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Preserving American Jewish History

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

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 17, Folder 8, Evangelicals, 1980-1981.

cc: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum ✓
Bernice Newman

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Long Island Chapter

date January 23, 1981
to Harold Applebaum
from Adam Simms
subject Staff consultation on the New Religious Right, 2/2/81

Thought you might find this interesting to factor into the discussion. I picked it up from a clip in the Long Island Catholic, and I see some interesting folks are involved -- Falwell, Paisley, Bob Jones, Criswell.

It might be an interesting wedge to use to separate the anti-abortionists from the rest of the pack.

Best regards.

AS:pmc
enc.

RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

-9-

FRIDAY, JANUARY 9, 1981

FUNDAMENTALIST CONGRESS ROUNDLY SCORES
EVANGELICALS, CHARISMATICS, CATHOLICS

By Religious News Service (1-9-81)

MANILA, Philippines (RNS) -- Fundamentalists from around the world denounced what they called "pseudo-fundamentalism," as well as "new evangelicalism," the charismatic movement, and the Roman Catholic Church at the second World Congress of Fundamentalists.

In a seven-part definition of fundamentalism they affirmed, among other things, that it "maintains an immovable allegiance to the inerrant, infallible, and verbally inspired Bible, believes that whatever the Bible says, is so... (and) exposes and separates from all ecclesiastical denial of that Faith, compromises with error, and apostasy from the Truth."

They charged that "pseudo-fundamentalism" compromises historic fundamentalism by failing to separate from "men who are involved in false ecumenism, liberalism, new evangelicalism, apostate denominationalism, and charismatic circles." As examples of pseudo-fundamentalists, the Congress cited W.A. Criswell, Holland London, Jerry Falwell, Elmer Towns, and Paul B. Smith.

"New evangelicalism" was described as "that theological movement of neutralism affecting Christianity" which is characterized by remaining in "apostate denominations," engaging in "unbelieving scientific scholarship," and taking part in dialogues with unbelievers.

Among examples of new evangelical institutions and groups the congress listed were Wheaton College, Fuller Theological Seminary, Campus Crusade for Christ International, and Youth for Christ International.

The charismatic movement came under fire as "a counterfeit of true Christianity (which) has become a catalytic agent for a one-world church of the Anti-Christ..."

Denouncing the Roman Catholic Church as "history's greatest perversion of the Christian Faith," the fundamentalists declared that "its central doctrine of the Mass (is) a hideous blasphemy of the finished work of Christ on the cross."

The first World Congress of Fundamentalists was held in Edinburgh in 1976. The gathering here was sponsored by the same group, led by Dr. Bob Jones III and the Rev. Ian Paisley. It voted to establish a permanent International Committee for the Propagation and Defense of Biblical Fundamentalism, and named Dr. Jones the chairman and Mr. Paisley vice-chairman.

STAFF CONSULTATION ON THE MORAL MAJORITY

Questions for Consideration

1. Can and should we "ignore" or set-aside our differences with Fundamentalists on social issues in the interest of promoting coalition around Israel?
2. Can we provide the Field Staff with a "road map" of Fundamentalist Protestantism, conveying the range of attitudes about proselytizing as well as the gamut of perceptions among Fundamentalists about Jews?
3. Are religious Fundamentalists "educable" about pluralism?
4. Should AJC join coalitions formed for the purpose of opposing the social-political aims of the Moral Majority?
5. Should AJC undertake, on the chapter level, dialogue with fundamentalists? Should we confine discussion to areas of agreement? To area of conflict?
6. What responsibility should we assume for defending public officials who are targeted for defeat by the Moral Majority?
7. Should AJC assume responsibility for interpreting the fundamentalist community to Jewish organizations?

Handwritten notes:

- Fundamentalists | Evangelical | New Right | New Religious Right
- New Conservatives
- Theology - Millenarianism / Pre-M / Post-M / Rapture - Tribulation
- Israel
- > Jewish legislation
- Centrist anti-extremist movement. Anti-campaign position
- 1) middle, Centrist - no frontal attack
- 2) mainstream evangelicals
- 3) countervailing forces (nat'l conf, local coalitions)
- 4) work within - Falwell,
- 5) Neo-Conservatives
- 6) internally. definitions monitoring. field
- 7) intergroup to media
- 8) POLITICALLY

February 2, 1981
HA/cpa

THE WEEK IN RELIGION

RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

★ 43 WEST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 ★

TEL: 212-688-7094

FOR WEEKEND OF FEB. 6, 1981

INFANT BAPTISM, LONG HONORED, STILL OCCASIONS CHURCH DEBATE

By Edythe Westenhaver
Religious News Service Staff Writer

When the Vatican last November issued a decree reaffirming the practice of infant baptism, it marked the latest round in a controversy that has perturbed Christians for more than four and a half centuries.

"Believer's baptism" — permitting only those capable of making a personal commitment of faith in Christ Jesus to approach the baptismal font — has increasingly gained support among some Roman Catholics since Vatican Council II, despite their church's firm opposition ever since the practice was reintroduced into Christianity by the Anabaptists in 1521.

And the mainline Protestant churches, which have always adhered to the tradition of infant baptism, are also questioning the value in today's secular society of baptizing children whose parents do not practice their religion.

Conversely, the Baptist churches — spiritual descendants of the Anabaptists — find themselves at times called to protest a growing practice of baptizing preschool children or of permitting adults baptized in infancy to become members without a second ceremony.

As the New Testament indicates, the first Christian converts were all adults. Eventually, about the end of the second century, the practice of baptizing entire families was started, to be followed by the custom of baptizing the children born to committed Christians. The much greater risk of sudden death in infancy and early childhood reinforced parents' desires to have their offspring baptized as soon as possible.

The Anabaptists, who might be called the radical left of the Protestant Reformation, coupled their insistence on adult baptism with a defiance of all forms of constituted authority, which soon led them to seek the overthrow of whatever government was at hand in the German towns where they got their start.

Such opposition to the civil powers quickly earned the Anabaptists the enmity of Luther, Calvin, Zwingli and the other leaders of the Protestant reform, who agreed with Rome that church and state were both aspects of a single society, but thought leadership in both belonged to each nation. As one historian put it, "a church conceived as virtually co-extensive with society is unlikely to reject the principle of infant baptism."

Faced with the 20th century's overwhelming secularization, all of the Christian churches are seeking to redefine their understanding of baptism. The degree to which they consider this a common problem is evidenced by a "breakthrough" statement issued by a consultation of theologians who met at the Southern Baptist Church's seminary in Louisville, Ky., in March 1979, under sponsorship of the World Council of Churches.

The statement on the meaning of baptism is also a measure of the growth of the ecumenical movement, for the consultation included representatives of the Catholic, Orthodox, Anglican, Lutheran, Reformed, Baptist, Disciples of Christ and Mennonite churches.

The statement was considered significant especially because it included a finding that believer's baptism was the most common rite referred to in the New Testament, but at the same time the theologians acknowledged the validity of infant baptism.

They also agreed that personal faith and continuous participation in the church are necessary for the full fruits of baptism; that the community plays a part in the nurturing of the faith of both children and adults, and that indiscriminate baptism is an abuse to be eliminated.

The Louisville statement was the largest agreement to date, both in the

scope of the accord and the number of churches represented, but it had been preceded by a number of national or bilateral statements. For example, the Vatican and leaders of the American-founded Disciples of Christ in 1978 reported they had achieved mutual understanding of the necessity and significance of baptism. The same year, leaders of the Catholic, Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches in Ghana announced they had agreed to recognize the validity of one another's baptisms.

Roman Catholic insistence upon baptizing conditionally anyone previously baptized in a Protestant church began to weaken at the end of the Second Vatican Council, especially after the controversy surrounding the rebaptizing by Catholic priests of Princess Irene of Holland and President Johnson's daughter, Lucy. Both women had been baptized as infants according to the Anglican rite.

When the Vatican in 1972 issued a new rite of initiation for adults, doubts about the advisability of the long held norm of infant baptism began to be heard. A leader in the controversy among Roman Catholics has been Christianne Brusselmans, professor of pastoral catechetics at the University of Louvain.

Dr. Brusselmans has frequently lectured in the United States and Canada during the past 15 years, and she has taught at Harvard Divinity School and New York's Union Theological Seminary as well as numerous Catholic institutions.

Last August, as a catechetical institute in Newport, R.I., the Belgian educator described baptism as "a process rather than a program" and predicted that fewer children would receive the rite as infants in the future. Rather, they will receive baptism, first

communion and confirmation when they are "mature enough to express their faith in Jesus."

The Rev. Aidan Kavanaugh, O.S.B., is one of a number of American Catholic liturgical scholars who have expressed misgivings about the traditional practice. "Infant baptism is always an abnormality," Father Kavanaugh believes. "It should be permitted only for serious pastoral reasons. Indiscriminate infant baptisms can be continued only at the risk of cheapening the price of faith."

However, the Rev. Thomas Kelly, O.P., general secretary of the U.S. Catholic Conference, indicated last November when the Vatican published its new decree on infant baptism that the question was not a problem at the pastoral level in the American church at this time.

Dr. Brusselmans had indicated that in some countries — she named France, Belgium and parts of Africa — believer's baptism has replaced the ceremony for infants as the norm for Catholics.

The 4,500-word text released by the Vatican's Congregation for Doctrine reaffirmed infant baptism as "a rule of immemorial tradition" but it also laid down that a request to baptize an infant should be refused if there was no assurance that the child would receive "an authentic education in the faith and Christian life."

The question of baptizing the children of non-practicing parents, long a problem in Europe, has begun to surface on this side of the Atlantic. In Montreal, which has seen a dramatic drop in religious practice among French-speaking Catholics, the archdiocese in

1971 decreed such children could receive the sacrament if the parents made sufficient guarantees to insure religious instruction.

In the U.S. many priests have been reluctant to inquire into the actions of parents. The Rev. Andrew Greeley, the columnist, argued that occasions for refusal of the sacrament should be rare. He questioned the wisdom of attempting to legislate such difficult areas as the sincerity of a person's conscience or what constitutes the practice of one's faith.

Among Protestant churchmen, the German theologian Jurgen Moltmann, has led the call for an end to infant baptism. Dr. Moltmann asserts that "the baptism of children is the foundation stone of the state churches in Europe, as it is of the civil religion we call Christendom."

"There is no possibility of creating a voluntary, confessing, independent community out of institutional churches to which people belong simply on the basis of having been baptized as children."

However, leaders of the mainline denominations, while seeking to devise alternate rituals and catechetical tools, have also refused in the past decade to abandon the infant tradition. The theological commission of the Reformed Church in America, at its 1975 synod, reaffirmed the validity of infant baptism. That same year, the annual conference of the British Methodist Church decreed that infant baptism would remain its policy.

The Church of England endorsed a service of thanksgiving for the birth of a child where a decision is made to delay baptism. In the U.S., the United

Methodist Board of Discipleship approved an alternate service for a mature commitment by Christians baptized in infancy.

Among the Baptist churches, there remains the concern that their distinguishing tenet of believer's baptism not be weakened. They also continue to insist that immersion — putting the body under water — is necessary rather than the simple method of pouring water on the head.

