Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992
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to Bert Gold

from Hyman Bookbinder

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 predominantly 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 "politicize" 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
"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

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 cap toe, 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—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.
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.
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 interchurch 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. Rehkerper, 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 Thanksgiving 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. Ramge, 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.

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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.
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

Contemporary enthusiasts for political religion are usually characterized by a much greater reverence for political ideas than for religious ones. Perhaps it is because these intellectual apologists are theologians having pulled down their own house with the help of contractors brought in from the high ways and byways, they turn to the edifices of socialist vision with a difference that is all the more astonishing from lacking exactly the critical qualities which had con
tributed to the vividness of their own habituation Politics, in their discern
tment, is able to achieve so much more "religious" identity, as Charles Davis says in these...
‘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 sides.

A year later, the churches are hit by a wave of "occupations." James Forman, the former civil rights leader, stands in the chapel 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, even black people, $500 million in "reparations." In response, the pastor walks out of the service and church leaders go to court for injunctions against the demonstrators. Mr. Forman doesn't get a count.

Although disruptions at colleges and churches were widely condemned at the time, to many frustrated activists it looked as if 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 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 Kempeoff meeting, for example, resolutions by the Episcopal Church, which holds $6,600,000 of GM stock, got less than 3% of the vote.

The same outcome emerged from the General Motors meeting. The Project on Corporate Responsibility, which backed the resolutions, had a total investment in GM of $3 million. The church vote polled 1.3%.

If these resolutions are all that's important, it's that the support of colleges and churches is virtually a dead letter. Still, the impact of the spring's forays into the annual meetings is enormous - it's being felt by the churches and colleges themselves.

The real impact of their efforts can't be ascribed to the vote totals, any more than the impact of campus protests could have been judged from the number of demonstrators. It just that the demonstrators were cut 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 to show transformation of their internal decision-making structures and their self-image. The changes have moved from the form of stockholder activism. The older institutions are arriving at the modest realization that an amount of moralizing gets things done the way a few billion dollars does.

The result could be a fresh awareness for churches and colleges among the god 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 public view and attempting to maintain an impossible neutrality.

The power is undeniable 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 128 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 $2 billion.

University Endowments

Nobody has made a complete survey of university endowments. The Council for Financial Aid to Education estimates, however, that the 1,625 institutions it polls have 30% of the total - 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.

University Endowments.

There is hardly a major campus in the country where the question of investments is not an undercurrent. In many cases the administration is pushing for activism while the resistance is coming from financial planners on campus.

In the case of Harvard, trustees have been meeting privately to discuss the matter, and there is talk of pooling information on the local stance of corporations.

College administrators appear for most willing to go along with 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 canvassed on a question of neutrality. In the end, it acknowledged that the university ought to take a "limited and direct role" in "socially conscious" resolution.

The dilemma that still stymies Harvard, and practically every other college that has tried to grapple with it, is: Who decides what company is "socially conscious"? The committee reported, "That universities are simply not 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 church has long been accused of neglecting the money for its programs, to the point that many churches are contributing millions of dollars to support of companies that contribute to war and pollution. With the advent of shareholding involvement, the churches have an opportunity to deal with that charge.

Structural changes are already being made in the way investments are handled. The investment committee is being turned over to 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 rejection of corporate vestige, or of corporate vestige, of corporate vestige, or of corporate vestige.
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 lambent,
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

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Prelude
Opening Remarks
Doxology
Prayer
Hymn
Anthem
Sermon
Hymn
Benediction
O God, Our Help in Ages Past

Benediction
Postlude

THE PRESENT

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

O God, Our Help in Ages Past

THE PRESENT

We Gather Together

Dr. Louis Finkelstein
Chancellor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America

"We Gather Together"

Members of the Christ Lutheran Church Choir

"O God, Be Praised in Heav'n and Earth"

Melchior Vulpius
Director Mr. Geoffrey Simon

O God, Our Help in Ages Past

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.

Following the service, coffee will be served in the State Dining Room.
Hostility — a preoccupation with status has been a persistent element in three politics, and that McCarthyism as a social phenomenon can best be explained as a form of "status anxiety" in groups that have been "tormented" by a worrying doubt as to whether they are really and truly and fully American.

Wright distinguished between "class politics," which seemed applicable during periods of depression, and "status politics," which seemed to predominate during periods of prosperity, when groups were convinced or thought that they were公元 from position.

