatemala's only major seminary.

(MORE)

Bishop Ham served as pastor of Nuestra Senora de Guadeloupe Parish during a time when a parish grade and high school were opened. He was also assigned as vicar for Religious, archepiscopal delegate for the chancery and was responsible for pastoral planning and a pastoral visit program.

When a gigantic earthquake devastated the country in 1976, he was archdiocesan coordinator of assistance and rebuilding.

END

15-10-7-80

WEST GERMAN RULING COALITION WINS DESPITE CRITICISM BY CHURCH (310)

BONN, West Germany (NC) -- Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's coalition government won a strengthened majority in the lower house of Parliament Oct. 5 despite criticism of certain government policies by the country's Catholic bishops during the election campaign.

The coalition of Social Democrats and Free Democrats, which has governed for the last four years with a 10-seat majority in the 497-seat lower house, increased that majority by 35 seats.

The Free Democrats, junior partner in the coalition, winning 10.4 percent of the popular vote, gained 13 seats for a total of 52. The Social Democrats, taking 42.7 percent of the popular vote, gained three seats for a total of 217.

The Christian Democrat-Christian Social Union opposition, led by Franz Josef Strauss, prime minister of Bavaria, won 44.7 percent of the popular vote but lost 16 seats for a total of 227.

In a campaign marked by exchanges of insults and accusations between the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats, one controversy arose when the Catholic bishops issued a pastoral letter criticizing government efforts to simplify divorce and abortion laws and complaining of a growing public debt. The letter was to be read from pulpits on Sept. 21, two weeks before election day.

The bishops said the government has so simplified divorce and abortion laws without giving preferential support to marriage and the family "that love is destroyed and peace endangered."

The bishops said also that "the dangerously high national debt must be corrected now." Stressing that issue, Strauss had said the government had allowed the debt to triple in the last 10 years and thereby increased borrowing and hurt private investment.

Calling the letter an illegitimate interference by the church in politics, Schmidt said, "I think we are entitled to expect that the church does not interfere in our area with phrases that are suspiciously close to those written in one particular party's electoral program."

Responding, Cardinal Joseph Hoffner of Cologne said, "I protest the insinuation that the bishops used campaign slogans of any party in the letter."

END

16-10-7-80

PROTESTANT THEOLOGIAN DEFINES AND URGES A 'PUBLIC CHURCH' (620)

By Liz Schevtchuk

WASHINGTON (NC) -- The church has gone public in a way it never has before. That's the assessment of the Rev. Martin E. Marty, Lutheran minister and church history professor at the University of Chicago, who sees "the public church" as a new force at work in the world.

He described it Oct. 6 at the Catholic University of America when he gave the seventh annual Paul Wattson Lecture, a series sponsored by the university and the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement. The series honors a pioneer ecumenist, Father Paul Wattson, founder of the Atonement Friars.

(MORE)

Rev. Msgr. George G. Higgins
Curley Hall
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C. 20064

STATEMENT DELIVERED AT PRESS CONFERENCE ON RELIGIOUS POLITICAL ACTION
National Press Club
October 6, 1980

My name is Monsignor George G. Higgins. For 36 years I served in various capacities in the area of social action on the staff of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops/U.S. Catholic Conference. I retired from the Conference staff on September 1, and I am now associated on a part-time basis with The Catholic University of America and Georgetown University. I should like to make it clear at the outset of my introductory statement that, for the purposes of this panel, I am speaking in my own name and on my own authority and only for myself.

Secondly, I should like to emphasize that I have no intention this morning of taking sides either for or against any candidate, political party, political party platform, or partisan political issue and will decline to answer questions concerning my personal political views under any of these headings.

Thirdly, I wish to state as a matter of strong personal conviction and not merely for the record that I do not question the right of any organization, secular or religious--whether left, right, or middle of the road--to speak out on matters of public policy on the basis of its own moral and ethical standards and to try to persuade its constituents or members of the general public to think and act and even vote accordingly. To the contrary, I believe that our nation is enriched when its citizens and social groups approach public affairs from positions grounded in strong moral conviction. To put it another way, I share the opinion of a leading Washington journalist who argued recently in a widely syndicated column that "it would be ludicrous (and, I would add, completely contrary to the best of our traditions) to say that to protect religious freedom, we must bar ... those professing any degree of religiosity from participating actively in politics....We need more political participants, more voters, in this society, not fewer." The fact that the columnist in question strongly disagrees with the political views of the specific coalition of religious organizations he was referring to makes his argument all the more timely and persuasive.

The question before us, then, is not the right of this or that particular organization or coalition of organizations to attempt, in the light of its own moral and ethical convictions, to influence the electorate but rather the manner or the style in which this right is currently being exercised by certain religiously oriented organizations which are widely thought of as belonging to the so-called New Right, ^{so describe themselves} I would deem it improper and harmful to the cause of ecumenism--a cause to which I am deeply committed--for a person of my religious background to engage in polemics with these organizations on theological grounds, other than to say that their uncritical use of biblical citations for partisan political purposes is rather worrisome in that it leaves no room for the give and take rationality of sane politics in a pluralistic society and, when pushed to extremes, as the Jesuit weekly magazine, America, recently pointed out, could become "a kind of moral fascism."

Theology aside, however, now that these organizations have moved over full force into the political arena, they cannot reasonably object on religious or ecumenical grounds if others, including other Christians, disagree with their political philosophy or with their political strategy and tactics. For my own part, while I think I understand why they are hurting and while I fully respect their sincerity in attempting to make political judgments in the light of their own moral and ethical principles, I disagree with their approach to political activism on several different but related grounds.

First of all, I am disturbed--and would have good reason to be even more disturbed, I suppose, if I were not a Christian--by their repeated and not very subtle emphasis on getting out what they indiscriminately call "the Christian vote" or, even more ominously, creating in this country "a Christian Republic." One doesn't have to be doctrinaire in his interpretation of the principle of religious freedom and the separation of Church and State to be put off, indeed to be frightened, by this kind of political extremism. For members of the Jewish faith the very notion of turning this country into "a Christian Republic" in the ominous sense in which certain New Right spokesmen are using that term, must be a cause of profound anxiety. I fully share their anxiety in this regard--all the more so in view of the fact that some of those who are desperately trying to move the

country in this direction are simultaneously debating, in the most unseemly manner, whether or not God listens to the prayers of the Jewish people. One can have little confidence in the ^{political} judgment of religious leaders so lacking in sensitivity (to say nothing of theological competence) as to indulge in this kind of bizarre religious polemics in the heat of a highly charged political campaign clearly aimed, by their own admission, at galvanizing the so-called Christian vote.

Let me state again, for the sake of emphasis, that I fully respect the right of the organizations in question to speak out on the moral and ethical aspects of public policy issues. Nevertheless I find their highly partisan approach to such issues to be strangely selective and extremely simplistic--simplistic in the sense that it makes little if any allowance for the complexity of these issues and for the complexity of the political process itself.

Let me develop this point in more positive terms by citing a profoundly different approach to religiously inspired political action as outlined by the Administrative Board of the United States Catholic Conference in its recent policy statement on Political Responsibility:

In order to be credible and faithful to the Gospel and to our tradition, the Church's concern for human rights and social justice should be comprehensive and consistent. It must be formulated with competence and an awareness of the complexity of issues. It should also be developed in dialogue with other concerned persons and respectful of the rights of all....

The application of Gospel values to real situations is an essential work of the Christian community....However, specific political proposals do not in themselves constitute the Gospel. Christians and Christian organizations must certainly participate in public debate over alternative policies and legislative proposals, yet it is critical that the nature of their participation not be misunderstood.

We specifically do not seek the formation of a religious voting bloc; nor do we wish to instruct persons on how they should vote by endorsing candidates. We urge citizens to avoid choosing candidates simply on the personal basis of self-interest. Rather, we hope that voters will examine the positions of candidates on the full range of issues as well as the person's integrity, philosophy and performance.

I fully concur in this statement and would emphasize that, while it was issued by the leadership of my own Church, it is not a sectarian statement. To the contrary, it

is my impression that it closely parallels the position taken on the subject of political responsibility by the majority of Protestant and Jewish agencies in the United States. In other words, those religiously-oriented organizations which, in attempting to form a religious voting bloc, have identified themselves in a very partisan manner with one political ideology and are rating candidates for political office according to their conformity to an officially approved "Christian way" to vote on a very selective range of disparate public policy issues represent a minority point of view within the American religious community. While I respect their constitutional right to go their separate way in this regard, I share the opinion of the editors of America magazine that their extremism does not make for "either good politics or good religion."



GALLUP SURVEY SHATTERS
EVANGELICAL STEREOTYPE

By Religious News Service (9-9-80)

PRINCETON, N.J. (RNS) -- Despite Ronald Reagan's assiduous courtship of evangelical Christians, he has failed so far to swing a monolithic bloc of them into his camp, according to a Gallup Organization profile of evangelical voters.

Unsettling some of the political stereotypes, evangelicals polled by Gallup tended to conform to national opinion trends on many political issues. And though all three prime presidential contenders profess to be born-again Christians, evangelicals are far more apt to identify President Carter's faith than that of the Republican nominee or that of Rep. John Anderson, the independent candidate.

Half of all Americans and 72 percent of evangelicals said they knew President Carter was a born-again Christian. Only 21 percent of evangelicals knew Mr. Reagan held those beliefs and 11 percent knew that about Mr. Anderson.

Significantly, Gallup reported that more than half of evangelical Christians wanted to support candidates who shared their religious beliefs, while 78 percent of non-evangelicals said a candidate's religion did not affect their voting preferences.

The poll, taken in August among a representative sample of 1,500 adults in 150 different locations, found high proportions of evangelicals in the South, and among women, blacks, old and less educated persons at the lower end of the income scale. Many of them also tended to vote Democratic.

The qualifications in this composite picture seemed to work overwhelmingly in favor of Mr. Carter who enjoyed heavy support from blacks and Southerners during his 1976 presidential campaign. Fifty-two percent of evangelicals said they preferred President Carter in the current contest compared to 31 percent for former California Governor Reagan and six percent for Mr. Anderson.

The latest Gallup survey identified about 19 percent of the adult American population as evangelical -- a group of about 30 million persons. Though higher figures have been recorded in other surveys, the definition of what is an evangelical was narrowed in this poll to three exclusive criteria:

- They claim to have had a "born-again" experience.
- They have presented their faith to others in order to win them to belief in Jesus Christ.
- They take a literal interpretation of the Bible which they accept as the authoritative word of God.

(more)

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Their views corresponded to those of a majority of other Americans in support of gun registration, capital punishment, more military spending and federal social programs.

And, while Mr. Reagan has sought evangelical support through strong party platform planks against abortion and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment for women, a majority of evangelicals disagreed with him on these issues.

Forty-one percent of evangelicals support a ban on abortion, a noteworthy section of them but perhaps less than expected. And a surprising 66 percent of them favor the Equal Rights Amendment.

But on school prayer and homosexuality, the evangelicals displayed a more distinct set of opinions. Eighty-one percent of them favored mandatory school prayer, compared to 54 percent of other Americans. And only 15 percent of evangelicals, compared to nearly one-third of non-evangelicals, believed homosexuals should be permitted to teach in public schools.

Republicans who hope to rise on the crest of the increasing political activism among evangelicals may be disappointed if these Gallup results hold true in November. And Democrats who feared a mass desertion of their ranks in the South and among some blacks may find cause for some relief, but not for rejoicing.

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CORRECTIONS

In RNS of Mon., Sept. 8, page 2, carry-over of lead story headed VATICAN DOCUMENT ON FAMILIES EMPHASIZES PASTORAL APPROACH, 6th paragraph, 4th line, please delete "persons" and substitute "pensions" for it. Last part of sentence should read: "...widows who may be in jeopardy of losing government pensions if they enter into a second marriage)."

Also, in same service, page 17, story headed HAWAIIAN LEPROSY LEADERS BATTLE STATE PLANS TO HOSPITALIZE THEM, 3rd paragraph, 3rd line, please change "supported" to "supporting". Phrase should read: "... that are supporting the patients...."

In same service, page 22, story headed SUN MYUNG MOON FOLLOWERS TAKE TOP PRIZES IN TUNA TOURNAMENT, 2nd paragraph, 3rd line, please delete "former" and substitute "founder" for it. End of sentence should read: "... principles of church founder Sun Myung Moon in their efforts."

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איחוד
ליהדות
מתקדמת
באמריקה

Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS - CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

To: Social Action Chairmen; Rabbis; Commission on Social Action;
Congregational Presidents; UAHC Board of Trustees; NATA;
NATE; Sisterhood Board; Youth Leaders; Interested Persons

From: Commission Staff

Date: November 24, 1980

Subject: THIS AND THAT #81

A SPECIAL POST-ELECTION REPORT ON THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT AND THE AGENDA FOR JEWISH SOCIAL ACTION

THE ELECTION

The presidential election is over. The political Mount St. Helens quake still roars and reverberates in every section of the United States, and the contradictory post-mortems pop, crackle and snap. Among the many disquieting questions: What does it all mean for Jews? Is this a fundamental ideological shift, based on repudiation of liberalism or is it primarily intended as a rejection of incompetence and mismanagement in the present administration? What was the role of, and what were the techniques of aggressive groups which successfully targeted the big-name senators and congressmen? And what of the Christian New Right?

THE CHRISTIAN NEW RIGHT

What is the Christian New Right? What is the danger? To what extent is it anti-Jewish? Do not the evangelical new right forces have the same right as we do to press their views in the political order? How can these forces be resisted? By what coalitions? Attached please find THE CHRISTIAN RIGHT: SORTING IT OUT (from *Reform Judaism*), intended to clarify these issues and to answer these questions. You may want to publish all or part of this analysis in your temple bulletin. This issue transcends the recent presidential election and will challenge the Jewish community in the '80s.

In the face of the fundamentalist Christian pundits telling us that God turns off His hearing aid when Jews seek to pray to Him, we'd better keep our sense of balance and especially our sense of humor. Attached is a satire written by Rabbi Howard Greenstein of Congregation Ahavath Chesed of Jacksonville, Florida.

Chairman
Alexander I. Ross
Director
Albert Vorspan
Associate Director
Rabbi David Saperstein

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
TEMPLE YOUTH
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
TEMPLE EDUCATORS

HOUSING FOR THE ELDERLY AND HANDICAPPED

Your congregation and community have a chance to become part of a significant housing effort for the elderly and the handicapped in your community. The Commission on Social Action has looked into the possibilities of synagogue sponsorship under Sec. 202 (Direct Loan Program for Housing for the Elderly or Handicapped), and we are pleased to attach an important report from the subcommittee on what is involved and how to proceed.

ADULT EDUCATION SERIES ON SOCIAL ISSUES

Al Vorspan's new book, entitled GREAT JEWISH DEBATES & DILEMMAS, is now available. This timely paperback deals with such burning issues as affirmative action, Nazis and civil liberties, Zionism and Palestinian "rights," women's rights and Judaism, crime and punishment, church-state separation, energy/ecology, etc. Vorspan presents both sides of these dilemmas and seeks to place each in the context of Jewish teachings and tradition. In addition to making an excellent text for high school youngsters, it is ready-made for a stimulating and controversial adult education series. An excellent teachers' guide, prepared by Eric Feldheim, will be available to help you put this book to work. The book can be ordered from the UAHC for \$5.95. The study guide has been tentatively priced at \$3.00.

LANDMARK CIVIL LIBERTIES DECISION

An individual, by making a stand, can make a difference in the ongoing battle for freedom and civil liberties. Sometimes that difference can be unexpectedly large and lasting. Here is an example:

In the winter of '75, when the Jewish world was reeling from the shock of a United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism, protests and demonstrations were mounted everywhere. In Dallas, 2000 delegates to the UAHC General Assembly, led by the NFTY delegation, joined in moving song and prayer against this international anti-Semitic obscenity. Similarly, in thousands of local communities, Jews called upon their Christian neighbors to rally with them to protest this indignity.

In San Jose, California, youngsters from the Reform Temple Emanu-El gathered at the local shopping center to seek signatures on a petition opposing the resolution. Leaders were Michael Robins (son of Rabbi and Mrs. David Robins) and David Marcus (son of Fred Marcus, the temple educator). Both boys had been active in CAFTY (California Federation of Temple Youth), at Camp Swig and in their local youth group.

The managers of the shopping center (Pruneyard) demanded that the petitioners leave because they were "trespassing on private property." Michael and David refused, contending that they had a right to reach the public and that a petition is a fundamental expression of free speech. The boys were outraged by what they regarded as a denial of their civil rights. They shared their concern with their families and the congregation. Philip Hammer, an attorney who was a past president of the temple, agreed to take their case without charge. Because of the serious threat to their property rights, as they conceived this case to be, shopping centers set aside substantial sums to fight the case -- expending in excess of \$250 thousand before the United States Supreme Court finally resolved the case.

Step by step, Mike and David pushed the case through the legal system, losing in the Superior Court and appealing to the next higher court. Finally, after five years, the United States Supreme Court, in June of 1980, handed down a landmark decision, which will be known in legal history as *Pruneyard Shopping Center vs. Robins, et al.* By unanimous decision, the Court upheld the right of Michael and David -- and, therefore, all citizens -- to freedom of speech and assembly, even in a privately owned shopping center. Michael and David (who was the "et al" referred to) had, by their persistence, struck a blow not only for their own rights; they had enlarged the definition of civil liberties for all Americans.

When the Supreme Court acted, Mike was a sophomore at Reed College, while David was a sophomore at the University of California. They were elated. "Some people thought it was an absurd attempt," said Mike. "They didn't think we could take on big business and win. But in this case the democratic process worked; financial resources were not an issue." Added Dave: "It proves that the individual can still make a difference. Two people can still make their mark on society." David went out to celebrate by having lunch with his father, who had come to America two generations ago to escape the Nazis. Fred Marcus had taught David that free speech must never take a back seat and is always worth fighting for.

ABORTION

The Supreme Court has ruled that public funds may be denied to finance abortion for most women. Unfortunately, the decision failed to address substantive issues raised, declining to rule on arguments relating to the free exercise of religion in choosing abortion. The decision protects the potential life of the fetus, even when such protection damages the health of the woman. By doing so, the Court appears to be undermining the 1973 decisions. The new ruling creates second-class citizenship for poor pregnant women. Only they may now be denied Medicaid funding for the medically necessary treatment of their choice based on their own consciences. The practical effect is forced motherhood for the poor, no matter the cost to a woman's physical or mental health. Encouraging birth under these conditions will have disastrous consequences for the woman, the child and society.

The 1980 version of the Hyde Amendment, just passed by Congress, continues the pattern of restricting access to abortion on the following levels:

- 1/ The current law now permits federal financing of abortion only to save the physical life of the woman and in cases of rape and incest. Rape must now be reported in 72 hours rather than the 60 days previously allowed.
- 2/ Even more dangerous is the new states rights provision which permits states to disallow funding for abortions in all cases -- EVEN TO SAVE THE LIFE OF THE WOMAN!!

We can now expect enormous pressure on the remaining states that still fund abortions -- Alaska, Colorado, District of Columbia, Hawaii, Maryland, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, Oregon and Washington.

Synagogue social action committees need to mobilize the pro-choice majority, and join with their local RCAR (Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights) chapters, to express our sense of outrage at these decisions and to prevent passage of state legislation which threatens to eliminate the right to choose safe, legal abortions for ALL women.

SCIENTIFIC CREATIONISM (SCOPES...AGAIN)

The Monkey Trial in 1925 apparently only settled half the battle over teaching Darwin's theory of evolution. The last anti-evolution laws persisted on the books until 1970! Since then a nation-wide movement has developed which is pressuring school boards to devote "equal time" to "scientific creationism" as an alternate to Darwin in biology classes. While the proposed texts make no reference to the Bible, proponents freely admit that the "theory" fits the pattern of Biblical tradition. The theory of evolution is attacked, as well as radiocarbon dating and the law of thermodynamics. Pressure has been heavy in half a dozen states. State and federal courts in Tennessee have ruled unconstitutional a "Genesis Law," requiring the teaching of scientific creationism. Since then, there has been a move to make such teaching voluntary. In Kentucky, a similar bill was introduced this year in the state legislature, but did not pass. The sponsor has promised to reintroduce the same bill in the 1982 session. The counsel to the Kentucky Department of Education is reported to believe that it can be taught legally as long as it is not presented as long as it is not presented as a religion. The chair of the Fayette County Board of Education, a minister, favors teaching scientific creationism. The Kentucky State Department of Public Education has approved the use of state money to buy textbooks that explain the theory. The Fayette County Board of Education is currently planning a review of it, to be conducted by science teachers and other school officials.

Temple Adath Israel, Lexington, Kentucky, has sponsored a program for the congregation. Rabbi William Leffler is in the process of forming a coalition of concerned clergy and representatives of prestigious educational and scientific organizations. If similar problems arise in your community, please contact the Commission on Social Action for information and guidance.

ON THE OTHER HAND (REACTIONS TO BAILEY SMITH)

Many Southern Baptists reacted in shock and disagreement to the statement of Dr. Bailey Smith, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, that "God does not hear the prayers of Jews." Typical of the comments in one area alone (Lexington, Kentucky) were the following....an apology from the Calvary Baptist Church (Smith does not, thank God, speak for Southern Baptists...I do not believe he can speak for God...either); pastor of Central Baptist Church (Jesus was a Jew...if Judaism was cherished by Jesus and his earliest followers, it certainly should not be slandered by current politician-preachers); pastor, Trinity Baptist Church (As Southern Baptists, we believe that each individual must interpret scripture for himself. Rev. Smith...does not speak for me...) and a resolution adopted by the Christian Life Committee of the Elkhorn Baptist Association Executive Board affirms: "...the historic Baptist position of freedom for all peoples to express their faith and lift the prayers to God as their conscience may dictate. We also affirm the Biblical teaching that God is eternal and sovereign and we cannot presume upon His willingness to listen to any prayer sincerely offered to Him. We regret any statement that would create difficulty in our relationships with our friends of other disciplines as they search for truth."

WOMEN

Annette Daum, consultant to the Commission on Social Action, made a major presentation at the annual convention of the American Psychiatric Association in Montreal on September 2. Her topic was RESPONSES IN REFORM JUDAISM TO THE USE OF SEXIST LANGUAGE. Because of the excellence of the presentation and the widespread interest in provoked, we have reproduced it and you can have a copy on request with our compliments.

ENERGY CONSERVATION

Conservation is the most effective, most moral and quickest means of reducing our dependence on Arab oil. A special committee of the UAHC Board of Trustees has been established to spur conservation efforts in our congregations. As the first step in responding to the interests and needs of our congregations, a survey on what our congregations have done, and would like to do, on energy conservation has been prepared, and is enclosed (FOR RABBIS, CONGREGATIONAL PRESIDENTS AND TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS). Please complete and return this survey as soon as possible. It will take no longer than 15 minutes to complete. We want to compile as many responses as possible before the end of the year. Now in preparation is a detailed manual on conservation techniques to be applied in the synagogue building and in the homes of congregants.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

The CITIZENS FREEDOM FOUNDATION in Albany, New York, is setting up a central file of missing persons believed to be members of cult groups. If you have any information or need any further information, write to Priscilla Coates, Post Office Box #86, Hannacroix, New York 12087.

FEMINISTS OF FAITH

As a result of the conference on "How to Survive as a Feminist in a Patriarchal Religion," co-sponsored by the Task Force on Equality of Women in Judaism, a network of FEMINISTS OF FAITH has been formed to foster equality for women within religion. Congregants interested in participating in the Network may contact Annette Daum /212--249-0100/ for further information.

LOCAL ACTIVITIES

Temple Solel, Hollywood, Florida, held an Energy Conservation Sabbath in October.

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Temple Kol Ami, Plantation, Florida, involved the entire congregation, including the children, in helping four needy families in the area. They were able to donate food, clothes, toys, etc., including a complete Seder meal. In addition, Rabbi Sheldon Harr conducted community-wide meetings on the cults (the "Moonies" have established their Florida headquarters in Plantation), and was president for two years of the West Broward Religious Leaders Fellowship, which is interracial and interreligious.

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Three members of Congregation Children of Israel, Augusta, Georgia, are serving on a team which cares for the dying in a hospice. They took a course in working with doctors, nurses, therapists, etc., in helping patients physically, emotionally, spiritually and socially.

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Temple Judea, Tarzana, California, is involved in a grassroots interfaith effort to provide day care for one hundred pre-school children living in the slums.

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The New England region (Northeast Council) held a joint service for Russian and American Jews. Three temples in the area - Temple Israel, Boston; Temple Ohabei Shalom and Temple Sinai, Brookline - took part in the service, which was conducted in Hebrew and Russian.

AMERICAN JEWISH

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Temple Shir Tikva, Wayland, Massachusetts, is planning a study and action program on the condition of South American Jewry.

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Congregation B'nai Jehudah, Kansas City, Missouri, sponsored an interfaith dialogue; worked with Soviet Jewish immigrants; continued contacting their "adopted" Soviet family in Moscow; held monthly Shabbat programs for senior citizens in the congregation; and adopted a Laotian family.

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Members of the New York Federation joined with other members of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights to mark the 60th anniversary of the women's vote by marching with other organizations as part of WOMEN '80, to end political social and economic discrimination against women.

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The social action committee of Temple Emanuel, Great Neck, New York, approved a program to bring assistance to elderly poor Jews in New York City. Young people from the synagogue visit them every week and help them with whatever they need.

