



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Preserving American Jewish History

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

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 18, Folder 2, Evangelicals and Jews, 1975-1978.

c/c: I. Terman
W. Katz

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FO - SE
THE HARTFORD BUILDING
SUITE 526
100 EDGEWOOD AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
PHONE: 523-8451

MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/23

TO: Marc Tanenbaum
FROM: William A. Gralnick

SUBJECT: Christian Council Letter

I wanted to call you attention to the President's message in the Christian Council Bulletin. I was most distressed by it. I spoke to two ministers about the insensitivity it shows. In a nut shell both men felt it was the work of the Executive Director and not the President's original thinking. Of most importance however is this. Both men felt that the Council is pandering towards the fundamentalists. They feel that "there is money in it" and that if the economy and world situation deteriorate further that Protestantism will regress to this type of thing. They see it as a worry for Jews and many Christians alike. Both men were Presbyterian ministers.

Re: [illegible]



Together ...

**CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF
METROPOLITAN ATLANTA**
848 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Mr. William A. Gralnick
Atlanta Jewish Committee
1800 Peachtree Street
Room 411
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Vol. 1, No. 5

September 1975

APPLYING THE LOVE AND TEACHINGS OF CHRIST IN ALL OUR RELATIONSHIPS

SEPTEMBER CHRISTIAN FORUM

DATE: Wednesday, September 10, 1975*

TIME: 12:00 noon

PLACE: Peachtree Christian Church*
1580 Peachtree Street, NE

*Note change of date & place

FORUM: United Way Program
Mr. J. Erskine Love, Jr.
President, Printpack, Inc.
Immediate Past-President, United
Way of Metropolitan Atlanta, Inc.

Call 881-9891 for reservations.

Light Lunch — \$2.00

Seating will be available for those not having lunch.

Board Meeting: 10:30 A.M.

FUTURE PROGRAMS FOR THIS YEAR.*

Wednesday, October 8, 1975

**The Role of Atlanta University
in the Atlanta Region**

Speaker: Dr. Thomas D. Jarrett

Tuesday, November 11, 1975

Ms. Mary Louise Rowland
Church Women United of Dallas, Texas

Wednesday, December 10, 1975

Report on the Past-Goals for the Future
Mr. Paul E. Manners, President
The Charles M. Watt, Jr. and
The Mrs. Fred W. Patterson Awards
Officers of Board installed

*Note the specific dates for each occasion

The Christian Forum Committee for 1976 Bicentennial is busy at work planning programs on the general theme, "The Religious Roots in America's Heritage." We all look forward to the inspiration and challenge of these special programs as we observe our nation's 200th anniversary.

President's Corner



By PAUL E. MANNERS

Dear Christians:

The first and great need of each and all is a personal relationship with Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior; and so turning the hearts and minds of individuals by the thousands to Christ is our City's greatest need. Only the spirit of God through Christ can actually and finally make ours a better world. How then do we best bear our witness?

Should our churches and all Christians be giving serious thought to even greater emphasis specifically on bringing individuals to know and accept Christ through our preaching and teaching, and through our personal witnessing? "Good works" do and will follow as hearts are changed, and "good works" are a necessary part of our witness.

Personal evangelism is a primary emphasis but God calls His people also to serve Him in a corporate way as His church and to seek the healing and reform of the structures of society.

Involvement in the total community is essential. It is most important that we continue to develop cooperative programs with other groups—religious, civic, educational, and business. But conversion to belief in Jesus Christ as Lord remains our hope of a better community and the first task of the churches in

Continued on page 4

... We Can!

NCO'S ON THE MOVE

The Community Action Division is seeking to relate to, and work in cooperation with the following Neighborhood Church Organizations, as the churches work to meet human need in each local community.

1. Decatur Cooperative Ministry
2. Rockbridge Christian Action Council
3. Sandy Springs Ministerial Association
4. Midtown Ministers Group
5. Druid Hills Churches Association
6. Atlanta University/Vine City Group
7. Gwinnett County Ministerial Association
8. Cobb County Ministerial Association
9. Cascade Road Church Association
10. South Cobb Ministerial Association
11. Community Action Mission Program (CAMP)
12. Gwinnett County Ministerial Association
13. Clayton County Ministerial Association

President, South Cobb, Mr. Charles M. Watt, Jr.,
Past-President, Christian Council.

These individuals and/or their co-workers will be happy to come to your church and talk with your official board about the work of the Council and answer any questions.

Your participation in the financial support of the Christian Council's programs will contribute toward making the Atlanta area a better place for us all.

President's Message

Continued from page 1

the society in which we live today in Atlanta.

It is our earnest desire that all churches of metropolitan Atlanta will consider placing great emphasis on personal evangelism as we close 1975 and soon enter our bicentennial year. To this end, we commit ourselves and the Council.

Paul E. Manners
President

David Collins
President-Elect

August 21, 1975

May 1976

DO JEWS CONTROL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES?

Reports from the Jewish-owned "New York Times News Service" say a number of Christian churches threatened to withdraw their investments from U.S. corporations which support the Arab boycott of Jewish companies.

Some Arab countries will not make contracts or do business with U.S. corporations who employ Jews to conduct business in Arab countries, or corporations which do business with Jewish-controlled corporations. At the 70th Annual Meeting in Washington of the Jewish Committee (which is said to control the thinking of the U.S. Congress on matters related to Israel or the Jewish populace in the U.S.) heard the announcement by Rabbi Mark H. Tannenbaum, head lobbyist of the Jewish-Zionist Committee.

He said the American Baptist churches with \$36 million invested in American corporations would lead the churches in discriminating against corporations who did business with Arab countries and who observed the boycott against the Jews.

Tannenbaum also said that the church groups set to observe the assault on U.S. corporations included Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Christian Quaker and Ethical Culture bodies. Other groups included Catholic orders.

It is obvious that the Jews have influenced the Christian churches against the Arabs and are using pressure by the churches to threaten U.S. corporations with financial boycott.

Many Christian churches are also seeking to prevent American corporations from having any business relations with South Africa.

Other organizations engaging in politics have their tax exempt status removed by the Internal Revenue Service, but the latter has feared to take such action against the church groups and the Jews who are engaged in politics.

BIBLE MYTHS

The grandfather of Bible exposures written nearly a hundred years ago, "Bible Myths and Their Parallels in Other Religions" by T. W. Doane, 589 p., \$6.50, offers a comprehensive knowledge of the background of the Jewish-Christian religion which grew out of older and other religions. Actually, most of the other Bible exposures of later years base their information on this fundamental source of religious knowledge.

BOOK TREASURES

From Truth Seeker Special list of 700 titles of out of print, used, or closeout books, or books formerly used for research. You may send for this free list. (two postage stamps would be appreciated in view of the inflated postal rates recently imposed, which have doubled rates for non-church mailers).

Abortion Reform or Corruption, By Bertram Waller, 1972, Paper, 223 P. \$3. A lonely fight to try to make abortion legal in Australia.

THE APPROACH TO MENTAL HEALTH, By David T. McClay, Cloth, 142 P. used, \$3. An older book. Causes and treatment of mental and emotional diseases.

BASIC SCIENCE, By Barnard and Edwards, Cloth 618 Pages, 1951. Covers all sciences. \$2 A valuable summary.

Case for a Secular Pakistan, by Dr. S. M. Akhtar, 1972, paper, 12 P. 25¢ The argument for making Pakistan a non religious state. It is now a mohammedan Theocracy, as are all Arab lands.

CHINESE LITERATURE, Monthly, edited by Mao Tun, 288 P. paper, used, \$2. a report on present, communist influenced literature.

COLLEGE BIOLOGY, a text, cloth, 745 P. \$3 By Wm. Etkin, covers biology of humans, animals, plants, heredity and evolution.

CONQUEST OF MEXICO, By Wm. H. Prescott, the great historian. 4 different editions. A Single Vol. edition, a 2 Vol. Edition and a 3 Vol. Edition. Please ask for alternates, as all are the same price, \$4.50 and contain approximately the same material. This history is a terrible indictment of the Spanish Catholic conquest and destruction of the Mexican civilization.

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO AND PERU. in one Volume, by Prescott, \$8.

DID MAN GET HERE BY EVOLUTION OR CREATION? By the Watchtower Society, (Jehovah's Witnesses) cloth, 187 p. 1967 \$1. The backward religious viewpoint.

EARTH'S OLDEST EMPIRE, From Golden Age Magazine of 1921, Paper, 71 P. \$2 out of print. A criticism of the Catholic Church.

YOUR ATTENTION PLEASE

We usually only have one book of each title in the special list. If at all possible ask for an alternate in case the books you order are sold.

Write for the full list of 700 titles.



10345 WEST PICO BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90064

Rabbi's study, 879-2191

RABBI ALBERT M. LEWIS, D. D.

May 10, 1976

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

Dear Marc:

You may recall that I spoke to Rita Weissman that Morris Cerullo was coming to town and I suggested to her that she get in touch with you. I understand Rita did call you in New York and you told her that you hadn't heard from him.

I am sending you the enclosed just in case you do get any calls. You will note that he advertises himself as a Jew (back page); he indicates that Jewish husbands have been saved and is trying to pick up some Jews along the way. Even Pat Boone is involved in this article. One of the other things you ought to pay attention to is that some of the responsible and respected churches are also getting involved. We disapprove of this kind of activity.

This was an advertising supplement to the Los Angeles Times; the cost, I am sure, is incalculable. I think we are dealing with a major maniac.

I would like to get your comments.

Warm regards from house to house.

Shalom

Rabbi Albert M. Lewis

encl.

