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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date July 2, 1969

to Bert Gold

from Hyman Bookbinder *HB*

subject Religious Service at White House

Well, apparently I participated in a historic White House ceremony on Sunday!

I thought I should send you this report and some reflections. Brant tells me that Monday's New York Times story served as the basis for much concern and also humor in Pittsburgh. But the matter should be treated quite seriously; it may have important consequences--not only for Rabbi Finkelstein, either.

Enclosed is a XEROX copy of the program as it was distributed at the service. Also enclosed is an editorial from the Washington Post, to which I will return below.

My own involvement in the service is truly ironic. As Sam Rabinove knows, I contacted him soon after the first announcement of the White House services that Mr. Nixon was contemplating. Even though I am a soft-liner on Church-state generally, I just didn't like the smell of this. To my surprise, Sam was less adamant about this than I expected. And subsequently, whenever I raised it with people, I got the surprisingly mild reaction that "The President has a right to do whatever he wants in his own (!) house..." But I continued to feel that when a President of the United States extends invitations (which are almost always considered command performances) to the White House, using Federal employees and resources to back up the service, it just isn't a private service in a private house. Nevertheless, my own opposition kept melting away, and then I got an invitation myself. I hesitated for about an hour before accepting, and then decided that both for institutional and for personal reasons, I have no reason for declining. In fact, I said to myself, why don't I let the service itself contribute to my judgment about its appropriateness? So I went.

First, contrary to press accounts, the guests were not "largely Jewish". I was told, and my own observations seem to support it, that about 20% were Jewish. It was not the usual "Jewish leadership" crowd. Of the "pro's" only David Brody of A.D.L. and I were there. I approved of this, it would have been patronizing to have had a predominately Jewish group just because the officiator was a Rabbi. The gathering seemed to be the usual mix of government officials, party faithful, and special guests for the occasion like myself. This is important because I believe that the service that Sunday should not be thought of as a "Jewish" service, if it were, then of course the inclusion of the doxology would have really been inexcusable. I believe the President wishes people to consider the services ~~as~~ non-sectarian in the broadest possible sense. The minister or Rabbi officiating, naturally, understandably gives a particular service a special flavor.

Now, I believe in retrospect that it was a lapse in good judgment or good taste to have included this particular doxology in a service with a Rabbi. But if as distinguished a Rabbi as Louis Finkelstein did not think it offensive, but rather that it was the President's right to make every service as ecumenical as possible, then I don't think this is particularly important. After all, we all go to dinners and events almost every day when in the presence of Jews (and even Rabbis on the dais) priests invoke the name of Jesus Christ and the Holy Trinity.

I must now confess that as I left the White House, I was thinking that perhaps I had been too doctrinaire in my attitude about such services. For the most part, the whole thing was in good taste, after all, a Rabbi had in fact been the spiritual leader that morning--an important symbol for the whole country, and there was generally good fellowship across religious lines during the gay coffee hour following the service. So I was beginning to think that I'd not again object to the practice. I had in fact been co-opted!

But by the time I got to see the Washington Post, second thoughts were developing and when I read the editorial I found myself in total agreement. If the President, for whatever reasons, prefers to worship at home, then he should have very small, private groups of friends in totally unpublicized services. He could still have guest ministers of every faith. But to fill the East Room with 300 people, most of whom he does not know personally, really is to "politicalize" religious observance and that's not justifiable--no matter how non-political his initial impulses were in this matter.

I'm not suggesting any public protests in this matter--certainly not any against Rabbi Finkelstein himself, who with one possible reservation delivered an entirely appropriate and eloquent sermon, one that was very highly regarded by every non-Jew I spoke to. But in some appropriate ways--certainly if we are consulted about the matter--we might indicate our concerns.

But perhaps I am really wrong again on this issue. So I'd like your views on this--and of any additional associates you care to share this with.

HB dmw
enclosures

cc. Morris Fine
Sam Rabinove
Seymour Samet
Marc Tanenbaum
Mort Yarmon

THE WEEK IN RELIGION

BY RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE
43 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

FOR RELEASE: Weekend of Dec. 21, 1973

CHURCHES, SYNAGOGUES WILL STRESS FAITH IN GOD, RELIGION'S ROLE IN THE U.S. DURING BICENTENNIAL

"Suffer me to recommend to you an attention to the public interest of religion," the Rev. John Witherspoon said to his Philadelphia congregation in May 1776 as the Continental Congress met in that city to chart the course of the American Revolution.

"Or in other words, (I recommend) zeal for the glory of God and the good of others," continued the only clergyman to sign the Congress' Declaration of Independence.

Witherspoon's recommendation, despite the quaint sound of his language, is being echoed in religious preparations for the Revolution's bicentennial.

Active planning is underway in church, synagogue and ecumenical forums for the 1976 anniversary.

While committees are still meeting, religious groups reflect a determination to highlight three major bicentennial concerns:

- Faith in God as a cornerstone in the American heritage.
- Interaction between religion and society as a necessity for a healthy American future.
- Religious freedom as a guarantee in the American experience.

These concerns are in direct line with Witherspoon's stress on religion's public interest. They are inseparable from commitment to reassert in the bicentennial the truths on which the Founding Fathers based the Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness."

Numerous meetings, projects and themes in and leading up to 1976 have been announced.

-- The 1976 International Eucharistic Congress of the Roman Catholic Church, set for Philadelphia, may be the largest single event of the anniversary year, especially if the Pope attends as some anticipate.

-- All U.S. Baptists -- the nation's largest Protestant community -- are invited to take part in a January, 1976 convention in Washington, D.C.

-- The Pentecostal-charismatic movement, including Protestants and Catholics, will hold a "Spirit of '76" celebration, climaxed with a massive Los Angeles rally to show "unity in Jesus Christ."

-- An Episcopal Church outline for study, penitence, celebration and rededication across 1976 has been recommended by the National Council of Churches to its 31 Protestant and Orthodox communions.

-- The National Council itself is helping to develop "fitting religious observances" for the anniversary. It is providing staff services to an Ecumenical Task Force on the Bicentennial which has already developed a long list of specific proposals for how local congregations can mark the many events of the Revolutionary era.

-- A manifesto on "The American Dream in the Light of the Gospel" is in preparation by the American Lutheran Church. Gov. Arthur Link of North Dakota is one of the drafters.

-- A committee of the Church of the Latter-day Saints (Mormon) is putting special emphasis on understanding the U.S. Constitution.

The Mormon Church is also seeking a special song encouraging Americans to build a better world as the bicentennial approaches. And a call for new hymns to commemorate 1976 has been made by the Hymn Society of America.

Most Churches have national-level bicentennial committees, as do Jewish organizations. The Eastern-Orthodox Catholic Dialogue is planning special "common witness" from 1974 to 1976.

One of the most inclusive initiatives was announced in mid-December by the trustees of New York's Interchurch Center, an ecumenical facility. A project yet to be named will underscore America's religious heritage and lay the foundations for broad-based work on religion's role in society beyond the bicentennial.

Chaired by Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, retiring general secretary of the National Council, the project will bring together a committee of over 100 persons, drawn from every segment of U.S. religion, to outline specific plans.

The project will have a strong interest in religious liberty. It will locate and channel to local groups a wide selection of resources on religion and the bicentennial, develop other materials and foster deliberations on religion's role in ongoing U.S. society.

Carroll Fitch, director of the Interchurch Center, explained that the project "aims at lifting up and preserving the religious values in the nation's past and projecting those values into the future so that the U.S. fully achieves the justice and liberty promised to each citizen."

That means, he added, "completing the American Revolution. This is a theme also being developed by various civil rights groups and churches with large minority constituencies.

With all the activities announced and in process, it may be hard to believe that religious planning for the bicentennial was actually slow to start. That is, nevertheless, the case.

Discussions on what and how organized religion could contribute to anniversary observances date back to the 1960s, when a commission named by President Johnson was considering federal bicentennial programs.