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The Long Island Interfaith Committee for Teaching about the Holocaust was formed to offer assistance to any community interested in introducing a study of the Holocaust into the public school curriculum. Members issued a statement declaring that "After Auschwitz, we are all survivors and we are all in peril. The evils that produced the death camps survived the destruction of the Third Reich. Study of the Holocaust...illuminates the central concern of our age, the very survival of humanity itself...Our of our concern for the moral health of our society, we maintain that it is not only desirable, but necessary, that succeeding

generations learn about the Holocaust period, and that such learning find a permanent place in the education process and experience of young people."

Among the signers of the statement were the Roman Catholic bishop of the Rockville Centre Diocese; the executive director of the Long Island Council of Churches; the chairman of the Episcopal Diocese' Commission on Christian-Jewish Relations; Rabbi Louis Stein of Temple Beth Elohim of Old Bethpage, president of the Long Island Board of Rabbis; and Annette Daum, for the New York Federation of Reform Synagogues. Copies of the full statement may be obtained by writing to the Committee at 253 Sunrise Highway, Room #403, Rockville Centre, New York 11570.

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A symposium on THE THEOLOGY OF FREE CHOICE IN THE ABORTION DECISION was held at Stephen Wise Free Synagogue, New York City, on October 9. Presentations by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish theologians dealt with the religious basis for a pro-choice perspective. The symposium, attended by 200 people, provided an opportunity for the religious community to focus on sacred teachings about the quality of life as a whole, religious liberty, freedom of conscience and how these relate to reproductive freedom.

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"Jews for Jesus," a so-called "Hebrew-Christian" missionary group, has been active in large cities along the eastern seaboard for the last few months. In response to "High Holy Day Services" held by the group in a prominent New York City hotel, the Task Force on Missionary Activity of the New York Jewish Community Relations Council obtained the cooperation of local rabbis, including Rabbi Sheldon Zimmerman of Central Synagogue, in preparing a pamphlet for distribution to participants, which stated: "This is not a Jewish service. JEWS FOR JESUS is a Christian missionizing group. Any Jew who wishes to participate in Yom Kippur services will be welcome at the following synagogues..." A list of synagogues of all branches of Judaism was attached. Copies of the statement can be obtained from the UAHC Department of Interreligious Affairs.

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Temple Shaaray Tefila, New York City, sponsored a debate on nuclear energy as a possible key to the energy problem and assurance of an independent foreign policy.

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Nettie Kaplan, past president of the Village Temple, New York City, represented the Task Force on Equality of Women in Judaism (UAHC) at the ERA Watch, sponsored by the National Organization of Women (NOW) in August.

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A social action workshop, JEWISH CONCERNS IN ELECTION YEAR 1980, co-sponsored by the social action committee and men's club of Central Synagogue, Rockville Centre, New York, was held on October 26. Marilyn Roseman and Evelyn Bishop, co-chairs

of the Committee, worked with Richard Skolnik, chairman of the evening, in planning the workshop. The keynote speaker was Rabbi Richard Sternberger, UAHC Mid-Atlantic Council director, who presented a broad overview of those issues of greatest concern to the Jewish community. Three simultaneous workshops were held after the keynote address -- Human Services and Government (covering the economy and social welfare issues), Religion and Government (covering the New Right and its impact) and American Foreign Policy (focussing on the Middle East). For further information, contact Marilyn Roseman at Central Synagogue, 430 De Mott Avenue, Rockville Centre, New York 11570.

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A study group on EQUALITY IN THE SYNAGOGUE, chaired by Annlee Marcus, of the Jewish Community Center, White Plains, New York, prepared a pamphlet titled "Why Bother?" This describes the rationale in Judaism for the elimination of ancient stereotypes of the role of men and women in the synagogue so that the full potential of every human being could be realized. Advancements to date and recommendations for the future were included. Rabbi Maurice Davis hosted a breakfast meeting for a broad range of temple leadership interested in ritual, worship and education to help bring the study group suggestions to their attention. Copies of the pamphlet can be obtained from Annette Daum, at the Commission on Social Action. Those interested in further information can contact Ms. Marcus at 14 Midchester Avenue, White Plains, New York 10606.

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Temple B'rith Kodesh, Rochester, New York, reported on a full year, 1979-1980. Among the many activities, they continued their relationship with a community organization which serves a basically poor black and Hispanic constituency; were involved in a housing project; collected food for distribution to the needy; planned career programs; gave volunteer professional help; and are planning to create a teen lounge and a playground area. The social action committee is also trying to obtain the release of the wife and daughter of a member of the congregation from the Soviet Union. While working with this member, a professor, they have assisted the Sakharov International Committee to help Andrei Sakharov and others who have been denied their rights.

The social action committee is also sponsoring several seminars on drug and alcohol abuse, and they have been asked by the Jewish Federation to assist other temples in the Rochester area in the formation of social action committees.

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In June the Jewish community of Easton, Pennsylvania celebrated Israel's 32nd anniversary and, in so doing, brought together the Jewish and Lebanese communities, combining forces for a Middle Eastern Peace Festival and Israeli Fair. It was jointly sponsored by the Lebanese Catholic Church and our Temple Covenant of the Peace.

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The social action committee of Temple Ohabei Shalom, Nashville, Tennessee, had a very productive year. They successfully collected food, clothing and money for Succoth to be distributed to needy individuals; contributed emergency supplies for a senior citizens housing development; sponsored a Laotian family; participated in a coalition to find alternative methods of handling juvenile offenders; and visited the state legislature.

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AMONG THE MANY ENCLOSURES WITH THIS NEWSLETTER YOU WILL FIND A REVISED LISTING OF OUR CONGREGATIONS WHICH SPONSORED INDOCHINESE REFUGEE FAMILIES.



The Christian Right: Sorting It Out

by Albert Vorspan

There appears to be a deepening anxiety, particularly in the Jewish community, about the emerging role of the Christian right in American life. The article by Rabbi David Saperstein in the last issue of *RJ* touched off a broad-ranging controversy, raising many searching questions. Here, summarized, are a few of the most common and the most searching:

1. Why are you getting so excited about the so-called New Right? Don't they have the same rights as liberals to try to shape our society by their convictions?

The New Right—including its evangelical Christian components such as the Christian Voice, Moral Majority, Religious Round Table, and others—has every right to speak out on moral and social issues, just as we have always done. Indeed, separation of church and state does not mean that religious groups are precluded from social and political expression. Our entire religious action program is based on the conviction that Judaism, like other faiths, must express itself within the social order to help build a better community.

2. Then you are upset because they come out on the opposite side of the issues?

No. While all religious groups have every right to take social and political action on moral issues, none has the right to abuse its tax exemption by en-

dorsing partisan candidates. None has the right to use coercion by invoking purely religious sanctions in a political contest, such as declaring it a "sin" to vote for a particular candidate. None has the right to impair the fabric of American pluralism. Disagreement is legitimate; smearing one's opponent as representing "the forces of Satan," as being anti-Christian or "a baby killer" threatens the very process of democracy. The issue is not church-state separation; it is the survival of a pluralistic society in the face of the simplistic notion that only one brand of politics is acceptable to God.

3. It sounds to me as if your gripe against these folks is that they are effective and you people no longer are.

They are effective, sometimes terrifyingly so. Moral Majority was started only a year ago. In Alaska, for example, by playing on emotional bullet issues such as abortion and prayer they were able to take over the Republican party machinery. Christian Voice has developed a moral report card on all candidates. Candidates who support abortion rights, ERA, church-state separation, or gun control get a zero score on "morality." The ineffable Congressman Richard Kelly of Florida, indicted for bribery in the Abscam scandal, was nonetheless accorded a 100 percent score on morality! The ultra-right evangelical Christian groups are scary because they have a potential of 50 million Americans. Led by the genius of Rich-

ard Viguerie, "paymaster of the right," they have a mailing list of 20 million persons and command of some \$30 million a year, which they pour into political campaigns in demagogic and single-issue appeals for destruction of marked congressmen and senators. In addition, the New Right is linked to a gigantic evangelical television network with an impact on 30 million homes every week. They use Christianity as a club to destroy liberalism, which they define as a form of anti-Christ. Note the following "Statement of Purpose" of the Christian Voice:

We believe that America, the last stronghold of faith on this planet, has come under increasing attack from Satan's forces in recent years . . . that the standards of Christian morality (long the protection and strength of the nation), the sanctity of our families, the innocence of our young are now under the onslaught . . . launched by the "rulers of darkness of this world" and insidiously sustained under the ever more liberal ethic.

4. Aren't you really confessing the weakness of the liberals to stand up against these people?

Yes, that too. Liberalism is in disarray, ideologically and politically. Mainline religious groups, including our own, are not demonstrating the kind of passion and dedication which the New Right has been able to muster. Lost in malaise, we have not com-

Christian Right

mandated the funds, the people, the energy, or the muscle which our opponents on abortion, ERA, gun control, and prayer have displayed in every community of the country. It has been said that all that good people have to do in order to capitulate to evil is nothing. And, unless our people and Americans of all faiths and backgrounds bestir themselves, America will be taken over by a strange and intolerant mélange of fanatics feasting on the narrowest and most divisive single issues in our political system.

5. Is this really a conflict between Jews and Christians?

No, not entirely. Some Jews identify proudly with ultra-conservative positions. Viguerie claims that two million Jews are sympathetic to his views. Howard Phillips, leading brain-truster of the New Right, is a Jew. Among Christians, most Protestant and Roman Catholic leaders are as alarmed as we are about the growth of this monolithic and exclusivist political power. Indeed, this year in Alabama the Christian right declared war on Baptist minister John Buchanan, a deeply religious and conservative congressman, for the sin of opposing prayer in the public schools. They poured money into his district in support of his opponent, they vilified this minister as anti-Christian, and they defeated him. To millions of Christians, the Moral Majority represents a perversion of the social gospel which summons Christians to aid the poor and the weak and to seek peace.

6. How can you call these groups dangerous when they are outstanding supporters of Israel?

They are avid supporters of Israel, which they see as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy. Indeed, Prime Minister Begin has honored Rev. Jerry Falwell, Rev. James Robinson, and other leaders of these groups. These fundamentalists have assured Mr. Begin that their pro-Israel support exceeds in numbers and muscle that of American Jewry. But the evangelical vision of America ought to arouse alarm on the part of concerned persons, including Jews, whether liberal or conservative. The president of the Southern Baptist

Convention, who describes himself as "pro-Jew" and pro-Israel, recently declared publicly that "God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew" because Jews have not accepted Jesus as the Messiah. Rev. Falwell preached a fervent pro-Israel speech at a rally in Richmond, Virginia, in the course of which he declared, "A Jew can make more money accidentally than you and I can on purpose." Not all New Rightniks are anti-Jewish, but their theology leaves little room for a living Judaism. Rev. Robinson said of today's Jews: "These are not the biblical children of Israel." And, in their fanatical zeal to recapture America as a "Christian country," there can be little doubt whom they conceive to be among their enemies.

7. Come on, aren't Jews also a single-issue group?

Some say that Jews should not throw stones at single-issue groups, aren't we as impassioned about Israel as the Right to Lifeers are on abortion? Jews give high priority to the survival of Israel, yes, but few Jews judge candidates on the basis of this issue alone. Concern for human rights, the economy, the plight of the cities, ERA, world peace... these and other issues continue to concern Jewish voters. Moreover, no Jewish organization would presume to tell its members how to vote, and none would think of placing kosher or non-kosher seals of approval on political candidates based on Jewish sectarian doctrine.

8. Aren't you really using these extreme groups to get at conservatives who oppose your knee-jerk liberalism?

No, not at all. Conservatives, by and large, are as dismayed by such political extremism as are liberals. Conservative thinkers like Bill Buckley and George Will have excoriated such mindless assaults on the democratic process. The issue is not liberalism vs. conservatism. The issue is a viable American pluralism vs. a new form of political cannibalism in which the exacerbation of one-issue, sectarian absolutism threatens to tear apart the fabric of the political order. Bill Moyers, himself a Baptist minister, concluded a documentary on the Christian right with these words: "Our democracy cannot agree to a 'moral majority' that makes sectarian doctrine the test of political opinion. You

may have that only where all are alike in thought and root and intent, which America is not."

9. Aren't you getting hysterical about a temporary, election-related fad in American life?

This could, like many similar phenomena in America life, wither and die on the vine. But the intensive grass roots organization, the tight infrastructure, and the persistence of emotionally divisive issues available for exploitation suggest that these groups are here for the long haul. They honestly believe that the family has been corrupted, that pornography and license and homosexuality are destroying America, that there is an internal enemy that must be defeated, that anti-God forces have swept God out of the classrooms, and that Christian America must be recaptured and reincarnated in our land. This may be a struggle for the character and the soul of America which could endure for many years, transcending the immediacies of politics and elections. The negativism, extremism, and social meanness which these groups represent can do grave injury to the traditions of political consensus, social compassion, and religious pluralism which have been at the heart of the American system.

10. So what can we do about this challenge?

We can get off our behinds and fight for what we believe. We can raise the consciousness of our congregants. We can mobilize the social action committees to face up to these issues locally and nationally. We can, as individuals, join CHAI/IMPACT, which is our own computerized Washington network for keeping posted on the immediate issues before the Congress and the country. We can stop kvetching and start writing letters to our congressmen. And we can—and must—re-establish and restore alliances of decency with Christian, civic, black, and ethnic groups which respect consensus and pluralism and which have a stake in an open and tolerant America.

Albert Vorspan is author of *Great Jewish Dilemmas and Debates*, just published by the UAHC.

A TIME TO SPEAK

As many of you have already heard and mentioned, the current president of the Southern Baptist Convention recently stated that "God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew." Those have been "fighting words" to almost every major American Jewish organization, and they have responded accordingly. Instead of repeating their denunciations, it occurred to me we might profit more from pondering the response those words might have evoked from "on high."

A matter as serious as this must have undoubtedly prompted the Heavenly Court to convene in formal session to examine the issue. The discussion might have proceeded in the following fashion with Archangel Gabriel presiding:

Gabriel: You are all aware of the reason for convening this conference? (All nod their heads except the Almighty.)

Almighty: You'll excuse me, Gabriel, but I've been much too preoccupied with the callous disregard of my creatures for world-wide prospects for nuclear war. What else is so important that it requires this special session?

Gabriel: It seems, Sir, that the president of the Southern Baptist Association claims You don't hear the prayers of Jews.

Almighty: I know who the Jews are, but who are these Southern Baptists?

Gabriel: They are another company of believers in You, Sir.

Almighty: I see. How long have they been around?

Gabriel: I'm not certain, Sir, but I believe they have been active for a little more than a hundred years.

Almighty: And how long have the Jews been around?

Gabriel: Oh, Sir, they have been with You for almost 4000 years.

Almighty: Of course. Aren't they the people with whom I made a special Covenant with their leader Moses at Mt. Sinai?

Gabriel: Yes, Sir, that is correct.

Almighty: And didn't I tell them then that I would never depart from them or forsake them...ever!!!

Gabriel: Yes, Sir, You did.

Almighty: And didn't I also add that nothing should be changed in that Covenant?

Gabriel: Yes, Sir, You did.

Almighty: But these Baptists, they did change it, didn't they?

Gabriel: Yes, Sir, they did.

Almighty: Then what makes them think I listen to them?

Gabriel: They say You gave them a new Covenant, Sir.

Almighty: A new Covenant? If the old one was so good, why should they need a new one?

Gabriel: They don't say, Sir.

Almighty: If they think I don't hear the prayers of my Jewish people, how do they explain the survival of My people for 4000 years?

Gabriel: They don't, Sir. They really prefer to avoid that subject.

Almighty: Aren't My Jewish people the same ones whose prophet told the world that "My House shall be a House of Prayer for ALL peoples?"

Gabriel: Yes, Sir, they are.

Almighty: Were they not also the only ones to proclaim, "The righteous of ALL the world shall have a share in the world-to-come?"

Gabriel: Yes, Sir, they were.

Almighty: Seems to Me, then, if I wasn't hearing the prayers of Jews, I would not be hearing the prayers of anybody else!

Gabriel: That's true, Sir.

Almighty: You know what, Gabriel? There is only one word for that kind of accusation against My people.

Gabriel: What is the word, Sir?

Almighty: CHUTZPAH!

Rabbi Howard R. Greenstein
Congregation Ahavath Chesed
Jacksonville, Florida



NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.

OFFICE OF RESEARCH, EVALUATION AND PLANNING

475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027 Room 876

William P. Thompson, President Claire Randall, General Secretary

April 28, 1978

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director of Interreligious Affairs
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 E. 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Marc:

You perhaps remember my having written to you about our desire for information on the activities of the right wing today. I appreciated your sharing some materials with us, and it is in that spirit that I send along to you the product of my somewhat casual research. The purpose of my "briefing" is to alert church leaders of the NCC "stripe" to the panoramic shifts in the political scene. I don't expect it to teach you anything, but I thought you might like to know that it exists!

Secondly, I want to report to you the status of our work on "Background and Values of the Unchurched American" study with George Gallup. I'm sorry that you have not found time to follow up on this research with us, but I know that there have been unusual pressures on the political front for you the past few months. With a little give and take from Gallup we have managed to put together a purse of some \$42,000 to undertake a reasonably thorough study along the lines of what I shared with you previously. We have had to do a bit of trimming and I think some improving of the questionnaire since you saw it.

I still nourish the hope that you might -- even at this last minute -- join us in sponsoring the study, not for the sake of the \$1000 contribution or so, but because I think the unusual breadth and mix of religious bodies engaged in the study is an important message to the society. I would like very much to have Jews included in a study that declares "we are concerned about persons in American society who have no undergirding from religious institutions to help sustain their religious faith and values." And I think that the more varied research minds that can work with the data the better. We will be receiving Gallup's basic report of findings, but we intend to do our own work with the computer cards and also to prepare a popular report that raises questions of implication for the churches.

The first wave of interviews in our two-wave sample has just been completed, April 21-22, and this next week-end a second set of interviews is

Mrs. Peggy L. Shriver
Assistant General Secretary
(212) 870-2561

Constant H. Jacquet, Jr.
Staff Associate for
Information Services (212) 870-2565

April 28, 1978

scheduled. We will be holding a press conference in mid-June when Gallup will share his initial report with us. If you are able to join us in the study, we would be delighted to have you participate in the press conference. It is likely to be either June 19 or 20 here in New York City. Details of place and time have not been set. If I don't hear from you, I will assume that you do not, at this late date, feel that you can participate in the study.

At one time you told me by telephone that there was an "80% chance" that American Jewish Committee would participate. Since that was rather high odds, I am bold to try again!

I hope this has been a spiritually refreshing Passover season for you and your associates.

Sincerely,



Peggy L. Shriver
Assistant General Secretary
Office of Research, Evaluation
and Planning

PLS/mjb
Enclosure



1619 Northwood Drive
Roselawn
Cincinnati, Ohio
November 29, 1980

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Director
American Jewish Committee's
Interreligious Affairs
165 East 56th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I sent
to Rev. Falwell and which may interest you.

Very truly yours,

Rachel Senor

(C O P Y)

1619 Northwood Drive
Roselawn
Cincinnati, Ohio
November 26, 1980

Rev. Jerry Falwell
Thomas Road Baptist Church
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Rev. Falwell:

I listened to your talk recently on TV and I do respect your faith and agree with you wholeheartedly that matters such as pornography, abortion, drugs, etc. should be the most urgent concern of all because these matters involve the survival of our nation, and these concerns frighten me very much.

I have raised three children and have grand children, and therefore I am very much concerned about these issues. However, the proper label for dealing with these issues should be "Concerned Americans" or "Concerned Citizens" rather than "Christians for Morality" or "The Moral Majority." There are Americans of various denominations and ethnicities, such as the Chinese, the Japanese, the Hispanics and others, who are equally concerned about these matters. And if there is anything you think I can do to diminish the threat of these evils, I am most willing to co-operate.

My experience as a Jew in a concentration camp makes me afraid of the particular label attached to your struggle against these evils. The Nazis in Germany lorded over us because they were in the majority. And didn't they call themselves Christians? As a child in the ghetto, I saw these Germans, through apertures between buildings, go to church to celebrate Christmas; they were happy and drunk. I wondered then how could these Christians celebrate the birthday of Jesus and do to us what they did, keeping us in concentration camps. How was this possible? And they were the Christian majority. That is why the label "Christians for Morality" or "The Moral Majority" frightens me for it was from this that I was always running from death.

The label for your fight against these terrible evils should be "Concerned Citizens" or "Concerned Americans." There are people who are waxing rich selling drugs and even placing them in children's toys, even in Christmas stockings. These

(C O P Y)

-2-

vendors of evil are murderers of little children as well as of adults. This demonstrates that the god of money is more powerful than the Judeo-Christians ethics.

I shall be glad to help in any way I can in behalf of your cause which should be everybody's cause, not just a Christian cause but the cause of all good people who care and should care.

Very truly yours,

Rachel Senor

Rachel Senor



Dialogue between Rev. Falwell, Rabbi Tanenbaum

PROVIDENCE, R.I.

NEW YORK,...The Reverend Jerry Falwell, President of the Moral Majority, has assured the American Jewish Committee that he opposes the view that "God does not hear the prayer of a Jew," and that he is committed to religious pluralism.

Reverend Falwell issued a written statement of his views after paying a visit to Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, at the AJC's national headquarters. Reverend Falwell was accompanied by Gerald Strober, a former AJC staff member specializing in Evangelical-Jewish relations.

After an hour-long discussion of the Bailey Smith controversy, and related issues dealing with the emergence of "New Right Evangelicals," Reverend Falwell prepared a statement which he invited the American Jewish Committee to make public.

"It grieves me," Reverend Falwell declared, "that I have been quoted as saying that God does not hear the prayer of a Jew. My position is that God is a respecter of all persons. He loves everyone alike. He hears the cry of any sincere person who calls on him.

"A very healthy relationship has been developing between Bible-believing Christians in America and the Jewish community, during the past two decades. I have worked long and hard to enhance this relationship. I shall continue to do so. This relationship transcends any political campaign.

"This is a time for Catholics, Protestants, Jews and Mormons and all Americans to rise above efforts to polarize or isolate us in our efforts to return this nation to a commitment to the moral principles on which America was built. America is a pluralistic republic. We cannot

survive if we allow it to become anything less. We may have differing theological positions, but we must never allow this to separate us as

Americans who love and respect each other as united people."

In response, Rabbi Tanenbaum welcomed Reverend Falwell's statement as "a necessary and timely clarification of his basic attitudes toward Jews and Judaism, and of his commitment to religious pluralism as the keystone of American Democracy.

"During our frank and cordial dialogue, Reverend Falwell assured me that he is opposed to the conception of America as a 'Christian Republic,' and that he is deeply committed to the American Constitution's prohibition of a religious test as the basis for the election of political candidates. While he acknowledged that there have been some persons in the conservative evangelical community who have advocated such views, these do not represent his thinking and he will continue to oppose these positions which contradict the principles of democratic pluralism."

Rabbi Tanenbaum said that he found "most heartening Reverend Falwell's strong support of the State of Israel and of a unified Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty open to all religious and ethnic groups."

Rabbi Tanenbaum, who has pioneered in building bridges of understanding between Evangelical Christians and Jews beginning in 1965, said he informed Reverend Falwell that he took part in an interreligious press conference in Washington, D.C. with Southern Baptist, Roman Catholic and Lutheran leaders for the purpose of repudiating efforts of religious and political extremists to "Christianize" government and politics in our country.

That press conference consciously avoided taking sides either for or against any candidate, political party, political party platforms or partisan political issues.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said that his meeting with Dr. Falwell was held in that spirit.

Baptist Leader N.T. Regrets Remarks 12-27-50 Concerning Jews W.F.B. 12

NEW YORK (AP) — If he had it to do again, the Rev. Bailey Smith says he would not have made statements about the noses and prayers of Jews. But he says that does not change his "distinctive theological beliefs," including the belief that God does not hear Jews' prayers.

Smith, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, held a lengthy meeting Thursday with Jewish leaders of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to discuss his statements that have prompted dismay among some members of the Jewish community.

In August, at a national political-religious meeting in Dallas, Smith said God did not hear the prayers of Jews. A few weeks later, he said in a sermon broadcast from his church that Jews have "funny noses." He apologized for the later remark.

After last week's meeting, Nathan Perlmutter, league national director, said he was satisfied that Smith had "no anti-Semitic intent" when he made his remarks.

In a joint statement issued after the meeting, Smith, who is also pastor of First Southern Baptist Church in Del City, Okla., said he "expressed deep regret for any hurt to the Jewish community and stands with them for an American pluralistic society and against anti-Semitism."

But he said he had "distinctive theological beliefs that he cannot compromise."

One of his "distinctive" beliefs was contained in a statement in August when he said:

"With all due respect to those dear people . . . God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew. For how in the world can God hear the prayer of a man who says that Jesus Christ is not the Messiah? It is blasphemous . . . No one can pray unless he prays through the name of Jesus Christ."



N. Appelbaum
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHEAST REGION • 1649 Tullie Circle, N.E., Suite 109 • Atlanta, Georgia 30329 • (404) 633-6351

X Ellen?
Tanenbaum
December 4, 1980

William A. Gralnick,
Southeast Regional Director

Memo to: Bill Gralnick
From: *MR* Marvin Rubenstein

Enclosed please find the second half of the election analysis. I hope you find the information helpful.