Two Southern Baptist congregations were denied seats at an annual meeting in Illinois because they had granted membership to persons baptized in other denominations. And an official of the Southern Baptist Church has warned that the practice of baptizing pre-school children in some congregations has "put us precariously close to the practice of infant baptism."

The Rev. Richard D. Patton, chairman of the SBC historical commission, warned that unless halted, such baptisms would mean a drastic change in Baptists' understanding of regeneration as "a responsible, conscious, deliberate act of faith."

Most Baptist churches do consider children in the late elementary school years sufficiently mature for commitment. President Carter's daughter, Amy, was nine at her baptism in Washington's First Baptist Church in 1977.

All Christians agree that two basic essentials for the rite are the use of water and of the words of intention to "baptize in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." It's the "how" and the "when" that continue to create the difficulties.

TO: MARC TANENBAUM
FROM: RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS
RE: MORAL MAJORITY ET AL.
DATE: 18 MARCH 81

Moral Majority is both threat and challenge. The less intelligently we respond to the challenge, the greater is the threat.

We are speaking of a cluster of organizations and movements representing an alliance between religion and the New Right in American politics. Moral Majority and its leader Jerry Falwell are simply the most visible part of the phenomenon.

My belief is that the Religious New Right represents a deep and long-term change in American religion, culture and politics. Moral Majority and other organizations may not be around five years from now, but the change they represent will be with us for a long time.

To date the reaction to Moral Majority has been disappointing and probably self-defeating. There has been a great deal of mutual name calling. They scream "secular humanist" and the other side screams back "bigoted reactionaries." They call their opponents "communists" and the opposition returns the compliment with "fascist." If they are reactionaries, liberals who disagree are simply reacting to their reaction, which makes the liberals reactionaries squared.

The leaders of the Religious New Right have been called Yahoos, Rednecks, Ku Kluxers and neo-Nazis. From months of researching this phenomenon, from conversations with Jerry Falwell and others, I am persuaded that we have been blinded by the caricatures ~~we~~ used to try and discredit these people. I am convinced that the leadership of the Religious New Right is, for the most part, sincere, shrewd, and utterly convinced of the need and possibility to correct what they view as the moral rot of American society.

They are capitalizing on a deep resentment. They and their followers believe that in the past they have been excluded from and despised by the leadership elites in American life. They feel this way because in fact they have been excluded and despised. It is necessary to understand the way in which fundamentalist religion was excluded from respectable circles and made an object of ridicule in the 1920s. Developments within the evangelical-fundamentalist world, combined with the growth of the "electronic church", has ^emet with a new conservative coalition in politics to produce this moment which they believe is their time of opportunity.

Moral Majority defines its platform as pro-life, pro-family, pro-morality, and pro-America. Who would want to be against any of these? But each general category is loaded with specifics -- dealing with everything from gun control and prayer in the schools to abortion and the defense budget.

Jerry Falwell believes that on a majority of their issues a majority of the American people agrees with them. He is probably right. In the past two decades liberals have made the enormous mistake of letting the so-called social issues and the juices of patriotism gravitate to the reactionary Right.

The conflict is not between the moral majority and the immoral minority. We are witnessing, rather, a conflict of moralities. In terms of the minority of people who think through these questions in a coherent way, we are witnessing a conflict of moral minorities. view ^

The Moral Majority and its allies are threatening in several ways.

- 1) It is superficial in its analysis of what is wrong with society. The symptoms of moral degeneracy are condemned, but its causes in a materialist and individualistic society are not traced.
- 2) It fails to understand how problems must be solved in a pluralistic society. It is impatient of compromise and indifferent to the need for public argument that does not depend upon everybody subscribing to a particular reading of the Christian ethic.
- 3) It lacks prophetic backbone. Its issues are safe middle class issues that do not threaten the pocket book or life styles of the people to whom it appeals.
- 4) It violates a fundamental part of the Judeo-Christian ethic by showing no believable concern for the poor and socially marginal.
- 5) It promotes a narrow nationalism that comes very close to identifying America with the purposes of God in the world.

The movement is also challenging and encouraging in several ways.

- 1) It represents a recovery of social responsibility among fundamentalist Christians. For years liberals have blasted them for lacking that responsibility. Liberals should now welcome this change, instead of engaging in fatuous talk about the violation of the separation of church and state.
- 2) It represents a Christian confidence that God is indeed at work in the world and that the church must combat social sins as well as personal sins.
- 3) It recognizes that Western culture is indeed in a state of moral decline.
- 4) It emphasizes that the Jewish people and the State of Israel have a particular and powerful claim upon the Christian conscience.
- 5) It alerts us to the fact that this nation and all nations are accountable to God.

A big proposition: We are witnessing the collapse of the ~~huge~~ 200 year hegemony of the secular enlightenment in Western culture. Jerry Falwell has -- inadvertently and somewhat clumsily -- kicked the trip wire and set off an alarm alerting us to this massive change.

The secular enlightenment assumed, indeed it was a dogma, that as people became more "enlightened" religion would either wither away or could be safely confined to the private sphere of life. Now, for better and for worse, religion is breaking out all over. In the physical and social sciences, in law, in art, and in politics.

For decades public policy aimed at producing the naked public square. That is, public space -- physical and political -- was to be stripped of every symbol of religion. Now Christian and Jewish thinkers, and many who identify with no religion, are recognizing that was a mistake. Without any symbols of the transcendent, a society has no absolute sanction against evil or imperative to pursue the good. It is adrift.

As odd as it may seem, Jerry Falwell and Martin Luther King Jr are alike in one important respect. ~~Both dared to enter~~ Their ideas of what is wrong with America and what needs to be done about it are very, very different. But both dared to enter the public square and call society to account by use of religiously based moral beliefs.

Neuhaus -- three

What is happening does not fit into the thought-slots of liberal, conservative, Left or Right. It is something quite new, both puzzling and promising, and it is fast transforming the cultural and political alignments of the past.

What then is to be done? 1) We should recognize the long-term significance of what is underway. 2) We should sympathetically try to understand the views and motivations of those who seem to threaten our values. 3) We should candidly disagree with them when necessary, but within the context of a dialogue that avoids polarization and preserves the pluralism we cherish. 4) ~~When~~ Those of us who claim the ~~liberal~~ tradition of liberal democracy need to examine ourselves, asking why the symbols of morality and patriotism (~~pro~~ prolife, profamily, promorality, proAmerica) have been permitted to gravitate toward the Right.

Martin Luther King was fond of saying, "Whom you would change you must first love." Millions of Americans believe that liberals are basically contemptuous of them and their values. They are ~~right~~ close to the truth. We will again have a chance to lead in changing America when we convince the American people that we love them and share their noblest aspirations. Rather than surrendering to the radical Right, we, like Dr. King, must dream a more persuasive dream for America. When that happens, the present squatters in the public square will be forced to let us back in to the game of defining America's future.

HAROLD MATTHEW SPINKA, M. D.

10412 SO. WHIPPLE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60655
(312) 445-1228

DERMATOLOGY - STYHILOLOGY

April 23, 1981

Dr. Kenneth S. Kantzer, Editor
CHRISTIANITY TODAY
465 Gunderson Ave.
Carol Stream, Ill. 60187

Re; Editorials, "Concerning Evangelism
and Jews," CHRISTIANITY TODAY,
vol. 26; #7; April 24, 1981 pp. 12-

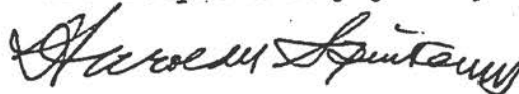
Dear Dr. Kantzer;

I wish to complement you and your Editorial staff, in your efforts in the April 24, 1981 issue of CHRISTIANITY TODAY, confronting the Evangelical-Jewish issue. During the Second Vatican Council, before War II, and after a conversation with short of stature, but spiritual giant, the late Rabbi Dr. Abraham Heschel, saw the Pope personally delete "The Mission to the Jews," which is still in effect today. The Protestant Christian community should do likewise, the Lutheran Church--the Missouri synod not-with-standing.

As a practicing physician for 37 years, and an elder of the Presbyterian Church. USA for over 40 years, have Jewish friends who are doctors, dentists, business men, etc. I have adopted the translation of "love your neighbor==" to mean; to be CONSIDERATE AND COMPASSIONATE to your neighbor. I not only respect, but also champion their religious freedom.

Each fall, I sent to Jewish friends, here and abroad, a Jewish New Year Card, (Rosh Hoshanna and Yom Kippur); Rosh Hoshanna this year is Sept. 29, 1981--try it yourself; you will be pleasantly surprised by the response.

Most respectfully yours,



Harold M. Spinka, M.D.

HMS:DJW

The AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
75th ANNUAL MEETING — WASHINGTON HILTON

The New Right

Friday, May 15, 1981
9:45 a.m. - 12 p.m.

- I. Opening remarks by Lester Hyman, chairperson, outlining the purpose of the session, (5 minutes)
- II. Report on recent developments from a national perspective.
- A. Secular Right: presentation by Milton Ellerin. (10 minutes)
- B. Religious New Right: presentation by Marc Tannenbaum. (10 minutes)
- C. Community reports from around the country and general questions and answers from the floor. (30 minutes)
1. Seattle: presentation by Bobbe Bridge. (5 minutes)
2. St. Louis: presentation by Lois Gould. (5 minutes)
3. Dallas: presentation by Carol Shlipak. (5 minutes)
- III. Discussion between Robert Jacobs and Sheila Suess Kennedy on the following questions: (30 minutes)
- A. What should be our strategy in dealing with the secular New Right?
The religious New Right? *not a verb*
- B. Should we take the initiative in seeking to dialogue with New Right leaders, secular and religious? What should be our posture if they seek to dialogue with us?
- C. Should AJC prepare and distribute materials and/or engage in public relations campaigns to counteract or minimize the influence of the New Right? *not possible*
- D. Should we limit our activities to forming coalitions built on those issues on which we agree? *of course not*
- IV. Open debate, questions and answers from the audience. (Time remaining)

AJC
N.H.

TAV
EVANGELICAL MINISTRIES
P.O. BOX 281, ELVERTA, CALIFORNIA, 95626
(1) (916) 991-0136

CALIFORNIA
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DRAFT -

May 1, 1981

TO: Jewish Federation & JCRC

(NOTE: Arlene Pearl (Israel Affairs) & Steve Fishbein (JCRC Chairman) must be aware of our response - keep in touch with Sita or Doug Shearer in Sacramento - 443-7077 (Business))

OF EVANGELICALS, ISRAEL, & AWACS

Evangelical Christians (whether within Protestant, Catholic, or Orthodox branches of Christendom) have increasingly shown interest in the American political arena. A Very recent Gallop poll indicated that nearly 54% of all Americans profess having a spiritual encounter with Jesus Christ and are born-again, Bible-believing Christians - many of whom "witness" to their faith. Their involvement in the past Presidential election was overrated and understated; however, to say that the "Evangelical Right" or the generic term "Moral Majority" has not and will not continue to be a potent force in American politics is ludicrous (Contributions to Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority have doubled on a per-monthly basis since the November '80 election.).