MEMO from:
Nate Perlmutter

Marc Tannenbaum

Dear Marc,
I think it was
Peter Veereck who
once said, "Anti-Cath-
olism is the Anti-Semit-
ism of liberals."

Carter is suffering
a related ailment — &
you diagnosed it.

MEMO from:
Nate Perlmutter

2

Would you please
send me a copy of
your report? I'd
appreciate it.

Best,

Nate

Newcomers' Hopes

AUG 29 1976

Are Scuttled at

AUG 29 1976

3d-Party Session

AUG 29 1976

AUG 29 1976

By Stephen Isaacs
Washington Post Staff Writer

CHICAGO, Aug. 28—"Atheistic political zionism," said the speaker, is "... the most insidious, far-reaching murderous force the world has ever known, which plotted two world wars, undermined countless governments, dictates the policy of numerous others"

The speaker was John M. Couture, a Muskego, Wis., lawyer, and he was delivering the keynote address to the American Independent Party's presidential nominating convention here on Thursday night.

His words brought cheers and flag-waving from most of the 300-plus delegates here.

In the back of the room, however, a group of conservative, fallen-away Republicans, who had come here to try to shoulder in on the AIP's ballot position in more than 30 states, saw their hopes being scuttled.

The message was getting through that not only were they going to lose, but that they, as newcomers, were out of place among the AIP delegates.

News Analysis

"They're not conservatives, they're out and out kooks," said one member of the group of old Republicans who accompanied Richard A. Viguerie here to help him try to seize effective control of the AIP.

That effort failed, and the delegates passed over presidential candidate Viguerie and his allies had proposed Friday night. Instead, the delegates picked former Georgia Gov. Lester G. Maddox, an avowed segregationist.

Viguerie and his associates had hoped to use the AIP's ballot positions to forge a new party that would attract a "new majority" of conservative Republicans and Democrats who no longer have a natural allegiance to their parties.

As an inducement to get his "new majority" on top in the AIP, Viguerie, the man who raised more than \$7 million through the mails for the 1976 presidential campaign of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, offered himself as an AIP vice presidential candidate. He also offered the not-so-subtle lure of his demonstrated abilities at raising large amounts of money from conservatives.

But some inklings that the "new majority" conservatives were not getting across came at receptions, as delegates were overheard quizzing Viguerie to see if he was conservative enough.

One delegate asked if it was true, Viguerie had once attended a conference in a saloon. Another demanded to know if he would admit being an acquaintance of William F. Buckley. (Some conservatives believe that Buckley, a columnist and editor of *National Review*, is an ally of Vice President Rockefeller.)

miltee for a New Majority in as many states as possible.

But those plans fell through, Phillips says, because the unsuccessful presidential candidacy of former California Gov. Ronald Reagan absorbed all the political money that was available within the conservative movement.

"We were slipping by on a budget of \$1,000 to \$2,000 a month," said Phillips. "You can't raise very much money for an ill-defined contingency."

William A. Rusher, publisher of the *National Review*, said: "Reagan threw away the chance of decades to lead a true conservative movement. He was the guy who could have done it. He missed a historic opportunity, trying to get the Republican nomination — which he never had a chance to get — to open up an alliance with a much broader group of conservatives than had ever managed to connect up."

Rusher and his fellow "new majority" conservatives then turned to the AIP.

"That ballot line is worth millions, just millions," said Paul Weyrich, director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, and another who came here with Viguerie.

"You begin to appreciate the valiant effort of a guy like Gene McCarthy," who is running for President as an independent, said Weyrich. "The laws really do discriminate against third parties."

"As a matter of necessity we had to see how far our fellows would go. We tried to see if there were areas of common concern," Phillips said.

The AIP delegates "were prepared to support Ronald Reagan, or John Connally, or Jesse Helms, or Meldrim Thomson, or Phil Crane or Steve Symms. But none of them showed," he said.

Reagan, former Texas Gov. Connally, North Carolina Sen. Helms, New Hampshire Gov. Thomson, Illinois Rep. Crane and Idaho Rep. Symms all had been invited to the convention.

"The fact is, if we had been able to come up with a congressman or a senator or a governor, or a defeated presidential candidate, they would have jumped at it," Phillips continued.

William K. Shearer, AIP's chairman and founder, nodded in concurrence.

"We needed a colorful candidate like Maddox," said Shearer, "someone who can draw attention to the issues we believe in."

Phillips, meanwhile, says that he and his conservative allies will now concentrate instead on congressional battles, not on the presidential race.

"The only way for conservatives to win is to shift the focus from the national battlefield to the grass roots," said Phillips, "where single conservative issues can win."

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Couture's anti-Zionist oratory—and the ovation it received—as well as other signs made it clear the Viguerie entourage had no chance of fulfilling its ambitions this year.

Still, the "new majority" group stayed on, hoping the delegates would come around and nominate their last-minute presidential candidate, Texas editor-writer Robert Morris, instead of Maddox or former Rep. John Rarick of Louisiana. Rarick had told the convention: "I've been in those smoke-filled rooms, my friends, and I've learned there are only two kinds of people: Americans and one-world internationalists."

Viguerie and his allies were staying on because they desperately wanted a crack at the ballot position the AIP—which eight years ago was on every state's ballot—holds this year in some 30 states.

Earlier, Howard Phillips, who heads the Conservative Caucus, one of Viguerie's new enterprises, had hoped to qualify the caucus or Viguerie's Com-

ment.

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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE FELLOWSHIP OF CHRISTIAN POLITICIANS

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ ZIP _____

SOCIAL SECURITY NO. _____ (This will be your membership number)

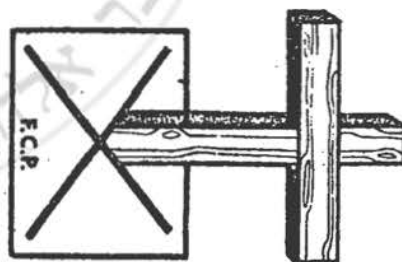
TELEPHONE NUMBER _____ AREA CODE _____ \$10. Annual Dues

I am () an office holder () worker for political subdivision () party worker () politically active () paid () volunteer. Other _____

This is a () new () renewal application.

I, as a member of the Fellowship of Christian Politicians, pledge that I will consider the teachings of Christ in all my deliberations as an integral part of my decision making, especially on matters affecting the people I would serve. I will endeavor to become more knowledgeable of His will for my life and those I communicate with.

Signed _____



ORGANIZATION - A not-for-profit
Missouri Corporation formed
4 May, 1976.

PURPOSE - To band together
Christians, who are involved in
politics, for the purpose of
strengthening their beliefs in
Christ's teachings; to encourage
the use of the highest moral
principles at all times,
especially in their deliberations.
DUES - \$10.00 per year;

\$300.00 Life Membership.
CHARTER MEMBERSHIP - Anyone
joining up to 4 May, 1977.
OFFICERS AND BOARD

President, Sen. Hardin C. Cox
Vice Pres. Sen. Marvin Dinger
Secretary Mrs. Virginia Cox
Treasurer, Mr. Bryan Cox

(Additional board will be added
as they accept until nine(9)
fill the board.)

CERTIFICATES - Yearly card and permanent certificate with yearly stickers to be added (Charter members receive charter certificate)

HOME OFFICE - 300 Main Street, Rock Port, Mo. 64482

TELEPHONE - 816-744-5367

OFFICE SPACE - Both office space and telephone will be donated by Senator Cox as long as space and time permit.

MEETINGS - To be determined by the board of directors after it is filled.

PUBLICATION - At present, a mimeographed publication will be used.

~~A tabloid is anticipated later on.~~

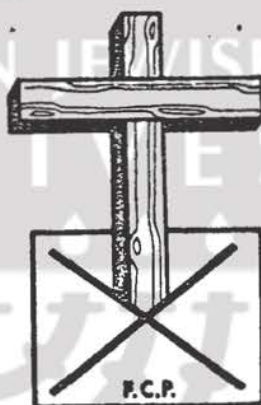
TAXES - We are now seeking a tax deductible position for our members and will not be taxed by the state since we are a not for profit organization.

FUTURE ORGANIZATION (GOALS) - To form state chapters and local chapters as membership dictates; to have a national meeting and regional meetings as membership dictates.

NEWS MEDIA RELATIONSHIP - We will NOT issue statements on specific legislation or issues, we will make all our records public, including accounts, membership, publications.

INSIGNIA - The logo or insignia depicts that the cross, is above more important, and comes before

the vote. It shows by extending into the ballot box that Christianity is involved in the vote. The "X" in the ballot box shows the vote



is the strength of the Democratic system and the F.C.P.

JOIN TODAY
AND BE A PART
OF AN ORGANIZATION
OF DEDICATED
CHRISTIAN PUBLIC
SERVANTS.

DAD/TA

September 23, 1976

Miles Zitmore
Milton Ellerin

Thanks for the material on the "White People's Committee to Restore God's Laws."

It so happens that this particular bit of evidence about the impact of the current drive to elect "Christians only" to office is extremely important, far beyond the existence of what I suspect is a paper outfit.

It is extremely important that you make further immediate inquiry of whatever sources are available to you in Arkansas to find out more about this group -- who is behind it, what do they do, how large a group it is and, most importantly, have they been working to elect and/or defeat candidates in recent and current elections?

Within the next few weeks, there will be a major press conference here on the larger phenomenon and whatever you can find out for us would be greatly appreciated.

I would suggest you make some phone inquiries and let us know the results thereof by telephone so that we can have the information prior to the press conference.

Regards and best wishes for a happy New Year.