Please note that I have confirmed with Jerry Sklar and Jack Rosensweig that a joint AJC-CRC meeting will be held on December 23 at 7:30 P.M. at the Jewish Community Center. I will be in touch with you concerning the invitations.

Be well! Happy Chanukah!

etc. Applebaum, Bechtolden, file



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SOUTHEAST REGION • 1549 Tullie Circle, N.E., Suite 109 • Atlanta, Georgia 30329 • (404) 633-6351

December 3, 1980

William A. Gralnick,
Southeast Regional Director

STATE AND LOCAL CAMPAIGN ANALYSIS

Complete returns for the State of Tennessee indicated that President Carter received 782,624 or 48% of the votes, Reagan with 787,962 or 49% of the votes and Anderson polling 35,892 or 2% of the state vote. In terms of other elections, all of Tennessee's Congressional incumbents were returned to office with easy victories. (Please note that in a previous report Congressman Ed Jones was said to have run unopposed. He was opposed by Daniel Campbell, a Memphis schoolteacher who received approximately 32% of the vote in the race.) A list of campaign contributors for the Presidential candidates on the local level could not be obtained as the local election commission is only required to keep information from local candidates.

Elections for House and Senate seats in the Tennessee legislature on the local level proved uneventful. With the exception of one local race, all incumbent state legislators were returned to office. Twelve of the nineteen local House districts had opposing candidates. Of those unopposed, six were incumbent Democrats and one was an unopposed Republican incumbent. In terms of support from the Moral Majority, it appears from the financial disclosures of the candidates that few, if any, funds were derived from this group. Please note the enclosed article concerning campaign expenditures by Shelby legislators that appeared in The Commercial Appeal of November 2. The only visible sign of support for political candidates was evidenced in the enclosed ad that was placed by a group called ALARM and Friends of Moral Majority. Of the three state senatorial candidates supported by ALARM, only one candidate won and he was an incumbent. In the eight House districts for which ALARM supported specific candidates, four were elected and they too were incumbents. The County Commission candidate which the Moral Majority supported also won. He too was an incumbent. The referendum on the Home Rule Amendment regarding Memphis Light, Gas & Water which

was opposed by ALARM was passed. Again, this ad was the only visible sign of support from a Moral Majority type of group.

One unusual incident involving a Moral Majority figure was that of the printing of bogus sample ballots distributed at polling places. The ballot resembled the Democratic Party's Big Vote sample ballot that endorsed another candidate. The figure Charles Trammell, Jr. was said to have received \$400 for having the ballots distributed. Trammell, a former President of the Memphis Jaycees, was a facilities chairman for the "national affairs briefing" that was held in Memphis by the Roundtable. Trammell was also an election inspector for the County during the November 4 election.

From analysis of news releases and in conversations with communal professionals and news people, the impact of the Moral Majority on state elections appeared minimal. With the exception of the enclosed ad, no other public statements of support were noted. On November 5, E.E. McAteer, one of the local founders of the Roundtable, indicated that "--we just had tens of thousands of people that we developed as a market for the New Right's projections." (The Commercial Appeal, November 5, 1980)

What is evident is that what was not said publicly, by noted proponents of the Christian Right, was probably articulated in private meetings. Some references to Christian candidates were believed to have been made by Baptist ministers such as James Latimer in church according to a local news reporter. This same reporter indicated his belief that Rev. Adrian Rogers, while not speaking on the topic in public, did much to influence people to vote with a Christian conscience.

It appears that on the local level the Moral Majority through the influence of key church and civic leaders has planted the seeds from which to build a political base of support for future candidates.

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
FOR PLENARY SESSION ACTION
WEDNESDAY, JAN. 14, 1980
PROPOSED POSITION PAPER ON RELIGION AND POLITICAL EXTREMISM

Extremist political activism by church groups, mostly evangelical Protestant, have aroused concern and alarm about the potential, if not immediate, threat that such activism poses for the American political system and the American society. We perceive those threats as basically of three kinds: (1) threats to the constitutional principles of freedom of religion, thought and expression and the proscription of religious tests for public office; (2) threats to the intricate pluralistic fabric of our national life and the democratic process; and (3) threats to the policies and programs that most Jewish and other organizations and population segments committed to an open society regard as essential to the social and economic well-being of the nation.

I

Competition among religious groups in the interplay of forces that is at the very heart of the democratic process has been a feature of American politics from the beginning. Adherents of various faiths derive sanction for advocacy of or opposition to governmental policies from the teachings of the faiths to which they subscribe. Jews, like others, rest their rationale for their position on many social-political issues in part on Jewish sacred writing and Jewish tradition. In relation to issues to which such considerations may not be relevant, Jews as a group assert the propriety -- indeed the obligation -- to advance their views as the consensus of a body of citizens sharing those views and, in all cases, to seek to persuade legislators, public officials and the public generally of the correctness, worth or superiority of those positions.

Accordingly, we cannot and do not challenge the right or the propriety of such efforts and activities by evangelical or other religious bodies. We must and will determine our own positions, make our own decisions as to the means by which and the extent to which we will propound and press them. Should our objectives and those of others prove identical or congruent, we may, if deemed appropriate, join with those others in common or joint advocacy or actions, while opposing those of their positions that we consider ill advised, harmful or dangerous.

II

The Constitution of the United States balances safeguards and limitations; it guarantees freedom of speech, press and assembly and the "free exercise" of religion; and it proscribes any official "establishment" of religion. The framers of the Constitution recognized that government must protect the freedom of religious sects to engage in political controversy; but that government must at the same time be safeguarded against domination by any sect or combination of sects and be ever barred from supporting or otherwise favoring any religion or any element opposed to religion. Religious tests for public office are prohibited; and over the years courts have held that subsidies, whether direct or by tax

exemptions, may not be accorded any religious body.

Especially incompatible with the intent of the constitutional principle of separation of religion and government are efforts by church organizations to make conformity to their theologically derived principles and aims the exclusive test of qualification for public office. Some right-wing evangelical groups have gone so far as to urge their members and followers to "vote Christian." Others have imputed to candidates that do not share their political positions a kind of heresy, branding them as unworthy to hold public office because they espouse views not sanctioned by the revealed "truth" by which their accusers are guided.

We do not charge that the church groups that engage in such conduct transgress the letter of the Constitution. We believe strongly that all such conduct is profoundly violative of the spirit of the Constitution and that it merits condemnation by all who deem our constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and religion a precious heritage. And we deem it our responsibility to interpret it in these terms as energetically as possible.

Just as churches are free to give expression to political opinions that they derive from their sacred sources or that they deem to have the sanction of their deity, churches must recognize that those of other faiths or of no faith are equally protected in their freedom. Claims by any church or sect combination of churches or sects to exclusive knowledge, based on their interpretation of scriptures or on divine revelation, of what is moral or right or politically wise or advantageous implicitly seeks to deny that freedom by impugning the moral integrity and patriotism of those who do not share their views. Absolutism of any sort is the antithesis of democracy and the essence of totalitarianism.

III

The pluralism of American society is a web of many strands and the strength of the whole is dependent on the support that each strand is given by the others. Some of those strands are religious. Religious tolerance -- and tolerance of non-religion and irreligion -- is not an adornment of our society; it is the knitting that unites it and makes it integral despite its complex variety. Religiously motivated action, however sincere its conviction of righteousness, that explicitly or implicitly impugns the validity of other religions or the sincerity of the convictions that lead those of other religions or of none to their respective actions, is destructive of the knots and ties that bind the strands of the social web together. The competition among religious (and other) groups in the political arena must not threaten that enveloping unity by mutual excoriation, or by efforts to depict those of other or no faith as unAmerican or immoral.

Sin is a religious concept -- transgression of a rule established by or under divine authority. For any religious group to depict public conduct or political views inconsistent with its own as sinful is to assault American pluralism. What is sinful for an observing Jew may not be so for others. To some, the very concept of sin in the theological sense is meaningless. To some, but only to some, abortion is sinful. As citizens, all are concerned about public policy on abortion. Among

Jews -- themselves a pluralism of denominations religiously -- there are differences. The prevailing American morality rejects polygamy, which the Mormon Church deems righteous. Murder, on the other hand, is sinful to all religions (obscure cults that may hold human sacrifice sacred excepted) and is regarded universally as immoral.

In short, religious organizations properly use the freedom in which they are protected by the Constitution to expound and explicate their stances on public issues. But they must take care in so doing to avoid impairing the pluralism that flourishes in an atmosphere of mutual acceptance of and respect for differences. To that end, they must eschew efforts to make their religious dogma binding on others. The political process must not become a tool of proselytization.

IV

The Bill of Rights was intended by its framers to be forever inviolate, even by popular majority vote. The governing principles it established are the bedrock of American freedoms. Those principles constitute a creed for Americans of all religions or none -- a secular creed to be honored in American political life as religious creeds are honored by the churches that subscribe to them. Mandated prayer in public schools, official censorship of books and other literary or artistic expressions, prescription or proscription of modes of personal conduct or life styles, denial of equal rights to women, statutory limitations on the right of women to abort -- such objectives, pursued by some churches and church groups strike at the very heart of the American creed, the Bill of Rights. This we find alarming. Against it we summon our own energies and the energies of all who truly cherish America's democratic heritage and wish to preserve it.

* * * * *

SOME GUIDELINES FOR JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS AGENCIES

1. We must expect -- and cannot object to -- vigorous efforts by groups advocating what we oppose and opposing what we advocate to obtain larger support for their goals. What devolves upon us is the obligation to display equal or greater vigor and to invest maximum resources in the pursuit of our own objectives.
2. Basic to the pursuit of Jewish community relations purposes is the building of cooperative relationships with other groups in support of mutually held objectives. Such relationships may be relatively enduring or they may be temporary, ad hoc. They may be for a range of shared objectives or for a single timely purpose. The other participants in such joint enterprises may differ with the Jewish organizational participants on issues other than those to which the cooperative effort is directed; such differences do not and should not impair the relationship.

Appraisals of the acceptability, on such grounds, of organizations and groups must be made with care, taking into account the full range of their policies and activities.

3. The influence exerted by extremist religious groups is at least as much a function of organization as it is of spontaneous identification with their objectives. Larger numbers of Americans in most communities probably are opposed to those objectives and offended by the means by which they are being pursued. The creation and nurturing of broad-based community-wide coalitions for defense of American pluralism, and subscribing in substance to the foregoing position statement could be an effective counter to much of the extremist political activity by religious groups.
4. Similar coalitions should be organized around specific issues, coopting all possible elements of the community.
5. Evangelical churches and associations must not be automatically categorized in such terms. There is wide variance among them. Some may be suitable and desirable partners in cooperative ventures, even as others are not.
6. Jewish community relations agencies should be alert to evidence of surreptitious funneling of tax-exempt funds from churches and church groups to bodies actively engaged in the electoral process. Such misuse of funds could be in violation of laws governing activities of beneficiaries of tax-exempt contributions.

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AMERICAN JEWISH

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METROPOLITAN
New York Baptist
ASSOCIATION

236 WEST 72nd STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023

Kollek, Teddy ©
mzg

MAIL: BOX 383, ANSONIA STATION
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023

R. QUINN PUGH, Director of Associational Services

(212) 787-7037

November 5, 1980

Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Rabbi Tannenbaum:

Please accept my appreciation for the privilege of joining other Christian leaders in conversation with Honorable Teddy Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem, on Wednesday, October 22nd. I genuinely appreciate the position of the Mayor and his forthright manner of response to questions. You were thoughtful to provide such a forum for all of us.

Again, I want to express my personal appreciation to you for your understanding of our Southern Baptist polity: that even the president does not speak for anyone but himself. You were exceedingly gracious to note in your comments as quoted by the press that the position of Rev. Bailey Smith does not represent the position stated by Southern Baptists through the years.

On some occasion in the near future it would be a particular privilege to share a lunch time with you for further conversation.

Sincerely yours,

EN (R. Quinn Pugh
R. Quinn Pugh

The Dallas Morning News

friday

Morning Final

Texas' leading newspaper ©The Dallas Morning News, 1980 ★★★★★

Dallas, Texas, Friday, December 19, 1980

Price 25 Cents

Smith apologizes to Jews

By HELEN PARMLEY
Religion Editor of The News

The president of the world's largest Protestant denomination told Jewish leaders Thursday he deeply regrets statements he made about Jews and told them he stands with them for an American pluralistic society and against anti-Semitism.

Bailey Smith, president of the 13.7-million-member Southern Baptist Convention, met in New York City with leaders of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to "foster understanding" after a controversy that began when Smith said God does not hear the prayers of Jews and Jews have "funny-looking noses."

After a 4-hour meeting at ADL headquarters, Smith, ADL national chairman Nathan Perlmutter and their colleagues issued a joint state-

ment in which Smith said: If he had it to do over, "knowing how it could be misinterpreted," he would not have made those statements.

Smith's statements were published

BAILEY
SMITH
Stands "for
total religious
liberty."



cized worldwide. Jews and people of other religious faiths, including many Southern Baptists, severely criticized Smith.

Smith told the ADL leaders he has "distinctive theological beliefs" he

cannot compromise, but he "stands with the Jewish community for total religious liberty."

Smith "expressed deep regret for any hurt to the Jewish community," the statement said.

Perlmutter, Smith and their colleagues agreed they "abhor, condemn and reject anti-Semitism because it violates their respective, deeply held religious beliefs."

They reaffirmed their commitment to their basic theological beliefs, "without rancor or rejection of each other," and noted Baptists and Jews have been the victims of religious persecution.

"Even to this day, (Jews and Baptists) suffer persecution in the Soviet Union and in other parts of the

See LEADERS on Page 10A.

Leaders consider plan to broaden understanding between religions

Continued from Page 1A.
world," the statement said.

Pledging to create a better understanding between persons of the two faiths, the Baptist and Jewish leaders agreed to try to improve communication.

"It is contemplated that various programs will be continued and initiated with conferences, seminars, academic interchanges, preparation of joint materials and other means for each community to learn more about the other," the statement concluded.

Perlmutter said, "I'm satisfied that what he (Smith) said had no anti-Semitic intent. He expressed what I gather to be sincere anguish."

"We tried to sensitize him to the mischievousness of those statements," Perlmutter said. "I mean, the guy flies here from Oklahoma and tells you he never met a Jew until he was umpty-umpty years old. He's learning."

The Dallas Morning News learned about Smith's first recent statement about Jews from a tape distributed by Milton Tobian, of the Dallas office of the American Jewish Committee. While ADL leaders attended reconciliation talks with Smith in New York, Tobian said it would take more than a brief encounter to wipe the slate clean.

"No other individual, group of individuals or organization can relieve Bailey Smith of the responsibility for his own remarks," Tobian said.

"However, the gates of repentance are always open. If he is truly repentant and resolves to make right the result of his acts, that would be the necessary first step to undoing the damage he has caused."

Tobian said he believes most Christians and Jews hope Smith takes those steps. "Good relationship between the Southern Baptists and the American Jewish Committee existed long before, during and after Smith's episode."

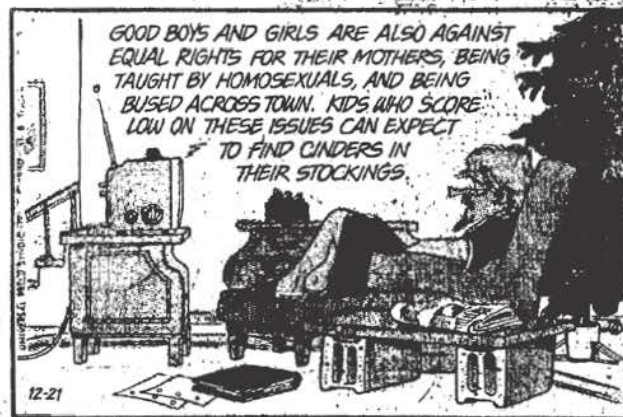
"I pray those good relationships will continue and become even deeper and more meaningful in the future."

Mark Briskman, of the Dallas office of the ADL and a participant in the meeting, said "It was an excellent meeting. It set the foundations for future understanding."

He said the discussion was "open and friendly."

DOONESBURY

by G. B. Trudeau



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date September 22, 1980
 to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum ✓
 from Howard Kohr, Assist. Wash. Rep. HAK
 subject Special Task Force on the "Moral Majority"

On September 18, a special meeting of a WISC (Washington Interreligious Staff Council) Task Force was held to discuss the impact the Moral Majority and other "New Right" groups are having upon the 1980 elections.

In attendance were representatives of Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Lutheran and Jewish groups. A representative of the NCC was there as well.

Everyone in attendance felt that the "Moral Majority" is having a very profound influence in certain targeted campaigns. Specifically, the Senatorial campaigns of Bayh, Culver, McGovern, Church and Nelson were mentioned as those whom would feel the brunt of the "New Right" attack.

Most of the discussion revolved around what could be done to counter the presentations being made by the "Moral Majority". The consensus was that the mainline Protestant groups should lead the counter-attack, since the majority of the supporters of the "Moral Majority" are mainline Protestants. In addition, it was felt that liberal church spokesmen and Jewish groups should keep a low profile.

A special committee was established to consider a plan of action for the November elections and beyond. The action Committee comprised of David Saperstein (UAHC); John Baker (Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs); George A. Chauncey (Director, Presbyterian Church, US); Charles V. Bergstrom (Office of Government Affairs, Lutheran Council in the USA); Jim Hamilton (NCC), and Bryan Hehir (U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops) will consider the following suggestions for action: a) statement from Christian leaders on issues of concern, including a definition of what it means to be a Christian (see enclosed NCC statement which is significant though not as pointed as it could have been); b) a print media campaign and c) buying commercial time with prominent Christian leaders speaking.

The mainline denominations are in a difficult position due to the fact that many of their members are becoming increasingly sympathetic to the overtures of the "New Right." However, the Christian representatives at this meeting felt the need to act soon and effectively to counter the right-wing influence within their denominations.

I will keep you informed of future developments in Washington.

cc: Sam Rabinove
 Seymour Samet
 encl.

Adopted by the
NCCC Executive Committee
September 12, 1980

THE CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES OF CHRISTIANS

Periodically U.S. citizens have the opportunity to choose their presidential leadership and thereby the direction their nation will take into the future. As an organization whose member Churches care deeply about issues which affect the quality of life of all people, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. again this year presented to the Platform Committees of the Democratic and Republican national conventions a statement setting forth its views on major issues.

This year, in the midst of a political campaign during which much is being said about the "role of Christians in politics", the National Council of Churches believes it is appropriate to state its views about the citizenship responsibilities of Christians consistent with its thirty-year history of a biblically motivated search for justice; peace, reconciliation and the succoring of the world's poor and oppressed.

In some parts of the world to declare oneself a Christian is to become politically suspect. U.S. Christians can rejoice that this is not true in the United States. The U.S. does not demand political conformity along religious or ideological lines, a heritage of religious and civil liberty to be treasured.

Christians have obligations of citizenship to fulfill, particularly the right and duty to vote, as well as the biblical injunction to work toward a social vision of compassion, justice, and peace. God intends for Christians to pursue the "things that make for peace and build up the common life," which would include participation in the political process.

The immense resources of Christ's grace supply the courage and inward renewal to undertake citizenship responsibilities today and in the age to come. The humility to see government leaders and oneself as constantly under divine judgment and mercy is a contribution to democratic political vitality and is important for opposing totalitarianism and demagoguery.

Above all, Christians are to love the Lord their God and their neighbor as themselves. They are to work diligently for peace, for the survival and preservation of God's creation, and for the good of all humanity. Loving one's neighbor has no boundaries of race, class, sex, or nationality, as Christ's ministry amply demonstrates. Christians are obliged to address the needs of those who may be excluded from the benefits of society or from the political process and to whom harm is being done at home or abroad.

As citizens, Christians must not abdicate their responsibility because there is no "pure" candidate, no absolutely correct and clear course of action. God's grace frees Christians to "think our way to a sober estimate based on the measure of faith that God has dealt to each of us." (Romans 12:3) Christians may not agree on all political decisions, but they are enjoined not to hold one another in contempt, for all stand before God's tribunal. In the tempering fires of political compromise and accommodations to the needs and interests of many diverse groups, there can be discerned no exclusively "Christian vote"; nor can single issue pressures serve the best interest of our total society. Through a study of Scripture, the heritage of churches struggling to be faithful, and through the experiences of life which God opens, Christians respond to the demands of the times and the promises of God.

TULSA METROPOLITAN MINISTRY
125 W. Third Street, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74103
(918-582-3147)

September 26, 1980

Dear Colleagues:

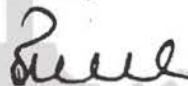
A number of us expressed concern about communicating with our congregations and other constituencies about the Moral Majority at the NAES Conference at Estes Park this summer.

While waiting for someone else to come out with a statement that we could draw on, our TMM Board of Directors decided we needed to prepare a statement of concern about the Moral Majority with a cover letter to clergy and our Assembly Delegates encouraging them to utilize the paper in various ways.

Please feel free to make use of this paper if it would be helpful to you. Among the many materials we drew on were (1) "12 Points to Consider About the New Christian Right Wing," Context (Martin Marty, 7/15/80); (2) "The Christian Vote in 1980," America, 9/13/80; (3) series on The Rise of Ultraconservative Evangelical Christians as a Political Force, The New York Times, 8/17-20/80; (4) "Born-Again Politics," Newsweek, 9/15/80; (5) "Christians Divide on 'Moral Majority'," Megan Rosenfeld in the Washington Post, 9/80; and (6) "Washington for Jesus," Phil M. Shenk, Sojourners, 6/80. Another useful article published after our statement was prepared is "Christians on Right and Left Take up Ballot and Cudgel," Kenneth A. Briggs, The New York Times, 9/21/80.

Hope things are going well with all of you. Look forward to seeing you next July if not before.

Peace,



Bruce Theunissen

BT:mh
Enclosures



Tulsa Metropolitan Ministry

September 23, 1980

Dear Members of the Clergy and TMM Assembly Delegates:

During the past few months, a significant amount of attention has been given to the activity of the Moral Majority and aligned groups which have taken a very definite "Christian" stand on a number of issues that are important to all people of faith. As a result, many members of the clergy, as well as concerned lay persons, have contacted Tulsa Metropolitan Ministry concerning this religious movement.

Therefore, at our August Board meeting, the TMM Board of Directors determined that it would be appropriate to develop a short statement that would offer some Biblical and theological insight into the values and activities of the Moral Majority. A copy of that statement is enclosed.

We hope these reflections will be helpful to you and the membership of your congregation. In particular we would encourage you to examine and discuss this paper with members of your congregation's governing body and perhaps consider utilizing it or material it deals with in adult education forums, sermons and various communications to your congregation. Such discussion hopefully would enable more people within Tulsa's religious community to reach a more informed opinion on the value of the Moral Majority's contribution to our religious and ethical values and to the national political process.

Sincerely,

Ronald T. McDaniel

Ronald T. McDaniel,
President,
Board of Directors

Bruce Theunissen

Bruce Theunissen
TMM Executive Director

RTM/BT:mh
Enclosure

TULSA METROPOLITAN MINISTRY

CONCERNS Regarding the Moral Majority

The recent Tulsa area appearances by Texas evangelist James Robison and national Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell have drawn attention to the growing strength of the coalition of religious and political conservatives in the political and public life of our nation.

Generally, the Moral Majority and aligned groups' efforts are aimed at increasing military spending for developing and deploying new nuclear strategic weapons (and building up the armed forces), resuming the peacetime draft, defeating the Equal Rights Amendment, ending school busing for racial desegregation, promoting the teaching of the Genesis theory of creation in the schools, denying civil rights to homosexuals, and working to pass constitutional amendments to prevent abortions and to prescribe prayer in public schools.

While recognizing the right of the Moral Majority to express its aims, such expression opens the issue for public debate and scrutiny. Thus, with questions arising daily concerning the stance and impact of the Moral Majority, a number of concerns are beginning to emerge within portions of the religious community. Tulsa Metropolitan Ministry, as the Tulsa area's interdenominational and interreligious agency, has perceived and assembled these concerns as follows:

A "CHRISTIAN" AGENDA: To assert that there is a "Christian" agenda to be imposed on society ignores the fact and value of pluralism: within the Christian community there are different agendas. In other religious and secular communities, there are also different agendas. We feel that the imposition of any one group's agenda on society ignores the fundamental right of the other groups to exist as full members of our national community.

THE BIBLICAL BASE: The Moral Majority seems to assume absolute correctness in its interpretation of Scripture, especially as it is applied to issues such as arms control and the rights of minority persons, women and homosexuals. Again, this ignores the plurality of Scriptural interpretation. And, of great concern, absent from the assumptions of the Moral Majority, is Scripture's clear call for justice and mercy, especially for the poor in our midst.

THE "ELECTRONIC" CHURCH: "Electronic" ministries have tended to draw resources away from addressing needs of congregations, their members and those in need within their own communities. TMM is committed to maintaining and furthering the vitality of local congregations as the most important manifestation of each religious tradition. The emergence of the Moral Majority through the "electronic" church raises questions for us about how values are formed. In a congregation, people develop values within a community. Where does such give and take occur in a one-way media of persuasion?

THE FAMILY: We believe that the Moral Majority's stereotype of the family ignores the large number of those who are not in a traditional family lifestyle and does not adequately take into account the social forces affecting the family. It also seems to us that the family is used by the Moral Majority to de-emphasize or avoid the Scriptural mandates to seek justice and to meet the needs of those who are different from ourselves.