But the Indo-China war raged in the '60s. Domestic strife was commonplace. Little enthusiasm for a national celebration was engendered in any quarter. Then the early 1970s brought warnings -- from conservative and liberal, sociologist and theologian -- against ecclesiastical identification with "civil religion," sometimes defined as idolatry of the nation.

Also, when should the bicentennial begin and end? Some persons felt it should open in 1976, anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, or 1975, the start of the Revolution, and run until 1983, the 200th year since the Revolution ended.

What exactly was the bicentennial marking? The Declaration of Independence? The Revolution itself? The birthday of the present form of government, which was not established until 1787?

President Nixon wanted the celebration to culminate in 1976 and on the federal level his view prevails. He announced the opening of the Bicentennial Era in 1971. Earlier, he appointed an American Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission (ARBC).

Many religious leaders waited to see what nationwide plans, around which they could organize activities, would be proposed by ARBC. The Bicentennial Era opened but the commission was unprepared to launch anything.

ARBC has a troubled past and present. It was accused of mismanaging funds after a 1972 congressional investigation. The label "partisan" was applied on the basis of internal communications obtained by the press. An official youth task force resigned to protest "imbalance" in commission composition.

As ARBC floundered, Watergate hit. The scandal seems to have spurred religious groups to move ahead with their own bicentennial goals. The commission was discussing tourism and commercial expositions. An independent Peoples Bicentennial Commission was moving in ways many considered "radical." The Churches, particularly after Watergate, wanted to raise questions about national morality.

The bicentennial provides an opportunity for religious groups -- singly, collectively and in concert with other social institutions -- to recall the religious values in America's past, proclaim them in the present and beam them into the future.

"Our observance should be both appreciative of the nation's history and critical (or prophetic) concerning the nation's life," an official of the Baptist Joint Committee said in announcing the 1976 convention for U.S. Baptists.

The belief that religious observances of the anniversary must be both appreciative and critical is shared by others. Some base this two-fold thrust on what Father John J. Kirvan, C.S.P., writing in New Catholic World, termed the "collapse of the American Dream."

Religious spokesmen of varying doctrines point to the need to rethink the meanings of the rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness in 20th Century terms and with intent to expand the horizons of liberty.

J. Irwin Miller, the industrialist and active Disciples of Christ layman, has said:

"The best birthday present we could possibly give ourselves is to undertake to restate what America of 1976 ought to be about, and to state it with a daring and foresight comparable to that of our ancestors.

"For the achievement which we so much admire in our founding fathers was their ability to make a new statement about how people should live together and govern themselves."

Fears have been voiced that bicentennial events may over-indulge in "civil religion." A speaker at a 1971 meeting of the Religious Education Association predicted and regretted an "enormous upsurge" in attempts to identify America as the "new Israel" of "God's chosen people."

Undoubtedly, that ideology, which has a long history in the U.S., will find expression in the bicentennial. Yet Watergate may have forestalled uncritical national self-glorification and religious planning does not appear to be moving in that direction.

Sen. Mark Hatfield (R Ore.), widely respected across the spectrum of U.S. religion, has conducted an aggressive campaign against mistaking America's goals with the will of God.

"We stand with goose pimples running up and down our backs," the senator recently said, "and pledge allegiance to the flag and 'America under God'... and feel that this is a token acknowledgement of the true living God to save our national conscience."

Sen. Hatfield's rejection of the value of such religion bears more than a faint trace of an assertion by John Witherspoon, "There are fixed bounds to every human thing."

Present indications are that Churches in the nation are following in bicentennial planning a course described by the Rev. Charles Henderson, a Princeton University chaplain: "Reaffirm the transcendence of God and the belief that in this time or in any time, judgment precedes redemption."

Therein is John Witherspoon's zeal for "glory of God."

"A clear sensitivity to the injustices of society precedes constructive change," Mr. Henderson added.

And in that is Witherspoon's zeal for "the good of others."



White House Religion

Work Post
7/1/69

A fair chance exists that the seven religious services held so far at the White House have enabled Richard Nixon to convey to the Nation his feeling that religion is important. If so, that's fine, who could not be edified by a national leader pursuing one of the oldest tenets of the spiritual life, Sabbath worship?

Unfortunately, the way religion is being conducted in the White House these days—amid hand-picked politicians, reporters, cameras, guest lists, staff spokesman—has not only stirred needless controversy but invited, rightly or not, the suspicion that religion has somehow become entangled (again needlessly) with politics.

We thought from the beginning that it would have been better if Mr. Nixon had manifested his religious beliefs by going outside the White House to worship, as most, if not all of his predecessors have done. In bringing religion to the East Room, the President appears to be attempting to make religion and government allies in the same cause. Kings, monarchs and anyone else brash enough to try this have always sought to cajole, seduce or invite the clergy to support official policy—not necessarily by having them personally bless that policy but by having the clergy on hand in a smiling and prominent way. When Mr. Nixon said last Sunday that Rabbi Louis Finkelstein had already served three Presidents, we flinched.

Served? Are rabbis, or priests or ministers in the business of serving political leaders or the causes they represent? Is it really in the best of taste, with the White House as the setting for Rabbi Finkelstein to pray that "future historians . . . may say that in a period of great trials and tribulations, the finger of God pointed to Richard Milhous Nixon, giving him the vision and wisdom to save the world and civilization?" Or for the President to praise the Rabbi as "one of the most distinguished leaders of our time—one of the few who have been on the cover of *Time* magazine?"

In all of this, we do not dispute the right of Mr. Nixon to hold services in the White House, nor his right to choose those clergymen deemed likely to preach ideas he'd like to hear. What we would suggest is only that the practice invites more trouble than it's worth—as witness the controversy which quickly developed about the inclusion of Christian dogma into Rabbi Finkelstein's services, attended by a large number of Jews. Controversy of this kind, however petty, is very nearly inevitable when religious services are conducted in the politically charged atmosphere of the residence of a President, and the best way to avoid entangling religion and politics in this fashion is to avoid using the White House as a church.

ROUNDUP ON 12TH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 5-7



February 7, 1981

Texas conference of churches

Telephone 512 / 478 7491, 2704 Rio Grande #9, Austin, Texas 78705

Release #107/81

Contact. James C. Suggs, executive director
Joan Penzenstadler, press officer

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUSTIN--Bucking a tight economy and a conservative national mood, representatives of Protestant, Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches this week looked at ways to get Texas to re-order its priorities in favor of human needs.

The Texas Conference of Churches, in its 12th annual Assembly of Representatives held here February 5-7, unanimously passed resolutions advocating on behalf of welfare recipients, abused and neglected children, and ethnic minorities threatened by terrorists.

AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) payments should be doubled as soon as possible, stated a resolution directed at the 67th Texas legislature. Present payments make Texas the 49th ranking state in welfare aid, with a monthly average of \$34 per person.

The TCC assembly recommended raising the coming year's AFDC total to the \$80 million limit set by the state constitution and introducing a constitutional amendment to abolish the ceiling so the average payment can be doubled.

Caseworkers for the Texas Department of Human Resources who handle child abuse and neglect should have lower case loads, declared another resolution. Delegates endorsed a reduction from the present 43 to 36 cases per worker, asking the legislature to allocate more staffing funds for that purpose. The resolution further called on member churches to work cooperatively with agencies to develop programs for troubled families.



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REVEREND H. RICHARD SICILIANO United Presbyterian U.S.A. President • MRS CLARA M. JOHNSON United Methodist Vice President • REVEREND MON SIGNOR ROBERT C. REHKEMPER Roman Catholic Vice President • VENERABLE COURTLAND M. MOORE Episcopal Treasurer • MRS CLARENCE (FRANCES) SWARTSFAGER Presbyterian U.S. Recording Secretary • REVEREND DR JAMES C. SUGGS Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) Executive Director • MS LINDA B. TEAM Presbyterian U.S./United Presbyterian U.S.A. Associate Director • MS MARY LEE JOHNS Presbyterian U.S. Director Children and Youth Services Program • MRS MARGARET (PEGGY) COX Roman Catholic Coordinator Refugee Sponsorship Development

Viewing with alarm "bigotry, racism and activities tending toward violence in the name of patriotism and Christianity," a third resolution prodded the religious community to speak out against "potential terrorist activities by the Ku Klux Klan and likeminded groups." It warned Americans to stay alert to such threats and urged law enforcement agencies to protect human and civil rights.