ME:en

cc: Seymour Samet
Marc Tanenbaum

c/c: H. Applebaum

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FO-SE
SUITE 411
1800 PEACHTREE STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309
PHONE: 352-2340

MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/27/86

TO: Marc Tanenbaum
FROM: Bill Gzalnicks
SUBJECT: Evangelism/Politics

Per your request I am enclosing a variety of things from my clippings file which I thought would be relevant to your efforts. Note that they cover a gamut of states and religions with some being notably political in nature and content. In addition I thought that Bishop M Dozier's comments on taking up some of the Baptist way of doing things into his new crusade were interesting.

You will also find copies on my file on the Christian Yellow Pages. The feeling here is that the apology notwithstanding CYP represents the thinking of the groups involved. Father Kinast tells me that he was at the meeting where my letter was discussed and the staff wanted just to write a brief "so sorry" letter but that Bob and a Lutheran Minister Fred Krautwust forced the issue. Fred does the Midnight Minister radio show and is a friend.

Marc I would suggest you talk to some of our friends who have more liberal or moderate pulpits in the south and check the pressures on them. I know for instance that Randy Taylor told me last year that he was feeling a lot of pressure from conservative elements in his church and even fore-

told the Fuller statement if not picking the group.

Shana Tava



October 6, 1976

Marc Tanenbaum

Jim Rudin and Marv Wilson

Ideas and suggestions for Introduction of the book
Scripture, Theology and History: Perspectives of
Evangelicals and Jews.

- Introduction should be more of a "cosmic" statement dealing with the meaning of this conference.
- Book concerns two of America's (world's?) most distinctive religious communities.
- For nearly 2,000 years both groups have been separated with little formal communication of major issues of Scripture, Theology, and history. But now they are coming together. This is an historic first step of opening lines of communication.
- Due to geographical factors (not just ideological) both groups have had little contact.
- Until now, any discussion has usually stopped at the question of Jesus. Now we are coming to see that both communities have mutual concerns in addition to the definition of the Jesus question.
- Purpose of the conference was not symbolic in nature, but rather the clarification of and appreciation for differences, and the mutual affirmation of common roots and concerns.
- We should state why a book on Jews and Evangelicals.
- Jewish readers should be alerted to "what is an Evangelical" in terms of distinctive of religious perspective (refer them perhaps to Wilson's introductory article).
- Stress the emergence today of Evangelicalism as not a small group of Protestants down South but as a major religious segment in American Christian community (40 million(?) Evangelicals in America) and that the "born again" experience currently read about in the media today (e.g. Jimmy Carter) is normative for Evangelical religious experience

- There is not necessarily a direct connection between evangelical Christians who are by definition conservatives in their theology, and the fact of their necessarily being conservative in their political persuasion.
- This conference was to "test the waters" to see whether future attempts at dialogue on regional and local levels might well profitably be carried on.
- The subjects tackled are the "hard ones", there is no "pussy-footing" -- goes right to issues of Messiah, Israel, -- etc.

AJR/MRW:fm



c/c: H. Applebaum
M. Tanenbaum

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FO-SE
SUITE 411
1800 PEACHTREE STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309
PHONE: 352-2340

MEMORANDUM

DATE: 9/28/76

✓ TO: Milt Ellerin

FROM: Bill Gralnick

SUBJECT: "End Time Revelation Newsletter"

The attached was sent to me by Greensboro member Bill Stern (to whom you recently sent some stuff on Agnew). While a religious publication, the content led ~~me~~ me to send it to you. Please note the bottom of the inside front page calling for "white/anglo Israelite submissions", the bottom of page 5 calling for radical surgery to remove communism/judaism from our govt", and the convoluted logic of the back page.

Please share this with Marc when you are done.

Happy New Year!

October 11, 1976

Bert Gold

Mort Yarmon

I feel we should reappraise the decision to hold off until after the election to do something about extremist excesses emerging as a result of the rise of the evangelicals.

The two articles attached herewith, from the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal, point out the seriousness of this rise. Significantly, though, the point is stressed in both articles that it is benefitting the Republicans more than the Democrats since evangelicals in general are conservative politically.

If this be true, then a call to eliminate bigotry in the election is not directed at Carter and the Democrats at all but rather at both candidates and both parties.

Therefore I still believe we would attract a good deal of attention if we were to do something publically -- meaning a press conference -- sometime say next week, and we would not be guilty of partisanship.

I will try to call together a small meeting on this.

cc: Marc Tanenbaum ✓
Milton Ellerin
Seymour Samet

Evangelicals: New Political Force?

By KAREN ELLIOTT HOUSE

WASHINGTON—Fourteen months ago, Robert Billings, 50, was president of a small Baptist college in Crown Point, Ind., and on Sundays directed the choir at the First Baptist Church in nearby Hammond. His only involvement in politics was an occasional letter to his Congressman.

Today, he's the Republican candidate for Congress in Indiana's first district, an industrial area dominated by Gary. His conversion from full-time religious leader to aspiring Congressman came in July 1975 at a political seminar here for evangelical Christians. At that gathering he saw a film strip about corrupt big government that aroused his anger.

Back home, he resigned his jobs and easily won the Republican primary with the help of 1,900 volunteers, mostly local church members. At the same time Rep. Ray Madden, 84, who had represented the district for 36 years, lost the Democratic primary, throwing the race open.

Mr. Billings is campaigning hard, singing a campaign ditty he wrote to the tune of "Five Foot Two, Eyes of Blue":

"Tired of hearing twisted facts,
tired of paying all that tax,
Doc Billings is the man for you.
Tired of scandal in our town,
Watergate just got you down,
Doc Billings is the man for you."

As the song indicates, Mr. Billings isn't running on political experience. He's campaigning on his religious record and on the strength of one theme: "Christians in office won't do the kind of dishonest and illegal things our politicians are doing."

He hopes to attract not only voters fed up with dishonest politicians but a whole new group usually inactive in politics—evangelical Christians, those who teach their faith and actively live by its principles.

Mr. Billings Has Company

Mr. Billings isn't alone. About 30 other evangelicals are running for Congress this year on the same theme, and additional evangelical candidates are seeking state and local offices. Nearly all of the evangelical politicians, as conservative in politics as in religion, insist that, if elected, they won't separate their religious views from their political votes.

"If something is morally wrong, it can't be politically right," says Mr. Billings.

The emergence of evangelical candidates has led some conservative political observers here to predict—perhaps wishfully—that a major new political movement is beginning, one that will mobilize the nation's 40 million evangelicals into a political force. Other political analysts scoff at that.

Several of this year's candidates are given a good chance to win. Bobby Richardson, a Baptist lay missionary and former New York Yankee second baseman, is expected to defeat freshman Democrat Ken Holland in South Carolina. Ronald Bukema, 36, an elder in the South Holland, Ill., Christian Reform Church, may defeat freshman Martin Russo, a Democrat. And

James Combs, 48, a Baptist preacher in Costa Mesa, Calif., has a chance to upset freshman Democrat Jerry Patterson. Like these religious candidates, most of the evangelicals are running as Republicans.

Whether the success of a few evangelicals this fall will have any long-term significance is hotly disputed. Leaders of groups like the Christian Freedom Foundation, which holds political seminars in churches to whip up political interest among evangelicals, say the political movement is picking up strength.

Evangelicals are fed up, they say, with an immoral government that seems to condone abortion, pornography, sex in Congress and crooks in the White House. "They're getting over that old dictum that politics is too dirty for Christians, and they're realizing it won't get cleaner unless

A Republican candidate in Indiana is campaigning on his religious record and on the strength of one theme: "Christians in office won't do the kind of dishonest and illegal things our politicians are doing."

they get involved," says Rus Walton of McLean, Va., a leader in the effort to organize evangelicals. "It's not unrealistic to believe that we'll have 100 members in Congress by 1980."

That's ridiculous, say some Democratic political analysts. "I simply don't see any evidence that the 40 million Jesus freaks I read are out there are about to vote in a bloc," says Charlie McBride, executive director of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee. "Those people are still more interested in winning souls than winning elections."

Regardless of who is right about the future, there are signs that evangelicals are being taken more seriously this year as candidates and as voters than in the past.

Perhaps the major reason for that is Jimmy Carter. Although the effort to lure evangelicals into politics began long before Mr. Carter's presidential campaign, his frequent talk of being "born again" and his triumph in the Democratic primaries probably has given evangelical candidates a new legitimacy in the public mind. It's likely he will help them further by attracting record numbers of evangelicals to the polls this fall.

One of the clearest instances of the political impact of evangelicals occurred earlier this year in Texas' fifth congressional district, an area that includes part of Dallas and its suburbs. A Presbyterian lawyer named James Norrell mailed a 35-page questionnaire to all five congressional candidates asking them to answer 300 questions such as these: "Do you believe God has made man a steward of His creation

with a command to develop it to His glory? Do you believe the U.S. should support regimes that persecute Christians as a matter of policy?"

Not only did four of the five candidates spend several hours answering the questions but they also submitted to a private grilling by a group of evangelicals who had studied their answers. The panel then rated each candidate on how closely his political positions conformed to its interpretation of the Bible. The evaluations were mailed to several thousand church members registered to vote.

Nancy Judy, an Episcopalian who was the high scorer with 84, was unopposed in the Republican primary. Jim Mattox, a Baptist who was the second-highest scorer with 65, beat his three Democratic opponents—including Wes Wise, the popular mayor of Dallas, who was the only candidate refusing to answer the questionnaire. While it's impossible to link the primary results to the panel's ratings, both Mrs. Judy and Mr. Mattox are emphasizing their religious backgrounds as they campaign, and each is counting on strong support from evangelicals.