Evangelicals in the main remain socially conservative. The great "moral issues" confronting our nation (e.g., abortion, ERA, prayer in the schools, gay rights, pornography, etc.) will find most evangelicals taking "conservative" positions on virtually all these issues.

Evangelicals, in keeping with their biblical theology and their conservative stance regarding Israel's security, have an amazing degree of compatibility with the, for the most part, liberal American Jewish community. Both are united around the "survival issues." Both seek after a just and lasting peace accord in the Middle East for all peoples represented. When "push comes to shove" it may be these critical survival issues which throw both evangelical and Jew together. To separate the American Jewish community from Israel's healthy existence is absurd - both are intrinsically bound in mutual support. As Israel declared Jerusalem its capitol, the Arab world reacted by threatening

HABAKKUK 3:17-18

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

MINISTRIES
ANTIPAS PROJECT
EVANGELIZATION
HOME BIBLE STUDIES
CHRISTIAN-JEWISH
RELATIONS
MISSIONS
LITERATURE/MEDIA

ASSOCIATED WITH
SADDLEBACK FAMILY
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INC.
SOS MINISTRIES
"THE GENERATION"



to terminate diplomatic relations with any nation that quartered its embassy in Jerusalem - the very real threat of a cut-off of oil supplies was implied. Evangelicals in September of 1980 established "The International Christian Embassy" in Jerusalem in response to this isolation from the world community. Nearly 1,000 Christians from 22 nations as well as Israeli religious leaders and government officials participated in opening ceremonies. A staff of 12 members will, according to John Rawlings (Canadian filmmaker who resides in Israel) "be ambassadors for Israel and for the principles of God that Israel represents We want to remind Christians to pray for the peace of Jerusalem."

Biblical and moral mandate propel large segments of American evangelicals to side with the American Jewish community in uncompromising support for a secure Israel. We make strange bedfellows indeed! Nevertheless, both, perhaps from differing points of view, have a stake in Israel's healthy survival. Incidentally, the gulf separating evangelicals and Jews in America is being bridged by leaders (both lay and clergy) of both communities. Christianity Today and the American Jewish Committee in January 1980 at Deerfield, Illinois co-sponsored the 2d national gathering of evangelicals and Jews which was a smashing success. It may be that evangelicals and Jews are far more compatible, though major differences exists, than heretofore realized by both sides.

The evangelical, as expressed recently by Dr. Joe Aldrich, President of Multnomah School of the Bible (Portland, Oregon), is adamant regarding Jews in general: "God Himself said of the Jews, 'I will bless those who bless you and curse those who curse you.'" Aldrich in condemning a local neo-Nazi organization continued by saying, "We would be among those who bless. We would stand among those who affirm God's eternal love for those whom He chose and honored above all peoples and nations of the earth: Jews. If lines are to be drawn, let them be drawn around both Christian and Jew--not between. That's what God's love does, and God's love is what Christianity is all about."

Evangelical Charismatics gathered in Jerusalem from around the world in November of 1980 and declared: We must stand up and be counted if we love Israel - it will cost us something, but we're way behind in our debts to Israel. We need to align ourselves with them (Women's Aglow Jan. '81). Kenneth Kantzer, editor of Christianity Today (April 24, 1981) declared: We evangelicals need to make our identification with Jews so plain that--let us repeat--when anyone attacks Jews as Jews, or displays any form of anti-Semitism, he must know that he is also attacking evangelicals and violating their basic convictions. And he will then need to do battle against both Jews and evangelicals.

This decided stand against anti-Semitism and uncompromising pro-Israeli position is rooted in evangelical theology - theology which evolved in the early 1800's and which has not changed since that time. In keeping with this position, we, as evangelicals, would address the pending sale of AWACS and other sophisticated "offensive"



hardware to the Saudis.

The proposed sale of this military hardware, originally orchestrated by the Carter administration with alleged support by the Israeli government, does not take into consideration the precise reaction by the Israeli government, nor does it take into account the reaction of American Jews and many other concerned groups within the American society.

Events in Iran should have taught us the danger of putting sensitive weaponry into the hands of unstable, undemocratic regimes threatened with internal strife. In 1979 the seizure of the Grand Mosque in Mecca showed that Saudi Arabia was not the island of stability it appeared to be. Saudi citizens appear to be supportive of their government - but a radical change in leadership cannot be ruled out. F-15s and AWACS can provide little help in confronting internal subversives; in fact, the accumulation of prize weaponry may encourage overthrow!

In addition to this obvious instability we would point out other impediments to such a proposed sale of weaponry:

- (1) Does adding to an already burgeoning military expenditure (Saudis spend nearly 21 billion annually in weaponry) guarantee that its increasing availability will not be used by a country which has only recently declared a "jihad" (holy war) against Israel? The Saudis have participated in three wars against Israel - with men and weapons.
- (2) Does support in terms of offensive weaponry to a nation that actively backs the PLO and its terrorists activities sound like a healthy investment?
- (3) To say that the Saudis by thus being armed would be a credible deterrent to Soviet adventurism in the Middle East (Gulf Area) is patently absurd - a bear would demolish a mouse! Only the US could effectively counter Soviet aspirations - especially, if an invasion were attempted. Existing AWACS on assignment in the immediate Persian Gulf from the US now function as early warning against Soviet aspirations. Defense of the Persian Gulf region is best left to the US and European allies.
- (4) What are our American objectives in this region? The Saudis have rejected the US concept of a "strategic consensus" against the Soviet Union. Saudis categorically refuse to consider granting US facilities in their country - thus, do their aims coincide with ours? or do such differences amount to appeasement of the Saudis?
- (5) The obvious economic considerations surround the sale of the AWACS to the Saudis is the assumption that it would guarantee moderation in oil prices and continue to assure oil supplies to the West; however, the record is overtly clear: The Saudis determine oil price and production policies as it benefits their own economic interests - they, now in concert with OPEC, are pressing for a policy which would keep driving the price of oil up. By maintaining high levels of production, the Saudis have managed to keep the pressure on fellow OPEC

members as well as to make money - not to do the US a favor. The US has had enough humiliation at the hands of Middle Eastern antagonists who through terror and economic blackmail have little respect for the US and her allies - one of whom is decidedly Israel. Does the US have to "prove" anything to the Saudis? If the Saudis insist that the sale of these AWACS is a test of our friendship, do we need such friendship as this? If President Reagan is faithful to his pledge to back friendly nations whose policies are clearly in our interests - then now is the time for him to erase one of Jimmy Carter's errors and develop a foreign policy in the Middle East that is realistic and not subject to political expediency. Perhaps President Reagan's foreign policy advisors should consider supporting historically friendly Middle Eastern governments whose policies respect US interests and reward them for their consistent support by selling the AWACS to them - they might start by considering Israel, since they normally are the ones in need of early warning devices.

TAV EVANGELICAL MINISTRIES -

Doug Krieger/NW Rep

ASC
N-1

TAV
EVANGELICAL MINISTRIES
P.O. BOX 281, ELVERTA, CALIFORNIA, 95626
(1) (916) 991-0136

NEWS RELEASE

5/3/81

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EVANGELIZATION
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"THE GENERATION"

The Sacramento Jewish Federation in concert with TAV Evangelical Ministries co-sponsored the first gathering of evangelicals and Jews in the greater Sacramento area on 23 April 81.

The gathering is the first of three which have been planned by the lay-led Christian evangelical organization. Inspiration for the "get-togethers" evolved when TAV representatives met with Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, Director of the American Jewish Committee in March of this year at a conference sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the American Jewish Committee in Los Angeles ("Religion and Electronic Media" was the conference title.).

The Sacramento gathering was held in the home of the Assistant Director of the Sacramento Jewish Federation (Madeline Philips). The living room atmosphere involved approximately 26 adults (evenly divided between evangelicals and Jews). The purpose for the gathering was to build bridges between both communities in lieu of the increasing rise of anti-Semitism and the growing awareness by both Jews and evangelicals of Israel's precarious position in the Middle East.

Reformed Jewish Rabbi Lester Frazin of Congregation B'nai Israel, oldest synagogue in the Western USA, opened the gathering in prayer and Father Jerry Brown of St. John's Episcopal (Charismatic evangelical) closed in prayer. The 4 hour meeting was moderated by the Jewish Federation. Evangelicals represented at the gathering were mainly lay people from various local denominations and ministries (Assemblies of God, Conservative Baptist, American Board of Missions to the Jews, Community Churches, and street evangelists from SOS Ministries of San Francisco).

Jewish representation included organizations such as: Jewish Community Relations Council; National Council of Jewish Women; Israel Affairs; Oppressed Jewry; Jewish Education, Jewish Media, and Jewish Federation staff members.

HABAKKUK 3:17-18

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



A decided spiritual flavor of the meeting came as a pleasant surprise to all. Cantor Wald of Mosaic Law (Conservative) led the Jewish representation in singing Psalm 133 in Hebrew. Evangelicals freely shared the main elements of their faith - Christ, the Bible, and evangelism were covered. Ephraim Spivek, director of the Sacramento JF explained to the evangelicals how Jewish communities are locally arranged.

Traditionally, Jews have espoused liberal social issues within American societies; whereas, evangelicals have in the main been conservative on these matters. However, the "survival issues" confronting both evangelical and Jewish communities were the main topics of discussion - anti-Semitism and Israel's safety. To all of our surprise we found that, for the most part, both communities were aware of the key issues - the surprise was that Jews knew that evangelicals were aware and visa versa.

Lively discussions centered around pending sales of AWACS to Saudia Arabia and how that would impact upon Israel - obviously, all came out in support of Israel's security (no AWACS to Saudis). Jews at the gathering were unanimous that for too long they have not had the kind of dialogue with evangelicals that was needed and that liberal Christianity, which traditionally has been the main liaison between Jewish and Christian communities, was no longer an adequate barometer of American Christianity

Evangelicals will reciprocate by sponsoring another "living room" gathering in early June. A strong desire for mutual support was manifested and all who attended attested to the agape love that was clearly demonstrated when Jews and evangelicals are willing to move beyond old stereotypes and imagery, and genuinely reach out to each other in love and support - "it's time we started listening to each other" was echoed by both sides.

TAV Evangelical Ministries will, in concert with the American Jewish Committee hold additional gatherings on the West Coast (Portland and San Francisco) with representatives from both communities (June 12 and 15). The goal of these gatherings is to bring both evangelical and Jew face-to-face and confronting issues that we identify with and openly discussing where we disagree. The evangelicals are increasingly discovering an amazing compatibility with American Jews on a wide range of issues that speak to the heart. Certainly, evangelical theology strongly favors a much more pleasant arrangement with Jewry than currently exists. The God of Israel is still the God of the evangelical. It is obvious that Jews do not recognize Jesus Christ as the Messiah of Israel; however, when that issue arose in the discussion we all concurred that the revelation of the end-time Messiah would be such a glorious event that both of us would be beside ourselves in worship and praise that He has come.