In other action, delegates adopted two policy statements, accepted a draft of a theological paper, approved a budget and elected leaders.

A policy statement of "The Church and Public Policy" outlines a Scriptural base and methodology for the church's speaking out on issues. The other policy document, "Criminal Justice and the Church," affirms the TCC's commitment to criminal justice reform and opposition to the death penalty.

Received as a working draft was a paper entitled "A Theology for an Interdependent Style of Ecumenism," which explores the basis for a new stage on inter-church relationships based on sharing rather than competition.

Speaking on the assembly's "After Brokenness. . ." theme, Rev. Dr. M. William Howard, Jr., president of the National Council of Churches, said:

"We in the church have been much too inarticulate about how the structures into which we plug our lives can often govern our behavior. So far, these structures have given us such dividing walls as racism, militarism, sexism, militant nationalism, ageism . . . and a dwindling regard for the natural environment "

The need for "responsible reconcilers, bridges" between polarities was stressed by Rev. Dr. James M. Dunn, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Washington, D.C., at a legislative breakfast to which lawmakers and other state officials were invited.

Rev. H. Richard Siciliano, TCC president, challenged religious people to look beyond their boundaries:

"We in the church protect the children whose names we know, but we should also protect the children whose names we don't know," referring to such needs as increased AFDC. Rev. Siciliano is executive presbyter of the Presbytery of New Covenant, Houston.

In a variety of hearings, church representatives listened to testimony on key issues and discussed approaches to action in the public arena and within the church.

Three hearings provided background information on stands already adopted by the TCC in previous years--backing farm workers, advocating a raise in AFDC payments and supporting free public education for undocumented children.

In another set of five hearings, participants examined resolutions and position papers that were to be voted on by the assembly.

Most Rev. John J. Fitzpatrick, Roman Catholic bishop of Brownsville, was installed as president-designate to become TCC president for two years in 1982. Rev. Msgr. Robert C. Rehkemper, vicar general of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Dallas, took office as vice-president.

Recording secretary for the coming biennium is Rev. Marvin James of Lubbock, director of the Council of Ministries of the Northwest Texas Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church.

Rev. Dr. Ralph E. Stone of Dallas, executive director of the Thanks-giving Square Foundation and an ordained minister of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), was elected chairperson of the TCC's Division of Communication, and Ms. Barbara C. Holmes, shared staff member of the Austin district of the United Methodist Church and the Austin Area Conference of Churches, became chairperson for the Division for Christian Unity. Both will serve two-year terms.

Re-elected lay members-at-large of the TCC's Board of Directors were Francisco Briones of Alamo, director of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Brownsville's Department of Church and Society, and Mrs. Eva Marie Mosby of Austin, a homemaker active in church and community causes.

Also elected to two-year terms as lay members-at-large of the board were Mike Hernandez, assistant dean of the Evening Division of San Antonio Community College, Dr. John C. Range, professor of veterinary medicine at Texas A&M University, College Station, and Mrs. Evelyn Streng, associate professor of science at Texas Lutheran College, Seguin.

Mrs. Ouida Dorr of Houston, president of Church Women United in Texas, was elected to fill the one-year unexpired term of a lay member-at-large who resigned from the TCC board.

A TCC general budget of \$143,165.68 for 1981 was approved.



February 7, 1981

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Release #106/81

Contact: James C. Suggs, executive director
Joan Penzenstadler, press officer

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AUSTIN--Average welfare payments in Texas should be doubled as soon as possible, the Texas Conference of Churches told the state legislature during its 12th annual Assembly of Representatives here.

In a resolution passed unanimously Saturday, delegates from 15 Christian denominations urged the 67th legislature to raise Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments to the \$80 million limit and to introduce a constitutional amendment to remove that ceiling so that average payment can be doubled.

Texas presently ranks above only Mississippi with a monthly \$34 per person, compared to the national average of \$75. Texas' AFDC payment comes to 75 percent of the 1969 estimated cost of necessities of living. TCC also called on its member churches to support such legislation through local efforts.

In other actions, the church body called for increased state funding of services to abused and neglected children and for closer vigilance regarding the Ku Klux Klan and other terrorist groups.

A "services to children and families" resolution asked the legislature to appropriate sufficient funds for staffing to reduce the average case load from 43 to 36 for child protective services workers in the Texas Department of Human Resources. The case workers deal with families of abused or neglected children. That resolution further directed member churches to cooperate with agencies in developing local programs for troubled families.

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A "potential terrorist activities" resolution, aimed at "the Ku Klux Klan and likeminded groups," passed unanimously. It told members of the religious community to speak out when such groups threatened life or social stability, and called for Americans to "be alert to" activities endangering human or civil rights. The TCC paper also urged law enforcement agencies to enforce laws protecting these rights

The interdenominational assembly, attended by 155 voting delegates and more than 50 visitors, also endorsed two policy statements clarifying TCC positions.

A policy statement on "The Church and Public Policy" offers Scriptural grounding for the church's duty to speak on justice issues and prescribes credible methods of doing so.

A policy document of "Criminal Justice and the Church" reaffirms previously adopted TCC stands concerning criminal justice reform, supporting community programs over additional prison construction and opposing the death penalty.

Christianity yet to come

By Edward Norman

CHARLES DAVIS

Theology and Political Society

196pp Cambridge University Press
£9.50
0 521 22538 8

Contemporary enthusiasts for political religion are usually characterized by a much greater reverence for political ideas than for religious ones. Perhaps it is because their intellectual apologists are theologians having pulled down their own house with the help of contractors brought in from the high ways and by ways, they turn to the edifices of secularism with a deference that is all the more astonishing for lacking exactly the critical qualities which had convinced the demolition of their own habitation. Politics, in their discernment, is able to achieve so much. "Basic religious identity", as Charles Davis says in these Hulsean Lectures, delivered in Cambridge during 1978, is "active participation in the present shaping of a universality to be realized in the future". For this, there is to be "a return to a richer, more humane conception of politics and a consequent widening of the range of political language must come from an acknowledgment of the essentially religious dimension of communicative action". He adds: "Politics, I repeat, is an affair of communicative action, the limitation of politics to instrumental or technical action is death." This last error, of course, especially in its modern bureaucratized form, is especially characteristic of "bourgeois society", since "bourgeois

individualism reduces human beings to their economic relationships and, in doing so, puts them in competition with one another".

Professor Davis, to do him credit, does not claim the authorship of this conclusion. But by "politics"—everywhere in this book, and almost everywhere in the entire discussion of "political theology"—is not meant the political experience of the centuries: what is meant is the modern collectivist state, with its seemingly infinite capacity for human and moral regeneration. Politics, in this sense, is a universalism and a totality, a rediscovery by disenchanted (and demystified) religious thinkers of a complete explanation of things in a world of values which they keep professing they have until now found alien. "Political theology as theology mediated by the political", according to Davis. "It is faith as articulated or brought to expression in and through political practice". Political practice, however, is not to be interpreted as, for example, feudal obligation, or the divine right of kings—or anything else that once obtained. Those were all false expressions of political order, thrown up by "ideology" understood as the universalizing of the self-interest of the ruling elites. It is approved political practice that is the authentic mediator of religious faith: the total politics of contemporary moral seriousness.

These lectures are full of appeals to historical example, but like so many other theologians Davis often confuses the intellectual diagnoses of past thinkers with actual historical reality. The men who governed human society, or who shaped its transitions, were not in any straightforward way responsive to, or motivated by, the great thinkers whose ideas are credited with the explanation of social change. "Positivism is

the refusal of reflection", Davis remarks, in this vein, "and its dominance corresponds to the industrial, technological and rationalized civilization of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which objectifies and instrumentalizes, not just nature, but men in their social relations and practices". As a description of the work of Gladstone, or of the world picture available to a Sheffield foundry-worker—as of other real politicians and real labourers who made the changes that constitute modern society in England—this is, to say the least, rather artificial. Earnestly contending, through intellectual categories, for the pursuit of the real and the concrete, this study, like so many of its kind, remains inherently abstract.