"Get Back to God"

Political pollsters report other signs that voters are linking God and government. William Hamilton, a Washington, D.C. pollster, says that when he recently asked voters in a suburban congressional district in the South what they would advise their Congressman to do in order to get the country back on the right road, nearly one-third answered, "get back to God."

Still, there is ample reason for caution in predicting an evangelical surge in politics. For one thing, candidates like Mr. Billings say that while church members are quick to volunteer their time, they have been slow to contribute money. He says he had hoped for \$100 contributions from at least 500 Baptists in his church, but so far only 60 people have given him more than \$50.

Another cautionary sign is the recent defeat in the Arizona Republican senatorial primary of Rep. John Conlan, who has been a leader in the effort to recruit other evangelical candidates.

Furthermore, some evangelicals, such as Sen. Mark Hatfield of Oregon, oppose efforts to organize evangelical Christians into a bloc to elect others to office. A Baptist and a liberal Republican, Sen. Hatfield says, "This whole effort to organize a Christian political group can lead to a dangerous fuzzing over of the separation of church and state and to an authoritarian view of what's right and wrong."

In addition, some evangelical leaders believe the election of Jimmy Carter could slow their movement. "If evangelicals vote this fall for Jimmy Carter believing he will return the nation to God and he only gives us more big government as usual, they may become disillusioned and turn off to politics," says Mr. Walton.

Karen Elliott House is a member of the Journal's Washington bureau.

Ford, in Appeal to Evangelists, Stresses His Religious Beliefs

1e-10-76

By KENNETH A. BRIGGS

Some of President Ford's supporters are fond of saying that "Jimmy Carter wears his religion on his sleeve but Jerry Ford wears it in his heart."

The partisan comparison refers to the widespread concern in the news media with Mr. Carter's public expressions of faith in Jesus Christ. It also represents an effort to depict the Democratic contender as a man who would attempt to exploit the issue for political gain and to show Mr. Ford, by contrast, as a man of sturdy though quiet faith.

Meanwhile, the President, almost unnoticed, has taken the initiative by seeking ways to publicize his beliefs to religious groups that could play key roles in the November election.

In so doing, the President is directly challenging Mr. Carter's support among evangelicals, those Christians, numbering at least 40 million, who espouse Bible teachings, personal prayer and salvation by accepting Christ as Lord.

Generally speaking, the evangelicals are conservative theologically and politically.

Among the President's more significant gestures to this constituency were his recent interview with three top evangelical leaders and a similar session with 34 representatives of the National Religious Broadcasters.

The broadcasters' group includes directors of some of the most widely disseminated religious radio and television programs. After the Sept. 30 meeting with Mr. Ford, two participants endorsed the President. A third, the Rev. W. A. Criswell, pastor of the nation's largest Baptist church, First Baptist of Dallas, announced his support for Mr. Ford last week.

In his Sept. 16 meeting with evangelical leaders, Mr. Ford reinforced the impression that he was a mainstream evangelical those stated beliefs coincided closely with those of his Democratic rival.

'Commitment to Christian Faith'

According to a transcript of the meeting, Mr. Ford expressed "commitment to the Christian faith" and declared that he had "a relationship with Jesus Christ through my church and through my daily life." He also said that "prayer is very important to me" and quoted several passages from the Bible.

The three leaders Mr. Ford met with were Dr. Ben Armstrong, executive secretary of the National Religious Broadcasters; Arthur H. Matthews, associate editor of Christianity Today, an evangelical periodical, and Nathan Bailey, president of the National Association of Evangelicals.

Later, he told the broadcasters that he and his wife, Betty, read the Bible each night and that he continued meeting regularly with a prayer group, a custom he began while in Congress.

The Rev. Dr. Harold J. Ockenga, president of Gordon Conwell Seminary in South Hamilton, Mass., where the President's son Michael is in his final year of preparation for the ministry, came away from the Oval Office meeting describing Mr. Ford as "a Christian who is orthodox in theology and in the historic stream of Christian experience."

Comparing the religious styles of the two candidates, Dr. Ockenga said they were "both self-confessing Christian men." Baptists such as Mr. Carter "talk about these things a little more," he added, "whereas Episcopalians like Mr. Ford are more reserved."

The presence of two evangelicals as

the major Presidential contenders has evoked delight among those who share this outlook. "Isn't it exciting that these two men have given themselves to Christ?" says Audrey Langdon, associate editor of the Religious Broadcaster periodical. "Nothing but good can come out of this."

Mrs. Langdon describes Mr. Ford as "a closet evangelical until now" who has developed close recent ties with the National Religious Broadcasters and the affiliated National Association of Evangelicals.

Pictures of Mr. Ford attending the February convention of the two organizations appear on the March and May covers of Religious Broadcaster.

The earlier issue shows Mr. Ford praying with the 3,000 delegates, all of whom had joined hands. "Midway through the prayer, being offered by Jess Moody, Mr. Ford gripped the hand of Ben Armstrong, the man next to him, very hard," Mrs. Langdon recalls. "He said it felt like a shock of electricity and told Mr. Armstrong it was one of the most significant moments in his life."

The experience highlights the intensification of Mr. Ford's religious life in recent years. Like Mr. Carter, who says that at age 42 he underwent a deepening of his Southern Baptist faith, Mr. Ford began in his late 40's to reassess his commitment.

Deeply Religious Area

Mr. Ford was reared an Episcopalian in the pietistic climate of western Michigan, an area heavily influenced by Dutch Calvinism. He has been a lifelong churchgoer.

But his 15-year friendship with Billy Zeoli, an evangelist, marked a distinct turning point for Mr. Ford. Mr. Zeoli, head of Gospel Films and a resident of Grand Rapids, began calling regularly on then Representative Ford. The two shared enthusiasm for football (Mr. Zeoli wrote a book on the Dallas Cowboys and holds worship sessions for many teams) and gradually began discussing religion.

Less than a month after assuming the Presidency, Mr. Ford confessed his beliefs poignantly to Mr. Zeoli in a letter. "Because I trusted Christ to be my Saviour," Mr. Ford wrote, "my life is his. Often as I walk into my office I realize that man's wisdom and strength are not sufficient so I try to practice the truth of the proverbs."

The testimony bears strong resemblance to Mr. Carter's expressions of faith in the early stages of the Presidential primaries. Much of the subsequent attention paid to Mr. Carter's beliefs stemmed from an interview last winter in which Mr. Carter stated his confidence in Jesus Christ and said he prayed as many as 25 times a day.

Both men reflect a deep strain in American religious life that places more emphasis on a personal relationship with Christ than study of formal theology.

Many observers point out that both candidates translate theology into practical morality and place great stress on conventional values.

Mr. Ford told the three evangelical leaders he met with recently that a candidate's personal religion "is a proper concern" but added that he believed improper "to deliberately exploit religion for political advantage." "If I am asked about my beliefs," Mr. Ford said, "I will respond, for I am proud of the convictions I hold."

October 15, 1976

Bertram H. Gold

Milton Ellerin

POLITICS AND THE RIGHT WING EVANGELICALS

While my trip to Washington last Wednesday did not produce anything of a direct, tangible, or visible nature which might be useful during the forthcoming press conference, it was, in my judgment, highly successful. What I did was to lay the groundwork with Wesley McCune for a process and system whereby we can better track this phenomena in the future. I would hope, incidentally, that the agency does not abandon its interest and concern after the press conference. As I have indicated before, 1976 is only the beginning and, in my judgment, it merits our serious and continuous concern.

Additionally, for the long-range, I met and established a relationship with Wes Michaelson, one of the coauthors of the Sojourners article whose knowledge of the Evangelicals political activity is unsurpassed. Michaelson is a former administrative aide to Senator Mark Hatfield, who, as you know, is an object of scorn and derision by the politically right wing Evangelicals. Michaelson knows his way around the Washington political scene, has excellent contacts on the Hill who opened a lot of doors for him and enabled him to compile the material incorporated in the Sojourners article. I would seriously urge that we meet with Michaelson after the election to see if we can develop some ongoing procedures to monitor political developments among the right wing Evangelicals, if he is interested (I could not discuss anything along these lines with him in our 45-minute meeting, since he was pressed for time), and if we are unable to develop a reporting system with the assistance of our own friendly Evangelical contacts.

As for the forthcoming press conference, the following data and information might be of some help. I do not know the planned format and who will field what questions from the press. Nevertheless, someone in attendance ought to be familiar with the following:

- (1) The number of candidates running for office.

(2)

a. Published reports indicate that some 30 candidates are committed to the belief in a Christian republic and/or merited the endorsement of various Evangelical groups as a "real Christian." I can identify 22 such candidates running for the U.S. Senate or the House before the primaries. In addition, one candidate sought his party's nomination for Governor unsuccessfully. According to my count, 15 candidates committed to a Christian republic or real Christians survived the primaries and are running for the Congress -- one for the U.S. Senate, 14 for the House of Representatives. Presumably, there are many more such candidates running for state office. Unfortunately, I can only identify four.

Attached to this memorandum as Appendix A is the complete list of primary candidates. The successful ones are followed by an asterisk.

(2) It is important to recognize that the national groups involved in this effort (Christian Freedom Foundation, Third Century Publishers, Campus Crusade for Christ, and the Christian Embassy) are bound together only by interlocking directors, mutual interest, a common vision and common goals whose purpose is to develop a political force made up of Christians.

(3) The proper perspective on this phenomenon is to view it from the bottom upward rather than from the top down. In other words, most of the activity becomes manifest at the grass roots level, not at the request of a national body but rather as a result of their promotional or exhortative material. Local groups have complete autonomy, but once the process is underway, advice and guidance may be obtained from national groups.