Doug Krieger - Interreligious Affairs/TAV



WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA 27109

Department of Religion

September 12, 1980

Rabbi Solomon S. Bernards
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

Dear Rabbi Bernards:

I have received your recent note containing the statements about Judaism made by Dr. Bailey Smith, President of the Southern Baptist Convention, on August 22, 1980, at the National Affairs Briefing in Dallas, Texas.

Let me begin by repudiating in the strongest terms the reprehensible views expressed by Dr. Smith. I was shocked, grieved, and angered by his words, and I hope you know that he cannot speak with any authority for his fellow Baptists and that he does not, in my opinion, represent the ideas and attitudes of thoughtful Christians. His statements are not only untrue, unscriptural, and unkind; they are also, as you know, far removed from the teachings and spirit of the Jesus whom he pretends to serve.

Bailey Smith is one of a group of Southern Baptist power politicians who, unfortunately, have maneuvered themselves into places of leadership. They think and act in terms of forced uniformity and ruthless control. Their spirit is foreign both to the character of Jesus as depicted in the New Testament and to the historic insistence of Baptists upon freedom, toleration and soul-competence. Dr. Smith has joined himself to the nefarious company of Haman, Hitler, Arafat and Khomeini. They are not the People of God.

It does no good to argue with such closed minds as found in that company. Logic and evidence do not influence such self-righteous bigots. However, I do wish Dr. Smith would pause at least long enough to realize that Jesus was a Jew--a loyal and faithful Jew. Does that mean that God would not hear him? And what of Abraham and Moses, Isaiah and Jeremiah--and all the hosts of faithful ones who have enjoyed the fellowship of the Lord?

I hope you, dear friend, will find it possible to forgive even those who persecute you, and pray for them, for I am confident that God will both hear your prayers and forgive them. Please be assured of my personal affection and best wishes. I hope we may be together again soon.

Cordially,

J. William Angell
Professor of Religion

JWA:af
cc: Dr. Bailey Smith



W. A. CRISWELL, PASTOR
FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
DALLAS, TEXAS 75201

October 1, 1980

Rabbi Saul Besser
6930 Alpha Road
Dallas, Texas 75240

Dear precious friend, Rabbi Saul Besser:

The enclosed copy of a letter from Dr. Angel of North Carolina will speak the heart and persuasion of our Southern Baptist people. You cannot know with what deep regret that I read the statement of Bailey Smith in the newspapers.

What do you do about a thing like that? It seems to me it is like a man who has a sore spot in his side. The best thing to do is not punch it; just let it go with the hope that time will heal it. That has been my attitude concerning this unfortunate statement. I pray that in a little while it will all pass away.

You ever have my deepest love and admiration. You are my dear, dear friend now and forever.

Devotedly yours,



W. A. Criswell

WAC:ep

Encl.



MEREDITH COLLEGE
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA 27611 / (919) 833-6461

September 22, 1980

Dr. Bailey C. Smith
~~Pastor~~
First Southern Baptist Church
Post Office Box 15039
Del City, Oklahoma 73115

Dear Dr. Smith:

On Friday, September 19, the Meredith College faculty met in official session. During the meeting the following motion was made, seconded and passed unanimously:

"We, the faculty of Meredith College, are proud of our Baptist heritage and affirm the strength which we gain through the roots of this heritage.

"A part of this heritage is the freedom of open inquiry and the freedom of individual conscience. It is, however, a political reality that the voice of one who has been elected president of the Southern Baptist Convention may be popularly understood to be representative of all Southern Baptists and Southern Baptist institutions. It is in light of this reality that we note the recent statement of Bailey C. Smith, President of the Southern Baptist Convention, '...God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew.' (Quoted in the News and Observer, September 18, 1980.)

"While we recognize Mr. Smith's right to his views, we do not accept this as our view. Standing within the Judeo-Christian tradition, we affirm that God is the God of all people and that God alone is judge."

The faculty further recommended that copies of this letter be sent to the Biblical Recorder, News and Observer, Raleigh Times, United Press International, North Texas Jewish Committee, and the American Jewish Committee.

Sincerely,

Madge D. Billard
Madge D. Billard
Secretary to the Faculty



The American Jewish Committee

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September 28, 1981

Letters to the Editor
Chicago Tribune
435 North Michigan Avenue
4th Floor - Editorial Department
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dear Sir:

Your editorial, "Extremism in the name of God", in asserting that some Orthodox Jews in Israel have become an obstacle to the quest for peace ranking on a par with the cruelty, orgy of fanaticism and viciousness (your words, not mine) of the Crusades, the Inquisition, the Puritans and the mullahs, distorts words beyond all meaning.

Three and a half million Israelis - including a half million Christians and Moslems - desire nothing more than to live their lives in peace, free to practice their respective religions. In this goal they have been thwarted for decades by surrounding Arab states who will not recognize the right of Israel to exist, the right of Jews and others to live their lives in dignity, free from terror.

For the Chicago Tribune to place blame for events in the Middle East on a small segment of the Israeli population, and then to attach to this blame the same moral indignation you assert against religious tyranny, is unfair and irresponsible. You are making the victims into the aggressors; you are blaming the sheep for the wolves' hunger.

Jews whose forbears were slaughtered by Crusaders, who were tortured and killed by the Inquisition, who were (and are) treated as inferiors by Moslems, have no desire to turn



The American Jewish Committee

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Letters to the Editor
September 28, 1981
Page -2-

the tables; our faith does not permit us to do so - our commitment to freedom and social justice forbids us from acting toward others in such fashion.

Sincerely yours


Robert S. Jacobs, Chairman
National Interreligious Affairs
Commission, American Jewish
Committee

RSJ:cmd

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Growth of Franchised Religion Forecast

Sociologist Sees Merger of TV Evangelism, Marketing Techniques

APC Interfaith

By Marjorie Hyer

Washington Post Staff Writer

B3 18

Franchised religion — a marriage of TV evangelism with the national marketing techniques of the Dunkin' Donut and the Big Mac — may be the newest thing on the horizon for the churches, a leading authority on TV preachers said here this week.

Jeffrey K. Hadden, a sociology professor at the University of Virginia and coauthor of "Prime Time Preachers," told a Baptist conference here that both the economics and operational style of some of the leading TV preachers make "the franchising business" the logical next step.

With 90 syndicated TV evangelists now "competing for money from a total audience that has not increased appreciably in a half-dozen years," Hadden said the TV preachers face financial collapse unless they take some kind of action.

"If only a small proportion of persons who give to a television ministry could be converted into members of a local church organized by televangelists, a much more stable financial base could be built," Hadden told 150 national Baptist leaders attending a biennial conference on religious liberty here.

"Organizing [TV] audiences into congregations would substantially reduce the high turnover rate of contributors," Hadden said. "And, since the local churches would effectively be branch offices of the national organization, their central mission activity would be to support the television ministry and its ancillary projects."

In the keynote session of the conference, a Baptist and a Jewish leader focused on the relationships between evangelism and religious lib-

erty: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, inter-religious affairs director for the American Jewish Committee, and Dr. Jimmy Allen, former president of the Southern Baptist Convention and now head of the SBC Radio and Television Commission.

Allen drew a distinction between evangelism and proselytizing. True evangelism, he said, involves "leading people to understand God ... and then allowing God to draw persons to Himself." Proselytizing, he said, was "winning somebody to your point of view."

"Evangelism is a very sensitive issue to many of us in the Jewish community," Tanenbaum said. While upholding the right of Christians to evangelize openly, he condemned the use of coercion and deception in evangelizing as "a scandal in the eyes of God."

Tanenbaum assailed the practices of Messianic Jews — Jews who have converted to fundamentalist Christianity — on some college campuses where he said they have established "storefront synagogues," complete with Hebrew prayers and Jewish worship materials, to entice Jewish students into religious services that attempt to convert them.

"The Hebrew prayers are used as a deception to entrap people," Tanenbaum said, adding that such practices are "not worthy of the high religion that is Christianity."

Jews and Christians alike have the obligation to care for the needy and suffering, Tanenbaum said. Recounting his experiences on an interfaith visit to refugee camps of Southeast Asian boat people two years ago, he said, "I have never felt more Jewish ... when I literally helped pull people out of the wa-

ter, side by side with Christians, witnessing to God's covenant."

The "great commission" for both Christians and Jews, he said, is to bring reconciliation and healing "to human life everywhere and leave it to God to determine who has been His most faithful witness."

In the question period after the two men's presentation, Allen agreed that the "deception level" of some efforts to evangelize Jews "needs to be rejected." At the same time he asserted the right of Christians to attempt to evangelize Jews.

In his presentation on franchise churches, Hadden suggested that evangelists Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson already maintain organizations well suited to such a move.

"For all intents and purposes, [Falwell] already has the organizational structure in place," he said, referring to Liberty Baptist College and Seminary. Graduates of the latter "have already started 200 new independent Baptist churches," he said. Given Falwell's "great personal charisma" and the "intensely loyal" seminary alumni, "it would take little effort to transform independent Baptists into Falwellian Baptists," the sociologist said.

Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network maintains prayer and counseling centers in 83 cities in America, some of which operate 24 hours a day, Hadden said. "Many of the 10,000 volunteer counselors could be transformed into cadres of local congregations," he said. Hadden said CBN claims they receive 25,000 calls a year from persons seeking counseling — a figure, he said, "which could go a long way toward building a local church."



RABBI MARC TANENBAUM
... attacks deception in evangelizing.



DR. JIMMY ALLEN
... evangelism, proselytizing contrasted

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4 Section 2

Sunday, September 27, 1981

Extremism in the name of God

Every major religion preaches peace and brotherhood and mercy, yet some of the cruellest and most intolerant repressions in history have been committed in the name of God.

This is the paradoxical threat that arises whenever a revivalist religious group seeks to extend its influence beyond parochial boundaries and to establish itself as an organized force in the world of politics. It is why many Americans worry about the ambitions and influence of groups like Moral Majority even though they may share most if not all of its concerns. It is The Tribune's response to those of our readers who wonder why a normally conservative paper like this should be so critical of people who are a bit more conservative than we.

Throughout history people have turned to religion when they feel that they have lost their bearings in a rapidly changing society. There is abundant reason today to wonder what has happened to the old time values—to family unity, to the work ethic, to self-reliance, to fiscal prudence, and the like.

But there is also reason to worry when religious zeal turns into self-righteousness and intolerance and is used to cloak activities that are essentially self-serving or political. Consider some examples of history:

- **The Crusades.** Though billed as an effort to restore Christian control of the Holy Land, the leading roles were played by opportunists who proclaimed their loyalty to the Pope, recruited troops in the name of the Lord, and set off in the hope of winning their own principalities and a share of the fabled riches of the Orient—or, in the case of the Venetians, to set up trading offices. Whatever conquests these princes achieved dissolved in bickering among themselves (at least one, Conrad of Montferrat, was assassinated in the process). The stage was thus set for a new Crusade. This went on for two centuries until Europe and the church were in such disarray that the Mohammedans were able to retaliate by conquering most of southeastern Europe.