NATIONHOOD AND MILITARY SPENDING: The Moral Majority has aligned itself with those who define national security in terms of military supremacy and nuclear first-strike capability and with those who define national interest in terms of dominance. First, we question whether or not any nation has the right to claim morality for itself. Second, along with several religious bodies, we question whether or not national security is enhanced by escalation of the arms race. Third, we see that increased military spending can only mean that more people go hungry.

THE "MORAL MAJORITY": We feel that all persons of faith must discern what is moral. No one group can claim that its historically relative position on morality is God's own definition of morality. Second, we know of no religious tradition which systematically equates morality with the viewpoint of a majority.

TMM's conviction and experience have led to a deep appreciation for the delicate balance between convictions and values and power and the leaders who wield it. America has a rich pluralism, religiously and culturally, which must be nourished if the values of democracy and religious freedom and the dream of providing adequate resources for a "quality of life" for all its citizens are to be realized.

Tulsa Metropolitan Ministry
125 West Third Street, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74103
(918-582-3147)

September, 1980

**INTERFAITH LEADERS ATTACK
THE CHRISTIAN 'NEW RIGHT'**

By Religious News Service (10-7-80)

WASHINGTON (RNS) -- Led by former Southern Baptist Convention President Jimmy Allen, an interfaith panel attempted here to put some distance between mainline American religious groups and the partisan politics of the "Christian right."

While affirming the right of all Americans, including the Christian right, to become involved in the political process, the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders protested partisan efforts to label political positions "Christian" or "un-Christian" and to transform the country into a "Christian republic."

Speaking at a National Press Club news conference, Mr. Allen, now president of his denomination's Radio and Television Commission, described the new right as a "very complex constellation of people."

He added that the term New Right is something of a misnomer "because many of them have been around for a long time in the political right and have found a new place to work in the religious electronic world."

Contending that persons on the extreme right and left have both the right and responsibility to hold and share points of view in "the marketplace of ideas," Mr. Allen said they do not have a right to "label their political solutions as the Christian answer and reject as un-Christian those who address the problem's solution in another way."

The Rev. Charles V. Bergstrom, executive director of the Office of Governmental Affairs Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., agreed, calling such an approach "arrogant."

Right-leaning religious organizations such as The Roundtable, headed by Southern Baptists E.E. McAteer and James Robison, Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority and Christian Voice have garnered heavy attention in the political arena this year.

(more)

PAGE -6-

Although Mr. Falwell and Moral Majority claim to be non-partisan, the Lynchburg, Va., television preacher has publicly announced that he plans to vote for Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan. Christian Voice is more overtly partisan in its endorsement of the Republican nominee through its "Christians for Reagan" organization.

Decrying such activity, Mr. Allen said the principle of separation of church and state was never meant to "produce a bloc vote for a particular candidate or party in the name of religion." He said such an attempt "damages the churches by creating a political test for religious fellowship," and "damages the state by producing a religious test for public office."

Msgr. George G. Higgins, a Catholic priest and until Sept. 1 a long-time public affairs specialist for the U.S. Catholic Conference, was also critical of the Christian right's "highly partisan approach" which he described as "strangely selective and extremely simplistic."

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, interreligious affairs director for the American Jewish Committee, expressed concern also over efforts by the New Right to establish a "Christian republic."

Pointing to the writings of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin and James Madison, Rabbi Tanenbaum challenged the assertion of some New Right spokesmen that the nation's founders envisioned such a Christian nation.

Rabbi Tanenbaum further commended the writings of the nation's founders to Southern Baptist Convention President Bailey Smith and "others who share his views about uniformity of conscience and religion."

The Jewish leader said Mr. Smith's August comment that God does not hear the prayer of a Jew "is not only religiously presumptuous and morally offensive, it is dangerous to the future of our democratic pluralistic society."

"He is saying," Mr. Tanenbaum added, "not only that the Jewish people have been living a religious lie for 4,000 years across 30 civilizations, he is also saying that because they are religiously invalid there is no place for them in presidential inaugurations or political conventions and ultimately there is no place for them in democratic America."

NEWS COMMITTEE

FROM THE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Oct. 10...The Reverend Jerry Falwell, President of the Moral Majority, assured the American Jewish Committee today that he opposes the view that "God does not hear the prayer of a Jew", and that he is committed to religious pluralism.

Rev. Falwell issued a written statement of his views after paying a visit to Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, 2 days ago (Wednesday, Oct. 8) at the AJC's national headquarters. Rev. Falwell was accompanied by Gerald Strober, a former AJC staff member specializing in Evangelical-Jewish relations.

After an hour-long discussion of the Bailey Smith controversy, and related issues dealing with the emergence of "New Right Evangelicals," Rev. Falwell prepared a statement which he invited the American Jewish Committee to make public.

"It grieves me," Rev. Falwell declared, "that I have been quoted as saying that God does not hear the prayer of a Jew. My position is that God is a respecter of all persons. He loves everyone alike. He hears the cry of any sincere person who calls on him.

"A very healthy relationship has been developing between Bible-believing Christians in America and the Jewish community, during the past two decades. I have worked long and hard to enhance this relationship. I shall continue to do so. This relationship transcends any political campaign.

"This is a time for Catholics, Protestants, Jews and Mormons and all Americans to rise above efforts to polarize or isolate us in our efforts to

more...

Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Gerard Weinstock, Chairman, Board of Trustees.

Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

Washington Office, 818 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, 95149, Isr
South America hq.: (temporary office) 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. E. Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

return this nation to a commitment to the moral principles on which America was built. America is a pluralistic republic. We cannot survive if we allow it to become anything less. We may have differing theological positions, but we must never allow this to separate us as Americans who love and respect each other as united people."

In response, Rabbi Tanenbaum welcomed Rev. Falwell's statement as "a necessary and timely clarification of his basic attitudes toward Jews and Judaism, and of his commitment to religious pluralism as the keystone of American Democracy.

"During our frank and cordial dialogue, Rev. Falwell assured me that he is opposed to the conception of America as a 'Christian Republic,' and that he is deeply committed to the American Constitution's prohibition of a religious test as the basis for the election of political candidates. While he acknowledged that there have been some persons in the conservative evangelical community who have advocated such views, these do not represent his thinking and he will continue to oppose these positions which contradict the principles of democratic pluralism."

Rabbi Tanenbaum said that he found "most heartening Rev. Falwell's strong support of the State of Israel and of a unified Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty open to all religions and ethnic groups."

Rabbi Tanenbaum, who has pioneered in building bridges of understanding between Evangelical Christians and Jews beginning in 1965, said he informed Rev. Falwell that last Monday he took part in an interreligious press conference in Washington, D.C., with Southern Baptist, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran leaders for the purpose of repudiating efforts of religious and political extremists to "Christianize" government and politics in our country.

That press conference consciously avoided taking sides either for or against any candidate, political party, political party platforms, or partisan political issues.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said that his meeting with Dr. Falwell was held in that spirit.

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A,REL, NPL

Revival Fires
P. O. Box 1707
Joplin, Mo 64801

08/18/80

SPECIAL REQUEST BULLETIN

DEPARTING FOR WASHINGTON, D.C. WITH ONE MILLION VOTES
TO GET VOLUNTARY PRAYER BACK INTO OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS!

YOU HELPED MAKE IT HAPPEN! THANK YOU AND THANK GOD!

FYI

cc:

Milton Ellerin
A, James Rudin
Marc Tanenbaum
B, Gralnick

I'M CHARTERING A BIG GOLDEN EAGLE BUS AND TWO DRIVERS
TO DELIVER ALL THESE PRAYER PETITIONS AND THE PRESI-
DENTIAL PEANUT TO THE WHITE HOUSE!

THIS IS COSTING ME \$3,000!

I'M ALSO TAKING OUR TV CAMERAS AND A FULL TELEVISION
CREW TO FILM THIS EXCITING AND HISTORY-MAKING EVENT.
I BELIEVE THE WHOLE NATION NEEDS TO KNOW ABOUT THIS
ACTION.

THIS WILL COST ME \$10,000!

I BELIEVE YOU AGREE THIS IS REALLY A SMALL PRICE TO
PAY TO MAKE THIS HISTORIC DELIVERY AND THIS STRONG
IMPACT FOR OUR GOD AND OUR COUNTRY IN OUR NATION'S
CAPITOL!

I'M ASKING YOU AND SEVERAL OF MY OTHER PRAYER PARTNER:
TO GIVE A SPECIAL OFFERING TO UNDERWRITE THIS WORTHY
PROJECT.

AFTER MUCH THOUGHT AND PRAYER, I FELT LED TO ASK YOU
TO HELP.

PLEASE RUSH YOUR SPECIAL GIFT OF \$5, \$10, \$15, \$25
OR EVEN \$100 FOR THIS MOST EXCITING PROJECT BY RE-
TURN MAIL! I'M REALLY DEPENDING ON YOUR HELP.

THANKS, PARTNER.


CECIL TODD

P. S. PLEASE USE THE SPECIAL ENVELOPE ENCLOSED TO
SPEED YOUR RESPONSE.

STATEMENT BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM,
NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS DIRECTOR
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ON "NEW-RIGHT EVANGELICALS"

The current emergence of "the New Right Evangelicals" or "the New Christian Right" has elicited widespread interest and concern among millions of American citizens, among them, a great many Jews.

No responsible and fair-minded American questions the right of fellow Americans of Evangelical Christian or any other religious or moral persuasion to participate fully as citizens in the political process nor to advocate the adoption of public policy positions which reflect their ideological bent. Indeed, maximum participation by our fellow Americans in the democratic process can only be encouraged and welcomed.

During the past fifteen months, however, there have been a number of actions and statements by major spokesmen of this newly-forged alliance of several Evangelical Christian leaders and ultra-conservative political organizers which have become deeply troubling to many of us, and which require, we believe, careful analytical scrutiny by both Presidential candidates, both political parties, and by the American people. These concerns center around the following major issues:

- 1) A number of major spokesmen of "the New Christian Right" assert that their primary purpose in this election, and through related political activity on the local levels, is "to Christianize America," and to establish "a Christian republic."

That is a myth and it is an ideologically dangerous myth for American democracy which must not go uncontested. The only period in American history during which anything resembling a so-called "Christian Republic" existed was the establishment of the Massachusetts Bay Colony after 1629. That colony was a Puritan theocracy which yoked together ecclesiastical and civil government. As every major church historian acknowledges, the Puritan oligarchy sought religious toleration for themselves but did not believe in religious toleration for others, and that "Christian republic" collapsed after about 50 years when dissenters such as Roger Williams fled persecution in order to find freedom of conscience in Providence, Rhode Island.

What is historically true is that Baptist farmer-preachers, Methodist circuit-riders, and dissenting Presbyterians became the foremost champions of freedom of conscience, religious liberty, and the principle of the separation of church and state. They suffered persecution, imprisonment, and ruthless harassment at the hands of the Anglican Establishment in Virginia and elsewhere to uphold those fundamental democratic principles not only for themselves but for all Americans.

It is both ironic and sad that some of the spiritual heirs of those Evangelical Christians in Virginia today and elsewhere have chosen either to forget or to ignore that historic achievement of American democratic pluralism.

2) A number of "New Christian Right" spokesmen regularly speak of the "Golden Era" of "Evangelical Christian America" when our forbears were supposedly deeply religious and highly moral people, and by contrast, we today are convicted of religious and moral inadequacy.

That is also a myth, and its repetition tends to immobilize us in unnecessary guilt and self-doubt, rather than energize us to face the truth about our past and our moral responsibilities in the complex, real world today.

As every major church historian documents, "the great majority of Americans in the eighteenth century were outside any church, and there was an overwhelming indifference to religion." Dr. William Warren Sweet wrote (Revivalism in America) that "taking the colonies as a whole, the ratio of church membership was one to 12." Dr. Robert R. Handy states, "No more than ten percent of Americans in 1800 were members of churches" (A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada).

As a result of the vast labor and the rough, uncouth hardships encountered by the pioneers, frontier communities became coarse and partially wild societies, with little or no social restraints, and filled with low vices and brutal pleasures. The West was described as "the land of sinful liberty" with large sections of the frontier society debauched and whiskey-sodden. The violence and anarchy resulted in a breakdown of respect for emerging civic authority.

The Three Great Awakenings in America -- the first in the 13 colonies from 1725-1770; the second, West of the Alleghenies, 1770-1830; the third, 1865-1899, with the rise of city evangelism -- were all responses to the widespread decline of religion and the degenerated moral conditions of the times. We may well be in the midst of The Fourth Great Awakening today.

The point is that there are more people affiliated with our churches and synagogues today than any time in the past. And while we face real and serious moral issues in contemporary America and in the troubled world, it serves no useful purpose to imply that we are a generation of moral pygmies when contrasted with our forbears who were supposedly moral giants. Precisely because there are more Americans who are religiously committed today than in the past we are in a far better position to mobilize conscience and moral will to cope constructively and realistically with our many problems. That means that religious and civic leadership needs to speak to our better selves rather than evoke paralyzing images of our worst selves.

A vital lesson that should be derived from our past is that when confronted with the massive moral challenges of the frontier societies, evangelical leaders -- to their everlasting credit -- launched a wide range of moral reform movements as voluntary expressions of the churches. Organized benevolence ("The Benevolence Empire" these efforts were called) were created for the poor and downtrodden, anti-slavery groups, temperance societies, aid to youth, and the military. With the exception of the Prohibition legislation calling for total abstinence from alcoholic beverages adopted as the 18th amendment in 1920, the anti-evolution law, and the Puritan Sabbath -- all of which subsequently collapsed and resulted in general disillusionment and loss of morale -- all of the great moral reform movements were effected through internal, voluntary church resources, rather than through legislative means of dominating the government or the nation's political machinery.

3) Several "New Christian Right" spokesmen have asserted or implied that "the Founding Fathers" of our nation perceived America as "a Christian Republic." If you check their writings, you will find that such assertions contradict everything Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and others stood and fought for.

Thus, Thomas Jefferson wrote in his Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom -- which became the basis for the First Amendment -- "Almighty God hath created the mind free, and that all attempts to influence it by tempt or punishments or burns or by civil incapacitations tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion."

The exercise of religion, Jefferson added, is "a natural right" which has been infringed by "the impious presumption of legislators and rulers" to set up their "own modes of thinking as the only true and infallible," and "to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves," which is "sinful and tyrannical."

In his Notes on Virginia, Jefferson stated, "The rights of conscience we never submitted, we could not submit. We are answerable for them to our God ... Subject opinion to coercion; whom will you make your inquisitors? Fallible men; men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons. And why subject it to coercion? To produce uniformity. But is uniformity of opinion desirable? No more than of face and stature."

I would commend such writings of our Founding Fathers to the Rev. Bailey Smith and others who share his views about uniformity of conscience and religion. Rev. Smith's utterance about "God not hearing the prayer of a Jew" is not only religiously presumptuous and morally offensive; it is dangerous to the future of our democratic pluralistic society. He is saying not only that the Jewish people have been living a religious lie for 4,000 years across 30 civilizations; he is also saying that because they are religiously invalid there is no place for them at Presidential inaugurations or political conventions, and ultimately, no legitimate place for them in American democratic society. Some evangelical pastors spoke such theological obscenities about the Jews in Nazi Germany.

It is encouraging to us that literally hundreds of Baptist pastors, Christian seminary faculties and lay people have issued statements repudiating his narrow views as un-Christian and un-American.

4) The campaign by some members of the "New Christian Right" to elect "born-again Christians" only to public office is anathema to everything American democracy stands for. It violates Article 6 of the United States Constitution which forbids the exercise of "a religious test" for any citizen running for public office. The American people must repudiate that anti-democratic practice. Candidates must continue to be judged on the basis of their competence, their integrity, and their commitment to the common welfare. That is the American way.

5) The most effective critique of "single politics" campaigns and candidates is provided by the leading Evangelical journal, Christianity Today (Sept. 19, 1980):

"Moral Majority and Christian Voice appear to emphasize the first three principles of Evangelicals for Social Action more than the others (that is, the family; every human life is sacred (abortion); religious and political freedom are God-given inalienable rights). The Bible deals with all of them. In fact, probably more space in the Bible is devoted to calls for justice and the care for the poor than to the fact that human life is sacred, though none can deny that both are Biblical mandates. The concerns of the religious lobbies will appeal to a broader range of Christians to the extent that they emphasize these other equally biblical principles of justice, peace, stewardship of our resources, and care for the poor, as well as profamily and prolife issues. It is a case of "these ye ought to do but not to leave the others undone." Too narrow a front in battling for a moral crusade, or for a truly biblical involvement in politics, could be disastrous. It could lead to the election of a moron who holds the right view on abortion."

6) Many of us are concerned about the militant apocalyptic style of some "New Christian Right" spokesmen. This mentality dates back to antiquity when in every century where there was vast social disarray and disorientation, there emerged a widespread yearning among the masses, especially the poor and disinherited, for a Messianic savior joined by an Emperor of the Last Days who would relieve society of its oppression and moral decay and usher in the Millenium "in which the world would be inhabited by a humanity at once perfectly good and perfectly happy" (Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millenium).

This revolutionary apocalypse was dominated by eschatological phantasies of a new Paradise on earth, a world purged of suffering and sin, a Kingdom of Saints. A prodigious final struggle would take place between the hosts of Christ and the hosts of the Antichrist through which history would attain its fulfillment and justification.

Before the Millenium could dawn, however, misbelief had to be eliminated as a prelude to realizing the ideal of a wholly Christian world. In the eyes of the crusading Messianic hordes (which began to form in the Middle Ages), the smiting of the Moslems and the Jews was to be the first act in that final drama which was to culminate in the smiting of the Prince of Evil (Satan, the Devil).

Much of the present "New Right" public discussion of issues seems to be characterized by that traditional scenario of political conflict between "the children of light" and the "children of darkness." There is too much demonology in the current discussion which appears to consign political candidates to being demolished as "satanic" -- the moral hit lists with "zero ratings," "secular humanists standing at the side of satan." Reasoned, civil debate in an open democracy requires another, higher order of discourse.

One has a sense that some "New Right" advocates perceive America as if it were a vast camp revival meeting whose characteristic method was to plunge into anguish the sinner over the state of his soul, then bring about a confession of faith by oversimplifying the decision as a choice between a clear good and an obvious evil. The Civil War was rendered all the more intransigent and destructive

Marc H. Tanenbaum
"New Evangelical Right"

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by each side claiming that God was on their side, and by portraying the other side as "infidel" and "atheist." A mature America deserves a far more balanced and thoughtful method to analyze its problems and to formulate its responses; anything less than that is an insult to the intelligence of the American people.



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NOTES

Evangelicals Of 'New Right' N.S.C. Interfaith Denounced

An ecumenical group of religious leaders yesterday denounced the political activity of the "New Right evangelicals," saying it is a threat to both church and state.

Jimmy R. Allen, past president of the Southern Baptist Convention and now president of its radio and television commission, said there is a "clear and present danger to the health and well-being of both the church and the state involved in religious and political extremism."

Allen was joined at a news conference by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee; Monsignor George G. Higgins of the Catholic University of America, and Charles V. Bergstrom, executive director of the office for governmental affairs of the Lutheran Council in the USA.

"One doesn't have to be doctrinaire in his interpretation of the principle of religious freedom and the separation of church and state to be put off, indeed to be frightened, by this kind of political extremism," Higgins said.

TRENDS ANALYSES REPORT

THE NEW RIGHT: AN EMERGING FORCE ON THE POLITICAL SCENE

by Milton Ellerin
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Trends Analyses
November 18, 1980

Discrimination Division,
Domestic Affairs Department

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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The New Right: An Emerging Force on the Political Scene

No political phenomenon in the past two decades, except perhaps the "Wallace movement," has attracted so much media attention as the so-called New Right. Several books, magazine articles, and countless newspaper feature stories all over the country examined it, attempted to define it and assess its significance, especially during the 1980 presidential race.

A definition of the New Right depends on who defines it; as yet there is no consensus about its ultimate goals despite frequent declarations by its influentials that they seek to take "power" sometime within the next decade, and indeed capture the Presidency of the United States.

It should be stated at the outset that the New Right has little relation, if any, to the so-called Old Right, just as the Old Right had little in common with "conservatives." The Old Right of the late 1950s and early 1960s, frequently called the Radical Right or the Right-Wing Extremists, has for all practical purposes faded away. Intimidation and incitement to violence -- hallmarks of the various "Christian Crusades," the Church League of America "Forums," and the White Citizens Councils -- are the stock in trade of today's Klan, Nazi and other "lunatic fringe" groups.

The John Birch Society, a major component of the Old Right, though tired and ineffective, still exists and still describes itself with some accuracy as an educational rather than a political organization. Probably, individual Birchers embrace New Right causes, and some former members are involved in New Right groups. The Society itself has taken positions almost identical to those of the New Right, the major difference being that while the John Birch Society and the Old Right are still obsessed with the idea that a vast monolithic communist conspiracy is seeking to take over America bit by bit, the New Right -- more pragmatic, realistic and far more astute in working within the system -- sees the "elitist Eastern liberal establishment" as "the enemy."

Conservatives stand somewhere to the right of center in the political spectrum and are distinguished from the New Right, New York Times White House correspondent Steven Weisman has noted, in that they continue "to defend preserving the existing status and privileges as a product of free enterprise, merit, and equal opportunity." And whereas today's conservatives may be described as "talkers and writers," New Right personalities and groups are "doers."

Thunder on the Right, the most recent book on the New Right is purportedly an "insider's report" by Alan Crawford, who worked for several groups generally conceded to be integral to the New Right.* He defines it as "an institutionalized, disciplined, well financed political network that capitalizes on the passions behind single issue causes and skillfully commands the use of increasingly powerful Political Action Committees. Its leadership, mostly white, mostly middle-class, are using their new found power to tip elections, veto legislation, and initiate referenda."

*See Appendix B

It should be noted, however, that while the various groups in the New Right "network" have displayed remarkable cooperation for the common good and have voluntarily agreed to allocations of function, each retains its autonomy, meets regularly, and raises its own funds. Each group's key personalities are usually active in several New Right groups.* "This coziness of New Right leadership," the Democratic National Committee charged in the recent election campaign, "forms a seamless web."

As a movement, the New Right has managed to achieve a rare blend of zealotry and pragmatism: To achieve an objective, it will cooperate with some groups with whom it has little in common. And one of its distinguishing characteristics is negativism; it is against far more than it favors. It is a coalition of anti-establishment rebels and political mavericks who seek to slay the dragon of Eastern elitism after mobilizing the middle-class through social protest. It disdains party labels as no longer relevant. It is dedicated to limited government, free enterprise, and a strong national defense and, according to Crawford, has crafted a populism for the 1980s by "organizing the discontented, mobilizing the disinherited, dislocated and disgruntled against the upper classes."

Although the origins of the New Right may be traced to the 1964 campaign of Barry Goldwater -- a Westerner who, many assumed, would free the Republican Party from Eastern liberal control -- it was only after Watergate in 1974 that it became a new entity. Three men, all experienced in Washington politics and disenchanted with both Nixon and Ford, laid the foundation for the New Right movement: Howard Phillips, chosen by President Nixon to dismantle the "war on poverty" apparatus; Richard A. Viguerie, once active in Texas Senator John Tower's political campaign and today recognized as a fund-raising genius; and Paul Weyrich, former press aide to Colorado's Senator Gordon Allott who, with financial assistance from brewery magnate Joseph Coors, founded the Heritage Foundation, a right-wing think tank.

Phillips, 37 years old, used to be a conventional Republican. At one time he chaired the Republican Party operation in Boston and later headed the Office of Economic Opportunity during the Nixon Administration. Disillusioned by Watergate, he enrolled as a Democrat and ran unsuccessfully for United States Senator from Massachusetts. Although Jewish, he worked with Weyrich in setting up Moral Majority.

Viguerie, the 46-year-old direct-mail fund-raising wizard from Texas, began his career in the 1960s as executive director of Young Americans for Freedom. Because he disliked asking people personally to contribute money to conservative causes, he began to build a direct-mail empire in 1965. Today, the Richard A. Viguerie Company (RAVCO) claims to have on computer the names of 10 million to 20 million conservative donors. He has parlayed his business into a spectacularly successful organization which distributes more than two million pieces of mail a week and has raised millions of dollars for New Right causes and candidates. Among RAVCO's most prominent clients are the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC), Gun Owners of America, and the Committee for Responsible Youth Politics.

*See Appendix B

A partial list of Viguerie Communications Corporation publications includes Conservative Digest, The New Right Report and Political Gun News. In addition, Viguerie has produced a television film, "The SALT Syndrome," which features Senator Jesse Helms (R.-N.C.) and other leaders who oppose the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties.

Paul Weyrich, 37 years old and a Greek Catholic, has been a television reporter, a press aide to Senator Gordon Allott (R.-Colo.) and special assistant to Senator Carl T. Curtis (R.-Neb.). He is co-founder and first president of the Heritage Foundation, treasurer of the Conservative National Committee and a board member of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). His efforts, with the cooperation of The Conservative Caucus have involved evangelicals in politics and led to the creation of Moral Majority in September 1979. Weyrich is Joe Coor's political mentor and responsible for getting him involved in politics. In all endeavors, Weyrich demands excellent political organization, and to assure this, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress conducts a thorough, rigorous five-day campaign school.