(4) Many key figures in the local and national groups have had previous affiliations with right wing extremist groups which were not directly involved in political activity. What may now be developing is an attempt by old-line radical rightists now involved in leadership positions with the Christian Freedom Foundation, Third Century Publishers and the Christian Embassy to enter the political mainstream without the stigma that adheres to groups with which they were previously affiliated.

ME:en

Attach.

cc: Seymour Samet
Marc Tanenbaum
Mort Yarmon

As representatives from the Evangelical, Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish communities in the United States, we call upon President Ford and Governor Carter to repudiate appeals to religious bigotry in the current election campaign.

When, during the Presidential primaries, prejudice appeared about to surface against the Evangelical community, responsible spokesmen warned against any appeals to sectarian bigotry toward this large segment of the American people.

Religious bigotry has in fact remained gratifyingly absent from the Presidential race, but it has become alarmingly evident in a number of Congressional contests. Reportedly, drives have been mounted in at least 30 districts to elect "God-centered citizens" who will work to "rebuild" America as a "Christian republic." Such efforts have involved both Democrats and Republicans.

For example, in a Republican Senatorial primary in Arizona, a Jewish candidate received anti-Semitic calls and threats, and his opponent is reported to have told Evangelical audiences: "We need to elect a Christian Congress." (See Appendix A.)

In a five-sided Democratic Congressional primary in Texas, candidates were questioned in detail about their religious beliefs, and their replies were publicly "rated."

At other levels of political and civic life, too, attempts have recently been made to impose a religious test, which violates the U.S. Constitution. In one case in North Carolina, school board candidates were questioned about their religious convictions for the "information" of voters.

The campaigns are led by a loose coalition of organizations with common goals and interlocking directorates (see Appendix B), which issue literature, send out regional representatives to screen and influence political candidates, or seek to mobilize grass-roots support for a political movement of and for "real Christians only."

The announced purpose of the drives is to raise "the moral quality" of American politics--a goal which Americans of all faiths

and persuasions can share. But Americans cannot share the underlying assumptions: that candidates for office are to be judged on grounds other than their political and civic qualifications--and that non-Christian believers, nonbelievers, or even Christians with a different religious commitment are less qualified, trustworthy or patriotic.

These assumptions strike at the heart of the American democratic process and, even more fundamentally, at the principle of separation between church and state.

Religious freedom, based on the separation principle, has been the keystone of all our other freedoms--and ever since Colonial times, Evangelical Baptists, Methodists and other non-establishment religious groups have been second to no one in making it so. Freedom of religion has also made possible our pluralistic society, with its capacity for negotiating and reconciling religious conflicts and differences that have so often plunged other societies into strife, misery and bloodshed.

To create religious voting blocs on the American scene would be to discard these historic achievements--to invite a return of religious strife or oppression. It could bring us back to the conditions of Colonial times, when theocratic rulers withheld religious liberty from the people.

We urge the Presidential candidates as leaders of their respective parties, as well as the parties' National State and Local Committees, to reject forcefully any campaign appeals based on the religion a candidate may profess.

(b r i e f s)

BACKGROUNDERS FOR AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE STAFF AND LEADERSHIP

Edited by MILTON ELLERIN
Director, Trends Analysis Division

November/December 1976

Vol. 4, No. 5

A World Nationalist Congress, organized by long-time anti-Semitic activist, Dr. James K. Warner, and cloaked in mystery, was held in September in Metairie, Louisiana. Participants were first directed to a right-wing bookstore, where, after proper identification, they were sent to Warner's home to be told where the meetings would be held.

On September 10th, participants attended the convention of Warner's New Christian Church at the Vieux Carre Motor Lodge in New Orleans. On September 11th, they gathered at the National Convention of the Ku Klux Klan, at the American International Motor Lodge in Metairie. That evening a KKK Rally and cross burning were held at Chalmette, La., and on September 12th there was a march, followed by the laying of a wreath at the White Monument in New Orleans.

The exact number of people who attended the Congress is not known, though some participants reported "standing room only." It is known, however, that representatives from several foreign countries were there:

Canada: John Ross Taylor and Dr. G. Zapparoli represented the Western Guard Party and the Social Credit Association of Ontario, respectively. Taylor, who had been detained by the Canadian government during World War II, urged those present to "work with anyone who opposes Zionism on any international issue - especially the Arabs." This was incorporated later in Article 7 of the resolutions adopted.

Germany: Dr. Manfred Roeder and Wolfgang Kirschstein represented Deutsche Burger Initiative and the Unabhangige Arbeit Partei. Dr. Roeder, recently convicted in Germany of incitement, denounced as a "lie" the killing of six million Jews under Hitler. His fine of \$1200 was paid with money raised by Warner in the United States.

England: David Cooper represented the British Movement.

Belgium: Mr. Spinnewyn was the delegate from the Flemish Militant Order.

American anti-Semites present included David Duke, National Director of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; Richard Cotten, editor of the Conservative Newsletter and Dan Gayman and Buddy Tucker of the Emancipation of Our White Seed Movement.

Cotten, reporting on the Congress in his publication Conservative Viewpoint, noted that the participants had one goal in common, which was expressed in Article 2 of the resolutions: "We pledge support for the White Race throughout the world and not only to be clearly anti-Jewish but first and foremost anti-Jewish."

* * * *

The National Association of Arab Americans held a full-day seminar November 18th to discuss the implications of the Ribicoff Amendment to the new Tax Reform Act 1976, which bars tax benefits to certain businesses which comply with the Arab Boycott.

(continued)

Minor George, NAAA president, noted that "our phones have nearly melted with businesses requesting assistance in stopping such legislation." The NAAA is forming a "task force" that will lobby Congress to fight the Ribicoff Amendment. The new lobby will represent over 100 leaders of business, industry and government who are concerned about the restrictive effects such legislation might have on U.S.-Arab trade relations.

* * * *

The Nazi flag flew briefly in Frankfurt, Germany on November 9th, 1976, the 38th anniversary of the burning of synagogues by Hitler's Nazi mobs. Unidentified persons raised the red, white and black flag on the smokestack of a power station, Nazi literature was found pasted on a metal door at the base of the 150 foot-high tower and anti-Jewish posters were pasted on vending machines.

In other parts of Frankfurt, Nazi posters, bearing a swastika, were glued on lampposts and walls. "We are here again," the posters read. "Red Front perish. Don't buy from Jews." The posters were signed by the National Socialist German Workers Party, Foreign Organization, Lincoln, Nebraska.

In Mannheim Germany, a six-hour rally was held to honor the country's Nazi war heroes, while 300 demonstrators paraded through the center in protest. Literature passed around at the rally praised Hitler and other German leaders of World War II and declared it was a "myth" that the Nazis were responsible for the destruction of six million Jews.

* * * *

Former Georgia Governor Lester Maddox, American Independent Party candidate who was badly beaten in the presidential election, has announced that he would seek to establish a united national third party. (The combined vote of his party and the American Party totalled less than one per cent of the total vote cast.) "Both parties didn't get any votes because we're divided," Maddox explained. "I don't like to fight my friends; I like to fight the enemy."

George Melton, national campaign chairman of the American Party, also urged that the two parties "build steadily but cautiously for a single united conservative party...."

Maddox raised \$40,000 in campaign contributions and spent \$48,000. He has a personal liability of \$8,000.

* * * *

A National Conference on Zionism and Racism sponsored by the "Oppressed Peoples Affairs Committee" of the Islamic Party of North America, was held in Washington, D.C., November 16-17, 1976.

More than 200 persons attended the six sessions, including diplomats and representatives from Arab and other Third World nations.

Among the speakers were such well-known Arabists as Rev. L. Humphrey Walz of Washington, D.C.; Dr. Alfred Lilienthal, editor of Middle East Perspective; Prof. Norton Mezvinsky, former executive director of the American Council for Judaism; and Gen. Hassan Jeru Ahmed,* head of the Muslim Relief Fund.

The Conference called for the establishment of a permanent organization, the American National Conference on Racism and Zionism, "to combat Racism and Zionism." The organization will sponsor a news agency "to present to the American people true anti-Zionism and anti-Racism and to coordinate and scrutinize the press, to ensure accurate reporting of the Middle East, African, Asian, and oppressed peoples of the world."

An American-Arab Friendship and Solidarity Society will also be established to "foster understanding among Americans and Arabs."

* Formerly known as Albert Roy Osborne

NEWS

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE LOS ANGELES CHAPTER

6505 Wilshire Blvd. • Suite 315 • Los Angeles, Calif. 90048
(213) 655-7071

Please Contact: Clare Lake, Public Relations Director

THIS IS THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

- ★ Founded in 1906.
- ★ Pioneer American organization combating bigotry, protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advancing the cause of human rights everywhere.
- ★ Chapters and units in more than 80 principal cities; members in more than 600 American communities.

AJC BLASTS FORMER CALIFORNIA CHAPLAIN.

The American Jewish Committee today reprimanded the Reverend Paul Trulin, until recently Chaplain of the California Senate, for using his former office to solicit funds for the election of "more Christians to public office in California."

Dr. Neil C. Sandberg, Western Regional Director of the AJC, said, "While it is your right to urge others to vote for Christian candidates, such a policy will divide Americans along religious lines and is destructive to the democratic process."

Dr. Sandberg called "unconscionable" Reverend Trulin's representation of himself as a Government official, and demanded that he "desist immediately." He noted, "The United States was founded on the principle of separation of church and state, and we consider your action a violation of that principle."

In a letter circulating statewide, Trulin stated "GOD HAS BEEN LEGISLATED OUT OF OUR GOVERNMENT," and invited all Christians to join him "in recognizing the need for men of integrity and honor whose supreme motivation is to serve the God of our forefathers."