- **The Inquisition.** For centuries, the Catholic Church tried to deal with dissent within its ranks (called heresy) by means of an inquisition, a sort of grand jury investigation that often led to confiscation of property. But in 1478 Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, seeking to consolidate their power, prevailed on Pope Sixtus IV to let them handle inquisitions, ostensibly as a service to the church. They and the "Most Catholic Majesties"

who succeeded them used it viciously—not against Catholic dissenters but against anybody who threatened the power of the monarchy, particularly Jews. Spain made the inquisition a political tool and gave it its notorious reputation for cruelty. Not until 1816 was the Vatican able to abolish torture by the Spanish inquisitors.

- **The Puritans.** The Puritans came over from England in search of religious freedom. But having established themselves as the dominant power in Massachusetts Bay Colony, they proceeded to convert the colony into an intolerant theocracy from which dissenters like Roger Williams were banished. A final orgy of fanaticism led to the Salem witch trials in the early 1690s, but by then the government had made so many enemies that the king of England revoked its charter and established a more liberal government.

- **The mullahs.** True to the pattern of history, rapid social changes in the Middle East have brought a Moslem revivalist or fundamentalist movement dedicated originally to a restoration of traditional Moslem values. It has appeared as a religious movement in many countries, but in Iran it was harnessed by enemies of the shah and has led to a vicious Islamic Republic in which the mullahs praise Allah, recite the Koran (in which brotherhood and mercy figure even more prominently than in the Bible), and then order the execution of a dozen political enemies. More recently the Moslem fundamentalists have appeared as a political faction in Egypt, leftist in ideology and bitterly opposed to President Sadat. They have demonstrated under banners carrying such unbrotherly messages as "Believers do not take the Christians and Jews as friends."

- **Israel.** In recent months the Begin government has been challenged by extreme Orthodox Jews who have become influential in small political parties, who make such religious demands as stricter observance of the Sabbath (no El Al flights, for example), but who have also become an obstacle to the quest for peace—a sort of mirror reflection of the "Moslem Associations" in the Arab world.

The list could go on, but the message is clear. We're not suggesting that the Rev. Jerry Falwell is about to become Chief Inquisitor for the U.S. But when religious zeal is diverted to political ends, it loses its religion and all too often becomes a vehicle for intolerance and divisiveness leading ultimately to the destruction of its own original goals.

1820 Blake Dr.
Richardson, Tx. 75081
September 29, 1980

Mr. Milton Tobian
5843 Waggoner Dr.
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Tobian:

As a ruling elder of a Protestant church, I feel compelled to write you to apologize for the remarks made by Bailey Smith at the "National Affairs Briefing." Please know that Christians—many, many Christians—find the remarks (and the "National Affairs Briefing") not only offensive and foreign to our beliefs, but frightening as well.

If Mr. Smith is screening prayers for God...God help us all.

Sincerely,

Dianne H. Miller
Dianne Halyard Miller

cc Bailey Smith
P. O. Box 15039
Del City, Ok. 73155

WHERE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS WE STAND

THE EVANGELICAL RIGHT

There is a mood developing in some quarters of American life that is deeply disquieting.

For the most part it has been engendered by the scurrilous accusations and violent rhetoric wielded by the Evangelical Right during recent political campaigns. Imperious and self-righteous, this new mood is contradictory of the traditionally open, inclusive character of the American people. It is the inevitable result of the deliberate manipulation of fear and suspicion as a political program — fear, especially, of the risks and diversity inherent in democracy and freedom. The solution to uncertainty proposed by the Evangelical Right is to wall us within the limits of their religious doctrine, to straight-jacket our minds, to require that we subordinate our differing views to their version of religious truth.

Under our Constitutional system, religious spokesmen have the right to urge and advocate political positions. Religious groups have a natural and legitimate interest in the quality of public life and their political

advocacy does not infringe upon the constitutional requirement of separation of Church and State. But the methods adopted by the Evangelical Right to advance its views are divisive and destructive; they are deeply offensive to the principles of democracy if not to its laws.

Religious groups have a right to political advocacy, but the methods of the New Right are divisive and destructive.

The device used by the Evangelical Right to intimidate and suppress difference is to claim for itself an absolute moral and political rectitude, allegedly validated by the Bible and confirmed by Revelation; a rectitude so perfect and complete as to preclude all possibility of reputable disagreement. They not only claim that they represent a moral majority but act as if they possess a moral monopoly. In their terms, expression of disagreement is not only evidence of lack of wisdom, it is proof of lack of virtue.

We reject those claims and those who make them. We deplore their willingness to wield religious commitment as an instrument of political coercion, their use of fundamentalist piety as the principal measure of political competence, their readiness to invoke Divine authority — and thus trivialize Divine sanction — for every minute, ephemeral political issue which they find of current interest. We deplore their efforts to intimidate where they cannot persuade, to bully by using the size of their electronic congregations and to threaten political reprisal by the proliferation of their "hit lists." We deplore, finally, their efforts to play upon and abuse the apprehension and emotional vulnerability that so often accompany genuine spiritual search. These tactics of the Evangelical Right have degraded our national political discourse.

Fortunately, these excesses have come under increasingly critical scrutiny by analysts and observers cutting across the political spectrum, including most recently the president of Yale University and even such conservative spokesmen as Senator Barry Goldwater. We join in a call to revitalize and rehabilitate the political process. This would require blunt disclosure

and identification of Evangelical Right spokesmen as entrepreneurs of politics rather than as disinterested purveyors of exalted truths. It requires the exclusion from permissible political debate of slander of a candidate's moral qualifications because his political judgments fail to conform to someone else's sectarian specifications; and finally it calls for our own renewed and diligent efforts to reinforce those areas of personal and public freedom that have been targeted for destruction by the strategists of the New Right.

We are mindful that many leaders and spokesman for the Evangelical Right vigorously defend and support the State of Israel. We acknowledge and welcome that support, but this consideration is irrelevant to our assessment of their domestic programs. The damage done by their efforts to curtail domestic freedom is not made less by the soundness of their views on Israel. Although we welcome their support for Israel this will in no way cause us to mitigate or modify our opposition to the many policies and practices of the Evangelical Right with which we disagree.

That opposition, however, will not be availing unless it extends beyond merely documenting the excesses of the Evangelical Right and developing a counter-rhetoric. It must include a more rigorous and forceful assertion of our traditional concerns, both in the public forum and, when necessary, in the courts.

The way to confront the New Right is to challenge it on the issues — on such issues as support for the separation of Church and State and protection of the public school classroom; support of the Equal Rights Amendment and the right of women to choose to have an abortion; support for human rights and opposition to all oppressive governments; support for the right to dissent and opposition to censorship; support for compassionate social welfare legislation and opposition to discrimination and poverty — in short, by aggressive advocacy of the classic agenda of democracy.

**We acknowledge
the New Right's
support of Israel,
but it should not
affect our
assessment of
the movement's
domestic
programs.**

We are encouraged by the knowledge that there are many others, including the majority of evangelicals in this country, who are equally disturbed by the electoral depredations of the Right and with whom we can find common cause. The Evangelical Right is a recent political phenomenon and may

The New Right is a recent political phenomenon. Its early boasts of total effectiveness have been grossly inflated.

prove to be a brief one. Certainly, in retrospect, its early boast of total effectiveness must be dismissed as grossly inflated.

The American people have been notoriously impatient with zealots, single-truth fanatics of all types, and especially with those who would preempt the right to personal decision-making. It is incon-

ceivable that a nation so insistent upon new possibility, so adamantly independent, will long countenance the erosion of the pluralistic tradition that has made our country so extraordinary and so strong.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

This statement was drafted by Phil Baum, associate national director of the American Jewish Congress. It was adopted as a resolution by the National Governing Council of the Congress on October 4, 1981.

For additional copies, please write to

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street
New York, N.Y. 10028

The Moral Majority

IS IT GOOD FOR THE JEWS?

Could be...

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

THE most important issue to understand about the Moral Majority is that it is a symbol for a much larger, more complex social-political development that most Americans, and most American Jews, have not yet begun to confront.

The Rev. Jerry Falwell first organized the Moral Majority in June 1979. In less than two years, it has—thanks to the pervasive cultural power of the mass media—caught the national fancy and fears of much of America. That news media blitz, however, has tended to obscure a far more significant if less dramatic reality: namely, the gradual but growing emergence of 40 to 50 million Evangelical Christians into the mainstream of American life—economic, social, cultural, religious and political.

If the Moral Majority were to collapse tomorrow, and if Jerry Falwell were to disappear magically from the TV tube and the front covers of *Newsweek* and *Penthouse* magazines, we, thoughtful American citizens, would still need to deepen our understanding of the facts and the meaning of the rise of the New South and the entry of Evangelical Christians into the mainstream of American religious-cultural pluralism.

That historic development is of a

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, author of Evangelicals and Jews in Conversation, is national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee. He is a founder and co-secretary of the Joint Vatican International Jewish Consultative Committee.

magnitude comparable to that of the emergence into first-class citizenship of the Roman Catholic community in 1960, when the election of John F. Kennedy as the first "Catholic" President ratified the rite of passage of 50 million Catholics into American public life.

Not incidentally, the Catholic religious-ethnic succession was attended by some of the same ambivalence: Would "a Catholic President" undermine the separation of church and state? At that time, however, Evangelical Christians were in the forefront of those expressing public anxiety, most notably when Presidential candidate John F. Kennedy was compelled to assure Southern Baptist pastors that his first loyalty would be to America and not to the Pope and the Vatican.

MUCH of our national literary culture and popular folklore still perceives Evangelical Christians through the stereotypes of Crackers, rednecks, Bible-thumpers, illiterates, and "poor white trash." Anyone who has traveled through the South since the end of World War II knows that those are caricatures with no relation to reality. The South's economic growth during the last 35 years has resulted in a massive movement of population from the rest of America, so that today the 80 million people in the Sun Belt states constitute the largest concentration of population in our country. The New South is urbanized and industrialized; its citizenry is overwhelmingly middle class, many white-collar workers, with income and education

levels comparable to those of the rest of the nation's population.

The combination of economic wealth and widespread literacy has helped make Evangelical Christians the fastest growing religious group in America. The consciousness of newly acquired power—the influence of dollars plus knowledge—has transformed the once sleepy, magnolia-scented South into a rising political force on every level of government and society. Americans, and American Jews, will need to relate constructively to this new reality, long after Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority disappear from the scene.

THE second most important reality that needs to be understood is the extraordinary diversity and pluralism within the Evangelical community. All Fundamentalists are Evangelicals but not all Evangelicals are Fundamentalists.

More than half of the 40 million to 50 million Evangelicals are affiliated with the "mainstream" Southern Baptists, Southern Methodists, and Southern Presbyterians. The enlightened leadership of these 20 million to 30 million Evangelical Christians are proudly conscious of the fact that their forebears—the Southern Baptist farmer-preachers, the Methodist circuit riders, and the "dissident" Presbyterians in Virginia—fought and bled to disestablish the Anglican Church.

We owe to those Evangelical Christians both the doctrine and the institutionalization of religious liberty, freedom of conscience and religious pluralism. With the assistance of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, these Evangelical Christians are responsible for the 1786 Virginia Statute for Religious Liberty which became the basis for the First Amendment separating church from state.