The original plan of these men and other New Rightists was to form a third party which would offer a Reagan-Wallace ticket in the 1976 campaign for President. The party base would be a new organization -- The Conservative Caucus (TCC) -- directed by Phillips and funded by Viguerie. But when Reagan and Wallace went their separate ways, New Right leaders and groups abandoned third-party plans; but although they chose to operate "more or less" within the GOP framework, they wanted TCC to be known and recognized as a new and separate movement, not merely a group of conservative Republicans. They denounced strict party loyalty and refused to support candidates simply because they were Republicans; they were willing to "enlist" anyone -- Democrat or Independent -- who believed in and voted the New Right way.

By the end of 1974 they had built the key components of a political organization: a policy arm or "think tank," the Heritage Foundation; a national campaign committee or CSFC; and a phenomenally successful fund-raising apparatus operated by Richard Viguerie.

CSFC, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, emphasizes campaign organization. Its primary function is to provide funds and services to right-wing candidates in marginal races, and it will spend heavily through its "Fund to Defeat the Big Labor Bosses," to defeat pro-labor candidates.

Its structure consists of six regional offices, with field staff, who provide political consultation and other supportive services to conservative candidates; candidate recruitment and screening operations; training seminars, including the "Building for Victory" sessions all CSFC-supported candidates must attend; and "The Conservative Register," a comprehensive rating of all Senators and Congressmen.

The Heritage Foundation, currently regarded by many political observers as a "solid" research institution which issues studies and analyses to the Congress and the press, has an annual budget of \$3.2 million. According to its promotion brochure, it "supports free enterprise, individual liberty, limited government and a strong national defense."

The Conservative Caucus, headed by Phillips, is a grassroots organizing committee whose primary function is to develop candidates and train campaign volunteers. It claims 300,000 contributors and supporters, maintains coordinates in 40 states and committees in 250 Congressional districts -- sometimes mobilized into broadly-based local district caucuses to bring pressure on legislators. It has an annual budget of close to \$3 million. Ostensibly nonpartisan, TCC has rallied social and economic conservatives and concentrates on various national issues. For example, the Caucus helped lead the fight against the Panama Canal treaties and the opposition to SALT II. It produces a voluminous literature on the voting records of individual Congressmen, "fact sheets" on controversial questions, and summaries on both sides of an issue which leave no doubt about where the Caucus stands. A "fact sheet" on Federal aid to New York City includes a cartoon portraying the city as a prostitute; one on abortion in military hospitals shows a baby being put out to trash with a bayonet.

The New Right's basic strategies are based on several premises: that the Republican / Democratic two-party system is ineffective; that the Federal Government is remote from the people, unresponsive to prevailing public opinion; and that a new conservative coalition of Democrats, Republicans, and Independents is needed to displace the existing governmental elite, and to restore fiscal responsibility, military preparedness and a culture more oriented toward family, church and neighborhood. To achieve their political objectives they have made common cause with a plethora of "single issue" groups -- tax reform, anti-abortion, anti-gun control and so on.

Simply put, the New Rightists' strategy is to capitalize on popular discontent. They are tough-minded pragmatists; if an issue or a campaign does not work, dump it and go on to something else that will. Loyalty to issues takes precedence over loyalty to political parties; they will work with anyone in any party, although most New Right influentials are nominal Republicans. Forsaking the ideological conservative orthodoxy of the Barry Goldwater generation, newcomers on the Right say "pragmatism demands the new alliances." In the past year their strategy has proved effective in three states -- Vermont, New Hampshire and New Mexico -- where through ideological coalitions cutting across party lines they shifted the political center of the legislatures to the right.

"Successful liberals have worked in a coalition style for years," Weyrich notes, adding that "conservatives...were such a small minority" because they had not worked that way. "We have to support Democrats, Democrats who vote with us. It's a question of pragmatism," says John T. Dolan, head of NCPAC. Thus, New Rightists have joined with the League of Conservative Voters, an environmental group, to defeat election law changes by the House of Representatives, and also with Common Cause to oppose

one of President Carter's nominees for the Federal Election Commission. Dave Denholm, director of the Public Service Research Council, says that working with labor doesn't mean working with unions: "Labor is all those people in America that work for a living and that's often confused with unions. The unions have not been able to control the votes of their members since '54."

Although unquestionably anti-Carter, in January 1980 Weyrich attacked Republicans who refused to endorse the President's partial embargo of grain sales to the Soviet Union. "We do not understand the Republican presidential candidates," he said. "They are putting their careers in the Iowa caucuses ahead of the national security." On the same issue, Viguerie warned: "We are not going to ignore some incumbent Republicans if they are a detriment to the interests of the conservative cause."

Primarily by reaching out to various "single issue" constituencies -- advocates of restoring prayer in public schools, anti-abortionists, anti-gun control, anti-busing, anti-communist, anti-tax, and anti-union organizations -- the New Right had expanded significantly by 1975. These special interest groups are encouraged to spend money and urged to organize to re-elect candidates who have endorsed their views or, as is more frequently the case, defeat those who have opposed them. These efforts are helped with staff, research material and funds.

In March 1975, Senator Helms, several of his key aides and some leaders of political groups formed the National Conservative Political Action Committee, an "umbrella organization" to advise candidates all over the country. From the outset, NCPAC opposed "big labor and Washington based left-wing political action groups," but its first major effort was targeted to some 20 contests for the Virginia State Legislature. By its own admission, NCPAC provided \$50,000 "worth of" political services -- campaign advice, detailed voter services in the selected districts, as well as unspecified assistance "more sophisticated than the average legislative candidate could afford on his own."

Today, NCPAC depends entirely on Richard Viguerie for funding. Its head, John "Terry" Dolan, is a media expert who entered politics as a Republican volunteer in Connecticut and at 21 years of age was a paid organizer in the 1972 Nixon campaign. Once a staffer for Senator Helms, he became involved with NCPAC in 1975 through Viguerie. He works independently of both major political parties, openly exhibiting his contempt for their structures and personalities. With help from Phillips and other New Right leaders, Dolan personally directed The Kennedy Truth Squad, a "get Kennedy" group established even before the Senator had announced his candidacy for President.

In addition to his NCPAC work, Dolan is the organizer and chairman of the Washington Legal Foundation, an advisor to the National Conservative Committee and a board member of the Committee for Responsible Youth Politics. About his involvement with Nixon, Dolan says: "I'm ashamed to admit that now. The Republican Party is a fraud. It's a social club where rich people go to pick their noses." Republican Party officials, for their part, have characterized NCPAC as a "loose cannon on the deck."

NCPAC today is one of the most extensive political operations in the country; less strident in tone than CSFC, it has a broader base of constituents. Using up-to-date organizing techniques, it is involved in all levels of electoral politics and is one of the prime sources of funds for conservative candidates. Dolan involved NCPAC in many primaries, reasoning that a well-placed dollar in these traditionally poorly-organized and poorly-financed contests does more good than in a general election where money and technical support are more readily available. Another NCPAC approach is the so-called "independent expenditure" -- not made by a candidate's organization and therefore not limited by the legal maximum campaign expenditure. In early 1978, NCPAC local "independent expenditure ads" in Iowa, Colorado and Kentucky attacked Senators Dick Clark of Iowa, Floyd Haskell of Colorado, and Walter Huddleston of Kentucky -- all Democrats who supported the Panama Canal treaties. It is widely believed that these ads contributed to the defeats of Clark and Haskell.

NCPAC's current program embraces a wide variety of activities: recruiting, including active search for new conservative faces and involvement in state and local races to "breed" candidates for higher offices; research and polling, including regular voter surveys, compilations of demographic statistics, voting records, public opinion polls, the full range of sophisticated campaign advice and services; training, including campaign management schools around the country for hundreds of candidates and campaign managers and other staff peoples; campaign consultation with political experts who frequently play a predominant role in election campaigns; and state service including funding and direction for local groups and a Governor's Fund to help elect conservative governors.

By the end of 1977, the New Right's political strength was manifest in upset victories in all three special elections for the U.S. House of Representatives. In Washington, they elected John E. Cunningham, in Louisiana Robert L. Livingston, and in Minnesota Arlan Strangeland -- all Republicans. In 1978, as their fund-raising capacity became significant,* they again scored several key upset victories, and backed nearly 40 percent of the candidates elected to the House.

In the 95th Congress, New Right forces helped defeat a bill permitting common situs (secondary) picketing and other proposed legislation, thus considerably undermining big labor's clout. The defeat of "instant voter registration," they claim, blocked massive voting by ineligible or apathetic people mobilized by big labor or the big-city liberal machines.

By the end of 1979, the New Right claimed that 168 members of the House of Representatives could be counted on to vote its position on important issues. According to its own 1979 estimates, a minimum of 24 U.S. Senators would predictably vote the New Right line and 6 more would probably do so -- only 4 short of the votes needed to block treaty ratification, and 11 short of those required to prevent cloture of a filibuster.

*Based on data released by the Federal Election Commission, 4 of the 5 top fund-raising political action committees were supporters of New Right causes.

While the New Right is far more sophisticated than the Old, and although its tactics and strategies are different, it still occasionally resorts to extremism. To achieve a political objective, some New Rightists are not above distorting an opponent's point of view, or engaging in what some have called character assassination. Campaign material is frequently designed to frighten people, or unjustifiably besmirch liberal Congressmen with such old shibboleths as "left-wing extremist."

With just reason, some New Rightists have been charged with "cheap shots." One example is the tactics in the announced \$1 million "Target 80" campaign launched by the National Conservative Political Action Committee to defeat Senators Frank Church (D.-Idaho), George McGovern (D.-South Dakota), John C. Culver (D.-Iowa), Birch Bayh (D.-Indiana) and Alan Cranston (D.-California). Television and radio spots and mailings of campaign literature were calculated more to give reasons why the targeted Senators should be defeated, than why their opponents should be elected -- a tactic used in virtually every 1980 Congressional contest where NCPAC was involved.

Part of the campaign against Senator Church was to saturate the state of Idaho with TV commercials charging that he "almost always opposed a strong national defense." The clear implication of one spot showing an empty ICBM silo, was that his position was responsible for the void.

In a television commercial against Senator McGovern (he called it "poisoning the wells") a basketball player dribbled a ball as the announcer intoned: "Globetrotter is a great name for a basketball team but it's a terrible name for a Senator. While the energy crisis was brewing, George McGovern was touring Cuba with Fidel Castro." In New Right mailings, all the targeted Senators have been called "political baby killers" who "apparently think it is perfectly O.K. to slaughter unborn infants by abortion." When asked about a possible backlash to such NCPAC materials, John Dolan's pragmatic reply was that if polls showed it was coming, such tactics would immediately be stopped.

Closely allied to the secular New Right, by common political interest, is the so-called "Christian New Right," made up of a dozen or more Protestant ministers whose skillful television evangelism has made them national religious figures -- and formidable political activists.* Although it is difficult to pinpoint when they began to mobilize for political action, a drive to elect "God fearing" or "born-again" Christians to public office surfaced during the 1974 election campaign. Early that year, several evangelist groups had been concerned over what was "happening in American politics," and decided that the solution was to get "evangelical men and women into politics"; in 1976, the evangelicals made their first concerted political effort. Rallying to "reclaim America from this Watergate era," such groups as the Christian Freedom Foundation, the Christian Embassy and the Intercessors for America, all now extinct, tried in concert to send "Christ-centered candidates" or born-again Christians to Congress. While precise data on their effectiveness is not available, evangelical sources claim that 24 of 58 of the Congressional candidates they sponsored were elected.

*See Appendix B

Considering the amorphous character of the New Right, its interlocking leadership, and its tactic of joining like-minded groups to achieve common objectives, it was inevitable that the secular and religious right would establish a working relationship.* It is not known who took the initiative, but it is believed that sometime in 1979, Paul Weyrich and Howard Phillips met with the Rev. Robert Billings and Edward McAteer, a retired industrialist with wide influence in some church circles. Through Billings and McAteer, Weyrich and Phillips were brought together with, among others, Reverends Jerry Falwell and James Robison, two of the most successful and widely known television evangelists preaching political action.

The bonding between the secular New Rightists and the politically conservative evangelicals is a deep involvement in so-called "family issues." Both bitterly oppose any legislation which facilitates abortion, or supports the Equal Rights Amendment, or more permissive legislation relating to homosexuality, and both ardently favor organized voluntary prayer in the public schools and a strong national defense. These shared concerns, coupled with a resolve to take political action to achieve legislative objectives, led to the formation of Moral Majority, primarily through the efforts of Rev. Jerry Falwell. Basically a lobbying and educational organization, Moral Majority has also raised funds to elect or defeat selected candidates for political office. Its former executive director, Rev. Bob Billings, has delineated its criteria for support or opposition of aspirants to elected office: "We look for candidates who are pro-life, pro-American, pro-bible morality and pro-family from either party." And, Moral Majority was an integral part of the massive New Right effort to defeat Senators Church, Bayh, Culver, and Bob Packwood (R.-Or.).

One product of the new working relationship between secular and religious Rightists was the Christian Voice co-founded by California evangelist Rev. Robert C. Grant and formally launched in Washington in June 1979. Its primary goal, as described by Newsweek, is "to fuse the single issue zeal of the nation's religious activists...into broad-gauge support for conservative policies on such general issues as the economy, diplomacy in Africa and SALT II." It shares computerized mailing lists with Moral Majority and boasts of a 15-member Congressional Advisory Committee chosen from dozens of Senators and Congressmen active in New Right groups.

As of late 1980, Christian Voice had lobbied for and against various laws under a legislative director who did the same job for the American Conservative Union. Rep. Larry McDonald (D.-Ga.), a member of the Congressional Advisory group, introduced a bill barring any Federal job protection for homosexuals. And Christian Voice is part of the "Kingston Group," a coalition of active New Right organizations which meet regularly in Washington to coordinate strategies on current legislation and policy issues.

In February 1980, the Dallas Morning News commented on the new religious conservatives: "A political army of Christian Crusaders is emerging from the religious New Right. They are groups of ultra-conservative and fundamentalist church people who in the past have shunned political activism, holding that their mission was to win conversions for the Lord. Now, they are gearing up for a political showdown of their own. Most of them are closely aligned with prominent television evangelists and conservative members of Congress* and they have a potential constituency of an estimated minimum of 50 million evangelical conservatives."

*See Appendix B

At a National Affairs Briefing in Dallas, Texas on August 21-22, 1980, under the auspices of the Religious Roundtable, New Rightists and evangelical activists launched a major effort for political action. Founded in Washington by Ed McAteer in September 1979, the Religious Roundtable tries to enlist the clergy in a fight to defeat "liberal" members of Congress. The two-day briefing was attended by as many as 15,000 clergymen who had come to learn the mechanics of organizing for political action, of creating an awareness of "their issues," and promoting these issues within the political system.

Among those who addressed the ministers were the Rev. James Robison, Rev. Jerry Falwell, Congressman Philip Crane, Senator Jesse Helms, John Connally and Phyllis Schlafly of Stop ERA. Paul Weyrich gave lessons in practical politics and participants received material on the "Christian vote" ratings -- how Congressmen had voted on Christian issues as defined by the evangelicals. Their five duties as Christian citizens, participants were reminded, were to Pray, Register, Become Informed, Help Elect Godly People, and Vote.

Political evangelicals are concentrating on grassroots organization, targeted to local and Congressional elections. "If you want to change America," Paul Weyrich has said, "you have to change the Congress." They compile analyses of the voting records of all members of Congress for a published "Morality Index" which rates their performance against "Bible standards." They have formed committees to raise and distribute funds to some candidates and to finance campaigns against others. Falwell has drafted what he terms a "code of minimal moral standards, dictated by the Bible," which he declared will test the candidates on issues such as abortion, homosexual rights and capital punishment. "We will," he pledged, "then be informing the public through mails, publications, on television and radio where each candidate stands. We will judge them in percentile fashion, on the moral issues, and give the Christian public an understanding of how each votes."

Many evangelists are inserting more political content into their daily religious messages over television and radio networks reaching into the homes of an estimated 47 million Americans -- "an audience that is leadership oriented," according to Gary Jarmin of the Christian Voice. "They are true believers, and if their spiritual leaders tell them to register to vote, they are going to do it."

Except for the drive to reinstitute prayer in the public schools, there are no current New Right issues which might fairly be called Jewish. To be sure, most Jews oppose censorship of school textbooks, which is favored by the New Right, and tend to support liberal abortion laws, liberal immigration, ERA, gun control and other legislation which is opposed by the New Right. But these "Jewish" concerns are grounded in political ideology rather than religion.

No known anti-Semites are identified with the New Right, and the principal groups have made no public overtures to the several Klan and Nazi groups who endorse New Right positions on various issues. While the history of American populism is replete with attempts by populist leaders to scapegoat Jews, this latter-day movement is not discernibly anti-Semitic. The aspects of its hatred are the "Eastern elitist establishment," and the Rockefellers.

While zeal and sense of mission have led New Right groups to adopt extremist tactics in political campaigns, the movement itself is not anti-democratic. In fact, New Rightists are ardent advocates of what some feel is direct democracy -- voter initiative and referendum. As yet, they have no recognized leader who can rally the masses blindly for whatever purpose he sees fit and very little in their activity to suggest that the movement is neo-Fascist.

While some New Rightists have spoken out against PLO terrorism, there are also some pro-Arab individuals. The secular New Right, however, has generally ignored Middle East issues and nothing on its agenda directly concerns Israel; It has taken no position on economic and military aid to Israel or any Middle Eastern country, has been silent on the status of Jerusalem, West Bank settlements, and other Camp David issues. Some observers find it strange that given the New Rightists' opposition to Soviet expansionism, they have not urged support for Israel as a bulwark against it in the Middle East. As of this writing, domestic concerns rather than foreign affairs dominate the New Right agenda. *

In contrast, the religious New Right, usually indifferent to or unfamiliar with Jewish concerns or sensibilities, is pro-Israel. Fundamentalist theology holds that there will be an ingathering of Jews to biblical Palestine, and that the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth is a precondition for the second coming of Jesus. On the air, from the pulpit and in the newspapers, Jerry Falwell and other fundamentalist ministers have supported the State of Israel; many have visited Israel and met with Prime Minister Begin and other leaders. With an estimated following of 50 million, the religious Right is potentially a strong American ally of the Jewish state.

But despite this strong support for Israel, most Jews are uneasy about religious New Rightists. They seek out born-again Christians or Christ-centered politicians to support for public office; given their way, they would, with missionary zeal, force Americans to live under a government based on their interpretation of Christian morality; more important perhaps, they might do violence to the American tradition of religious pluralism. In addition to what Jews see as an attempt to Christianize America, they remember the strong anti-Jewish strain among fundamentalist clergy in the past; out of these ranks came such notorious anti-Semites as the Rev. Gerald K. Smith and the Rev. Gerald Winrod, the "jayhawk" Nazi.

Jewish apprehension was hardly assuaged by Dr. Bailey Smith, President of the Southern Baptist Convention. "It is interesting at great political rallies," he said at the August 1980 National Affairs Briefing, how you have a Protestant to pray and a Catholic to pray, and then you have a Jew to pray. With all due respect to these dear people, my friend God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew. For how in the world can God hear the prayer of a Jew, for how in the world can God hear the prayer of a man who says that Jesus Christ is not the true Messiah. It is blasphemy. It may be politically expedient, but no one can pray unless he prays through the name of Jesus Christ. It is not Jesus among many, it is Jesus and Jesus only, it is Christ only, there is no competition for Jesus Christ."

*See Appendix C

The New Right is well financed, highly organized, and skilled in organizational tactics. Its leaders are of high caliber, aggressive, and willing to work with each other to achieve common objectives. They have used modern campaign techniques effectively. They are contemptuous of establishment Republicans whom they charge with having backed off from leading the opposition to Carter on such major issues as the Panama Canal, ERA, the amendment to grant statehood to the District of Columbia. They are, according to National Review's William Rusher, "the first conservative group that has gotten down to the electoral and legislative nitty gritty." And they are wooing the blue-collar and ethnic groups the Old Right used to shun.

While the New Right activists have so far focused mainly on social issues, they plan to exploit an economic issue that is growing more heated -- resentment against taxes: says Viguerie, "that's a big, big, area which the conservative movement hasn't done much with." They believe that big increases in Social Security taxes, which hit the middle-class hard, will ripen anti-tax sentiment for exploitation.

Perhaps Viguerie has made the clearest statement on what the New Right is all about: "We are no longer working to preserve the status quo. We are radicals working to overthrow the power structure of this country. We organize discontent and must prove our ability to get revenge on people who are against us." It is readily apparent that the Right's objective is political power from the grassroots to the presidency; how they would use power and to what ends is not so clear.

ADDENDUM

On November 4, 1980, Ronald Reagan was swept into office on a projected 489 to 49 electoral college vote over President Carter. And, for the first time in 26 years, the Republican Party gained control of the Senate. The House of Representatives was also affected by this conservative wave, but Democrats maintained control. New Right leaders were quick to claim victory.

Gary Jarmin, the Washington Director of the Christian Voice - Moral Government Fund, which contributed money to several winning candidates, said the election wave "points to the beginning of a new era." Moral Majority's Jerry Falwell called the results "the greatest day for the cause of conservatism and morality in my adult life." Others, however, were far more cautious in measuring New Right impact. Republican Senator-elect Dan Quayle of Indiana, recipient of NCPAC and Moral Majority support, said after his election that such organizations got "more credit than they deserve."

While it may be too early to gauge the impact of the New Right during the 1980 elections, there were some campaigns in which their tactics and ideology played a key role. The most notable of these was the election of 31-year-old Don Nickles as U.S. Senator from Oklahoma. When the freshman GOP State Senator entered the U.S. Senatorial primary against two better-known and better-financed opponents, many observers scoffed at his chances. But with the help of Moral Majority activists, he not only won the primary run-off by a 2-to-1 majority but went on to capture the Senate seat with 53 percent of the vote.

Moral Majority scored again in Alabama with the help of hard-working fundamentalists. Former Viet Nam POW Jeremiah Denton was elected to the U.S. Senate as a Republican. In this, his first bid for public office, Denton won with 51 percent of the vote over Democratic challenger Jim Folsom, Jr.

NCPAC claimed its share of success when 4 of its 6 main Democratic Senatorial targets -- Bayh of Indiana, Culver of Iowa, Eagleton of Missouri, Church of Idaho, Cranston of California, McGovern of South Dakota -- went down in defeat. Cranston and Eagleton won, but of the losers only Church came close to winning.

New Right secular and evangelical groups supported at least 17 Senatorial candidates and 16 Congressional candidates, incumbents and challengers, to varying degrees. Of these, 14 candidates won Senate seats and 11 won House seats.* It should be noted, however, that other factors in addition to New Right support, were apparent. In the absence of more detailed data, there is no way of knowing at this time how active New Right groups were on the state and local level. For example, in Gainesville, Florida, 42 Moral Majority candidates ran for virtually all seats open on the county Democratic Executive Committee and won. In California, Moral Majority issued a survey of attitudes of candidates for State Assembly and Senate prior to the elections. Of the 28 candidates receiving a Moral Majority rating of 100 percent, 14 won. There is evidence that New Rightists were as active on a grass-roots level in other localities as well.

Some Republicans have charged that New Right groups, especially NCPAC, caused backlash in several states because of aggressive tactics. While Dolan has expressed doubts that these critics are correct, he admits that NCPAC is accused of violating campaign laws in 4 cases now before the Federal Election Commission. This has not prevented NCPAC from announcing a tentative list of 20 Senators targeted for defeat in 1982. This list includes 17 Democrats and 3 Republicans.

Heartened by election successes, the New Right is moving forward on other fronts as well. As Paul Weyrich of CSFC noted, "A really good staff person can determine the administration's policies as well as the Senate's." In light of this, he said the Heritage Foundation began holding meetings in July 1980 to recruit potential staff members in anticipation of a Republican takeover of the Senate.

There are current indications that the New Right's support of the Reagan Administration may not endure. After proposing the nomination of former Texas Governor John Connally for Secretary of State, Richard Viguerie complained that "the transition appointments (of President-elect Reagan) have angered us. There's not a hard-core conservative in the lot....Was it the Ford-Kissinger-Rockefeller wing of the party that has been promoting Reagan for 16 years?"

Although in many cases, it is not at all certain that New Right secular and religious groups were the difference between victory and defeat, there is little doubt that on a grassroots level its members were effective in registering new voters, distributing campaign literature and utilizing the media. Despite mixed interpretations of their effectiveness, New Rightists are determined to continue to be politically active. In reply to a television commentator's assertion that Moral Majority was not a big part of the Reagan landslide, Illinois Moral Majority Director Rev. George Zarris said, "Those people still don't know who we are and what we can do. In a way I hope they never find out. That way we can sneak up on them at the next election, too."