In a statement on the "vote Christian" drive, of which the Christian Campaign is a part, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the New York AJC suggested that this is a revival of the radical right movement of 1950's McCarthyism under the banner of evangelicalism. "It is an attempt to create a new political religion in America," Tanenbaum said.

NEWS

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AJC BLASTS FORMER CALIFORNIA CHAPLAIN: continued.

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.





Los Angeles Chapter

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

6505 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 315 • Los Angeles, California 90048 • (213) 655-7071

Reverend Paul Trulin
California Christian Campaign Committee
2223 El Cajon Blvd. Suite 229
San Diego, CA 92104

12/23/76

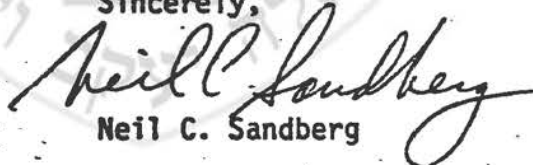
Dear Rev. Trulin:

We were distressed to learn that you have used your recent office as Chaplain of the California Senate to solicit funds and memberships for your politically oriented Christian Committee. We believe this is a misuse of a public trust and ask that you cease immediately.

While it is your right to urge others to vote for Christian candidates, such a policy will divide Americans along religious lines and is destructive to the democratic process. The United States was founded on the principle of separation of Church and State, and we consider your actions a violation of that principle. Moreover, your representation of yourself as a government employee is unconscionable.

We trust you will desist immediately from soliciting for your Committee in this way.

Sincerely,


Neil C. Sandberg

January 18, 1977

Mr. Charles McCabe
San Francisco Chronicle
905 Mission Street
San Francisco, California 94103

Dear Mr. McCabe:

On behalf of the Officers and Board of Directors of the San Francisco Bay Area Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, please accept our thanks for your incisive analysis of the "Vote Christian" drive in the recent election. Your January 17 column in the San Francisco Chronicle has been shared with our senior staff in New York and I am sure they will be in touch with you if you would like additional background material along the lines which you cited in the column.

In my discussion with Mike Brown yesterday, I indicated that there is an ominous ripple effect such as the "Christian White Pages" telephone directory which is now gaining some popularity in a number of cities. If you would like to discuss what information we have, please let me know. There are also some additional wrinkles to the "Vote Christian" effort which my colleagues in New York are currently examining, and as soon as that information is available, I will share it with you.

Sincerely,

Ernest H. Weiner
Bay Area Director

cc: Morton Yarmon
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

Charles McCabe Himself

'Vote Christian'

ONE OF THE indisputably good results of the 1976 elections was that Christianity did not make it as a major force in the voting. Only a handful of so called "Christ-centered" candidates who were not incumbents won seats in the Congress.

Not that there wasn't plenty of Christians trying. There were "Vote Christian" drives in no less than 30 congressional districts. One organization understandably concerned about this flush of activity, mostly fundamentalist in nature, was a panel of the American Jewish Committee.

This panel contained, in addition to Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum, of the AJC; Episcopal Bishop Paul Moore of New York City; the Rev. Arnold T. Olson, former president of the National Association of Evangelicals; and the Rev. Joseph A. O'Hare, editor-in-chief of the national Catholic weekly, America.

Shortly before the election the AJC compiled a list of 21 names of apparent "born again" candidates it said were being promoted by evangelical and fundamentalist groups. Only two on the list of 21 won: Eldon D. Rudd, Phoenix Republican, and Robert E. Badham, a Republican of Newport Beach, Calif. Rudd's victory was squeaker (700 votes) and Badham is a veteran California politician, with 14 years in the Assembly.

Badham was not actively backed by an outfit called California Christians Active Politically, which did back ten "qualified Christians" running for State assembly and senate posts. Of these a CCAP spokesman said four were elected.



AS WE KNOW, or as we ought to know, the government of this nation was founded on religious liberty, with an equal insistence on separation of church and state. The Founding Fathers wanted prelates of no description in the act. They were all for rendering unto Caesar, etc. etc.

As the redoubtable Henry Clay put it in 1818: "All religions united with government are more or less inimical to liberty. All separated from government are compatible with liberty."

Clay was only repeating forcefully the views of the great founder of Rhode Island, Roger Williams. Williams believed the whole theocratic idea on which early America was founded should be abolished, that church and state should be entirely separated, that it was nonsense to try to make men go to church, and that dissenters should be calmly tolerated by the state.

★ ★ ★

THESE IDEAS have become the fabric of our society. Religion, any religion, can only vitiate and divide a people, once it gains the sanction of public policy. This is so much more true of this country, with its great variety of religious content and its great toleration thereof. Theocracy is a bad idea for us.

There was altogether too much piety in the last election, from the Democratic candidate down. I sensed, when Jimmy Carter was being "born again" all over the place, that there would be a strong reaction against this kind of public and unabashed holiness. I think I was right. The results of the "Vote Christian" campaigns would seem to bear out this thesis. I hope and trust that, as President, Carter will leave his religion where it belongs, behind church doors.

★ ★ ★

CHRISTIAN credentials are formidable, according to the spokesman, Pat Matrisciana of Concord. "We will not back anyone who does not put Christ first," he says. This means, he added, that the man's political opinions should be based on the Bible. He should also have qualifications for spiritual leadership mentioned in I Timothy 2:1-7. A portion of this passage reads:

"He must be a good man whose life cannot be spoken against ... must be hardworking, and thoughtful, orderly and a lover of good deeds ... not a drinker, quarrelsome, and not a lover of money ... must have a well-behaved family, with children who obey quickly and quietly."

★ ★ ★



ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH

315 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
MUrray Hill 9-7400

Lynne Ianniello
Director, Public Relations

PRESS ROOM: Nov. 17-21
Everglades Room
Hyatt Regency Hotel
Washington, DC
(202) 737-1234

CONTACTS:

Press: Lynne Ianniello
Sam Gronner
Radio/TV: Hy Kuperstein

For Release Friday, November 18

Washington, DC....Eleven major American corporations whose products and services are advertised in "buy Christian" business directories are opposed to discriminatory advertising practices and are so informing their local agents who placed the ads.

The companies are IBM; Chrysler Corporation; Avis; Allstate; Penn Mutual, New York, Massachusetts Mutual, Preferred Risk Mutual, and New England Life Insurance Companies; Blyth Eastman Dillon & Co., and Lincoln National Sales Corporation.

In letters to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, according to general counsel Arnold Forster, most of the firms said that they had been unaware of the nature of the directories or that their local agents were placing ads in them. They thanked the League for calling the matter to their attention.

The directories limit advertisers to "born-again Christians" and urge readers to buy only from Christians. The dominant ones,

(more).

called "Christian Yellow Pages" and "Christian Business Directory," are published in some 34 cities in 14 states, mostly in the South and the West. However, these and other independent directories of the same kind are spreading throughout the country.

A report on the directories will be made today (Friday) by Marcia Goldstein, vice-chairman of ADL's fact finding committee, at a first-day session of the agency's 64th annual meeting. The meeting is being held here at the Hyatt Regency Hotel through Monday, November 21.

The report reveals that in addition to the "Christian Yellow Pages'" discriminatory business practices, the promoters of the directory -- its founder, Paul Seeley of Portland, OR, and its national director, W. R. Tomson of Modesto, CA -- have published a tract attacking Jews today and their ancestors for not accepting Jesus Christ as the Son of God. The tract, entitled "The Moral Imperative of Christian Yellow Pages," claims that non-believers in Jesus Christ "will go to Hell," will be "eternally lost in outer darkness," and that to criticize the publication is "an attack against the Creator and against His Son, Jesus Christ."

ADL has filed separate anti-discrimination suits in California and Colorado against "Christian Yellow Pages" and "Christian Business Directories" published in Los Angeles, San Diego and San Mateo County, CA, and in Denver and Colorado Springs, CO. The agency has

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also announced that it will prepare suits in other states as well, all based on the premise that limiting advertisers to "born-again Christians" constitutes religious discrimination against Jews, Catholics and some Protestant denominations.

The ADL report lists a growing number of Christian groups which have publicly denounced the directories. Among them are the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern); the New Jersey Council of Churches; the Charlotte, NC, and Richmond, VA, Clergy Associations; the Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlanta, GA; the Dallas, TX, Community of Churches, and the Tulsa, OK, Metropolitan Ministry.

Also listed are Christian publications critical of the directories, including the Providence Visitor, the Columbus Catholic Times, Christianity Today, the Florida Baptist Witness and Christian Century. An article in Christian Century (September 21, 1977) points out that "Christianity, rightly understood, seeks to unite people in common community -- not raise barriers and separate them because of theological differences."

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NEWS

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, NY, Dec. 13....While many fundamentalist and evangelical groups are still dedicated to proselytizing among Jews, they appear to be increasingly out of step with mainstream Christianity which now more than ever recognizes a coexistence with Judaism.

This, according to Theodore Freedman, director of the national program division of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, is the consensus of most of the 13 prominent theologians and educators writing in the current issue of ADL's quarterly interreligious bulletin, Face to Face. Only one, a fundamentalist theologian, argued to the contrary.

"The term 'Christian mission to Jews' is slowly being transposed into a need for a fresh look into the meaning of Christianity and the exploration of new types of encounter between mother and daughter religions," Mr. Freedman said. "This new approach by mainstream Christianity suggests a relationship between equals rather than the old view of the superiority of Christianity over Judaism."