The reason why this book is so disappointing is that it raises, in an intelligent and often coherent manner, a reasonable case for religious involvement with the world—and then offers, as a solution to the problems encountered, declarations of political purpose but no content. In the end there is nothing there. Like the Marxist structure of the state, it is all to be left to the men of the future, as they engage with praxis to ultimate critical awareness. Christianity, as mediated through politics, is "ongoing and therefore future-orientated". All preceding understandings of its nature and appeal have proceeded from false ideology; it has therefore attached to all sorts of disagreeable political realities. But the total politics of true liberation—which Davis throughout describes, in unlovely words, as "the emancipatory process"—will be discovered in heroic participation with progressive forces. For by politics, he means only

the politics of change. There are references to "the unfree society of the present", and to the human race being "locked in institutionalized unreason and unfreedom". Upon this living hell will fall the future armies of a purged Christendom. But their Milvian Bridge is over the Volga. "What sets political theology over against all earlier theologies", Davis discloses, "is its acceptance of the Marxist concept of critique." Theory and practice are dialectically related. Marxism, together with "feminist theology and black theology" constitute the new religious insight. You can then arrive at the content by yourself.

There is, in the book, an acknowledgment of "the defects in Marx's thought that have led to the destructive dominance of technical and bureaucratic rationality within official Marxism"—presumably a way of describing the less than fraternal treatment sometimes accorded to religious groups in Communist states. But Davis's adhesion to Marxist intellectual analysis is actually pretty rigorous. His judgment is ultimately a bit hedged about, however. He agonizes at length over the misfortune that Marx himself appears to have dismissed religion altogether, yet awaits the portentous conclusion of Frostin's three-volume study of a footnote in Chapter 13 of the first volume of *Das Kapital*. There, according to Davis, "the mature Marx advocated a materialistic method, identified as scientific, which takes account of history as the work of man and thus distinct from nature and rejected an abstract materialism—that would extend the non-historical methods of the natural sciences to products

of human history, such as religion". Mankind must hold its breath until the completion of Frostin's work.

Most of the material in these lectures is a descriptive analysis of the thought of the neo-Marxist theologians of the Frankfurt school, and especially of Metz and Habermas. In view of their intellectual presuppositions and the consequences of their destruction of the idea of orthodoxy in religion, it is difficult to determine why any of them bother to go on studying religion at all. Surely the secular alternatives, by their own canons, are so much more persuasive? Davis is anxious to point out that it is Christianity that has been wrongly interpreted by its own adherents for the past 2,000 years. Stripped of false ideology, it may now be recognized as a force for human liberation; the dynamic, along with all the other versions of moral seriousness, of the "emancipatory process". Human history "is in large part a history of unmeaning and untruth, a story of domination and oppression." Christianity emerges, at the end of the ghastly goings on, as deeply but not quite irredeemably tainted with it all. Marx has shown us how to wash away the sins.

It's all rather familiar really. Over the central difficulty, which Professor Davis actually discusses rather well—whether there is a stable corpus of uniquely Christian knowledge about the world, or merely the accumulation of relativized assertions from each age—there is no real help. Christianity still needs to be rescued from the theologians. They will greet this book as a formidable achievement of prophetic scholarship.

Serving the soul-force

"guerillas" and sometimes "ter-

Finding fault with infallibility

By Peter Hebblethwaite

defined infallibility as an attribute of the Church and the Pope (in that order).

Now if we could set aside philosophical difficulties about the

Jogues with the Orthodox (not to mention the Anglicans) is to get anywhere, as John Paul intends that it shall, then some way will have to be found not to "re-interpret" the

'Politicizing' Churches and Colleges

By BARRY NEWMAN

It's 1968. College administrators are calling in the cops as student radicals try to block the weapons industries from recruiting on campus. The administrators take to the bullhorns in defense of the university as an arena where all views can be heard. Centers of learning, they declare, don't take stands.

A year later, the churches are hit by a wave of "occupations." James Forman, the long-submerged civil rights leader, stands in the chancel of New York's Riverside Church one Sunday morning and reads off a list of top corporate officers who sit on Protestant finance committees. The churches, he says, owe black people \$500 million in "reparations." In response, the pastor stalks out of the service and church leaders go to court for injunctions against the demonstrators. Mr. Forman doesn't get a cent.

Although disruptions at colleges and churches were widely condemned at the time, to many frustrated activists it looked as if those institutions were bound to be perpetual yes-men for the system.

As it turns out, they were wrong.

The "Socially Conscious" Resolutions

Society's two medieval institutions may not have been radicalized by all those demonstrations, but they were politicized. A few years ago, nobody would have believed that the Episcopal Church would introduce stockholder resolutions calling for the end of General Motors' South African operations. Nor would any radical with two feet on the ground have dreamed that the investing power of Harvard's treasurer would be challenged by a

select faculty committee appointed by the university's president.

It happened this spring. And it will probably continue to happen with heightened intensity next year. But as the annual meeting season draws to a close and the votes on the "socially conscious" resolutions are counted, it may seem to many observers as if the churches and colleges have fallen flat on their faces in their first efforts at institutional activism.

Practically every resolution introduced by churches or supported by colleges received a thorough drubbing in the vote by their fellow stockholders. At the Kennecott meeting, for example, resolutions by the Episcopal Church, which holds 58,000 of 33 million shares, got less than 3% of the vote.

The same outcome emerged from the General Motors meeting. The Project on Corporate Responsibility, which had backing from Brown University, Bryn Mawr, Antioch and Vassar, among others, failed to get more than 3% on any of its proposals. And the Episcopal Church's South Africa resolution polled 1.29%.

If these votes have any significance, it's that the support of colleges and churches carries little weight. Still, the impact of this spring's forays into the annual meetings is enormous—it's being felt by the churches and colleges themselves.

The real meaning of their efforts can't be culled from the vote tallies, any more than the impact of campus protests could have been judged on the one glaring fact that the demonstrators were carted off to jail in apparent defeat. In those earlier protests, the colleges were only temporarily disrupted, but thousands of young people had their politics drastically redirected.

Only after the dust had settled did the colleges and churches begin a slow transformation of their internal decision-making structures and their self image. The changes have now surfaced in the form of stockholder activism. The cloistered institutions are arriving at the not-so-startling realization that no amount of moralizing gets things done the way a few billion dollars does.

The result could be a new awareness for churches and colleges—a kind of healthy schizophrenia in which they carry on their ethical and scholarly lives without denying the influence of their economic lives. They might, in fact, recognize the logic of one radical demand, that the churches and colleges acknowledge their economic power instead of shielding it from the public and attempting to maintain an impossible neutrality.

The power is undeniably there. The National Council of Churches lists the investments of seven Protestant denominations in a survey as thick as a Manhattan phone book. The total is nearly \$3 billion. The investments are watched over by 123 financial advisers whose names read like a Who's Who in American business. All told, the churches have about \$160 billion in assets. The National Council says churches are second only to the federal government in the amount of money they collect and disburse every year—about \$22 billion.

University Endowments

Nobody has made a complete survey of university endowments. The Council for Financial Aid to Education estimates, however, that the 1,065 institutions it polls have 90% of the total—or about \$9.2 billion. The wealth is concentrated. Just 71 colleges, according to the Boston Fund, control \$7.6 billion. And one university, Harvard, has a billion all to itself.

This may seem like peanuts compared with the vast wealth held by financial institutions like banks and mutual funds. But for the churches and colleges the investments represent a heavy commitment to the business system. And they are coming to mean a responsibility for what corporations do.