*See Appendix A

APPENDIX A

New Right Support of Congressional Candidates

(November 4, 1980 Elections)

CSFC- Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress

RR- Religious Roundtable

MM- Moral Majority

CV- Christian Voice

NCPAC- National Conservative Political Action Committee

W- Won

L- Lost

*- Denotes member of CV Congressional Advisory Committee

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>New Right Group</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
<u>Senate</u>		
John P. East (R.-N.C.)	MM, NCPAC	W
Frank H. Murkowski (R.-Alas.)	MM	W
Warren Rudman (R.-N.H.)	MM	W
Jeremiah Denton (R.-Ala.)	MM, NCPAC	W
Paula Hawkins (R.-Fla.)	MM	W
Charles E. Grassley (R.-Iowa)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Don Nickles (R.-Ok.)	MM, NCPAC, RR	W
Dan Quayle (R.-Ind.)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Mack Mattingly (R.-Ga.)	MM, NCPAC	W
James Abdnor (R.-S.D.)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Steven Symms (R.-Ida.)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Gene McNary (R.-Mo.)	NCPAC	L
Paul Gann (R.-Cal.)	MM, NCPAC, CSFC	L
Mary Estill Buchanan (R.-Colo.)	NCPAC, CSFC	L
Bob Dole (R.-Kan.)	MM	W
Jake Garn (R.-Utah)	MM	W
Paul Laxalt (R.-Nev.)	MM	W
<u>House</u>		
Albert Lee Smith (R.-Ala.)	MM	W
Richard Huff (R.-Ariz.)	MM	L
Barry Billington (R.-Ga.)	MM	L
Robert Bauman (R.-Md.)	MM	L
Jim Bradshaw (R.-Tex.)	MM, CV	L
Jack Fields (R.-Tex.)	MM, NCPAC	W
Frank Wolf (R.-Va.)	MM, CV, CSFC	W
Stanford Parris (R.-Va.)	CV	W
Thomas Kindness (R.-Oh.)*	CV	W
John M. Ashbrook (R.-Oh.)*	CV	W
Jim Jeffries (R.-Kan.)*	CV	W
Daniel B. Crane (R.-Ill.)	CV	W
William E. Dannemeyer (R.-Cal.)	CV	W
Larry McDonald (D.-Ga.)*	CV	W
Dawson Mathis (D.-Ga.)	CV	L
John P. Hiler (R.-Ind.)	CV	W

President-elect Ronald Reagan received support, to varying degrees, from MM, CV, and RR.

APPENDIX B

Some Secular New Right Organizations and Leaders

American Conservative Union -- David Keene, Director
American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) -- Kathy Teague, Executive Director
American Life Lobby -- Judie Brown, President
Citizens for Constructive Education -- June Larson
Citizens Committee for the Right to Bear and Keep Arms -- Alan Gottlieb, Executive Director
Committee for a Positive Change
Committee for Responsible Youth Politics -- Morton Blackwell, Chairman
The Conservative Caucus (TCC) -- Howard Phillips, Executive Director
Freedom of Choice, Inc., The Committee for the New Majority
Fund for the Conservative Majority -- Robert Heckman, Chairman
Heritage Foundation -- Edwin Feulner, President
Kingston Group
Leadership Foundation -- Martha Rountree
Life Advocates -- Margaret Hotze
Life Amendment Political Action -- Paul Brown, Executive Director
National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) -- John Terry Dolan,
Executive Director
National Pro-Life Political Action Committee -- Father Charles Fiore, National Chairman;
Peter B. Gemma, National Director
National Right to Work -- Reed Larson, President; Henry (Huck) Walther, Director
National Tax Limitation -- Lewis Uhler, Chairman
Pro-Family Coalition -- Connaught Marshner, Chairman
Pro-Family Forum -- Lottie Beth Hobbs, National President
Public Service Research Council -- David Denholm, Executive Director
Richard A. Viguerie Company (RAVCO) -- Richard A. Viguerie, Director and Founder
Republican Study Committee -- Paul Weyrich, Founder
Second Amendment Foundation -- Alan Gottlieb
Stop ERA -- Phyllis Schlafly
Washington Legal Foundation -- Daniel Popeo, National Executive Director
Young Americans For Freedom

Some Evangelical New Right Organizations and Leaders

Christian Action Council -- Rev. Harold O.J. Brown, Chairman
Christian Coalition for Legislative Action -- Jim Wright, Chairman
Christian Voice -- Richard Zone, Executive Director
Christian Voice-Moral Government Fund -- Gary Jarmin, Washington Director
Coalition for the First Amendment
Conservative Victory Fund -- Gregg Hilton, Executive Director
Moral Majority -- Rev. Robert Billings, former Executive Director; Rev. Jerry Falwell,
Chairman
National Christian Action Coalition -- Rev. Robert Billings, Executive Director
National Organization to Involve Concerned Electorate (NOTICE) -- Wayne Allen, Chairman
Religious Roundtable -- Ed McAteer, Founder
Television Evangelist -- James Robison
"Washington for Jesus" Rally -- Jim Bakker, Coordinator

APPENDIX C

The New Right Political Agenda

ANTI

PRO

Family Issues

Abortion
Equal Rights Amendment
Federal interference in public education
Homosexuality and gay rights
Pornography
School busing for integration
Sex education in the public schools

Censorship of school textbooks
Classroom prayer
Laxalt Family Protection Act
Scientific creationism

Domestic Issues

Affirmative action
Big government
Davis-Bacon Act
D.C. statehood
Full employment legislation
Government support of corporations in trouble
Gun control
Indian tribal claims to land and water rights
Instant voter registration
Labor unions
Minimum wage
National health insurance
Open immigration
Occupational Safety and Health Administration
Situa picketing
Social Security

Death penalty
Deregulation of airlines, trucking, etc..
Tax cut
Western land development

International Issues

Detente
Panama Canal Treaty
Recognition of Red China
SALT II
Trade with Communist bloc

#80-970-16

This report was prepared by Milton Ellerin, Director, and Alisa H. Kesten, Program Analyst, of the American Jewish Committee's Trends Analyses section and based in large measure on the research provided by Julie Kalmus, a member of the A.J.C.
November 18, 1980



DEC 11 1980

26 November 1980

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
Anti-Defamation League
345 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

National Executive Committee

NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Dear Nathan,

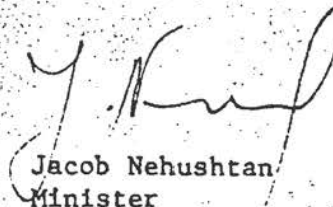
I take the privilege to congratulate you on the just and firm stand you took on the so called "fundamentalists" controversy.

I fully agree with your remarks about "good Christians and bad Christians etc." .

I enclose to this letter a mailgram sent to President-Elect Reagan by Dr. Falwell and other Christians. The mailgram is self explanatory and I wish there were more Christians of that kind.

Looking forward to see you again.

Sincerely yours,



Jacob Nehushtan
Minister

4/24

Spurgeonford

Messianic Judaism's Throbbing Heart
by Daniel C. Juster and Daniel W. Pawley

Not long ago we had a girl ² come to us from a very troubled Jewish home. She had accepted Christ, had joined a Pentecostal church, but still was very confused about her Jewish identity. We discovered, too, that she was an incurable schizophrenic.

She ~~This girl~~ ^{undergone} ~~experienced~~ the voltage of shock treatments for ten years. She ^{had} lived in hospitals and was on such a high level of medication, her psychiatrist warned she would never be cured.

Her experience ~~Well,~~ it was amazing. We invited her into our congregation, which at that time was in Chicago, and the community reached out to her with open hearts and hands. We listened to her, prayed for her deliverance from Satanic oppression. We prayed for her parents, who, when she had a relapse, blamed us for making her illness worse. The psychiatrist, however, convinced them to let her continue in the therapy she was receiving through fellowship with loving Jewish believers. It took time, but eventually she greeted the love and listening with noticeable health.

When she was nearly free of all medication, she left for a year's study at Moody Bible Institute, and was completely restored to her parents.

This true story, one of many ^{in which} our congregation has played a part, ~~is~~ might have been just another page in the diary of some well-known, main ^{stream} ~~line~~ denominational church, whose

fruits are known by traditions of soul winning and leg-
acies of people healed of their hurts by faith in Christ
and Christian discipleship. Instead, ^{this} ~~the~~ ^{is} page from the
diary of a modern Messianic congregation--something many
evangelicals ^{might} ~~would~~ label "a bewildering territory."

Messianic Jews understand this bewilderment. In many
ways our recent history has contributed to it; we freely
admit to our mistakes. We have in the past, conveyed a
sense of superiority to other Christians ^{we} ~~we~~ ^{have} ~~we~~ called
ourselves Rabbis without qualifying the term and responding
adequately to the New Testament's injunction against the
title, we have even spoken as if we were just another
branch of Judaism, neglecting to affirm our part in the
universal body of believers. Let us seal these mistakes
up in the dark dungeon of the past.

What modern Messianic Jews find difficult to understand
is evangelicalism's failure to appreciate our evangelicalism
or, in the light of the history of the earliest churches
as recorded in the book of Acts, our deep loyalty to Jew-
ishness.

To be sure, though our theology is in conformity with
main ^{stream} ~~line~~ protestant denominations, we maintain certain
aspects of Jewish culture in our worship of the Messiah.

Our churches, for instance, do not reflect the usual evan-
gelical symbolism. You ^{will} ~~would~~ not see ^{iant} ~~great~~ ~~brick~~ crosses

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Rev. 20
4.10

protruding ~~from~~ above a baptistry, nor ~~would~~ ^{will} you see walls
of stained glass ~~with~~ pictures of Christ and ~~the~~ ^{his} disciples.
Rather you ^{will} ~~would~~ see a candle, symbolizing the eternal
light of God, just above the ark containing the Torah. To
the Messianic Jew, the inclusion and placement of the Torah
(the body of Jewish scriptures) in no way symbolizes bondage
to the law; it is actually an expression of Jewish affinity
to the laws of God, but against the backdrop of God's
gracious favor in forgiving us through the Messiah's
atonement.

You would also find a departure from the traditional
nineteenth-century hymns, ⁹ in favor of Scripture songs
taken verbatim from ~~the~~ Old and New Testaments. The songs
are often chanted; many move rhythmically with fast-paced
stacatto ^{character} ~~flavors~~; some flow smoothly in ~~the~~ slightly somber
minor keys. Interspersed with the singing, Scripture
reading, prayer, and Jewish elements such as the Kiddish--
a blessing over wine and prayer--provide the structure from
which spontaneous praise and worship come. This traditional
Jewish worship material coalesces in harmony and unity
of spirit to point to the centrality of salvation in Jesus.

In affirming the basic evangelical concepts of the
authority of Scripture, salvation by grace through faith,
the triune nature of God, the resurrection of Jesus, the
Second Coming, ^{and is on,} ~~etc.~~ we further incorporate our Jewish

1 biblical heritage into our expression of faith. In affirm-
2 ing the triune nature of God, for instance, we are at
3 pains to draw attention to God the Father in ~~very~~ special
4 ways. I once conducted a small ~~personal~~ survey as I listen-
5 ed to a Christian radio station. For every ^{single instance} ~~one time~~ God
6 the Father was mentioned, [^] Jesus was mentioned nine times
7 in praise, adoration, or just conversation-- Yet when I
8 searched ~~through~~ the New Testament, I found that God was
9 prominently mentioned as many times as Jesus. The Father
10 was most often addressed in prayer and glorified through
11 what he had done through his Son, and Jesus was considered
12 the mediator as prayer was given in his name. Consequently,
13 when Messianic Jews pray, sing, and worship, we frequently
14 address the Father in an effort to establish a perspective
15 toward the Trinity ^{that} ~~which~~ is consistent with our heritage
16 and with Scripture. In our worship we are theo-centric
17 rather than Jesus-centric. Of course, we do not leave Jesus
18 out of our worship; we ~~just~~ try to maintain a balance
19 between the Father and the Son in our verbal addresses to
20 God.

? Another aspect of our Jewishness is our celebration of
the second coming of Christ. We tie our hope ~~to~~ the
orthodox Jewish hope that a personal Messiah is indeed
coming. Our distinctive, of course, is that ~~this~~ Messiah
is coming--again; but the dynamics of the celebration remain

basically Jewish. Also, concerning the authority of Scripture, the validity of our Christian faith is sometimes questioned because we do not ~~make~~ ^{blatantly} rejection of rabbinical teaching. The traditional Jewish community is under rabbinic authority almost the way a Catholic is under the authority of the Catholic church. Although Messianic Jews may learn certain things from rabbinical sources, the Bible is our final arbiter and all other teaching is measured according to how it aligns with Scripture.

Perhaps the affinity we so deeply feel for our biblical heritage is best seen in our celebrations of (1) the Passover, as the Exodus from Egypt as well as the death and resurrection of Christ; and (2) the Sabbath, as the memorial of creation and the day of rest ^{that} ~~which~~ is uniquely Jewish. Each activity, each observance, is carried out with the utmost sincerity, with hearts bursting in appreciation for our own heritage and destiny as a people.

During the Passover celebration we meet together in homes. We walk once again onto the pages of the Exodus and remind ourselves that it was the hand of God that delivered us from the mud and chains of bondage and made us a free people. The elements we eat further bring this to life: The apple mixed with cinnamon and wine reminds us of the color of mortar used in making bricks; the bitter herbs, usually horseradish, remind us of the bitterness of

slavery; the parsley dipped in salt water reminds us first
of tears, then of new life. ~~as well as~~ we then prepare for
the Messiah's supper, bread is broken and later eaten in
remembrance of Christ's broken body. Finally, the cup
symbolizing his sacrificial blood is consumed.

Our observance of the Sabbath ^{is of} ~~takes on~~ a similar character as we share a meal together and conduct a service whose emphasis is to divide the Sabbath from the rest of the week, committing the entire day to the Lord. Spices ^{that} ~~which~~ remind us of the sweetness of the Sabbath rest ~~xx~~ passed around as we sing songs of praise. At the end we extinguish a candle in wine. We feel a certain sadness in the day's ending, but ~~then~~ joy that a new week is beginning.

What is the value of holding steadfastly to cultural practices that wind tortuously back through the centuries? ^{It} ~~The value~~ is, first, in relating culturally to our own people ~~so~~ that we might win them to Jesus. Paul's words ring with authenticity in our ears: "To the Jews I became as a Jew, in order to win the Jews."

To "become as a Jew" to us means continuing to value and take part in activities such as the Bar Mitzvah. This is a time of ~~very~~ serious instruction for the child entering sexual maturity, a moment when he or she can contemplate ~~their~~ responsibilities before God in entering adulthood.

In Messianic congregations, the young person is taught what

honoring or
apologizing?
deception?

1 it means to be a follower of Jesus. If the youth does not
2 understand the seriousness of this, we caution him to not
3 go through the ceremony.

4 We ^{have} found the ~~Bar~~ Mitzvah to be a ~~time of~~ ministry to
5 families of Jewish young people going through the ceremony.
6 Recently, the son of one of our church elders went through
7 ^{his} ~~the~~ Bar Mitzvah. This elder had been branded the ^{family} black
8 sheep ~~of his family~~ for his acceptance of Jesus, and he
9 doubted the family would even attend the ceremony; ~~They~~
10 seriously mistrusted his Christian values. At the last
11 minute they did attend and were softened by the warmth and
12 fellowship of the congregation. Later, as the family pre-
13 pared to leave, the old Jewish grandfather said, "I thought
14 you had forsaken your Jewish heritage in accepting Jesus
15 as the Messiah. I never thought it was possible to accept
16 Jesus and to be Jewish. You have proved otherwise. You
17 are more Jewish than the rest of your family." There was
18 a great deal of rejoicing. We have since continued to share
19 Christ with this family and are praying for their salvation.

20 Barriers crumble into dust when traditional Jews scrutin-
21 ize believers who have not scrapped customs that are a part
22 of ^{one's} heart if ^{he is} Jewish. ~~He had~~ ^{One} couple ~~who~~ went
23 through the traditional Jewish wedding ceremony in which
24 the Hebrew blessings were given, the traditional breaking
25 of a glass was performed, and the bride walked around the

for first typewriter, type to follow
for second typewriter, type to follow

groom as is uniquely Jewish. That our church had not repudiated these ~~colorful~~ traditions proved to be a point of contact between the church and the groom's family.

Afterwards they sang and enjoyed fellowship with the congregation. Since then the ^{groom's} father and grandmother ~~of the groom~~ have accepted Christ and become loyal members of ^{the} ~~our~~ congregation.

It is a rock of truth that non-Jewish believers can witness to traditional Jews without success--until they are blue in the face. Perhaps this is what prompted the School of World Missions at Fuller Theological Seminary to state: "We heartily encourage Jewish believers to retain their Jewish heritage, culture, religious practices and marriage customs within the context of sound biblical theology, expressing Old and New Testament truth. Their freedom in Christ to do this cannot but enrich the church in our day." Just weeks ago a middle-aged Jewish woman came to us on the invitation of one of our members. She had been witnessed to for five months in a weekly, non-Jewish Bible study. She told her friends at the study, "This is very nice; I appreciate what you're doing" but because there was no Jewish significance in what they were doing, she left the group without accepting Jesus. When she saw the vibrant fellowship ^{among} ~~in~~ our people, along with our reverence for Jewish things, she gave her life to the Lord in less

than two hours.

As Jews, therefore, we Jewish Christians discover that we are better able to lead Jews to an acceptance of Jesus as Messiah and as Lord and Savior. Nevertheless, our Jewishness is by no means an evangelistic gimmick. We choose to remain Jews because we love the Jewish people and wish to identify with them. Indeed, we find our own identity not just as Christians, but also as Jews and, therefore, most fully as Christian Jews. Our own Jewishness thus leads us to a heartfelt identification with all the elements of history and personality ^{that} ~~which~~ have produced the Jewish people. One has to be Jewish to relate in total compassion to the hearts of people who have been through the holocaust. The love of the Messiah does not lessen our Jewishness. Rather, it actually strengthens it and deepens our love for our people and the cultural heritage which has contributed to our Jewish identity in this world.

Are we a legitimate part of the body of Christ in the practical eyes of evangelical believers?

Our churches are growing significantly. We are seeing many come to New Testament faith in Jesus.

Our people are being disciplined in the Scriptures. When someone invites Christ into his life, ^{the new believer} ~~he~~ is immediately taken in hand by ^{one of} ~~one of~~ our members ² who spends time each week with ^{him} ~~the new believer~~ in Bible study, prayer, witnessing,

ten
even in the
were in the
the
part of us

and just doing things together in the development of a biblical lifestyle.

We practice water baptism, which we call Mikvah. In one thirteen-month period we saw ⁵³ fifty-three people baptized.

We have Gentile believers in our congregation, and all non-Jew^{ish} members are treated on an equal basis with Jews.

We continue to invite non-Jews into our fellowship as well.

We encourage our people to visit other local churches and to take part in weekly fellowship groups with other believers and pastors. We do this with regularity, ~~too~~ as our main fellowship takes place on Saturday.

Finally, although we believe in our calling to maintain our identity as Jews, we do not see our identity as having anything to do with our salvation, which is solely by grace. And we do not expect Jewish conformity from the Christian church at large, although we ~~do~~ desire a measure of understanding and appreciation for our Jewish roots of Christianity.

In his album Saved, Jewish believer Bob Dylan cries out, "There's only one road, and it leads to Calvary." Messianic Jews know the terrain of that road, its lumps, its bends, its detours. We have made our mistakes; what we need most now is the encouragement and prayerful support of the entire Christian community. In your prayers, ~~some of you~~

especially ^{of need for Christian Jews:}
consider these areas

1. ~~Our need of~~ capable leaders and church planters.

We have new congregations that do not have ^{any idea} ~~a clue in terms~~ of congregational life, discipline, and polity. We are not like the Presbyterian or Methodist churches with handy books of procedure in our pockets.

2. ~~Our need of~~ Christian educational materials ^{that} ~~which~~ are sensitive to the Jewish culture. We eventually hope to write our own, or ~~we would like~~ to see a curriculum publisher ^{restructure} ~~restructure~~ materials to suit our needs.

3. ~~Our~~ continued need ^{and} ~~to be~~ understood by traditional Jews and Jewish leaders. We are sometimes accused of adulterating traditional Jewish practices by adhering to them in the context of our Christian faith. When we drink the cup symbolizing Christ's blood, for instance, we are said to make the cup mean something ~~which~~ it was never intended to mean. Pray that we will learn to cope with such tensions--there are many ^{for} ~~in the life of~~ a Jew who has committed his life to the Lord.

^{Sometimes} ~~On occasions~~ we are ~~also~~ accused of deception--of pretending to be Jews only ~~in order~~ to win unsuspecting Jews to Christianity. To this ~~charge~~ we can only reply that we too think this would be despicable. We call ourselves Christian Jews because we are Jews, we treasure our Jewishness, and we wish to remain Jews. We are also Christians and we

treasure our Christianity, ~~and we base~~^{ing} it on the Christian Scriptures or New Testament. Whatever may be said of Christianity as developed in Christendom through the centuries, we find nothing in the New Testament that conflicts with our Jewishness, ~~but~~^{not} only that which strengthens and reinforces our Jewish identity and our love for Jews and our Jewish heritage.

There was ~~one~~^a young man who accepted Jesus, ~~and his~~^{whose} father made him move out of the house because he thought he had thrown off his Jewish heritage ~~by~~^{by} becoming a Christian. The father would have nothing to do with our church; he wouldn't even talk to us. The ~~young man~~^{young man} was absolutely torn between his family and the church.

Finally, ~~his~~^{the} father told his son, "If you want to please me, you're going to have to go to Israel to study" ~~this~~^{to} under a specific program ~~which~~^{which} convinces people to desert their Messianic beliefs. ~~So~~^{to} ~~to~~^{maintain} ~~keep~~^{keep} the dialogue with his father, the son went to Israel to study under this system, which absolutely downplays the New Testament.

The son has retained his Christian faith, ~~yet~~^{yet}, in pleasing his ~~own~~ father, he is torn by the forces seeking to pull him away from that faith in Christ.

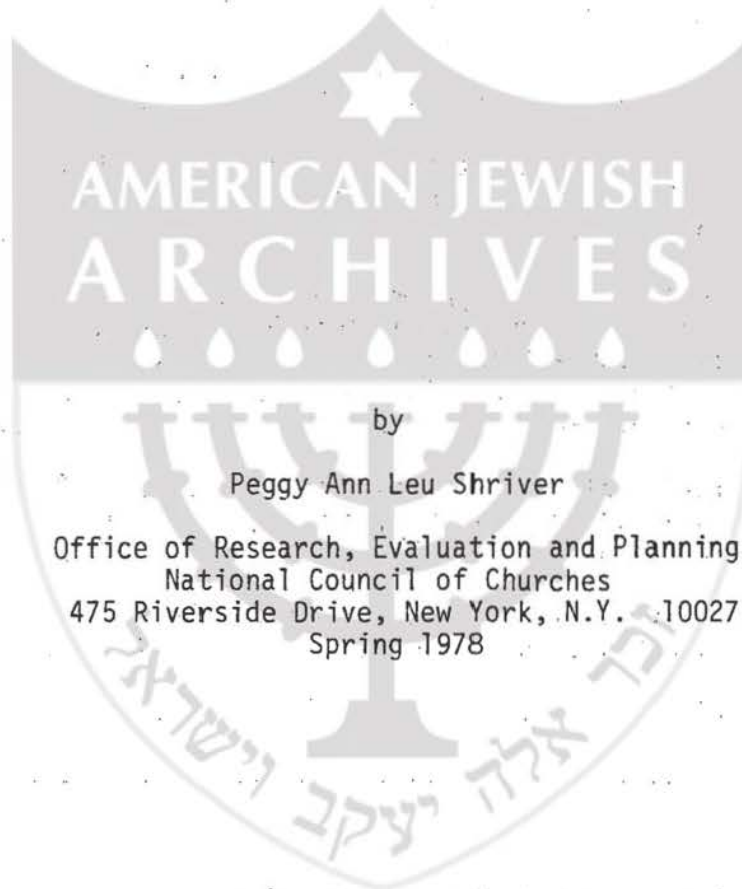


AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



BRIEFING ON THE RIGHT WING

A " BRIEFING" ON THE RIGHT WING:
AN ANALYTICAL COMPILATION OF RESOURCES



by
Peggy Ann Leu Shriver
Office of Research, Evaluation and Planning
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027
Spring 1978

(This document is not to be construed as an official
statement of attitudes or policies of the National
of Churches.)

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A "BRIEFING" ON THE RIGHT WING:

AN ANALYTICAL COMPILATION OF RESOURCES.

INTRODUCTION

Sometimes the spore of a request for information produces a mushroom response. This compilation of information began as a request for better understanding of the role being played by ultra-conservative groups in issues related to the International Women's Year. As the Office of Research, Evaluation and Planning explored this limited subject, a much broader spread of issues seemed to be involved from which the initial subject could not be understood in isolation.

An almost startling array of news items, magazine articles, even television programs pointed to the necessity of developing a current understanding of the activities and strength of the right wing among church leaders who have personal, professional, and institutional reasons for standing in opposition to its position on many issues. The thesis of this compilation of data is that there is indeed a stepped-up activity of the right, with new sophistication, strategies, leadership, organizations, and emphases, at a time when moderates and liberals show weariness and disarray and the general public is uneasy.

The purpose of this "briefing" is, therefore, to provide church leaders and staff of participant communions in the National Council of Churches a reasonably current and panoramic picture of the new directions, strength, special thrusts, new strategies, and emerging leadership, organizations and coalitions of the right wing. Special attention is given to the role of religious groups as well as to the radical right's involvement in women's movement issues. It is not a detailed study, and it relies heavily on secondary sources. Because of the difficulty of obtaining accurate information, I have chosen not to pursue the international dimensions, which would also have hugely revised the scope and nature of the study.