Agreeing strongly with this point of view was the late Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, author of many major theological works, who wrote in "What is Needed," one of the publication's articles, that "the mission to the Jews is a call to individual Jews to betray the fellowship, the dignity, the sacred history of their people." The world, he said, would be a better place having Jews who are Jews and Christians who are Christians.

Among the other articles is the printing in full of a crucial paper presented last March in Venice, Italy, at the annual meeting of the Vatican's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews. The paper, "The Mission and Witness of the Church," prepared by Vatican consultant Professor Tommaso Federici, called for an end to proselytism of Jews.

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Instead, Dr. Federici seeks a serious study by Catholics of the Biblical and other Judaic sources of Catholicism. His stress is on dialogue as the major form of communication between the Church and contemporary man.

In "Comments and Notes," Rabbi Leon Klenicki, director of ADL's Jewish-Catholic relations department, emphasizes the importance of the Federici paper. He points out that the Vatican consultant "condemns categorically...proselytism to the Jews or any other activity that might harm the Jewish people or the Jewish faith."

The evangelistic thrust which seeks to emphasize "the incompleteness of Judaism" is sharply questioned in "Some Theological Perspectives" by Professor Harold H. Ditmanson, chairman of religious studies at St. Olaf College and a member of the Lutheran World Federation's Church and Jewish People Committee. He declares that this "not only misrepresents Christianity, but...also denies the integrity and validity of Judaism" and adds that the defamation of Judaism and "the deceptiveness of the suggestion that one can be simultaneously a Jew and a Christian have been repudiated" by Christian denominations.

Professor J. Coert Rylaarsdam of Marquette University, in "Mission to Christians," goes further, maintaining that "for all Christians today, the Christian mission to Jews must begin as a mission to Christians." He questions the "unhealthy motive" which "still propels drives for the conversion of Jews."

In "The Nature of the Christian Mission," Catholic historian Professor Frederick M. Schweitzer of Manhattan College, notes that "the Christian mission to the Jews has today fallen into eclipse and oblivion." However, he says, "the sad truth is that up until our own time, Christianity has...persecuted" the Jews "with Biblically-inspired, anti-Semitic, conversionist zeal, and at the same time, it has sought to preserve them in Biblically-inspired, philo-Semitic expectations of the end of days."

Sidney B. Hoenig, professor emeritus of Jewish History at Yeshiva University, declares in "The Jewish Response" that the question no longer is

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whether there is one or two faiths or which is superior. "The basic notion in the modern world," he says, "is that there can and must be separate faiths...."

In "From the Viewpoint of Contemporary Judaism," Dr. Jakob J. Petuchowski, research professor of Jewish theology and liturgy at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, notes that the stress "on correct belief, on salvation by faith rather than by works, which is a Christian characteristic, will never allow the Christian to reinterpret his belief in 'mission' in exactly the same way in which Judaism has done so."

In "What of the Future? Some Christian Perspectives," Rev. Avery Dulles, S.J., professor of systematic theology at Catholic University, contends that Jews should be authentic Jews and Christians authentic Christians, with both sharing with each other their different perceptions. He calls for Jew and Christian to make more opportunities available for dialogue so they "may familiarize each other not simply with an alien tradition but with the religious realities to which we are jointly committed."

Eva Fleischner, associate professor of religion at Montclair State College, notes, in "In the Light of the Holocaust and Religious Pluralism," that "in light of Auschwitz, any deliberate attempt to convert Jews to Christianity can be seen only as a more subtle form of Hitler's 'final solution.'"

However, fundamentalist theologian Dr. Carl F.H. Henry, editor of Christianity Today, believes that "God has singled out the Jew historically in terms of revealed religion, and the question of fulfillment is inseparable from the question of the validity of the promise." He goes on to say that the basic issue between Christian and Jew remains: "Is Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah of promise or shall we look for another? Any implication that the Jew stands no nearer the parameters of that issue than do others does less than justice to historical factualities and does not in the long run best serve interfaith good will."

Krister Stendahl, dean of Harvard Divinity School, in "Limits of Christian Mission," notes that Apostle "Paul's reference to God's mysterious plan is an affirmation of a God-willed coexistence between Judaism and Christianity in which the missionary urge to convert Israel is held in check."

In "Mutual Recognition of Commonalities," James E. Wood, Jr., executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, declares that "anti-Semitism is a denial of Christian faith and a sin against the Holy Spirit....The rejection of anti-Semitism is, therefore, prerequisite to any consideration of or involvement in Christian mission and Jewish witness."

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AJ,RE-77



2129 18th Street Road
Greeley, Colorado 80631
December 29, 1977

The American Jewish Committee

Attention: Mr. Bert Gold

Subject: Some comments on your memo of December 13 concerning Jewish-
Evangelical Relationships

1. I get a general feeling of "overkill" concerning this partnership--over-optimism, over-intimacy, over-gratefulness for the Evangelical position on Israel.
2. A corollary: Might lead to embarrassment and difficulty concerning AJC's position on other significant socio-economic, political or religious issues. Some examples:

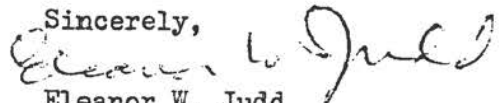
Billy Graham's expressed hope for introducing "ecumenical" religious materials into the classroom of our public schools.

Evangelism directed to Jews: Might not the necessary vigilance concerning this yield to over-eagerness to maintain the euphoria of good relations?

Even the strong pro-Israel stand of our Evangelical coalition partner, based as it is on unyielding religious considerations, might prove a source of real political difficulty in these times of rapid and often surprising developments in the Middle East. The Evangelicals would appear to be less flexible than Begin or Sadat--or the AJC.

3. I recognize the significance of "building bridges" and working for good relations and mutual understanding with many communities in our pluralistic society; yet I believe that it is extremely important to maintain an issue related only coalition stance--not necessarily cold, but careful. Political expediency has always dictated rewards for friends but does not require what seems to me to be excessive effusiveness, which may be interpreted as a technique of manipulation and backfire. While politics does indeed make strange bedfellows, the best of these arrangements leaves the participants free to leap out of bed with agility, grace and, above all, integrity.

Sincerely,


Eleanor W. Judd

cc Betty Zander, Colo. Chapter, Denver

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

cc: Harold Applebaum
James Rudin

MEMORANDUM

FO-SE
SUITE 118
1699 TULLIE CIRCLE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30329
PHONE. 404-633-6351

DATE: December 29, 1977

TO: ☒ Marc Tanenbaum
FROM: William A. Gralnick
SUBJECT: Goyim for Israel

The director of Goyim for Israel here in Atlanta has shared with me their plans to make Goyim for Israel into a national network. They see their initial thrust to be in 42 states and 143 cities with a minimum of 121 program locations. For your information, I have outlined that organization on the attachment.

I have also enclosed the front and back page of a publication entitled, "The Fig Tree". This is Goyim for Israel's local newsletter. I am not yet certain if this is going to be a national format or just the local effort. You can see it is obviously a pro-Jewish document. We got the lead story. It is important to note that the Consul General here has sort of anointed Goyim for Israel with his speaking at their Greenville (SC) rally. I know for a fact that the Consulate has cleared through the Embassy a small sum of money (I don't know how much) to be given to Goyim for Israel on a per project basis. I have a hunch the Consulate may have chipped in to run the Evangelical Affairs whose actual title is "Public Relations Officer" has told me that they will be cooperating with Goyim for Israel.

Also enclosed is a copy of the Goyim for Israel membership card. Larry Newsome, the local director, shared with me the name of the organization that handles the Goyim for Israel program in San Antonio, Texas. I have sent that to Milt Tobian. I think it would be helpful if you would advise us about anything you know relative to Goyim for Israel and whether you think we should seek these people out, cooperate with them, etc.

My sense of things on the whole Evangelical question is that the community is beginning to choose up sides using us as the focal point. There have been several pieces both locally and nationally syndicated in the Atlanta press which have alluded to this new Evangelical/Jewish alliance. Several of them, including the Evanson Novak piece, seem to suggest that this "holy alliance" is a ploy for Jews to get their message across via another political channel. I would suggest that we begin thinking about whether or not this needs to be countered and how to counter it. My feeling is that we need to have some Evangelicals counter it as opposed to us working on it through the media.

Warmest regards.

WAG/lm

enc

GOYIM FOR ISRAEL

REGIONAL DIVISIONS & CITIES SCHEDULED FOR COVERAGE:

Arkansas	Missouri
Connecticut	New Jersey
Delaware	New York
Georgia	Ohio
Illinois	Oklahoma
Indiana	Pennsylvania
Iowa	Rhode Island
Louisiana	Texas
Maryland	Virginia
Massachusetts	West Virginia
Michigan	Wisconsin

REGIONS: 42 States; 143 Cities

REGIONS:

I. SOUTHEAST: (8 States; 30 Cities)

STATES

GEORGIA: Atlanta, Savannah, Augusta, Athens, Columbus, Macon

FLORIDA: Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, Tampa-St. Pete, Pensacola-Mobile

SOUTH CAROLINA: Greenville, Charleston, Columbia

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte, Raleigh, Greensboro, Winston-Salem

VIRGINIA: Richmond, Norfolk

TENNESSEE: Knoxville, Nashville, Memphis, Chattanooga

ALABAMA: Birmingham, Montgomery

MISSISSIPPI: Jackson

II. MIDDLE ATLANTIC: (5 States; 25 Cities)

STATES

NEW YORK: New York City, Buffalo, Albany, Syracuse, Utica, Rome

NEW JERSEY: Newark, Jersey City, New Brunswick-Perth Amboy, Patterson-Clifton-Passaic

DELAWARE: Wilmington

MARYLAND: Baltimore, Washington, DC

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, Scranton-Wilkes Barre, Johnstown-Altoona, Erie, Lancaster

GOYIM FOR ISRAEL

REGIONS: Cont'd.