McCarthyism was a process of status politics; it had its roots in the "white nights," because they represent a form of legitimation rather than a genuine effort to keep the government in order.

In this political system, with its commitment to deals and plottings, does an uneasy unity descend on even principal political parties?

— Ideology of the Movement — its reaction to Jewish characteristics, processes, and proposals to the creation of organized methods in the history of Communism.
German

1) VC M - changes

2) size, extent, depth of its influence

3) a link among various protest avenues change in self-esteem
   of Gentiles & Jews

4) Catholic number 1 in 4 Americans

Spanish - approx. 12 m - 2 m. Asians, 1 in 5 in Chiro-Athletic

Catholic Sisters

Do not neglect its interaction with 

mothers, sisters, other groups - Archie Bunker / TV's 1970s / Good Advice

Self-less - plan

Leaders of leaders attribute RC interests - Ford, Reagan, both 
Redhead

Democrat left - not few liberals - not popular

1) RC votes more progressive than mainstream - Episcopal

Easiness of McRae

Spellman & McRae / Nobility era / John

Necrology / Carter - as media & media - form Digest

Conservative hawks, recent liberals

- program golden - basic for program Main

Electric vote - for progressive legislation

RCs considerably more liberal than not

7) Prot's Jewish Church (and many others) very much have often
been the conscience of Catholic population

printed for a new occasion

- many media depressed Catholics (here) first voice

Close - Smith / Hyman (W. Silver / St. Marie / S. Goldman

America is not yet representative of them

In humanity - European / Immigration / Higher
Protestantizing A Catholic Conscience

Protestant culture

Most people in America is to use the word "wealth" as a
club by which to undermine the standing of others. By
presenting them as "weak" one makes one's own interests as
effectively as possible.

- Anti-Institution (Congregational)

- Reform - Power Scape - Human Nature - Reform

- Unrealistic Expectations of The Human Race

- Human rights - Cartel - In power at the moment (opposed)

- Morality - Looking for answers

- Morality - Always a power struggle between elites

- Catholic people - Bonfire - William J. Buckley
The emphasis on achievement was an emphasis on the individual. The individual was the unit of action, the main unit of action. This period shows American liberalism. The philosophy of the personal, the focus on 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 fear. Reform movement of the 19th Century, concentrated on the: order, order, order. Then, the moralistic reform led to failure, and white judgment. If anything was wrong, the individual was to blame. Since there were good men, it had many. The problem was to choose the right and to choose the bad. Any defect in policy stemmed from a defect in character. A change policy had begun only by finding the individual.

Let us examine the pattern of achievement. Attempt to propose, and the emphasis on the individual as the unit. A concern for self-expression as what was fostered has called the "classic" American style.

In the U.S., there were three major assumptions:

1. That the values of the individual were to be preserved.
2. That the pursuit of wealth would disorder all human activities.
3. From inequality

That the continuity of experience would provide solutions for all future problems.
The most pervasive changes are those involving the structural relations between class, position, and power. Clearly today, political power rests more on wealth and technical skill rather than property alone. The force from which power is wielded.

DISCOURSE OF THE DISPOSSESSED

19 - The group most threatened by the structural changes in society is the "old" middle class -

- much more telltale indicators of the group that fear most over its - Power, lifestyles, & values provide the emotional field of battle.

- The group whose values plummeted in the 70's and 80's, &

- since the 70's there has been a major change in values.

- 1970's - Scope of unemployment, first defense of a minority, middle class element - Reaction to mid-

- new society & movements

1970 - Behind mid-1970s dominant party was also involved & it
dominant was unchallenged

- year 1970 was first in modern history with a majority of
- Negroes lived in "white" territory - Auto, movie
- radio - More modern culture faced to dominant P.S.T.
- customs depart.
The social ideals of F. are quite traditional—
return to the 'people virtues' of undisturbed immediate and
self-reliance. In physical terms, this means eliminating
much of the formal security provisions, eliminating the
income tax, reducing the cost of food, great circumsence
life, & going back to the state school for the major
profitability of warfare, labor, & similar legislation.

- Turn state Senate: 1/3 of legislators.
  2/3 of legislators.

In 44 states, less than 40% of pop can
elect majority of state legislators
in 13 states less than 1/3 of pop can elect a majority

- A no. of CMB HKB RFB RESOLUTIONS TO SOMETHING OR OTHER MIGHT FURTHER

- TECHNOLOGICAL WERE DESPERATE TERRORISTIC
  MILITARY PROFESSIONALS

- A surprising no. of high-ranking officers on
  active duty as well as high-ranking retired
  officers have become active in extreme right
  using orgs.