Continued

It is no accident that when Fundamentalist preachers, symbolized by the Moral Majority in unholy alliance with ultraconservative political organizers, began advocating the establishment of a "Christian America" (a mythical idea with no substantial precedent in American history) and were urging their followers to "vote for born-again Christians only," the first Americans to oppose that Constantinian view were Southern Baptist leaders, foremost among them the Rev. Dr. Jimmy Allen, the Rev. James Dunn and many others.

Similarly, when the Fundamentalist preachers and politicians began advocating single-issue politics and were urging their followers to vote for candidates solely on the basis of how they stood on pro-family and pro-life issues, mainstream Evangelical leaders were in the forefront of those condemning that reductionism of American domestic and foreign policy concerns. Indeed, the leading Evangelical journal, *Christian-*

American Jewry would be foolish to take Evangelical support for granted and self-destructive to alienate it with theological casuistry over why Evangelicals really support the State of Israel.

ity Today, wrote a sharp editorial (September 19, 1980) warning the Fundamentalists that their approach "could lead to the election of a moron who holds the right view on abortion."

When the Rev. Bailey Smith uttered his obscenities that "God does not hear the prayer of a Jew" and that "Jews have funny hooked noses," of far more enduring importance than this spectacle was the fact that Mr. Smith received thousands of letters, telegrams, telephone calls, and resolutions from Baptist and other Evangelical pastors and leaders—including Jerry Falwell—condemning him for his anti-Semitism. Many quoted an official resolution adopted by the Southern Baptist Convention in 1972, which read in part:

Whereas, Baptists share with Jews a heritage of persecution and suffering for conscience's sake . . . Southern Baptists covenant to work positively to replace all anti-Semitic bias with the Christian attitude and practice of love for Jews, who, along with all other persons, are equally beloved of God.

Since my first meeting with the Rev. Billy Graham in 1965, I have become increasingly persuaded that the mainstream Evangelical Christians are potentially among the most stalwart friends of the Jewish people and of Israel. The record has borne that out.

WHILE many liberal Protestant church bureaucrats have become willing instruments for PLO politics and propaganda, the vast majority of Evangelical Christians have remained steadfast in their support of Israel as a Jewish state and of a united Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty. American Jewry would be foolish to take that for granted and self-destructive to alienate that support by engaging in theological casuistry over why Evangelicals and Fundamentalists really support Israel. There is a wise rabbinic teaching that "even though the intention may not be pure (for the sake of heaven), the effects can be pure."

Much more could be said about the wide support we have enjoyed among Evangelical Christians on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and about their collaborative programs with us to uproot the sources of anti-Semitism in Southern Baptist and other textbooks. And on the touchy issue of proselytization, we have also begun to make progress, including the writing of Evangelical essays that appreciate Judaism as a complete religion for Jews, who do not require salvation by becoming Christians.

We are, in fact, at a stage with Evangelicals theologically not unlike the early state we were at with Roman Catholics just prior to Vatican Council II. Those positive seeds need to be nurtured if they are ever to grow into sturdy plants, and they should not be poisoned by reckless polemics and noisy headline charges that suggest that all Evangelicals are anti-Semites.

That route seems predestined to snatch defeat from possible victory.

DO not want to suggest for a moment that there are no serious problems, especially with some Fundamentalists. When they advocate views that we perceive to be a threat to democracy, to pluralism, to social justice, and to a reasoned foreign policy, we have an obligation to stand against those views.

Jewish statesmanship requires that we seek to create an environment where it is possible, in a civil manner, to oppose those things with which we disagree and yet affirm those values we uphold. That method of disagreeing agreeably holds for our relationships not only with Evangelicals, but with Catholics, liberal Protestants and even other Jews.

Ultimately, to cite Talleyrand, we do not have permanent friends, but we do have permanent interests. □

TAV
EVANGELICAL MINISTRIES
P.O. BOX 281, ELVERTA, CALIFORNIA, 95626
(1) (916) 991-0136

OCTOBER 12, 1981

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MICKIE BUICE

RICK RODRIGUEZ

SOUTHEAST

CHARLIE TUCK

SOUTH CENTRAL

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SOUTHWEST

JOE LOPEZ

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
165 E. 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Marc:

Enclosed, please find a copy of the text of a full page ad which are placing in Sacramento's major newspaper, "The Sacramento Bee." The ad will be included in the "A" section of the paper and should reach the overwhelming majority of Sacramento's newspaper readers. Funding for the ad has been provided by literally scores of Evangelical Christians. Quite frankly, the cost of the ad has exhausted our "war chest." As I have mentioned in the past, TAV's efforts are yet very fledgling. Hopefully, within a year we will be better organized and much more capable of funding the costs associated with major media advertising, etc.

I am passing the text of the ad along to you because in the first place I thought that you might be interested in its contents, and , secondly, I thought that you might want to use it for your own purposes. You have our permission to use the ad in any way you see fit. The powerful point of this ad is that it was put together and funded by Evangelical Christians.

Again, our love and prayers are with you. God bless!!

Sincerely,



Douglas R. Shearer
TAV Evangelical Ministries

MINISTRIES

ANTIPAS PROJECT
EVANGELIZATION
HOME BIBLE STUDIES
CHRISTIAN-JEWISH
RELATIONS
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GOSPEL MINISTRIES,
INC.
SOS MINISTRIES
"THE GENERATION"

HABAKKUK 3:17-18

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

EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANS OPPOSED TO THE SALE OF AWACS

The President of the United States has submitted to Congress a proposal to sell AWACS and other highly sophisticated weapons systems to Saudi Arabia. A majority of congressmen are opposed to the sale. We are also strenuously opposed. Our opposition is based upon the following facts:

1. THE FOLLY OF DEPENDING UPON SAUDI ARABIA: The Middle East is plagued by social and political unrest. Chaos threatens to engulf the entire region. The institutional framework of Arab society has not adequately absorbed the tensions which have arisen largely from its own weaknesses and infirmities. Many Arab governments are unrepresentative and, therefore, vulnerable both to internally generated hostilities and to exploitation stemming from the Soviet Union. The assassination of Anwar Sadat only serves to heighten anxieties and to further weaken the fabric of the Arab Community.

The foundation of the Saudi State is particularly rotten. Saudi Arabia is governed by a rigid feudal order which is unlikely to properly channel and control the rising expectations of its people. It is impossible to construct an effective middle eastern foreign policy on the basis of Saudi Arabia. The collapse of Iran should certainly have underscored the folly of rooting American hopes in an undemocratic government which is not more flexibly attuned to the changes sweeping over the whole Arab world.

2. THE LOSS OF TOP-SECRET ELECTRONIC TECHNOLOGY: the fall of the Shah compromised the secrecy of the F-14, the Harpoon, and the Phoenix. Political upheaval in Saudi Arabia would threaten the secrecy of the AWACS, the F-15, and a host of other weapons systems upon which the defense of the free world depends. Saudi Arabia is hardly the safest depository of America's most advanced weapons technology. The proposal submitted by the President does not provide for even a modicum of joint American/Saudi control. The weapons systems are to be placed under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Saudis.

3. A THREAT TO ISRAEL: Unquestionably, the proposal endangers Israel. The complete weapons package includes not only five AWACS, the most perfected reconnaissance aircraft in the world, but also long-range fuel tanks, "sidewinder" missiles, and seven aerial refueling tankers for the sixty two F-15s which are scheduled to be delivered to Saudi Arabia next year. In addition, the package might be amended to include ten thousand TOW anti-tank missiles, multiple-ejection bomb racks, ground radar stations, and M-1 tanks.

The arms package shifts the balance of power away from Israel, the only country in the Middle East which is genuinely democratic and truly stable. The Saudi government has never reconciled itself to Israel nor embraced the principles of the Camp David Peace Accords. The Saudis have blatantly and unabashedly flaunted their hostility. There is, therefore, little doubt that the American equipment would be made available to the Arab "rejectionist states" in the event of a collapse of the American-Egyptian-Israeli peace efforts. Certainly, no reasonable man can believe otherwise.

Israel - Not Merely Another Nation

Our support for Israel and adamant opposition to the sale of AWACs can, of course, be argued on strictly secular grounds. However, an honest and forthright plea on our part must also be made on spiritual grounds. Evangelical Christians are "People of the Book." We are unwilling to "allegorize" the Bible - to ascribe meaning which is unwarranted by the context and which often distorts the clear intent of scripture. The Bible is not a "cute fairy tale" or even a "noble epic poem." We certainly acknowledge that much of the Bible is difficult to understand and differences of interpretation are often legitimate and unavoidable. Nevertheless, much of the Bible is not difficult to understand and differences of interpretation are possible only on the basis of imparting to the passages in question a "hidden meaning" which can not be justified.

The Law and the Prophets of the Hebrew Bible CLEARLY declare that the Land of Palestine belongs to Israel:

"And I will make of thee (Abraham and the Jewish People) a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing: and I WILL BLESS THEM THAT BLESS THEE, AND CURSE HIM THAT CURSETH THEE: and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." Genesis 12:2-3.

"Unto thy (Abraham and the Jewish People) seed will I give this land." Genesis 12:7.

"Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art northward, and southward, and eastward, and westward: for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed FOR EVER." Genesis 13:14-15.

The Bible also clearly prophesied that Old Israel would be destroyed and that the Jews would be scattered over the face of the earth - to be regathered many years later and reestablished again as a nation in the Land God promised to them:

"Behold, I will gather them out of all countries, whither I have driven them in mine anger, and in my fury, and in great wrath; and I will bring them again unto this place, and I will cause them to dwell safely; and they shall be my people, and I will be their God." Jeremiah 32:37-38.

"...Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land..." Ezekiel 37:21-26.

Some well meaning Christians have argued that the Church has replaced Israel and that the promises of God are no longer applicable to the Jewish People; that modern Israel, therefore, bears no special political or theological significance. Israel is simply one more state among the family of nations - perhaps the fulfillment of JEWISH hopes and

expectations, but clearly not the hope of MANKIND. We categorically reject that interpretation. God's promises to the Jewish People have never been abrogated. Israel is Israel; the Church is the Church. The two are not synonymous. Moreover, if God were to establish some moral criterion which could possibly justify the annulment of His promises to the Jews, then His promises made on the basis of Jesus Christ stand also in jeopardy. Gentile Christians stand in daily need of the grace and mercy of God. We boast not in our own righteousness, but in the righteousness which God has imputed to us through Jesus. The Bible teaches that the Jews and Israel, like Gentile Christians and the Church, have disappointed God; but that that disappointment does not touch the character of God nor does it affect the validity of His promises:

"I say then, Hath God cast away his people (the Jews)? God forbid." Romans 11:1.

"...that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved: as it is written, There shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob..." Romans 11:25-26.

A Last Word To Our Jewish Friends

Evangelical Christians are committed to the nationhood of Israel and are strongly opposed to anti-semitism in all of its insidious forms - including its most recent guise, anti-zionism. Your struggle is our struggle. Increasingly, we will be speaking out forcefully. But in the end, your hope is God alone. His promises are the rock of your salvation. He has committed Himself to your struggle and to the struggle of Israel - and in the end it is that commitment which alone matters. He alone is the GUARANTOR of its success. Our love and our prayers are with you.