There is hardly a major campus in the country where the question of investments isn't under study. In many cases, the administration is pushing for activism while the resistance is coming from financial planners on boards of trustees. Small groups of college presidents have been meeting privately to discuss the matter, and there is talk of pooling information on the social stance of corporations.

College administrators appear far more willing to go easy on the rubric of academic neutrality—the principle they defended when campus recruiting was the issue. Movement has been slow, but the changes have been fundamental. The committee of Harvard professors was deadlocked for months on the neutrality question. In the end, it acknowledged that the university ought to take "a limited sort of activist role" as a shareholder.

The dilemma that still stymies Harvard, and practically every other college that has tried to grapple with it, is: Who decides whether a company is "moral"? "The fact is," the committee reported, "that universities are simply not very good at reaching collective decisions on questions with social or political overtones."

The Church Role

The churches are better at it. For one thing, they don't face the same kind of neutrality conflict. They make the assumption that there are some basic moral values on which Christians agree. Moreover, the churches have long been accused of earning the money for their programs to aid the poor by investing in companies that contribute to war and pollution. With the advent of shareholder activism the churches have an opportunity to deal with that charge.

Structural changes are already being made in the way investments are handled. The investment function is being integrated into the spiritual life of the church instead of being relegated to small groups of advisers whose only guiding light is profit potential. Several Protestant churches have given over at least part of the investment responsibility to committees of clergy and laymen who are drawing up sets of "social criteria" that will stand alongside financial criteria for use in deciding where the money goes.

The United Church of Christ has issued a 60-page booklet itemizing its social criteria. It was the first such investment guide accepted by a major institution, and other churches are following the lead.

The changes coming about as a result of the investment issue could fundamentally alter the role of churches and colleges in society. Ironically, though, the activism isn't what the radicals had in mind when they disrupted religious services and blocked recruiters a few years ago. In fact, the churches have received virtually no support from most radical elements, who seem to prefer total divestment of corporate stock as a symbolic washing of the hands. And on campus, the investment issue has aroused student activists to little more than a yawn.

If this history of institutional tumult repeats itself, the corporations may eventually react to current pressures with more than tokenism. But just as the radicals aren't very excited about the changes they inspired in churches and colleges, the churches and colleges may find that the corporate response to their activism won't be what they are hoping for either.

Mr. Newman is a member of the Journal's New York bureau.

WE GATHER TOGETHER

We gather together to ask the Lord's blessing,
He chastens and hastens his will to make known,
The wicked oppressing now cease from distressing
Sing praises to his name, he forgets not his own

We all do extol thee, thou leader triumphant,
And pray that thou still our defender wilt be
Let thy congregation escape tribulation
Thy name be ever praised! O Lord make us free! *Amen*

O GOD, OUR HELP IN AGES PAST

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
And our eternal home

Before the hills in order stood,
Or earth received her frame,
From everlasting thou art God,
To endless years the same *Amen*

Prelude

Opening Remarks

THE PRESIDENT

❖ Doxology

*Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,
Praise Him, all creatures here below,
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost! Amen*

Prayer

DR. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN

Chancellor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America

"We Gather Together"

❖ Hymn

Anthem

Members of the Christ Lutheran Church Choir

"Now God Be Praised In Heaven Above"

by MELCHIOR VULPIUS

Director MR. GEOFFREY SIMON

Sermon

❖ Hymn

O God, Our Help in Ages Past

Benediction

Postlude

The choir this morning represents a long established Washington church, Christ Lutheran Church, which was founded over seventy five years ago. During worship services at Christ Lutheran, the choir performs anthems ranging from compositions of the eleventh century to present day arrangements. Mr. Geoffrey Simon is directing the choir.

❖ Congregation will rise

Following the service, coffee will be served in the State Dining Room.



Hofstadter - a preoccupation with status has been a persistent element in Amer politics, and that McCarthyism as a social phenomenon could best be explained as a form of "status anxiety" in groups that have been "tormented by a nagging doubt as to whether they are really and truly and fully American."

Report distinguished bet. "class politics" which seemed applicable during period of depression, & "status politics," which seemed to predominate during periods of prosperity, when groups were concerned to defend their newly won position. McCarthyism was a species of status politics, & the followers were the "radical right," because they represented a form of extremism, rather than a genuine effort to keep the mainstream of views.

- Amer polit system, w. its commitment to deals and pacts, does not easily unite ideological - or even principled political splits.
- ideology of this movement - its readiness to jettison constitutional processes & to suspend liberties, to employ Communist methods in the battle of Communism.

Heshburg - academy, foundations, fort
 Califano - abstract, photos
 Aulig - media - foundation

Barons

VC II - changes

- size, potential depth of its influence
- 3) a rift among Catholics portends changing changes in self-concept of Protestants & Jews
- 4) Catholics number 1 in 4 Americans
 Spanish - approx 12m - 2m. Poles, 1m Cubans, 10m. Chinese & others
 Catholic parties -
 Do NOT occupy 1/4 intellectual consciousness of Americans -
 myths, stereotypes, distortions - Archie Bunker / MURDER HABITS / wooden screen
 self-hatred - protest
- LANGUAGE OF POLITICS HOSTILE TO RC INTERESTS - Ford, Reagan, Bush, Clinton, McCain
 Democ Left - Post-Jew liberalism - Post populism
- 6) RC vote, more progressive than mainstream - Coughlin, Fessenden, W. H. Rumsfeld
 - Spellman is No FDR (inclusionary era) Spain
 - McGovern / Carter - two sides a coin - further steps
 Conservative, hawkish, racist, locked
 - Progressive politics - both into Jew - progressive politics
 Electoral magnetism - for progressive legislation
 - RCs considerably more liberal than Protest.
- 7 - Post & Jewish banks (and many Catholics as well) have often been the adversaries of Catholic population
 - poised for a new assertion
 - mass media deprived ^{many} Catholics (both Jews) of a public voice
 (POPE - ISRAEL - Kahan (M. H. Silver / St. Wise / M. Goldman)
 - America is not yet representative of them
 → hierarchy - Ecclesiastical - hierarchy / influence / authority

- Protestantizing of Catholic curriculum

- Protestant culture

- Prot style in America as to use the word 'moral' as a club by which to undermine the standing of others. By presenting them as 'immoral' we realize one's own interests as effortlessly as possible

- ANTI-INSTITUTION - (congregational)

- reform - moral reform - humanist article of reformation by Luther

- unrealistic expectations of the human race

[human rights - Carter - as long as it remains words, is problem]

- practical & lasting compromise

- moralism always a power struggle between elites

- Catholic people as their enemy - Williamson, Bruhn

INDIVIDUALISM

D. Bell
Lecture
p. 14

The emphasis on achievement was an emphasis on the individual. The individual was the moral unit of action. That peculiar American version of Protestantism, the moralizing style, found its focus in the idea of reform, but it was reform of the individual, not of social institutions. To reform meant to remedy the defects of character, and the Amer. Reform Movement of the 19th Cent. concentrated on SIN, DRUNK, GAMBLING, PROSTITUTION, & other aspects of individual behavior. In politics, the moralistic residue led to black-and-white judgments: if anything was wrong, the individual was to blame. Since there were good men & bad men, the problem was to choose the good and reject the bad. Any defect in policy flowed from a defect in the individual, & a change in policy could begin only by finding the culprit.

- All of this - the pattern of achievement, of optimism & progress, and the emphasis on the individual as the unit of concern - found expression in what was, perhaps the most iconic American style.

- In the U.S., there were three unspoken assumptions:

That the values of the individual were to be maximized,
That the ^{material} wealth would somehow be shared ~~down~~ reaching

from inequality

That the continuity of experience would provide solutions for all future problems

p.16

The most pervasive changes are those involving the structural relations bet. class position and power. Clearly today, political position rather than wealth, and technical skill rather than property, have become the bases from which power is wielded.

- DISQUIET OF THE DISPOSSESSED

19 -

The social group most threatened by the structural changes in society is the 'old' middle class -

regionally > polit. concentration is in the British S.W.