- The Institute of American Strategy, founded by
  Alexander Berk (Texas)

- In the absence of overtly criminal officers, the
  Savannah of an old friend that kind finds its "key" to
  the heart of authority, as it is authority. It is a group of
  people who argue bitterly that of only "their" advice
  had been followed, America would not be in the
  defensive.
31 - The politics of the Central region of the nation.

A frustration - the fear experienced of those who
feel themselves unable to understand the new
command, the complex and society that is the political
body.

39 - Turbulence born not of depression, but of
prosperity. Contrary to the somewhat simple urban
new property densities and social problems we see
their property comes in the upper two social classes,
new middle classes and new working classes.

A new prosperity created "status groups" which in
turn drive for recognition and prestige, want forced to impose
interest groups on individuals and institutions.

48 - Status politics advanced by Michael Hohenthal
gruppen that have lost their social position seek more
voluntarily than ever to impose on all groups the
old values of a society when they once bore. Groups
on the rise may insist on a similar conformity
in order to reinforce themselves. This often leads
in periods of prosperity where class or economic
interest group conflicts have lost much of their force.

49 - Americans have an extraordinary talent for protest
compromise in politics and extremism in morality.
Within community where everything is a potential
blue law.
1. Argentina
2. W.A. Durations of Curfews, nuclear terrorism, violence, human rights
3. Soviet Jews - State and living
   - Central issues in current
     - Lebanon, Cyprus, Ireland, Uganda
4. Determine - persecution and disaster, human rights
   - claim of rights to cease
   - right to self-determination
   - Balfour - no process
   - intermediate Fascism - secular terrorism
   - until anti-Semitism
5. Strength - power, strong means, glue between powers
   - performance, unity - no force
   - allies, coalition, American people - precepts
   - 1970, 1973
1961 - (2) - written event emerged
- not the same as previous event (for reasons)
- women's rights issue in political terms
- new issue of women's movement or the emergence of a new political element, which has emerged from the past
- what is new is the display of this movement — it
- requires to justify court procedures & to suspend rhetoric
- to concludesummary methods in the history of communism

Feminism System of Politics - THE POLITICS OF CIVILIZATION
(Ed. She's phrases) was the embodiment of the struggle of a small
- group of women - these largely women on the second or
- second wave of feminism. Today, the struggle of the civil rights of women
- is based on the theory, to disrupt the Hungarians' mental
- that includes the power of the system
- middle and lower-middle class
- Sought or lower-middle class of anti-communist scholars
- quoted by communist revolutionaries who adopted and recovered
- techniques to build ideas, which shaped the view of
- the current society in France and California
- extreme fascist groups, such as Montemor, who gained
- influence before the war
- 1930s - until the civil war - the ministry of culture public to mean
- of communism
- First Chief of Staff - to plan, curriculum &
- manner for future opposition local communities
- Progress just in the middle of France.
Aug. 1960 - U.S. Naval Air Station in Bermuda

United Community Center, Boston, for discussion on

Economic issues in American society. It projected an article

free of any political aspect of

Socialist bankruptcy

Dr. Fred Rogers, Van Swearingen Crusade

Other Social Issues: Soviet-American AEC Enemy

condemned as well, Communism, but intellectually moderated

John Denver, Harvard Student, in Times, AfSine News

Russian, have undergone

widespread approval, military efficiency by propagandists of

Medical report in Aegis of Communism and Unity

Hypertension, coconut, Baptist, patient, 100.7, 100.8

bone of much religious emotion

equity, freedom, with Communism, fail (Communism...)

ABC, ABC, based on broadcast, made in TV

By the very history of China's 18TH Century which is

Sealing the Center's forecast of Gattini Theorists of the 5

The Thurston Project has been repeated by several

Johnson, American flag,.sender of the

Even now can be heard to loud CSUSI world-wide

The mountain

9 -

some the influence, the influence, of further fundamental

understand their biblical centrality the date of the end of the

world, as the fundamental if the need exists for them an

prophet at the end of history in the US. (February 1973, Prophets)
MORBIDITY

In America, the enforcement of public morals has been a continuing feature of our history. The sources of this enforcement are varied. This has been a middle-class culture, and therefore it is understandable that the generalization of Seward's thesis that moral regulation is a coercive effect of an elite class exclusively is misleading in discussing the enforcement of morals. One does not find moral legislation a feature of the tenets of a voluntary culture. Modern man and modern legislation are characterized by the beliefs that have largely abandoned the morally prescriptive. I have concentrated on this highly conscious, deliberate, theistic, which are focused on fear, and often quite tolerant of men's public weakness & crookedness, on early.
The American has been marked by his sense of achievement. His country has been on the move. His response for experience, America has always been "future-oriented."
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 in our prayers to God, to turn this nation back to God. By implication from earlier parts of the program, this God was against the ERA, 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.