Acknowledgements: Because this is just one of many projects undertaken by the Office of Research, Evaluation and Planning, staff can only provide limited time and resources to this compilation. I am particularly grateful, therefore, for the helpful assistance of Sally Bentley, Jane Leiper, Constant Jacquet, Gail Hinnand, and numerous others who have kept me well-fed with pertinent and up-to-date information.

At the suggestion of various interested persons, I have corresponded with a number of groups and individuals. In addition to the bibliography, therefore, the following have been approached for information: Richard J. Barnet, Institute for Policy Studies; Marilyn Clement, Center for Constitutional Rights; Margaret Costanza, White House; Georgia Fuller, National Organization of Women; Charles Hightower, ed. The Interpreter, United Methodist Church; Harvey Kahn, Repression Information Project; John Marks, Center for National Security Studies; Wesley McCune, Group Research, Inc.; Aryeh Neier,

American Civil Liberties Union; Winslow Peck; Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, American Jewish Committee, and several National Council of Churches staff.

THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITIONS

If we reflect upon our own indignation at the inaccuracy of stereotyping the National Council of Churches as "ultra-leftist" or even "Communist," we can appreciate the delicacy of describing any group on the right, which may well contain as much diversity in thought as the Council knows itself to encompass. This briefing describes groups which move across the spectrum from a conservative "right-of-center" to an extremist radical right.

Our greatest concern is with the extremists, because they most threaten the constitutional rights of our citizenry, both by the tactics which they use and the citizen's rights which they deny or undermine. In The Radical Right, Seymour Martin Lipset warns: "The threats to democratic procedure which are, in part, an outgrowth of radical right agitation involve attempts to destroy the right of assembly, the right of petition, the freedom of association, the freedom to travel, and the freedom to teach or conduct scholarly research without conforming to political tests" (p. 259).

Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, in a still-useful book of 1964, The Strange Tactics of Extremism, remind us that extremism has contempt for "reformists;" it builds upon the principle of a wise elitist group or leader who dispenses capsule wisdom; it thinks in absolutes and oversimplifies; its tactics and stratagems may be either rightist or leftist. But the radical right is an indigenous body, not an international conspiracy, and it is an exaggeration of traits common to many Americans, with no clearly identifiable "theory-practice" system.

Daniel Bell, editor of The Radical Right, 1963, says "The psychological stock-in-trade of the radical right rests on a threefold appeal: the breakdown of moral fiber in the United States; a conspiracy theory of a 'control apparatus' in the government which is selling out the country; and a detailed forecast regarding the Communist 'takeover' of the United States" (p. 7).

Lipset summarizes four aspects of American society which he believes contribute to understanding extremist political developments in the U.S.: "the role of the status-driven during periods of prosperity, their fear of other groups which threaten their status; the absence of a firm tradition of civic discipline or tolerance; the definition of Americanism in ideological terms; and the lack of an integrated cultural and political social control structure" (p. 271). For a full explication of his thought, see The Radical Right, ed. Bell (pp. 259-369).

Edward A. Shils, in The Torment of Secrecy, 1956, provides some helpful analysis of extremism:

An extremist group is an alienated group. . . It cannot share that sense of affinity to persons or attachment to the institutions which confine political conflicts to peaceful solutions. . . . The romantic reactionaries, aristocratic and populist. . . allege that they wish to conserve tradition. In practice they regard tradition as dead or

corrupt or pernicious and they think that they must wipe out all that exists in order to recreate the right kind of tradition. . . .

The ideological extremists -- all extremists are inevitably ideological -- because of their isolation from the world, feel menaced by unknown dangers. The paranoid tendencies which are closely associated with their apocalyptic and aggressive outlook make them think that the ordinary world, from which their devotion to the ideal cuts them off, is not normal at all; they think it is a realm of secret machinations. What goes on in the world of pluralistic politics, in civil society, is a secret to them. It is a secret which they must unmask by vigorous publicity. Their image of the 'world' as the realm of evil, against which they must defend themselves and which they must ultimately conquer, forces them to think of their enemy's knowledge as secret knowledge (pp. 231-234).

Perhaps it is helpful to use a typology employed by the right itself:

- 1) neoconservative, 2) stylistic conservative (traditional conservative), and 3) movement conservative (the New Right with a militant coalitional approach that borrows from the 'sixties strategies' of the left).

ARCHIVES LOVING NEIGHBORS AND ENEMIES

Christ calls upon us to expend as much energy trying to understand and value our neighbor as we expend to explain and interpret ourselves. We are to have compassion for the hurt, fear, bewilderment, anxiety, and ignorance we find in our neighbor, whether or not the neighbor returns the effort. The extremist, alienated and suspicious, seems hardly prepared to respond in kind, and one feels caught in an undertow of paranoia which we must resist if we are not simply to treat the extremist as the extremist treats us. The extremist may, however, be an enemy of the causes we uphold. "Loving our enemies," does not mean acquiescence on the issues that divide us.

From the description above, it is clear why there is often a wedding between extremism and religious fundamentalism. The drive for purity and moral absolutism and other-worldliness and apocalyptic outlook, and an alienation from the world of evil which must be overcome at all costs are familiar to the fundamentalist posture. Andrew Kopkind, in "America's New Right" from New Times (9/3/77) provides a compelling summary of current right-wing issues with a compassion from which we might benefit:

Behind the New Right vanguard on the 'pro-family,' anti liberation front are troops fighting scores of battles that may seem separate, but appeal to the same backlash sensibilities. Sooner or later, pro-family activists find themselves pro: death penalty, Laetrile, nuclear power, local police, Panama Canal, saccharin, FBI, CIA, defense budget, public prayer and real estate growth. More likely than not, they are anti: busing, welfare, public employee unions, affirmative action, amnesty, marijuana, communes, gun control, pornography, the 55 m.p.h. speed limit, day-care centers, religious ecumenism, sex education, car pools and the Environmental Protection Agency. Of course there are exceptions everywhere; . . . But the overwhelming political sig-

nificance lies in the new conjunction of all those issues, not in the exceptions.

Liberals, radicals, reformists and progressives who have done battle these many years on the opposite side of those questions would like to believe that the ideology and the logistics of the new right wing movements are devised and controlled by a few conspirators at the top -- Phyllis Schlafly, Jesse Helms, a Catholic cardinal here or a John Birch birdwatcher there: a handful of Reaganites, racists and young Republicans. But the Left's devil theory is no more plausible than the Right's. There is a great social upheaval at the heart of America that now finds an expression in the new constellation of traditionalist, individualist and fundamental movements. It feeds the established politicians and practitioners of the Right, and it is well fed by them. But to disregard its authentic roots in home-town America is to misread the new national mood, and to become its more vulnerable victim. (Italics mine)

. . . . What is breaking up the family are the demands of the system -- call it what you will -- for women workers at low pay, for routinized work schedules, for education tracked to job slots, for high rates of consumption, for waste and for profit. Scraps of the proceeds of that system have for years been thrown to the most underprivileged members of society in hopes that they will not upset the social applecart; the rest stays in the board rooms at the top. Inevitably, the Waldvogels (backlash militants) of this world get the short change, and it is they who are crying in pain. It is a pity that they yet mistake their fellow sufferers for their true tormentors.

One watcher-of-the-far-right, Winslow Peck, summarizes his view similarly in correspondence with this researcher:

It is important to understand that the organized right-wing movement is only taking advantage of several mass political realignments occurring at the grass roots. These mass movements represent real frustrations with American society and can, in my opinion be diverted right or left. It is just that the right is working very hard on these vulnerable segments of our population. . . Care should be taken that the issues that truly affect the public be addressed and not just those issues of concern to liberal activists.

The challenge before the churches is to care deeply for the persons who are caught in a frightening paranoia while not adopting, succumbing to, or failing to counter their tactics. At the same time, the churches have an obligation to recognize the validity of their distress. This may mean taking serious cognizance of issues that we prefer to dismiss. While we can often clearly see the false mixture of political/economic ideology and Christian faith in the radical right, we may fail to have adequately examined the mixture in our own position. A humility to call our most cherished political postures to the searching scrutiny of Christian faith may be the most valuable gift we can bring to these polarizing times, whether we lean "right" or "left."

THE COMPLEX PHENOMENON OF RIGHT WING "RESURGENCE"

An almost unanimous "yes, there is a right wing resurgence" comes from many correspondents, and the flood of magazine articles and news clippings give additional support to this judgment. One reply, from Jerome Bakst of the Anti-Defamation League, is cautious about attributing this new interest in the activities of the right wing to any actual overall increase in strength, membership, or impact similar to that of the early 1960's.

But the resurgence, whether numerically significant in new memberships or not, is a complex phenomenon. Only by looking in some detail at several of these complexities does the meaning of this resurgence take any shape.

1. A NEW SOPHISTICATION IN POLITICAL TACTICS AND FUND-RAISING POSING STRONG CHALLENGES FOR FUTURE CONGRESSIONAL AND STATE LEGISLATIVE RACES

Andrew Kopkind of New Times' article "America's New Right" has written: "The Reborn Right began organizing at the bottom of the political pyramid, much as the New Left did in the sixties. In fact, the parallels between the two native American movements, one progressive and the other reactionary, are striking." He quotes Congressman John Rousselot, a John Bircher, as saying, "We learned a lot from the Left organization. . . . Sometimes it's been conscious, sometimes not. But a lot of conservatives have learned from groups like Common Cause, the unions, and the ACLU."

Another example of "learning from the left," according to a February 11, 1978, New York Times article, is the emergence of conservatively oriented "public interest law" organizations (e.g. National Legal Center for the Public Interest; Washington Legal Foundation). Also, a new law school, the District of Columbia Law School, has just been organized, with leadership from John Birch Society members, Young Americans for Freedom, and other ultraconservatives, such as Senator Jesse Helms (Group Research, Dec. 1977).

In the words of Richard A. Viguerie (Conservative Digest, Sept., 1977), the professional fund-raiser of the right wing:

If there is one battlefield in the country where conservatives are doing better than we expected, it is, much to the surprise of everyone, the Congress of the U.S. There is a new strength in the conservative movement, a strength that comes from single-issue organizations joining forces with broader conservative groups to defeat legislation. And coalition politics, as practiced by conservatives for the first time in recent memory, is having a profound impact on the Congress, the press and the country.

Time Magazine, Oct. 3, 1977, quotes Reagan-aide Lyn Nofziger as saying, "The old right were talkers and pamphleteers. They would just as soon go down in flames as win. But the New Right has moved toward a more pragmatic goal of accomplishing things." Time goes on to illustrate Kopkind's observation that "the right has now copied the enemy's tactics," by "plunging into the grass roots, ringing doorbells, phoning and passing out leaflets. Like the student left, the rightists have taken to the streets to demonstrate. And can they pack a meeting! . . ." Time says that a goal of the New Right is to take over the Republican Party, which now commands only 20% of the national electorate in

membership. The key to such success would be to learn to compromise on issues, something for which the right wing has not been noted.

The New York Times (12/4/77) agrees with Time magazine in the following: "The New Right differs in organization, style and tactics from the 'old right' that supported Barry Goldwater in 1964. The new generation is more tightly organized, better financed, more sophisticated and more pragmatic than their predecessors. They are prepared to accept partial victories that the old right, with its kamikaze instincts, would have considered ideological defeats."

Mike Thompson, campaign publicist for Anita Bryant, says he is hoping to put together a "new majority" of Republicans, blue-collar Democrats and Jewish voters. "We will bring together people who have never been politically involved before, and they will go on to work together for other issues and candidates" (Time, Oct. 3, 1977).

The AFL-CIO Special Report on The Right Wing emphasizes the growing network of right-wing and ultra-conservative organizations which "maintain a fluid pool of personnel and officials, and interlocking directorate of sorts. They furnish each other with support and intelligence where necessary. However, due to their very numbers, their subtle differences in emphasis or strategy, and the personal ambitions of their leaders -- they have begun to siphon off funds from each other -- and from the established Republican Party as well." The Special Report describes the new sophistication in fund-raising, as personified by Richard Viguerie, who "has built youthful right-wing activism into a multi-million-dollar, computerized business and become rich in the process; he has parlayed the \$1,000 legal limit on individual campaign contributions into a big boom for New Right fund-raising efforts . . . he has raised money for over 60 right-wing causes and organizations as well as for many individual candidates" In addition to his computerized direct-mail campaign to conservatives, he also founded The Conservative Digest and has taken over the newspaper, The Conservative Right. According to AFL-CIO, Viguerie's highly successful money-raising is being scrutinized by public officials for excessive commission and fees.

A new thrust of the National Committee for an Effective Congress is currently underway, its major concern being Ronald Reagan's effort to "control Congress" with his Citizens for the Republic organization. The literature for NCEC quotes Jane Hart (wife of Senator P. Hart) as saying: "Unfortunately at this critical period, the Congress has experienced an intense campaign from the extreme right wing. It is a campaign that is fueled by the massive war chest the right wing is building to defeat progressive Representatives and Senators in 1978 and its threat hangs over Congress every day of its deliberations."

The fact that this counter campaign is being launched in a direct mail campaign is evidence for some reality to the concern about a resurgence of right wing extremism within political circles.

A new publication, Democratic Viewpoint (Vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 1978), expresses the change in right wing activity in an article by Scott Wolf entitled "'New Right' show signs of huge wealth and some power":

There has almost always been some sort of arch-conservative political activity in this country. However, the current right wing activity is different both in degree and in kind from right wing movements of both the recent and distant past. Whereas in 1972 conservative groups, according to "Congressional Quarterly Magazine," contributed only \$250,000 to candidates for federal office, preliminary estimates are that such organizations will provide at least seven to eight million dollars in contributions and services to federal candidates in 1978. And whereas the conservative message until very recently only reached the homes of those who read such elite publications as The National Review and Human Events, now, through the vehicle of direct mail, it can reach at least six to seven million people from Richard Viguerie's operation alone. (Italics mine)

It is important to keep these efforts in some perspective, however. Group Reports reminds us of the statistics of the 1976 Presidential race: "The final count of votes received for President by significant third-party candidates:

Eugene McCarthy	Independent	754,042
Roger MacBride	Libertarian	183,187
Lester Maddox	Am. Independent	170,673
Tom Anderson	American Party	153,009

For comparison, Jimmy Carter beat Gerald Ford by 1,681,417 votes.

However, the Report also says that a significant number of far righters won seats in Congress and the third-party advocates are ready to go for the next round. The Report notes that these parties succeeded in the difficult task of getting on the ballot in about half the states. The importance of getting on the ballot as a significant influence upon election can be noted, for purposes of illustration, as follows: "Eugene McCarthy got enough votes in five states to have made the difference between Carter and Ford (assuming he drew from Carter), and it is generally conceded that he could have denied Carter the 86 electoral votes of New York and California if he had been permitted to be on the ballot."

Tom Wicker in "The Republicans Try to Get Their Act Together" (New York Times Magazine, Feb. 12, 1978), describes a strong effort among Republican leadership to counterbalance the extreme right wing influence with the Republican Party. As his article observes,

... The right wing is by no means homogeneous; some conservatives are more ideological, some more pragmatic, than others. The columnist Kevin Phillips, for example, recently wrote of a rift between "G.O.P. conservatives and new-right leaders working largely outside the party framework. . . the mushrooming 'Social Issue' forces of the new right would rather see a weak, middle-of-the-road Democrat in the White House than a representative of the Republican Party establishment. A Republican President, they fear would seek to scuttle the new right."

That may not be exactly the kind of weakening of the right wing

that other Republicans would like to see, but such a split augurs less, not more, ideological dissension within the overall party.

Whether a Republican strategy to shift toward a moderate middle and to attract the black vote will ultimately increase or decrease the effective strength of new radical right "Social Issue" forces remains to be seen.

Wesley McCune of Groups Reports, one of the most temperate and thorough research reporters on the right wing, summarizes his present assessment of the situation:

I do detect a resurgence, as do some of my colleagues. With a liberal or moderate Democrat in the White House on whom to focus, the right wing drew some fresh breath at the beginning of the year. The old-timers such as the Birchers and Liberty Lobby seem to have more of a bite and a steady flow of new issues. I perceive a period very much like that of the early sixties, when I started Group Research . . . One slight difference is that the Vietnam war is over, but, of course, it is not forgotten by those who deal in conspiracy theories and other paranoia (as in Panama Canal). In addition, the organized right is much more sophisticated today, a development I place around the 1964 Goldwater campaign, when they became more involved in politics and learned to raise money by direct mail and use other modern techniques.

A December 4, 1977 article in the New York Times, headlined "Opinion in U.S. Swinging to Right, Pollsters and Politicians Believe," comments:

The trend that so many politicians sense is documented by recent Gallup public opinion polls. In their most recent survey on the question, a striking 47% of the respondents described themselves as 'right of center,' 32% as 'left of center,' and only 10% as 'middle-of-the-road.' . . . This is in sharp contrast to a similar Gallup survey in 1964, . . . when 37% characterized themselves as liberals, 34% as conservatives and 29% had no opinion.

The Washington Post, January 29, 1978, discussed a "neoconservative movement" network in the words of Rep. Philip M. Crane, who chairs the American Conservative Union: "It's a new dimension of conservative activity. . . an explosion of new, aggressive and effective conservative organizations that have put aside their differences and jealousies and are working together for a broader constituency." That broader constituency includes a "'conservative majority' of blue-collar workers and 'ordinary' people who are frustrated over rising taxes and the largess of costly federal social programs." Monthly luncheon sessions are held to develop common strategies. In attendance are: Edwin J. Feulner, Ex. Dir. of Heritage Foundation; Andrew Messing, Ex. Dir. of American Conservative Union, Morton Blackwell, Ex. Dir. of Committee for Responsible Youth Politics; Gregg Hilton, Ex. Dir. of Conservative History Fund; Lyn Nofziger, Citizens for the Republic, and Reagan aide; John T. Dolan, Ex. Dir., National Conservative Political Action Committee; Larry Pratt, Ex. Dir., Gun Owners of America; Howard J. Phillips, Ex. Dir. Conservative Caucus, Richard Viguerie, fund-raiser; Paul M. Weyrich, Dir. Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress; John N. Snyder,

Ex. Dir., Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms; David Denholm, Ex. Dir., Public Service Research Council.

Democratic Viewpoint (Vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 1978) shows forceful concern for this "new dimension of activity" in the legislative area. Author Scott Wolf says,

Even if the "New Right" cannot translate its financial and organizational resources into many election victories, its prospects for stymying progressive legislation seem somewhat greater. This principally because the prime tactic of the "New Right -- stirring up a vocal minority through the use of vitriolic direct mail appeals -- is a tactic well suited for the legislative area, where only a committee minority is required to defeat specific proposals.

2. THE APATHY OF THE ORDINARY VOTER AND THE WITHDRAWAL AND WEARINESS OF THE MIDDLE-TO-LEFT ACTIVIST

Kopkind, in New Times, charges that "The victories of the Right this year have been permitted, to some extent, by the failure of a liberal opposition -- the consequence of the Left's own cynicism, disillusionment and isolation." He goes on to say the descendants of the New Left have been "notoriously maladroit" in reaching persons different from themselves, with their youthful, white, cool cosmopolitan styles and middle-class status.

Although I do not have available a set of statistics on the withdrawal of liberals and middle-of-the-road citizens who were once active in public life, it is a thread of assumption that runs through numerous articles on the subject of politics. The ranks of the liberals, progressives, and the left, have done some re-thinking, had some sober second thoughts, and -- by definition -- have faced openly an array of changes in society for which no one can feel adequately prepared. But the radical right has no such problem -- because it is essentially against, it does not have to come up with a new program; it can stand for positions of the past. Its position is often clear, and therefore strong. Alienation from politics as a means for working through the problems of our society by many young people and disillusioned activists leaves a clear field for the rightist or single-cause activist.

Alan L. Otten of the Wall Street Journal (quoted in Datalert) stresses this view in this summary of his remarks:

An inward-looking by former liberals to their own personal futures; withdrawal of traditional liberals leaves groups with narrow and highly emotional issues a comparatively greater leverage. When the general public is not concerned with large issues, the small constituency issues, those where small numbers of people feel intensely, become much more prominent. While liberals may be only "catching their breath," they are allowing much breathing space -- and shouting space -- for emotionally charged small groups. (Therefore, the radical right does not have to grow in order to be louder and more influential.) (Datalert, Vol. 5, No. 10, Sept. 1, 1977.)

Scott Wolf of Democratic Viewpoint says it this way: "The success of the "New Right" is due not only to its own ingenuity and luck, but also to the present defensiveness and confusion within the progressive community. While the "New Right" displays a boisterous elan, the progressive community is questioning most of its assumptions, including such basic ones as the value of political activism."

3. THE EMERGENCE OF A MILITANT EVANGELICALISM WITH AN IDEOLOGICALLY CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY.

Sojourners, April, 1976, prepared a helpful report on a major initiative by the evangelical far right in this country to "turn America back to God" with a political agenda of electing "real Christians" with a doctrinaire conservative ideological vision to public office. Campus Crusade, Christian Embassy, the Christian Freedom Foundation, and Third Century Publishers are the chief promoters of a "vision to rebuild the foundations of the Republic as it was when first founded -- a 'Christian Republic,'" in the words of Rus Walton of Third Century.

The Christian Freedom Foundation, says Sojourners, was founded in 1950 to further right-wing economics, with substantial backing from J. Howard Pew's Glen Meade Trust. Third Century Publishers needed a non-profit administrative organization, which Christian Freedom Foundation now provides, and Third Century publishes all materials. The new purpose has become the national effort to elect "real Christians" to government, though that could jeopardize their tax exempt status if it were too overtly acknowledged. Christian Embassy is located in Washington, D.C. and is an outgrowth of Bill Bright's (of Campus Crusade) vision for evangelizing government officials. There is no legal or organizational link between Campus Crusade and Christian Embassy, but there is continuity of leadership and staffing.

Richard Viguerie, the fund-raiser, is looking seriously at the political potential of conservative evangelicals and reported to Sojourners that he was aware of some discussions for raising money to support such candidates this year, and that there was an excellent chance his firm would be involved in doing so for at least a few. Once such possible candidate, Rev. Bob Thoburn of Virginia, was quoted in detail and described by Sojourners:

Rev. Thoburn is an archetype of an extreme right-wing evangelical candidate for Congress. He operates an alternative 'Christian' school in the Virginia suburbs of Washington attended by the children of both Rus Walton and Richard Viguerie. Thoburn is using all the Third Century's materials, which he is sending to 'every pastor in northern Virginia.' According to Thoburn, 'the liberal voting records of some men like Hatfield are not Christian.' Rev. Thoburn told Sojourners that he is not only a born again Christian, but he will 'vote Christian.' 'What's the use of having some evangelical Christians in office if they don't vote like Christians.' ('The welfare state is contrary to the Bible. The purpose of civil government is to punish the criminals, protect our property rights, and maintain a strong defense. The government's function is not to redistribute wealth; the income tax is unscriptural. . . . The free market is the biblical approach to economics. . . . 'We should

have let the military win in Vietnam in a couple of weeks. The most powerful nation in the world could have easily licked a fourth rate power like them,' says Thoburn.)

The New York Times, Nov. 15, 1977, reported a billion dollar money-raising effort to conduct a worldwide evangelistic campaign to preach to every corner of the earth, a key figure of the campaign being Bill Bright of Campus Crusade. With \$30 million already contributed, the "strategy for blanketing the world bears the earmarks of the modern style of evangelism," says Kenneth Briggs of the Times. "Computers, electronic media, and films are all expected to play a significant role. . . . An innovative feature is also expected to emerge in the form of a Christian Peace Corps." The article notes, as did Sojourners a year earlier, that Bright's link with John Conlan (Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, etc.) has been a source of controversy and has implied a link of Bright with ultraconservative politics. Group Research (Jan. 1978) reports that actor Roy Rogers, motel owner Wallace E. Johnson, and Texas oilman Nelson Bunker Hunt (Council member of John Birch Society) are helping Bill Bright raise money for his world wide campaign. (Although there is no clear evidence to suggest that Bill Bright and Campus Crusade share an extreme right wing orientation, their acceptance of large sums of money from ultraconservative financiers makes them vulnerable to the suspicion, if not the fact, of persuasive and subtle manipulation.)

Christian Yellow Pages: At first reading this may appear to be a non sequitur from the paragraphs above, but there may be a significant link. The Christian Century describes it as

a kind of 'born-again' Yellow Page directory which limits its listings to businesses operated by those who 'accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior.' . . . The Christian Yellow Pages are published in regional editions in more than two dozen U.S. metropolitan areas, including Richmond, Miami, Atlanta, Dallas, Houston, San Francisco, Portland and Seattle. The books resemble the Yellow Pages of a telephone directory except for their cover illustration, featuring a large white cross looming above the picture of a city skyline. Thomson (national director) claims that about 1 million copies will have been printed before the end of 1977, with 10,000 to 50,000 copies available in each city. A fee is charged each advertiser; the directories are distributed through churches or sold in Christian bookstores. . . . Since the advertisers are limited to those who identify themselves as 'born-again' Christians, the directory naturally excludes a great many Catholics and Protestants, all Jews and other non-Christians.

Dwayne Walls ("The Jesus Mania," Saturday Review, Sept. 17, 1977) comments, "Whatever the intent of their publishers, the directories say one thing to Jews: economic boycott for religious reasons. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish service agency, has filed suit in California to enjoin publication." In reply to this sort of criticism, Paul Seely, founder of Christian Yellow Pages, has written "The Moral Imperative of Christian Yellow Pages (cf. p. 18, Jacksonville Christian Yellow Pages) in which he says:

This attack invites the Christian proclamation that the God of the Universe, the only logical foundation for any system of absolute morals, has declared through His Son, Jesus Christ, that He is governing history in a very discriminatory way: All who accept the sacrifice of His Son for their sins will go to heaven; all who reject His Son will go to Hell. It is this discriminatory policy of our Creator that lies behind the policy of Christian Yellow Pages.