- much more telltale indicator of the group that feels most anxious - since life-styles & values provide the emotional fuel of beliefs and actions - is the theme of Brit. fundamentalism, of nationalist nationalism, of good-and-evil universalism which is the organising basis for the 'world view' of such people. For this is the group ~~that~~ whose values predominated in the 19th Cent, & which in the past 40 yrs has been fighting a rear-guard action
- 1920s - Scopes trial in Tenn. first defensive attack of nativist & old middle class elements - Reaction to rise of mass society & immigrants

p.20

- Until mid-1920s dominant group was like-minded & its dominance was unchallenged

- Yet in 1920 was first in Amer. history with a majority of persons living in 'urban' territory - AUTO, MOVIES, RADIO - MADE MODERN CULTURE BEHOLD TO THREATEN EST. CUSTOMS & VALUES.

924

The Social ideas of F are quite traditional - a return to the 'people values' of individual initiative & self-reliance. In political terms, this means dismantling much of the Social Security program, eliminating the income tax, reducing the role of Fed govt in economic life, & giving back to the States & local govt the major responsibilities for welfare, labor, & similar legislation.

- Tenn State Senate - $\frac{1}{3}$ of electorate nominated
 $\frac{2}{3}$ of legislators

in 44 States, less than 40% of pop can elect majority of state legislatures

- in 13 States less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of voters can elect a majority

- A No. of Cong have been contributing financially to seminars of radical right frontiers

p. 28

TECHNICALS WERE DISPLACING TRADITIONAL MILITARY PROFESSIONALS

29

- A surprising of high-ranking officers on active duty as well as high-ranking retired officers have become active in extreme right-wing orgs.

The Institute of American Strategy, founded by Buchanan (Texas)

- in behavior of retired military officers, the manner of an old guard that now finds its knowledge outdated & its authority disputed or ruined & that is beginning to argue, bitterly, that if only "their" advice had been followed, America would not be in the defensive.

31

- The politics of the locked right is the politics of frustration - The four importance of those who find themselves unable to understand let alone command, the complex mass society that is the polity today.

39 -

turbulence born not of depression, but of prosperity. Contrary to the somewhat popular notion that prosperity dissolves all social problems, we see that prosperity brings in its wake new social ills, new social strains & new social anxieties.

- New prosperity - created "STATUS GROUPS" which in turn drive for recognition & respectability, thus tending to impose older conformities on the American social order.

48

STATUS POLITICS advanced by Melville J. Heckscher - groups that have lost their social position seek more violently than ever to impose on all groups the older values of a society which they once bore. Groups on the rise may insist on a similar conformity in order to establish themselves. The same takes place in periods of prosperity when class or economic interest group conflicts have lost much of their force.

49

Americans have an extraordinary talent for political compromise in politics and extremism in morality - further community where everything goes - & protection blue laws

Fit - P.J. Oct 13, 1976 - Holburn
Memorandum N.J. Conference on Great Jew

1- Argentina

2. New Directions - N. Cousins,

nuclear - terrorism

violence

human rights

3. Soviet Jew - Special pleading

- central human issue today -

Lebanon, Cyprus, Ireland,

Uganda -

4. détente - presumptive US signator, human rights

- denial of right to leave

- right to self determination

Balai Yea - no prayer

- international terrorism - secular terrorism.

- intl art. - Semitism

5. Strength - power - strong America. global balance of power

(perseverance - unity - no fatigue

(alliance - coalition - American people - ^{no} presumptive
Governors

1/170, 1/170

1961-62-radical right emerged

- not the success of radical right (in power has been a recurrent element in Indian political temper)
- not is it casting of aspersions on the Conspiracy theory of politics, elements which have struck India like in the past
- what is new is the ideology of this movement - its readiness to jettison const. processes & to suspend freedoms, to embrace Communist methods in the pursuit of bonhomie
- CONSENSUS SYSTEM OF POLITICS - THE POLITICS OF CIVILITY (Ed Shree's phrase) has been the behaviour of only a small group of countries - those largely within an Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian polit tradition. Today the ideology of the right is being in India threatened by the prospect of a new axis of the Government which seeks to disrupt the "people consensus" that underlies the Indian political system

4 - JOHN BIRD BROTHERS - SECRETARY, CONSPIRACIOUS GROUP
- SUMMIT OF WEEK-LONG SEMINARS OF ANTI-COMMUNIST SCHOOLS

Conducted by Environmental Practitioners with Adopted and Revisited Techniques to a Modern IDEM, which brought people of the country, particularly Indonesia & California

- Extreme fanatical groups, such as Mounties, who glorified "Jungle Warfare" seminars
- 1958 - 100th Bn. Command - use military to arouse public to measure of Communism
- Joint Chiefs of Staff - Natl War College - plan curriculum & seminars for reserve officers & local businessmen
- Progress Report - indoctrination seminars

5 v 1

Aug. 1960 - U.S. Naval br. Spatens in Alameda Illinois
united Community leaders & businessmen to plan an
"Education for American Identity" - to stimulate an active
force against "moral decay, political apathy &
spiritual bankruptcy"

- Dr Fred Schwarz, Xan Anti-Communist Crusade
Other Anti Society; Drive in-American Act Comm.

- Condemned not only Communism, but liberals, moderates,
John Dewey, Howard Stedman, in Times, AF have been
published, have invited

- mixture of official military sponsorship & propagandists of
Radical right in dozens of seminars around country

- HARRYING CONGRESS, Bogert & police force, Arkansas
Source of much right wing material

- equates freedom with Communism film (Communism in
the map)

- APARTHEID BASTED ON DRAKDOWN MARTIN LUTHER IN U.S.;
CONSPIRACY THEORY OF CONGRESS HAD PARTIAL IN GUT WHICH U
SOUNDING THE COUNTRY; DETAINED FORECAST RE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER of U.S.

- All informed participation has been subjected by Congressional
inhibition

- JOHN BERRY - American flag, guidance of God

- AMERICA WILL BE BACK ON EVEN KEEL WITHIN SIMPLE VIKING
PACEMAN

9 - Quizzes the "endurante" members of Baptist fundamentalism
would predict with biblical certainty the date of the end of the
world, so the fundamentalists of the Radical right make them as
predictors of the end of liberty in the U.S. [Schmidt 1973 - Communist
takeover]

D. Ball
p. 50

MORALISM

— in America, the enforcement of public morals has been a continuing feature of our history.

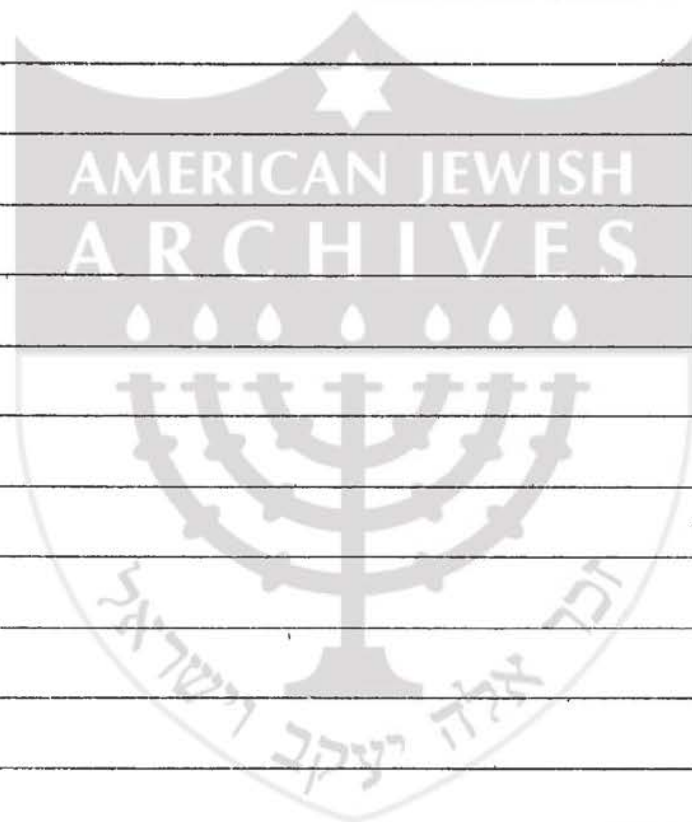
The sources of this moralism are varied. Thus has been a middle-class culture, and there may be considerable truth to the generalization of Stendhal that moral indignation is a peculiar part of middle class psychology & represents a disguised form of repression. One does not find moral indignation a feature of the temper of aristocratic cultures. Moralism and moral indignation are characteristic of religions that have largely abandoned other-worldly preoccupations & have concentrated on this-worldly concerns. Religions, like Buddhism, which are focused on heaven are often quite tolerant of man's fallen weakness & cruelty on earth.