These remarks 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 sometimes 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 or prohibiting 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 compulsory education law. In 1972, the Supreme Court found in Wisconsin v. Yoder that Wisconsin's compulsory education law was an unconstitutional infringement on the Amish free exercise of religion.

Wisconsin v. Yoder also raised an Establishment issue when the Supreme Court decided that 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.

The Supreme Court has applied the Establishment Clause consistently against government subsidies or appearance of sponsorship of religious activities. For example, the New York State Regents' nondenominational prayer in public schools was held unconstitutional in an Establishment Clause 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 when James Madison, the father of the First Amendment, argued persuasively against the proposed Virginia law allowing 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 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 cases whatsoever?"

Today our society is experiencing a religious revival. The danger of interfering with and religious authority as 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 views of religion and the making of government policy. The political muscle-flexing of these religious groups causes us to rally around the separation of church and state concept.
Church Role In Politics Poses Issue

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 electioneering has ended in nationwide balloting Tuesday. Events of the campaign have directed new attention to the long-standing role of the church in American life. Church leaders, church publications and other 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 some observers as recorded a record voter turnout of from 74 to 75 million on Tuesday—it will be a major factor in reflect the changing interest of religious forces in the current campaign.

Congregations Exhorted As an act of Thanksgiving, clergy of all faiths are exhorting their congregations to take advantage of the right to vote. From individual pulpits and through interreligious statements, such as that issued on election day by the nonsectarian American Heritage Foundation and Religion in American Life, has been issued to remind the laity that informed and responsible voting is a religious obligation. The purpose is to preserve our American heritage.

In 1936 according to a survey made by the American Heritage Foundation, 42 percent of the electorate received pulpit reminders to vote. Four years later, 31 percent of the voters remembered hearing such a message. This year, it is probably safe to assume that the percentage will be much higher.

Issues Identified Several commentators have complained that the campaign, which is being termed a smear contest, contains issues that have not been debated in depth and issues that are not of prime interest and importance to the nation’s religious community.

The religious dimension of the campaign is as much a part of the controversy over civil rights, poverty programs, and education. Opinions and editorial essays in the major newspapers have expressed concern about the religious influence of the campaign. The religious community has responded with protest statements and editorial commentaries. There is a growing awareness that the campaign is about more than politics— it is about religion, too.

In the midst of the campaign, some religious leaders have emphasized that the campaign is as much a part of the religious community as it is of the political arena.

The American Heritage Foundation and Religion in American Life have been active in the campaign, issuing statements and editorial commentaries. The foundation has published a series of articles on the religious dimension of the campaign, which has been widely distributed to the religious community.

The Christian Science Monitor has also been active in the campaign, publishing a series of articles on the religious dimension of the campaign.

Jewish leaders have been active in the campaign, publishing a series of articles on the religious dimension of the campaign.

The Presbyterian Church has been active in the campaign, publishing a series of articles on the religious dimension of the campaign.

The Episcopal Church has been active in the campaign, publishing a series of articles on the religious dimension of the campaign.

The Roman Catholic Church has been active in the campaign, publishing a series of articles on the religious dimension of the campaign.

The Muslim Community has been active in the campaign, publishing a series of articles on the religious dimension of the campaign.

The Hindu Community has been active in the campaign, publishing a series of articles on the religious dimension of the campaign.

The Buddhist Community has been active in the campaign, publishing a series of articles on the religious dimension of the campaign.

The Interfaith Community has been active in the campaign, publishing a series of articles on the religious dimension of the campaign.

The Muslim Community has been active in the campaign, publishing a series of articles on the religious dimension of the campaign.

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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 CAROLIN MONDAY, OCT 30 - NOV 1, 1972

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 back 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 3,000-4,000 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 Jewish 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 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 most 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 renewed version of evangelism as the civil religion of America.