A Last Word to the General Public

Our commitment to Israel is extended within the legal bounds of our constitutional democracy. Most Evangelical Christians have absolutely no intention of establishing a "Christian Republic." The Gospel of Jesus Christ can not be "force fed" to anyone. It is a voluntary act which acknowledges the need for the redeeming work of Christ and makes the mercy of God applicable in one's own personal life. We respect the right of every citizen to pursue his legitimate ends - whether or not they happen to coincide with ours.

TAV Evangelical Ministries is a lay lead, lay sponsored Christian organization dedicated to awakening Christians to their scriptural responsibilities concerning Israel and the Jewish community. There are no full time workers involved in the ministry. All money donated is tax deductible and will be used for the direct funding of TAV activities. For additional information regarding membership in TAV or for any information whatsoever, please write to TAV Evangelical Ministries, P.O. Box 160711, Sacramento, Calif. 95816. A complete list of Evangelical Christians who have provided contributions for support of this ad is available upon request.



Oct. 17-18, 1981 St. Louis Globe-Democrat 11A

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, right, with Archbishop John L. May at the Hillel Foundation Thursday.

Rabbi fears threat to religions

The Christian right's attempt to legislate a Christian morality is what disturbs Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum.

By Albert L. Schweitzer
Globe-Democrat Religion Writer

The emergence of the evangelical Christian right in the mainstream of American society may include a possible threat to this country's pluralistic way of life, according to a noted Jewish leader in ecumenical relations.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, said he fears some 45 million conservative Christians may rally behind an alleged goal of the Moral Majority to turn the United States into a "Christian republic" by electing only "born-again" Christians. "This would undermine the democratic fabric of our country," he said.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said the evangelical Christian right's attempt to legislate a Christian morality would not only violate the U.S. Constitution but also turn the country into a nation that would not tolerate non-conforming beliefs.

The result would be what happened in early American history to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a Puritan settlement that held an alliance between church and state, he said. The colony got along fine for 50 years or so until the second generation began to offer varying views on baptism and morality.

Dissidents were "thrown into prison, hung, flogged or put into the stockades we now like to visit," Rabbi Tanenbaum said. "That's what early Christianity in America was all about."

But there's an alternative to the participation of evangelical Christians in American life, Rabbi Tanenbaum said. And the alternative is making them cautious optimists, he said.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said he is encouraged by a stand taken by Moral Majority leader the Rev. Jerry Falwell a year ago saying God "hears all people who call to him in truth and love." He said the Rev. Mr. Falwell also acknowledged there should be religious pluralism in American society.

The Rev. Mr. Falwell's signing of a 1½-page statement reaffirming the values of religious liberty and pluralism was an instance of "growth," Rabbi Tanenbaum said. It's the same sort of growth Rabbi

Tanenbaum saw in Baptist evangelist Billy Graham when the two began a Jewish-Christian dialogue in the mid-60s, he said.

Rabbi Tanenbaum, the only rabbi at the Roman Catholic Church's Second Vatican Council, 1962-65, spoke this past week to an interfaith group at the Hillel Foundation and at the American Jewish Committee's annual Human Relations Award dinner.

He was profuse in his praise for St. Louis and a 1950s St. Louis University study that paved the way for a breakthrough in Jewish-Roman Catholic relations.

"None of those participating in the study realized how critical a contribution they would be making to Jewish-Christian relations, not only in this city but in the world," Rabbi Tanenbaum said.

In 1957, SLU professor the Rev. Trafford P. Maher, S.J., headed up a study of how Judaism was portrayed in textbooks used in Catholic elementary schools, high schools, universities and seminaries. This study of "the teachings of contempt (of Jews)" became the basis for the Second Vatican Council's statement which, for the first time, said Jews were not responsible for the death of Christ.

Rabbi Tanenbaum, a Vatican Council consultant, said it was the desire of Pope John XXIII to issue such a statement of reconciliation. When the late Cardinal Augustine Bea, president of the Curia's secretariat for Christian Unity, requested data for formulating the Vatican declaration, the only available document was the SLU study, Rabbi Tanenbaum said.

The study "put an end to contempt and hostilities and brought about respect and solidarity among Jews and Christians in the world," Rabbi Tanenbaum said. The Jewish-Catholic breakthrough has become the starting point for similar dialogues with evangelical Christians.

Ecumenical relations between Jews and evangelical Christians have passed the "ambassador stage" and are now in the "normalcy stage," Rabbi Tanenbaum said. "We're about where we were with the Catholics in 1967-68," he said. "We have good relations with major personalities" among evangelical Christians.

Rabbi Tanenbaum said he believes the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and the attempts on the lives of President Reagan and Pope John Paul II show an outbreak of "fanaticism" and a lack of acceptance of ethnic pluralism in the world. "It's an epidemic dehumanizing the world," he said.

Democracy and religious pluralism — notions American take for granted — "are the most important export we have today," he said. "It's an idea, but it's also the experience of living in mutual concern for the other person."

"Those pushing for fundamentalism are laying the seeds for an Ayatollah Khomeini in America."

Democracy and religious pluralism "are the most important export we have today. Those pushing for fundamentalism are laying the seeds for an Ayatollah Khomeini in America."

religion

Evangelists Separated From Extremists

By Victor Volland
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

Evangelical Christians should not be confused with extremists of the Moral Majority, a prominent Jewish ecumenical leader said Thursday.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, spoke Thursday at a luncheon sponsored by the St. Louis chapter of the American Jewish Committee. Tanenbaum also spoke Thursday night at a dinner at the Chase-Park Plaza Hotel.

St. Louis developer Leon Strauss was presented with the committee's 1981 Human Relations Award. Strauss, president of Pantheon Corp., was cited for rehabilitation projects in several areas of the city.

At the luncheon, attended by a group of St. Louis clergy, Tanenbaum said evangelical Christians must be included in the mainstream of American religious and political life. He said the "New Right" and the "New South" are forces to be reckoned with in the coming years in the struggle to maintain American pluralism and religious freedom.

"The old stereotypes of southerners as 'rednecks,' 'crackers' and dirt farmers and of southern preachers

as Bible-thumping Elmer Ganttrys simply don't wash anymore," he said.

The demographic shift to the Sun Belt states has turned Houston and Atlanta into urban power centers and created an energetic new class of educated, white-collar professionals, he said.

"We are now entering an age that is witnessing the entry of 40 to 50 million southern evangelical Christians into the mainstream of America," Tanenbaum said. He observed that it is similar to what happened in 1960, when John F. Kennedy was elected the first Roman Catholic president.

He said Jewish leaders have had useful dialogue with evangelical Christian moderates, including Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists, since the 1960s. They also have been encouraged by the strong stands of evangelical leaders such as evangelist Billy Graham and Jimmy R. Allen, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, in favor of religious pluralism and separation of church and state.

Among the guests at the luncheon were Catholic Archbishop John L. May; the Rev. Dr. John Tietjen, president of the Lutheran Christ Seminary-Seminex; the Rev. William Barker, president of Covenant Theological Seminary, and the Rev. George Nicozisin,



Rabbi Tanenbaum



Leon Strauss

pastor of St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church.

Tanenbaum met just before the 1980 presidential election with the Rev. Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority, and induced Falwell to renounce his call for establishment of an evangelical Christian republic.

ADAM SIMMS

November 13, 1981

TO: Marc Tanenbaum - Interreligious Affairs Dept.

Marc, attached is an op.ed. piece written by an old college buddy of mine (who later went on to Yale Divinity School -- when he was a Catholic, yet!)-- and now teaches English at Elon College in Graham, N.C.

I thought you might find it useful as grist for your mill re: your radio commentaries.

FYI, I have sent copies to Milt Tobian and Bill Gralnick with a suggestion that, if they think it good enough, they might want to see if they can get it reprinted in their areas.

Best wishes,

Adam

Domestic Affairs Department
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 East 56th Street New York, N.Y. 10022
(212) 751-4000

The Guest Column

Are Christian humanists really so scary?

By ANDREW J. ANGYAL

Dr. Angyal is a professor of English at Elon College and a member of the Episcopal Church.

"All men shall be free to profess and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion," wrote Thomas Jefferson in 1779. In his Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom he articulated the principle of separation of church and state which has become a foundation of our national freedom.

Jefferson and the other Founding Fathers were men of the Enlightenment who understood the dangers of state subservience to religion and were determined to establish the principle of religious freedom.

They were men of culture, learning and refinement who opposed bigotry and intolerance and based their religious beliefs on rational convictions. They believed that God had created the human mind free and that the strongest appeal to religious faith was through reason, not fear or ignorance. They were in fact Christian humanists.

The principle of religious freedom has been generally respected in this country by all faiths and creeds. No particular denomination has attempted to assert its views in

national affairs or to interfere with other Americans' freedom of worship.

But the growing political involvement of right-wing fundamentalist groups suggests that not all Americans understand or respect this principle of religious freedom. These attempts by the fundamentalist New Right to impose their views on other Americans could strain the good will that has existed among religious denominations.

Particularly offensive to intelligent Christians have been the recent fundamentalist attacks on humanism and humanistic learning. Some right-wing evangelists have charged that all humanists are either atheistic or hostile to religion — neither of which is true. There is in fact no explicit conflict between humanism and Christian faith. There are both secular and religious humanists, but there is no monolithic group of humanists per se because humanism is more an attitude or philosophy than a creed.

The word itself has several distinct meanings, but humanism is primarily a devotion to or study of the humanities — history, philosophy, literature, classics, music and art — that comprise our cultural heritage. It involves a love of learning and a commitment to intelligent inquiry. It seeks to nourish

broad, tolerant, rational and humane qualities of mind. Since humanism involves qualities of mind, its values are shared by Protestants, Catholics and Jews.

The word *humanist* as we use it today is really an extension of the Renaissance term for those scholars who revived Greek and Roman learning. Figures such as Erasmus of Rotterdam combined broad classical learning with deep religious faith. The Renaissance itself was a rebirth of classical learning in a Christian context. The monuments of European art, music and architecture stand as tributes to the richness of Christian humanism. It is to this heritage of art and learning that the term *humanism* applies when properly understood. Christian humanism is thus synonymous with Western culture.

Those who attack humanism have taken one of its dimensions — man's attempt to become self-sufficient — and distorted it beyond recognition. They object to the notion, current since the Renaissance, that the human mind is sufficient to solve human problems. This attitude does not necessarily deny religious faith, but it does make the rise of modern science possible.

The New Right has taken the assumptions of humanism — the dignity of man and the

value of our cultural history — and distorted them into a narrow secularism. This caricature, which they call "secular humanism," is then attacked as a "godless conspiracy."

The writings of a small group of nonsectarian humanists, the so-called *Humanist Manifesto*, have been used as evidence of this national conspiracy. All of this might well be dismissed as paranoid ravings, except for the very real danger of divorcing religion and learning for a large segment of American Evangelical Christianity. For these attacks on humanism are actually attacks on the mind — on learning, reason, moderation, tolerance and common sense. And without the perspective of historical Christianity, the fundamentalist New Right will soon become prey to fanaticism, bigotry and ignorance.