PROFESSOR MRS

D. Bree
p 15

AMERICAN STORY

The American has been marked by his sense of achievement, his optimism, his being on the move, his eagerness for experience, America has always been future-oriented.



Editorial

Investigation urged for religious groups

by UW-Student Community of
ACLU of Washington

A wave of religious nationalism is washing over the United States. The ideology of this movement espouses a tie between Christian fundamentalism and the state. Some recent events on the University of Washington campus raise the issue of university and state funding and support of religious proselytization.

The Campus Bible Fellowship sponsored an event in the HUB Ballroom on October 31 entitled "America—You're Too Young to Die!" The event ended with a plea to join us on our knees praying to God, to turn this nation back to God. By implication from earlier parts of the program, this God was against the E.R.A., abortion, gay rights, and communism, and for a very narrow type of Christianity. The Campus Bible Fellowship rented the Ballroom at the state-subsidized rate for student organizations. This was not an isolated incident of religious groups using public property to promote and further their brand of religion on campus. Dormitory meeting rooms are used for prayer, when houses of worship are located nearby, and the HUB's sub-basement offices are provided for these religious groups at no charge.

Why does the UW student committee of the ACLU of Washington find state promotion of religious practices unhealthy for the maintenance of a free, pluralistic society? To understand our perspective it is necessary to examine the origins of the separation of church and state doctrine, and how that doctrine has been applied.

One of the fundamental tenets of our Constitution is the separation of church and state, derived from the "Religious Clauses" of the First Amendment. The "Religious Clauses" guarantee free exercise of religion and prohibit the making of any law respecting an establishment of religion. Unfortunately the task of applying these principles is not a simple one. The two clauses sometime appear contradictory. For example, barring state subsidy of worship at rent-free university facilities can be considered an inhibition on "free exercise." But permitting the subsidy would violate the establishment clause.

Should the free exercise and establishment doctrines be abandoned in favor of a new neutrality standard which treats religious activities including worship the same as political speech? The answer is a resounding no! The historical basis for the religious clauses and the New Evangelicalism of the 80's are compelling reasons for the retention of the doctrine of separation of church and state.

The First Amendment states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion to prohibit the free exercise thereof." The free exercise clause protects the freedom of individuals to practice their religion without government infringement. An example of a free exercise case is found in *Wisconsin v. Yoder*. The Yoders were Amish parents who objected to sending their children to school beyond the eighth grade. Amish children historically have learned their religious values and trade skills at home. The Yoders felt that their religious way of life was jeopardized by the values taught in high school. The Supreme Court held that the Wisconsin compulsory education law was an unconstitutional infringement on the Amish' free exercise of religion.

Wisconsin v. Yoder also raised an Establishment issue whether accommodating the Amish belief violated the Establishment clause. The Establishment clause addressed three concerns in church/state relations: (1) government subsidy, (2) government sponsorship, and (3) unnecessary government entanglement with religion. In *Yoder*, the Supreme Court held that its decision did not constitute government support, approval or entanglement with the Amish religion.

The Supreme Court has applied the Establishment Clause consistently against government subsidies or appearance of sponsorship of religious activities. For ex-



SO WE DECIDED TO RUN A FLAG UP THERE
TO SEE IF ANYONE SALUTED IT

ample, the New York State Regents' nondenominational prayer in public schools was held unconstitutional in another Supreme Court case, *Engel v. Vitale*, even though children were not required to participate.

The danger in blurring the separation of church and state is as real as it was in 1784 when James Madison, the father of the First Amendment, argued persuasively against a proposed Virginia law authorizing a voluntary tax contribution to the salaries of religious teachers. Government should not be advancing or inhibiting religion. As Madison stated when he demonstrated against government advancement of religion:

"Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, can establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects? That the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute three pence only of his property for the support of any one establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment in all case whatsoever?"

Today our society is experiencing a religious revival. The danger of intermingling government and religious authority is still with us. The Moral Majority and other politically powerful religious organizations had a significant effect upon the recent national elections. The effects of these groups have far reaching and ominous implications on our choice of lifestyles and the brand of government we practice. The political muscle-flexing of these religious groups causes us to rally around the separation of church and state concept.

Religious groups lobby the state and federal legislatures to have their prayers answered or enacted on issue such as school prayer, abortion, the family, women rights and gay rights. The danger of government sponsorship and advancement of religious beliefs and activities should be transparent to all those appreciative of civil liberties.

Government is supposed to be neutral on religious matters, that is, neither to advance nor to inhibit religious activities. Religious beliefs and values constitute special sphere of human endeavor encompassing spiritual and cosmic matters which historically has been separated and protected from government interference. James Madison stated: "Religion or the duty we owe to our Creator and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence. It is the duty of every man to render to his Creator such homage, and such only, as he believes to be acceptable to him."

The UW student committee of the ACLU of Washington believes the use of campus facilities to promote religion is a violation of the separation of church and state doctrine. We urge the University of Washington through the Office of the Vice President for Student Affairs, to investigate these matters and publicly reject their conclusions. If their conclusions verify that student religious organizations have been using university property and facilities to promote religion, we recommend the revocation of those student groups' registration disciplinary purposes.

By Religious News Service

New York

One issue of continuing concern in churches of the nation has been amplified in the heated election campaign of recent months—and will remain after votes are cast and tallied in nationwide balloting Tuesday.

Events of the campaign have directed new attention to the long debate over the role of churches, church leaders, church publications and other representative religious units should play in regard to politics.

To an unprecedented degree, voice of American Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, and Judaism have been heard during the past weeks of electioneering. There is little doubt that if the prediction of some political observers is realized—a record voter turnout of from 71-75 million on Tuesday—it will in large measure reflect the energetic interest of religious forces in the current campaign.

Congregations Exhorted

As in past elections, clergymen of all faiths were exhorting their congregations to take advantage of the right to vote. From individual pulpits and through interreligious statements such as that issued on election eve by the nonpartisan American Heritage Foundation and Religion in American Life, Inc. individuals were being reminded that "informed and responsible voting is a serious moral obligation and the key to preserving our American heritage."

In 1956 according to a survey made by the American Heritage Foundation, 42 percent of the electorate recalled pulpit reminders to vote. Four years later, 31 percent of the voters remembered hearing such a pulpit message. This year, it is probably safe to assume, the percentage will be much higher.

Issues Identified

Several commentators have complained that the campaign has degenerated into a name calling, smear contest. Core issues have not been debated in depth, but these issues have been identified, and virtually all of them are of prime interest and importance to the nation's religious community.

The religious dimension of the campaign is seen clearly in controversies over civil rights, extremism, foreign policy and nuclear control, poverty programs, aid to education, immigration, and devotional acts in schools. And questions of political ethics and morality in government highlighted in the final weeks of the campaign have stimulated deep concern within the nation's churches and synagogues.

The current campaign has featured not only much discussion of these issues in churches and synagogues, but to any unprecedented degree churchmen have gone beyond objective consideration and taken partisan positions. Reaction to such action—marked by consider-

able confusion over the "official" status of the statements—appeared destined to continue far beyond Election Day.