Unconvinced, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. adopted a resolution, reports The Christian Century, "asking members of the denomination not to patronize the directories, declaring that they are 'divisive among Christians' and 'discriminatory in relation to the Jewish community.'"

The Rev. Charles N. Davidson, Presbyterian pastor of Jacksonville, Florida, addressed the Jacksonville Jewish Center, noting the following connections between the Christian Yellow Pages and the previously described rightist evangelical political organizations: "The national director of Christian Yellow Pages, W. R. Thomson of Modesto, California, is a disciple of Bill Bright and received his training from Bill Bright's organization, Campus Crusade for Christ International" (whose ad is the largest in Jacksonville's Christian Yellow Pages, right inside the front cover). Davidson quotes a Newsweek, Sept. 6, 1976, article, which describes the desire of Bill Bright and right-wing congressman John Conlan of Arizona to inaugurate a third political party of "real Christians" only. He also notes that a similar enterprise, the Christian Business Directory in San Diego, is directed by Mr. Dan Loeffler, who happens also to be head of the California Christian Campaign Committee to elect born-again Christian to public office.

Davidson fears that evangelicals will be unsuspectingly drawn into a network for the "huckstering of right wing politics" in the name of born-again religion. He observed to The Christian Century, "For those who may wish to establish a financial and political as well as religious base across the nation, this kind of thing is a useful but subtle and insidious device." George F. Will of the Washington Post, Sept. 29, 1977, sees the Christian Yellow Pages' rhetoric about "not doing business with the anti-Christ system" as "hostile talk" which is "an act of aggression against a pluralistic society. Discrimination condoned -- indeed, incited -- in commerce will not be confined to commerce."

Radio and television broadcasting is a new area of strength for evangelical activity. According to National Religious Broadcasters, which is a clearing house for evangelically religious-oriented stations, some 850 religious organizations and groups reach 115 million people via radio and 14 million via television. When emerging technological advances are in place, they estimate that evangelicals will soon reach 1/3 of the world's population. About three evangelical networks are already using satellite technology, including the conservative Christian Broadcasting Network, which is building a university and seminary from its proceeds. National Religious Broadcasters estimates that one new religious radio station is emerging each week and one new religious television station each month, either through new construction or changed orientation. By no means should this be understood as "right wing" growth, but there certainly is reason to expect a more conservative political orientation from these stations than from much secular broadcasting.

Radical rightists within religious broadcasting have been around for some years, such as Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade, which has nearly 200 weekly broadcasts, Carl McIntire's Twentieth Century Reformation Hour, which boasts 7,000,000 listeners, and E. W. Burpo's Bible Institute of the Air, which spent nearly \$510,000 for broadcasting and related costs last year (Cf. Group Research). One organization specifically established to counter these broadcasts is "In the Public Interest" (121 Constitution Ave., N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002), which has an information and commentary network for radio and press estimated by IPI to reach 9,000,000 people.

4. THE ALLIANCE OF THE RIGHT WING WITH CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALISTS, MORMONS, AND SOME ROMAN CATHOLIC AND JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN OPPOSITION TO WOMEN'S MOVEMENT ISSUES SUCH AS ERA, ABORTION, GAY RIGHTS, GOVERNMENT DAY CARE

International Women's Year state and national conferences have provided a focus for organizing coalitions of groups which are either pro- or anti-these women's issues. A very fat file of some highly colorful material has been assembled, and it is difficult to confine it within this larger report framework but some of the essentials to be observed are:

a. Eagle Forum, an "alternative to women's lib," is an organization headed by Phyllis Schlafly. The flyer which describes Eagle Forum lists a code of rights which become the "program" of the organization. In brief, these include: the rights of a woman to financial support as wife and mother; laws against pornography degrading women; laws respecting physical differences in physical-labor employment; anti-ERA; anti-government day care programs; voluntary prayer in schools; textbooks honoring this code; neighborhood schools (anti-busing); no-frills education; separate sex education and physical education; right for employers to prefer wage-earners with dependents; family-supporting laws vs. those "choosing immoral lifestyles." Seven rights urged in addition to U.S. Constitutional rights are stated in several complex positions of the organization: Equal opportunity in employment and education regardless of race, creed, sex, origin (Bakke issue?); right to life of all innocent persons from conception to natural death (anti-abortion; pro-death penalty?); law and order against aggression by other nations (pro-military spending); separate roles for men and women in armed forces, police; right of self-protection from drug abusers (anti-gun control?); right of religious bodies to designate different roles for men and women (anti-women priests and ministers?). Despite the style of language, the familiar far right wing program is well represented here, with a few omissions and additions.

b. A national coalition called "International Women's Year Grass Roots Majority" was organized in the summer 1977, and it is composed of right-to-life groups, stop-ERA organizations, pro-family and church organizations. (National Right to Life News, August, 1977). Although this coalition was called together purportedly to counteract the "rigging" of IWY conferences, culminating in the Houston meeting in November, 1977, there are continuing coalitions beyond that dated goal. For example, various groups are circulating a resolution to be sent to: PRO-FAMILY, PRO-LIFE COALITION, P.O. Box 38609, Houston, Texas 77088 which combines four issues in one omnibus resolution: ratification of a mandatory Human Life Amendment to the Constitution, anti-federally funded Early Child

Development Programs, anti-Equal Rights Amendment, anti-legality of homosexuality, lesbianism, or prostitution.

c. The Nation published an account by Lucy Komisar of the Houston meeting, entitled "Feminism as National Politics," (12/10/77) which saw a coalition forming also on the liberal side as an outgrowth of the assembly. "In effect, the women's movement has become a bridge between groups that represent very different social interests. It is bringing into the general movement of liberal social change women in business and the professions, women who are Republicans, clubwomen who have spent their past time in charity work and women who have never been involved in politics at all but who see political action and alliances as necessary to their own goals. . . Conservatives are right to view this as a threat." Eagle Forum, however, is promoting a "startling exhibit of authentic pictures, booklets, and materials from IWY conference in Houston, Nov. 1977. It will shock you to know that this kind of material is financed with \$5 million of YOUR money. You should be informed about the radical and lesbian forces that are waging war on the American family" (Jan. 1978).

d. Aryeh Neier, Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, writes, "the right wing has chosen opposition to the ERA and abortion as its principal battleground. I fear most that they will push state legislatures to call for a constitutional convention to prohibit abortion." Once a constitutional convention is called, any number of constitutional amendments may be added or articles of the Bill of Rights challenged.

Lisa Cronin Wohl in Ms. (Feb. 1978) discusses the forces which are organizing to promote the drive for a Constitutional convention, or Con-con as it is called. Nine states have already passed a convention call, with 34 needed. "The convention method has never been successfully used before, and it is a lawyer's nightmare. No one knows how it would work. The Constitution sets up no guidelines. How would it be organized? Funded? How would delegates be selected? How long would it stay in existence? What would be the scope of the convention? Under what rules would it operate?" Americans for a Constitutional Convention is spearheading the drive, in the hope that -- short of a call for a convention -- Congress may act on the abortion issue in order to forestall a convention. (Wohl notes that incorporation papers for Americans for a Constitutional Convention are signed by Daniel G. Buckley, James P. McFadden, and Edward A. Capano, all intimately associated with the National Review and signatories to incorporation papers of the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of Life.) While much local lobbying support for Con-con comes from Roman Catholics, the U.S. Catholic Conference and the National Right to Life Committee have remained neutral. Emphasis appears to be strategically concentrated on certain key state legislatures.

e. Religious attitudes on equal rights for women and on abortion are sharply divided. Martin Marty in "Confusion Among the Faithful," Saturday Review, June 25, 1977, says of ERA, "The major Christian groups either differ sharply on the amendment or ignore it altogether. . . Divergencies. . . seem to turn less on theology than on such secular considerations as regional traditions and political ideology." Although the most famous Southern Baptist, Jimmy Carter, is for ERA, there is sizeable Southern Baptist opposition. Mormons vigorously oppose it. United Methodists have publicly and strongly supported ratification since the 1972 General Conference. Catholics, says Marty,

today are less a voting bloc than a two-party system. Pro-ERA Catholics find plenty of support in Vatican II and recent papal documents favoring equal rights and justice, but the Church has taken no stand. The Colorado battles found the Catholic Right busy against the ERA, with the Knights of Columbus and 'Pro-Life' forces trying to link ERA with legalized abortion. Perhaps the most vocal anti-amendment speaker is the tireless Phyllis Schlafly, who finds Catholic arguments for her stand.

Marty mentions the 19 liberal and "mainliner" religious groups which form the Religious Committee for the ERA, to which Church Women United, NCCC and many of its constituent groups belong, but Marty says "a tinge of wariness and apathy accompanies their support." He notes that Jews "are redrawing traditional sex-differentiating lines in the synagogue." Jerome Bakst of the Anti-Defamation League says;

it is necessary to emphasize that opposition to ERA is not limited to persons on the political or fundamentalist far right, but cuts across a wider spectrum in the community -- as, in fact, do the forces supporting ERA. . . . The abortion issue is an emotional one which, like ERA, cuts across a broad spectrum of the population. As with so many other issues, opposition to the ERA and to abortion is rooted in motivations that are not necessarily political but may be religious, moral or emotional.

5. SHIFTS TAKING PLACE AMONG MODERATES AND LIBERALS REGARDING A NUMBER OF ISSUES, CAUSING STRAIN OR REALIGNMENT AMONG FORMER COALITIONS

Just as there are surprising coalitions forming around women's issues, so there are some reshapings of coalitions regarding other subjects. For example, the coalition which once shaped firmly around civil rights concerns finds itself subtly at odds over affirmative action issues, like the Bakke case. And the group which lines up shoulder to shoulder on the J. P. Stevens campaign breaks ranks over some international trade issues. The energy issue is dividing several black organizations, such as NAACP, National Urban League, and the Congressional Black Caucus, who are concerned with the effect of slow growth energy policy upon blacks. The NAACP board, says the New York Times (Jan. 30, 1978), "appeared to endorse deregulation of oil and natural gas prices, to emphasize nuclear power development and to oppose the effort to convert to coal from gas and oil." These positions put the NAACP at odds with other moderate black organizations, the Carter administration, and other groups in the society concerned about ecology and justice.

In an unpublished paper by Professor of Education J. Charles Park, the author sees this as "a time when the traditional coalition for social legislation composed of the civil rights, labor, and liberal democrats appears to be dissolving." He says that "during a time of distrust of government, public apathy at the polls, and conflicting results of educational programs, the conditions are ripe for a well-recognized group of true believers to exert influence far beyond their numbers. . . . Although it may be too early to predict the specific issues that may surface in education, it would appear that taxes,

progressive social curricula in the area of human relations, busing, and federal funding for educational projects will become prime targets."

Such examples as these are mentioned not to widen rifts, but simply to acknowledge that groups which are trying to respond to change are likely to respond differently to some issues. Coalitions of similar concern and values need not speak with one voice on all subjects, nor should occasional alliances of very unlike groups necessarily produce perpetual collaboration. But we must recognize that this plurality of views can create a vacuum into which the far right with single, simplistic answers can flow.

Meanwhile, born-again evangelical Christians like Harold Lindsell of Christianity Today are taking out full-page ads in newspapers like the Times and the Washington Post to support Israel's current policies and claims upon the territory west of the Jordan River. Carl McIntire, whose anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish bias was well documented in Ralph Roy's Apostles of Discord (1953) has taken a full-page ad in the New York Times (Nov. 15, 1977) to announce that "Fundamentalists vote with Israel." "Christians cannot stand by and witness the PLO, Communists, and Islam doing again to the Jews what was done to their land in the first century."

The recent Congress of the Laity held in California could mark the beginning of renewed efforts to bring evangelicals and mainline Christians into productive communication. The event itself was helpful in breaking stereotypes and introducing persons with somewhat different perspectives to one another.

6. INCREASING VISIBILITY FOR THE FAR RIGHT "HATE FRINGE" GROUPS, SUCH AS THE NEO-NAZIS AND KKK

Jerome Bakst of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith makes a useful distinction between segments of the far right: 1) the political and fundamentalist far right (e.g., John Birch Society, Carl McIntire's movement, Christian Crusade -- Hargis) and 2) the far right "hate fringe" who not only hold extremist political viewpoints and espouse far-out ideologies, but who engage in racial and religious hate activities and propaganda (e.g., KKK, neo-Nazis). He comments in a comprehensive research letter:

The far right hate fringe groups . . . have been increasingly visible in the last two or three years and seek to exploit certain local situation of actual or potential racial tension in various parts of the country, but increasingly in the North. . . . A reasonable estimate is that the Klans have approximately 8,000 to 10,000 members -- a gain from approximately 6,500 in 1975. In addition, there are probably some 40,000 Klan sympathizers scattered around the country, most of them in the South.

There is no evidence that the various neo-Nazi groups have gained any strength in the last two or three years, even though they too are increasingly visible. It is doubtful if the overall membership of the various small neo-Nazi groups. . . totals more than 1,000 at the most.

. . . To a certain extent, the media of mass communication have played a role in the increased visibility of the Klans and neo-Nazis. (David E. Duke, leader of Louisiana Knights of KKK,

a college-educated, well-dressed, glib, clean-cut unique Klansman, makes "good copy" and manipulates the media cleverly for coverage. The Neo-Nazis get coverage through attention-getting provocation techniques -- e.g., White Power marches by storm troopers.)

A similar concern was expressed by Tony Mahn of Channel 13 Public Television in New York City. He produced a special entitled "The Extremists: The American Nazi Party and the KKK," and reported in a telephone interview that a major concern of the program was the problem of too much media attention to these groups who have learned how to attract the media with visually enticing events. It inflates their importance and impact upon the society, and may actually cause them to grow in numbers.

KKK leaders were involved in some state meetings leading up to the IWY Houston event, and they are interested in the anti-ERA, anti-abortion coalition. Tensions over the abortion issue can be very taut. Reports like the burning of a planned Parenthood Center in St. Paul, Minnesota are disturbing reminders that extremism may be non-violent in the minds of some groups, but quite violent in the minds of others.

While Skokie, Illinois, makes headline news for Nazis, it is important to balance the publicity against a less-publicized event -- the folding of the magazine "The Cross and the Flag," founded in 1942 by Gerald L. K. Smith.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

From this lengthy collage a picture emerges of a nation troubled by the strong currents of change in the society and the world. Rapid change tends to produce increased conservatism, and this is also evident. The existence of a radical right fringe, alienated and aggressive, is not new to the American scene, so its visible presence in the present moment is hardly surprising.

This is not a time for hysterical alarm or massive counterattack, but it is an occasion for alert, responsible citizenship and a pastoral awareness of the needs of people across the political spectrum. Perhaps the words "volatile" and "vulnerable" describe in eloquent capsule the complex social milieu and the uncertain persons within it.

Keeping informed about the tensions of the country and particularly about the politically shrewd tactics of the radical right are essentials for responsible action today. One sensible move for church leaders is to subscribe to Group Research Report, a long-standing balanced and careful regular news sheet for maintaining current information about the right wing (Group Research, Inc., 419 New Jersey Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003).

The Church is never at its best when it divides people into camps -- of liberals and fundamentalists, or leftists and rightists, moderates and radicals. But it is at its best when it is calling all such political positions into account before the Lord of history, asking the profoundly simple questions of obedience. It may be that the challenges of these particular times will serve to stimulate reflection and repentance regarding the churches' various attempts to work together in a divided society.

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APPENDICES

HANDLING ATTACKS FROM THE RADICAL RIGHT

With gratitude to the Overstreets, I telescope a few important suggestions from their book, The Strange Tactics of Extremism:

1. Don't wait until an attack has been made on your group before you begin to tell other groups about the nature of your program. Soundly established communication rallies support and stops false charges.

2. Don't dismiss criticism without weighing its merits, whatever the source. To acknowledge error is as important as to refuse to let unjust criticism pass unchallenged.

3. Keep open lines of communication with the press. Give facts; don't dodge questions.

4. When attacks become serious, go public -- give as many people as will listen the facts.

5. When a virtually autonomous unit of a national organization attacks your group, don't talk as though or assume that the whole national organization supports the attack. Refer the attack to the national organization, ask advice on how to handle it -- and share your facts with them.

6. If infiltrators join your group, give them work that shows them the complexities of problems their own groups tend to oversimplify. Some may even change their perspective!

7. Challenge irresponsible methods openly and firmly. Insist that generalities become specific. Ask what statistics and percentages mean -- and the source ask them to explain quotes taken out of context; to explain the use of loaded implications. Make this as public a process as possible -- to familiarize the public with extremist tactics.

8. Require that all charges be put into writing and signed (e.g., if you are pressured by groups or individuals to cancel a speaker or meeting invitation, require that the charges against the person be put in writing -- and give the person charged a chance to answer the charges before you make your decision). Weakening to avoid controversy invites further pressure.

9. If free speakers are offered to your group, ask for a statement about whom they represent and a brief summary of what they intend to say.

10. If you handle printed materials, have established procedures for the selection of those materials; hold to these procedures. Have clear criteria.

11. Have established procedures in your group for permitting announcements and passing out of materials, for introduction of resolutions and a vote upon them later (not the same meeting); for the closing of meetings, or any other matters to avoid letting troublemakers take over. Hold to these procedures.

12. There is no need to become shrill in answering an attack. It pays to trust the sense of the public.

13. Study the rightist rhetoric -- learn to discern the tactics used. ("Nobody will ever know how much money has been spent in support of Communist causes by the NCCC. . .") Be alert to slippery writing, slurs, and broad assertions with no factual reference.

14. When questioned publicly by a loaded question and taken off guard into beginning an answer, it is best to admit openly to the public the nature of the predicament -- taking apart the loaded question to expose it for what it is. Then ask it to be rephrased. This avoids giving the impression of being evasive, caught, and uneasy.

CONSERVATIVE TO ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZATIONS
(A Partial Listing)

Some old stand-bys from the past (1960's):

American Conservative Union (Philip Crane; P. Schlafly on board)
Christian Anti-Communist Crusade (F. Schwarz)
Christian Crusade (Hargis)
Christian Freedom Foundation (includes Bill Bright)
Church League of America (Wheaton - Bundy)
Committee for Constitutional Government
Constitutional Rights Foundation
Freedoms Foundation (Valley Forge)
John Birch Society (Welch)
Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.
Liberty Lobby
Manion Forum
McIntyre, Carl; H. L. Hunt's son, N. Bunker Hunt
Mindszenty Foundation, Cardinal (Schlafly-related)
National Precinct Workers
National Right to Work Committee
National Socialist White People's Party
National States Rights Party
National Youth Alliance
United Klans of America (and 11 other versions)
We, the People
Women for Congressional Government (preceded Birch, but similar; honored Schlafly)
Young Americans for Freedom

Some "revised versions" or newcomers:

Advisory Council Against Union Control of Government
Aleksander Solzhenitsyn Society for Freedom and Justice
Americamen (P.J. Bonnell)
American Cause
American Council for World Freedom (Fred Schlafly - husband of Phyllis - president)
Americans for a Constitutional Convention

American Legislative Exchange Council
American Rangers
America's Manifest Destiny
Anita Bryant Campaign
Campus Crusade
Catholics for Christian Political Action (Gary Potter, Pres.)
Center for American Studies, California (Volker Fund money)
Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise
Center for Libertarian Studies
Christian Cause International (Joost Sluis)
Christian Defense League
Christian Embassy
Christian Studies Center (Donald Kimsey)
Citizens for the Republic (Ronald Reagan)
Committee to Help the F.B.I.
Committee for Survival of a Free Congress
Committee to Unite America
Conservative Caucus (██████ Philips)
Consumer Alert
Council for the National Defense
Eagle Forum (distributes Phyllis Schlafly Report)
Education Update: National Coalition for Children
Foundation of Law and Society
Foundation for Voluntary Welfare (Volker Fund money)
Gun Owners of America (headed by John Birch leader H. H. Richardson)
Heritage Foundation (Joseph Coors of Coors Beer)

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Institute for American Relations
Institute for Creation Research
Institute for Public Affairs Research, Inc.
Jefferson Democrats of America
Media Institute (conservative)
Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission
National Black Silent Majority Committee
National Conservative Political Action Committee
National Legal Center for the Public Interest
National and Regional KKK organizations; new Confederation of Independent
Orders of the Invisible Empire
Our United Republic Political Action Committee, front for Association of
American Physicians and Surgeons, which interlocks with John Birch Society
"The Pink Sheet," 8401 Connecticut Ave., Washington DC 20015, ed. Phillip
Abbott Luce, does not list organizational tie
Public Service Research Council
████████████████████

United Conservatives of Indiana (Manion Forum Director, Charles Rice, is president)
U.S. Citizen's Congress (Nixon's Rabbi Korff)
Washington League Foundation (anti-OSHA)
Western Intermountain Political Action Committee
White Brotherhood
Young America's Campaign Committee
U.S. Industrial Council

Jews and Evangelicals (and other committed Christians as well) share a rich inheritance of Biblical ^{beliefs,} values and ideas about God, man, society, nature, and history. Clearly, Jews and Christians also differ about certain critical affirmations about the nature of God, the Messiah, the divinity of Jesus, the Trinity, the Virgin Birth, the incarnation, the forgiveness of sin.

Increasingly in recent years, we have learned how to disagree agreeably. In part, that spirit of mutual respect grows out of the genius of American democratic pluralism whose keystone is freedom of conscience, religious liberty, and religious diversity. On a deeper theological level, it is a recognition of the "mystery" of God's plan ~~to~~ for the permanent election of Israel as a holy nation side by side with the salvation of Gentiles through Jesus.

Nowhere is God's covenant with Israel more clearly expressed than in Deuteronomy 7:6-9 where the Bible testifies that "he is God, the faithful God, who keeps covenant and mercy with them that love him and keep his commandments to a thousandth generation." Most informed Jews believe that St. Paul wrestles with that "mystery" in Romans 9-11, where the Apostle affirms that "God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew," and that "how unsearchable are (God's) judgments" regarding the ultimate destiny of Jews and Christians ~~as~~ in God's plan.

But Jewish tradition is less tolerant toward ~~the~~ so-called Messianic Judaism.

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Eutychus and His Kin
Christianity Today
465 Gundersen Drive
Carol Stream, Ill 60187

Dear Sirs:

As a Messianic Jew and pastor of the largest Messianic Jewish Congregation west of the Mississippi River, I read with interest the article "No, They Have Forsaken the Faith" by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum (April 24). There were a number of inconsistencies in Rabbi Tanenbaum's article that need to be cleared up for true dialogue between evangelicals and non-Messianic Jews to take place. Rabbi Tanenbaum's article shows a lack of understanding of basic evangelical doctrines which make his article unclear and which would prevent non-Messianic Jews and evangelicals from understanding each other.

First, Rabbi Tanenbaum says that he is "more compatible" with "authentic" evangelicals than with Messianic Jews. Messianic Jews are evangelicals. His statement shows that he does not understand that Jews for Jesus, and Congregations like mine are as authentically evangelical as any Baptist church. We are evangelicals. Why does he seek to separate us from other evangelicals because of our ethnic background? Why should we be distinguished from non-Jews who hold the same views as we do?

Second, his statement that "any belief that God shares his being in any partnership with any other being" shows that he is unfamiliar with basic Christian doctrine. No evangelical believes that God "shares his being." We believe that God the Father and Son are of the same being and substance, as taught in the Shema (Deuteronomy 6:4). Every Messianic Jew believes that there is only one true God. This one God exists eternally in three co-equal persons. That has been a basic Christian doctrine since Chalcedon. All of us, as evangelical Jews, have always believed that basic teaching of the New Testament. Jesus is not another God. Jesus is not a false God. Jesus is the God of Israel, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity.

Third, Rabbi Tanenbaum says that, "A Messianic Jew can stop obeying the Law, and usually does." Every single living Jew in the world today breaks the Law of Moses repeatedly. Even the most Orthodox of Jews break the Law of Moses repeatedly. For instance, when was the last time you heard of an Orthodox Jew stoning another Jew for breaking the Sabbath, as the Law tells us to do in Numbers 15:32-41? When was the last time that Rabbi Tanenbaum stoned someone for breaking the Law? Since the Rabbi lives in New York, where countless thousands of Jews break the Sabbath every week, he is obliged by the Law to stone them. Does he do it? No. So he is a Law-breaker! What hypocrisy for him to accuse the rest of us of breaking the Law that he himself does not keep. In fact, we do keep the Law, since we have it fulfilled in our Messiah Jesus. Since every Jew has broken the Law, every Jew needs to be forgiven. That is why Jesus our Messiah died on the Cross - so that we can have our sins atoned for and so that we can be forgiven if we come to Him as little children and ask Him to forgive us.

Non-Messianic Jews and evangelical Christians can and should have dialogue. But such dialogue can only take place when both sides make honest attempts to understand and correctly portray the theological position of the other. I feel that Rabbi Tanenbaum has not done this in the above three areas. In spite of this, I am praying daily that he will come to know and trust our Messiah, Jesus.

Yours in Him,

RB/rjh

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Daniel C. Juster
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