American Christianity is in fact diverse and pluralistic. There is no "litmus test" for true believers that would not antagonize the vast majority of Protestants and Catholics. What the anti-humanist campaign can accomplish is only to drive a wedge between mainstream, institutional Christianity and the right.

Spokesmen such as Jerry Falwell and Tim

LeHaye have already declared a kind of evangelical "holy war" on the foundation of Christian humanism that makes religious tolerance and pluralism possible. Under the banner of their "new morality," they would destroy our American tradition of religious freedom and impose a narrow and restrictive fundamentalist orthodoxy upon our public schools and political institutions. This must not occur. For, as Jacques Maritain has observed, "Humanism is inseparable from civilization or culture." A spirited defense of Christian humanism is the best answer to this new religious bigotry.

The "threat" of secular humanism is a pernicious myth. Most humanists acknowledge some religious faith — whether it be Christianity, Judaism, or one of the other great world religions — that nurtures their faith in man. To attack humanism in the name of religion is to destroy the very roots of faith in a transcendent Love. It is the very essence of misanthropy. Christianity is humanistic, and without that humanistic element it would cease to be Christianity and become merely another form of idolatry — the hatred of man masking itself as religion. Then, perhaps, the secular humanists would be correct.

Greensboro News & Record
Sunday (November 1, 1981)

The Promise of



the New Decade

We Are One

UNITED JEWISH FEDERATION OF TIDEWATER

7300 Newport Avenue • Norfolk, Virginia 23505 • (804) 489-8040
430 Crawford Parkway • Portsmouth, Virginia 23704 • (804) 393-2557

November 16, 1981

Memorandum

To: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, American Jewish Committee
Joel Olander, NJCRAC

From: Bette Kanter, Chairman, Community Relations Committee, UJFT

Enclosed are two articles from recent issues of the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot commenting on our recent statewide elections and Jerry Falwell's influence or lack of influence on same. Larry Sabato to whom reference is made is a good analyst of the Virginia political scene.

I want to bring these to your attention and suspect they will be of interest to you. I would like to hear your reaction. Do you think this portends a diminution of his influence nationwide? Are you picking up any newspaper articles from other areas that might indicate the same reaction.

Best regards.

BK:bts
Encl.:

TRENDS ANALYSES REPORT

THE NEW RIGHT: AN EMERGING FORCE ON THE POLITICAL SCENE

by Milton Ellerin
and Alisa H. Kesten

Trends Analyses
November 18, 1980

Discrimination Division,
Domestic Affairs Department

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

The New Right: An Emerging Force on the Political Scene

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

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix B

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix B

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix B

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix B

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix C

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

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

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

ADDENDUM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix A

APPENDIX A

New Right Support of Congressional Candidates

(November 4, 1980 Elections)

CSFC- Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress

RR- Religious Roundtable

MM- Moral Majority

CV- Christian Voice

NCPAC- National Conservative Political Action Committee

W- Won

L- Lost

*- Denotes member of CV Congressional Advisory Committee

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

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

APPENDIX B

Some Secular New Right Organizations and Leaders

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

Some Evangelical New Right Organizations and Leaders

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

APPENDIX C

The New Right Political Agenda

ANTI

PRO

Family Issues

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

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

Domestic Issues

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

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

International Issues

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

#80-970-16

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

JUN 22 1980

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

D. H. GOLD

PROPOSED POSITION PAPER ON RELIGION AND POLITICAL EXTREMISM

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

I

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

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

II

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

exemptions, may not be accorded any religious body.

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

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

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

III

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

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

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

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

IV

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

* * * * *

SOME GUIDELINES FOR JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS AGENCIES

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

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

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

Furor Erupts Over Smith's Jew-Prayer Remark

American Jewish leaders are angry and upset over remarks made by Bailey Smith, president of the Southern Baptist Convention, during a religious-political gathering last month. The remarks, transcribed from a tape of Smith's address to the National Affairs Briefing in Dallas, were circulated in a letter by Rabbi Solomon S. Bernards, co-director of Interfaith Affairs of the Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Bernard's letter quotes Smith: "I'm telling you all other gods besides Jehovah and his son Jesus Christ are strange gods. It's interesting to me at great political rallies how you have a Protestant to pray and a Catholic to pray and then you have a Jew to pray."

"With all due respect to those dear people, my friend, God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew. For how in the world can God hear the prayer of a man who says that Jesus Christ is not the true Messiah? It is blasphemous. It may be politically expedient, but no one can pray unless he prays through the name of Jesus Christ."

Smith, who also is president of the Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma and pastor of First Southern Church, Del City, said he made the statement and "it is true."

"I was emphasizing the distinctive nature of Jesus Christ," Smith said. "I still believe it is blasphemous to say that Jesus Christ is not the Messiah or Savior. As a Christian minister I must proclaim what the Bible says in I Timothy 2:5: 'For there is one God and one mediator between God and man the man Christ Jesus.'"

He added: "The only prayer I believe God hears from anybody who has been denying Jesus is, 'Lord, be merciful to me a sinner and save me for Christ's sake,'" Smith added.

Smith said he is aware of his role as president of the SBC, but added: "We make a mistake when we try so hard at public relations we lose our missions thrust."

Jewish Spokesman Reacts

Marc Tanenbaum, national interreligious affairs director for the American Jewish Committee, took exception with Smith's remarks, calling them "morally offensive, really a defamation of 4,000 years of loyalty" and adding they are "an act of presumption and arrogance suggesting that this one person knows the mind of God . . . and is placing himself in the place of God."

Tanenbaum added: "We are struggling to understand each other, not through caricatures and stereotypes. His (Smith's) remarks seem an example of that sort of thing, a mindless departure from the understanding that has developed."

Tanenbaum charged Smith with having "invincible ignorance" and with being



Bailey Smith
SBC President

insensitive to his position as spokesman for the nation's largest Protestant denomination.

"The fact he used the occasion of this kind of forum (NAB) to make that kind of declaration is very upsetting to many of us. There is concern—and not just among the Jewish community—about the secularizing of evangelization and the politicizing of evangelical churches," he said.

In Oklahoma City, David Packman, rabbi of the Temple B'nai Israel, said he was not surprised at Smith's sentiments, but he was a little surprised Smith expressed them. "Any given Baptist minister feels the same way," he said, "Usually, they're a little more political than that."

Others Disagree

Glenn Iglehart, director of interfaith witness at the SBC Home Mission Board, said Smith's remarks, "instead of furthering understanding, actually impedes it."

He noted Baptists should affirm "the uniqueness of God's act in Jesus of Nazareth for the redemption of all people, Jews as well as Gentiles. . . . But to state that God only hears the prayers of Christians is another matter. . . . I feel we must be wary of placing restrictions on who God will listen to lest we make the

same claims of groups like Jehovah's Witnesses do of having the sole franchise of God."

Theologian Edward Humphrey, a professor at Golden Gate Seminary, commented he believes "salvation is only in Christ, but I feel he (Smith) is going too far. Who is he to say what God hears or doesn't hear?"

"I feel God loves all of his people, and listens to all, even when they are limited by knowledge or willingness. God is working with man, and we should not measure his listening by the measure of understanding or obedience. That is for God to do," said Humphreys, who taught in the Baptist seminary in Nigeria for 15 years before becoming a professor at Golden Gate 15 years ago.

Helms Move Rejection Urged

Two long-time Baptist proponents of church-state separation joined other witnesses in urging a House of Representatives subcommittee to reject the controversial Helms Amendment which would deny federal courts jurisdiction in school prayer cases.

R. G. Puckett, former editor of the *Maryland Baptist* and current executive director of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, told the panel government has "no expertise" in "looking after our children's spiritual well being." Puckett, also a member of the Washington-based Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, challenged the contention by some supporters of the Helms measure that moral decay in the public schools and the country was precipitated by the 1962 and 1963 Supreme Court decisions on school prayer.

"I contend that the modern classroom is a reflection of the modern living room," Puckett said.

Fred Schwengel, a former congressman from Iowa and also a Baptist, passionately warned the committee that "the greatest freedom we have should not be tampered with in any way—that is the freedom of religion." Schwengel, who led the fight in the House against a proposed constitutional amendment to "put prayer back in school" in 1971, said, "A religious experience to be acceptable to God and be worthy of the name must be a voluntary response to God. The powers of government . . . must not be used in an attempt to force people to be religious."

The only witnesses speaking in favor of the Helms proposal were Catherine B. Jolley, a teacher for 30 years in the District of Columbia public schools, and Mary Bull, president of the National Committee to Restore Voluntary School Prayer. (BP)

TAV
EVANGELICAL MINISTRIES
P.O. BOX 281, ELVERTA, CALIFORNIA, 95626
(1) (916) 991-0136

OCTOBER 12, 1981

CALIFORNIA

NORTH

RICHARD PARADISE

CENTRAL

DOUG SHEARER

FRED PALMQUIST

STEVE SHEARER

DANNY WEBSTER

BRENT HARRIS

JONATHAN PRINCE

SOUTH

MAX RAPOPORT

DENNY TURZAK

NORTHWEST

DOUG KRIEGER

DAVE SMITH

NORTHEAST

SAL BENOIT

JOHN FUGATE

MIDWEST/ROCKY MOUNTAINS

JOHN LEONARD

MICKIE BUICE

RICK RODRIGUEZ

SOUTHEAST

CHARLIE TUCK

SOUTH CENTRAL

TERRIE RISENHOOVER

SOUTHWEST

JOE LOPEZ

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
165 E. 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Marc:

Enclosed, please find a copy of the text of a full page ad which are placing in Sacramento's major newspaper, "The Sacramento Bee." The ad will be included in the "A" section of the paper and should reach the overwhelming majority of Sacramento's newspaper readers. Funding for the ad has been provided by literally scores of Evangelical Christians. Quite frankly, the cost of the ad has exhausted our "war chest." As I have mentioned in the past, TAV's efforts are yet very fledgling. Hopefully, within a year we will be better organized and much more capable of funding the costs associated with major media advertising, etc.

I am passing the text of the ad along to you because in the first place I thought that you might be interested in its contents, and , secondly, I thought that you might want to use it for your own purposes. You have our permission to use the ad in any way you see fit. The powerful point of this ad is that it was put together and funded by Evangelical Christians.

Again, our love and prayers are with you. God bless!!

Sincerely,



Douglas R. Shearer
TAV Evangelical Ministries

MINISTRIES

ANTIPAS PROJECT
EVANGELIZATION
HOME BIBLE STUDIES
CHRISTIAN-JEWISH
RELATIONS
MISSIONS
LITERATURE/MEDIA

ASSOCIATED WITH

SADDLEBACK FAMILY
FELLOWSHIP
RUSSIAN RIVER
CHRISTIAN CENTER
GOSPEL MINISTRIES,
INC.
SOS MINISTRIES
"THE GENERATION"

HABAKKUK 3:17-18

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