Involvement Discussed

One leading Protestant churchman, Dr. John C. Bennett, president of New York's Union Theological Seminary, this week addressed himself to the question of religious involvement in politics. Speaking at a "School for World Christians" sponsored by three United Church of Christ congregations at White Plains, N.Y., he declared that churches should not take official stands but should "encourage very frank discussion of issues and candidates."

At the same time, he maintained, statements by churchmen who are "speaking as individuals" are a healthy part of the national debate.

Unlike past elections, however, when arguments over candidates could be based on "common objectives" shared by the candidates, the churchman said, today's situation finds the two national parties "going in opposite directions."

"The fact is," he said "that this is a temporary partisan situation. At stake are issues on which the churches have been clear."

One of the campaign's most widely discussed events involving a partisan statement by churchmen came in mid-October during the 61st General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

William Stringfellow, a New York lawyer and prominent Episcopal layman—though not a delegate to the convention—announced that a statement he circulated which accused Sen. Barry Goldwater and Rep. William E. Miller of "a transparent exploitation of racism" had been signed by some 725 clergy and laymen, including 10 bishops.

Stand Misinterpreted

Though both Mr. Stringfellow and Episcopal leaders attempted to make it explicitly clear that the statement did not have church endorsement, it was widely misinterpreted as an "official" Episcopal stand. A flood of letters, telegrams, and telephone calls protested church involvement in politics.

Another statement that stimulated discussion over pulpit comments on political questions was made by Dean Francis B. Sayre Jr. of the National Cathedral (Episcopal) in Washington. He said voters face a "sterile choice" and attacked both President Johnson and Senator Goldwater.

The dean, known as one of the

most influential clergymen in the capital, said response to his remarks was about 90 percent favorable.

The clergyman, answering those among the other 10 percent who took exception to his "meddling in politics from the pulpit," said:

"The Christian Gospel has social as well as personal implications. God's will applies to the large questions of our public life. Clergymen are failing in courage—and in honor—if they do not attempt the very difficult job of commenting on political issues."

Political comment has been particularly lively in the religious press. Notably, some Protestant publications broke precedent by taking direct stands in opposition to Senator Goldwater.

Among these were the Christian Century, ecumenical weekly Christianity and Crisis, Protestant journal of opinion (which Dr. Bennett serves as editorial-board co-chairman), two independent Episcopal magazines the Churchman and the Witness and the United Church Herald official publication of the United Church of Christ.

Reaction Assessed

In the case of the United Church Herald, its editor said, immediate reaction ran "about 6 to 1" against such a pronouncement by an official publication.

Consequently, Dr. Truman B. Douglass, executive vice-president of the Board for Homeland Ministries of the United Church of Christ, which publishes the magazine, issued a statement denying the "official" status of the statement but defending the editor's right to make it.

Among Roman Catholic papers the Camden (N.J.) Star-Herald, official diocesan news-weekly, called for Senator Goldwater's defeat. The Reconstructionist Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation magazine of thought and opinion, expressed "unequivocal" opposition to the GOP candidate.

Editorial Cited

Earlier various Catholic spokesmen and publications spoke out sharply against balancing tickets of political parties on a religious basis. As the campaign progressed, however, the religion of the candidates did not become an issue. Apparently this had been resolved by the 1960 election of the late President Kennedy.

In an editorial prepared for its Nov. 6 issue the conservative Protestant fortnightly, Christianity Today, noted the political stands taken by Protestant publications and com-

mented that since "virtually all religious periodicals" in the country are published by exempt, nonprofit organizations, "they are prohibited by act of Congress from engaging in politics."

Charges of improper religious involvement in "lobbying" or other political activities have been lodged against the National Council of Churches during the campaign.

Though the interdenominational Protestant and Orthodox agency has taken no official stand on the election, its support of civil rights and other social action programs has made it the target of sharp attack by both those religious and political ultraconservative groups which have allied themselves with the GOP candidate. Writing in the Presbyterian Outlook, Harrison Ray Anderson had this to say about the involvement of clergymen in politics:

"Pastors have an obligation to speak the truth concerning great moral issues as God gives them to see the truth. The problem here is that there is usually truth with both parties and it is very easy to see it only on one side. In matters controversial my perception is rather fine; I see both points of view, the one that's wrong—and mine."

Church Role In Politics Poses Issue

Christian Science
Monitor
11/4/64

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, BEFORE OPENING SESSION OF "THE AMERICAN CIVIL RELIGION" CONFERENCE, SPONSORED BY THE SOUTHEASTERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND THE AJC, WAKE FOREST COLLEGE, NORTH CAROLINA
MONDAY, OCT 30 - NOV 1, 1972

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The question as to whether "an American civil religion" exists side by side the historic religions of Judaism and Christianity has been the subject of considerable and instructive academic and scholarly reflection and speculation for a number of years. But the American Jewish Committee and others in the Jewish community believe that as a result of a series of recent developments in our national life, a new urgency has emerged in relation to the "civil religion" issue which now holds extremely important practical implications for the life-situations of many Americans, especially American Jews.

Within a matter of weeks, a nationwide ecumenical evangelistic drive will be launched under the title, "Key '73," with the announced intention of "Calling our Continent ~~at~~ to Christ in 1973". According to the official announcement of the sponsors of this evangelistic drive, "the purpose of Key 73 is to confront the people of our continent (more fully and more forcefully) with the gospel of Jesus Christ by proclamation and demonstration, witness and ministry, word and deed." The sponsors plan the extensive use of national television, radio, and the press "as the air force to prepare the way for the army of ~~the~~ foot soldiers on the community level." Daily noon hour evangelical prayer sessions, door-to-door neighborhood canvassing, college campus and high school crusades are scheduled throughout 1973.

Committed to the principle of freedom of conscience and religious liberty, the Jewish community respects the right of every religious or other group to promote its version of truth in the marketplace of

ideas. In an open society, there will always be two-way traffic in conversions from one faith to another, which accounts for the fact that some 3,000-to-4,000 Christians and Gentiles convert to Judaism every year even though there is no Jewish "evangelism" campaign aimed toward Christians.

The crucial issue raised by this unprecedented evangelical campaign is that of the religio-political ethos which undergirds it. What emerges from a careful reading of the Key 73 literature and listening to the speeches of its principal sponsors is that this "evangelical revival" effort is based on a conception of America as "an evangelical empire." That conception, which governed the first half of the national history of America, perceived America as "a Christian nation," one in which Jews and other non-Christians were tolerated as less than full partners in the democratic enterprise. This notion of America and Evangelical Christianity being one and the same is a regression from the liberal democratic view which is grounded on the pluralistic idea that Jews, Catholics, and others are full partners in American society. Respect for diversity, and the use of mutually-respecting dialogue as the primary means of ecumenical communication are the dominant features of such an open, pluralist society, rather than the revivalist and salvationist techniques which fundamentally look upon others as simply candidates for conversion.

The implications of Key 73 for the American "civil religion" which is thus far composed of Judaic as well as Christian elements of ritual, beliefs, and institutions is that it will tend to transform the "American way of life" into a uniformist evangelical Christian theocratic society. And Christians and Jews together need to critique

that tendency before it becomes corrosive of the vitality of pluralism, as much as Jews themselves need to critique and resist analogous efforts of some "fundamentalist" Jews who seek to impose similar theocratic tendencies on Israel as a Jewish State.

What makes this development of surpassing importance is the fact that an anticipated landslide Republican victory in the election on Nov. 7 will quite possibly have the effect of establishing evangelical Christianity as the defacto religious establishment of America. Without entering in any way into the politics of the campaign, it is evident to any student of religious history that evangelical values of individualism, private salvation, and personal piety ^{have} ~~has~~ dominated much of the political rhetoric of this campaign, and a congenial and supportive atmosphere exists in our government that is taken as an encouragement of the evangelical ethos as interchangeable with the American way of life.

The coming year therefore will pose the most serious challenge to all Americans with regard to how to preserve the ~~max~~ positive spiritual and moral features of the current revival but at the same time recognize the genuinely regressive and anti-democratic features that exist ⁱⁿ ~~this~~ this renewed version of evangelism as the civil religion of America.