III. NEW ENGLAND: (5 States; 17 Cities)

STATES

MAINE: Portland

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Manchester

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston, Worcester, Springfield, Brockton, New Bedford-Fall River

RHODE ISLAND: Providence, Pawtucket

CONNECTICUT: Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, Waterbury-Meriden

IV. EAST CENTRAL: (5 States; 25 Cities)

STATES

MICHIGAN: Detroit, Lansing, Flint, Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo

INDIANA: Indianapolis, Gary-Hammond-East Chicago, Ft. Wayne, South Bend-Elkhart, Layfaette

OHIO: Cleveland, Cincinnatti, Akron, Toledo, Columbus, Youngstown, Dayton, Cannon

KENTUCKY: Louisville, Lexington

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston, Huntington

V. WEST CENTRAL: (8 States; 21 Cities)

STATES

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee, Madison, Appleton-Grandbay-Oshkosh

ILLINOIS: Chicago, Peoria

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul

IOWA: Des Moines, Davenport-Rock Island-Moline-East Moline

MISSOURI: St. Louis

NEBRASKA: Omaha, Lincoln

KANSAS: Kansas City, Topeka, Wichita

COLORADO: Denver

GOYIM FOR ISRAEL

REGIONS: Cont'd.

VI. SOUTHWEST: (5 States; 13 Cities)

STATES

TEXAS: Dallas-Ft. Worth, El Paso, Houston, San Antonio, Corpus Christi

OKLAHOMA: Oklahoma City, Tulsa

ARKANSAS: Little Rock

LOUISIANA: New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Shreveport

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque

VII. PACIFIC: (6 States; 12 Cities)

STATES

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Fresno, Sacramento

OREGON: Portland

WASHINGTON: Seattle-Tacoma, Spokane

NEVADA: Las Vegas

UTAH: Salt Lake City

ARIZONA: Tucson, Phoenix

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



December 30, 1977

Jordan Harburger

Samuel Rabinove

Christian Yellow Pages

Milt Ellerin's memo to you on this subject of December 16 covers the ground very well. By way of a brief supplement, I am forwarding herewith an excerpt on Christian Yellow Pages from the list of propositions being submitted to the NJCRAC plenum next month as part of joint program planning for church-state and interreligious relationships. I believe this excerpt sums up the sense of most of the members of the NJCRAC Commission on Church-State and Interreligious Affairs on this issue.

SR:rbk
encls.

cc: Harold Applebaum
Milton Ellerin
Eugene DuBow
Marc Tanenbaum ✓

D. "Buy Christian" and "Vote Christian" Campaigns

1. "Buy Christian" campaigns via "Christian Yellow Pages" have been challenged in the courts by the ADL as discriminatory under California law and these campaigns and sporadic "vote Christian" efforts have been denounced by a number of responsible Christian groups and church leaders.
2. We condemn such attempts to exploit religious prejudice as grossly discriminatory and offensive to American traditional concepts.
3. We deem them repugnant and irritating, but not basically threatening to Jewish security.
4. They should be closely monitored, denounced as contemptible, and countered by means appropriate to each case.

E. Cult Activity

1. Aside from occasional conversions of individual Jews, lamentable as such losses are, the impact of exotic cults and proselytizing efforts by fundamentalist evangelical Christian groups on the Jewish community has been slight.
2. The personal tragedies surrounding individual conversions are dealt with, appropriately, by the many Jewish service agencies engaged in such activity.
3. Jewish community relations agencies should continue to monitor the activities of cults and proselytizing groups, to develop information about their conversionary effects, and to cooperate with other Jewish organizations in seeking to reinforce Jewish identification and pride, especially among Jewish youth; and cooperate with Jewish and non-Jewish organizations in seeking to discredit the conversionary efforts and especially the deceptions and abuses sometimes employed in those efforts.

F. Christian-Jewish Relationships

1. Our favorable assessment in the 1977-78 Joint Program Plan of the relationship, on the whole, between Jews and Christians has been reinforced by actions and statements of Christian leaders and influential church bodies during recent months, notably in regard to the Middle East and Soviet Jewry.
2. Our recommendation of last year accordingly continues valid, viz., to seek further reinforcement of that favorable relationship through increased educational programming about Judaism, Israel, and the Holocaust; and cultivation of contacts with Christian leaders and peers at all levels,
3. with special attention to the Evangelical churches and their theologians and leaders.

January 10, 1978

Ms. Eleanor W. Judd
2129 18th Street Road
Greeley, Colorado 80631

Dear Ms. Judd:

Thank you so much for your very perceptive note of December 29th. You raise exactly the kind of questions that have been of concern to many of us even as we have gone about strengthening our relationships with Evangelical groups and encouraging from them positive expressions of support for Israel.

Personally, I am less concerned about proselytization directed towards Jews than I am about the reality that we do differ on a number of social issues and perhaps even on the substance of the current peace negotiations. As far as conversion is concerned, our experience has not been negative. We have managed to obtain several outspoken statements from Billy Graham against proselytization of Jews and we have been able to rally some of the progressive elements of the Evangelical movement against "buy Christian only" and "vote Christian only" campaigns by right-wing Evangelicals.

While it is, of course, essential in all coalitions to concentrate on the issue which brings the coalitional partners together, we have found it important in the dialogue we have been conducting with fundamentalist groups generally to work towards better mutual understanding. This leads me to believe that we will not have to leave our coalitional bed. But please believe me, if need be, we shall do so with the agility, grace and integrity you suggest.

Sincerely yours,

Bertram H. Gold

BHG/aw
cc: Betty Lande

bcc: S. Hirsh
M. Tanenbaum
I. Silverman

human characteristics? When and why did He suffer these indignities? I was further perplexed by Psalm 110:1.

In my confusion I began to read Isaiah from the beginning. I was stopped at the sixth verse of chapter nine: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon His shoulders: His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." Here was a most incomprehensible thing!

I was suddenly faced with the doctrine of the Trinity. What now about our popular monotheistic slogan, "Sh'ma Isroel, Adonai Elohey-nu, Adonai, Echod." Upon that word "Echod" (one) the entire philosophy of Judaism is based. I had been taught by the rabbis that echod means absolute unity. I began to study that word and found to my amazement it was used of Adam and Eve, who became one. It was used again when the spies returned from Canaan with a cluster of grapes (Eshol Echod). It was used again when the "men of Judah stood up as one man" (Ish Echod).

Suddenly I was struck with the error I had believed and proclaimed all through my ministry. Echod cannot mean absolute unity, but a composite unity.

Next I began to search for the name of Jesus in the Old Testament. In my study I found that 275 years before Christ, King Ptolemy Philadelphus summoned men from Palestine and commanded them to translate the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek vernacular. They took the Pentateuch first, and when they came to "Joshua" they translated it the book of "Jesus," written with a circumflex over it, to show that there had been a suppression of the Hebrew that could not be expressed in Greek. When Joshua went into Canaan with the other eleven spies, he was called "Yehoshuah" (Jehovah is Savior). That is exactly what the word "Jesus" means.

I could hold out in unbelief no longer. I was convinced of the truth of God as it is in Christ Jesus. I cried, "Lord, I believe that Thou as Jehovah Yesous has made atonement for me. I believe that Jehovah Yesous died for me. I believe that thou has made provision for me.

From henceforth I will publicly confess Yeshuah as my Saviour and Lord." Thus, after months of searching, I was convinced that Jesus was the righteous servant of Jehovah, (Jehovah-tsidkenu), "The Lord our righteousness."

While I had served as a rabbi I had yearned to give the bereaved some hope and comfort, but I could not give what I did not possess. Now I could approach those in heartbreaking grief and tragedy and give them the satisfying words of the Lord Jesus, "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die." And again, "Verily, verily I say unto you: He that heareth My Word, and believeth on Him that sent Me, hath (possesses now) everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but IS passed from death unto life."

There is but one eternal life, and one source of eternal life; that is God's Son. What a great and glorious message we, His redeemed ones, are commissioned to deliver today."

HOW A RABBI FOUND PEACE

Personal Testimony of
Dr. Max Wertheimer
Former Rabbi of Temple Israel
in Dayton, Ohio



American Messianic Fellowship
7448 North Damen Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60645

Born in Germany, of orthodox Jewish parents, my first fifteen years were saturated with training in orthodox Judaism. Then I began my studies toward a career, and was apprenticed to a manufacturer, doing office work. Although I continued to read the prayers and attend synagogue, my worldly associates led me into sinful pleasures and I drifted from the faith of my fathers.

My parents sent me to America to study in the Hebrew Union College in Ohio. There were major adjustments to be made, but I finished my training in all phases of Hebrew learning, completed my undergraduate work and received, eventually, my Master's degree.

Having become proficient in translation of Hebrew into the vernacular, and with a complete knowledge of Jewish history, I was ordained and inducted into the rabbinical office. In my first charge I served ten years, receiving many tokens of affection from my flock. I contributed much to their knowledge of the social, industrial and economic problems of the day. I

spoke on monotheism, ethical culture, and the moral systems of the Jews. On Sabbath mornings I gave addresses on the Pentateuch and on Sundays I taught from eight in the morning to five in the evening with only an hour's break for dinner.

I became popular as a public speaker and was often asked to speak in Christian churches. Well do I recall the day when I proudly stood before an audience of professing Christians and told them why I was a Jew and would not believe in their Christ as my Messiah Saviour. I gloried in the Reform Judaism that acknowledged no need of an atoning sacrifice for sin, a religion of ethics which quieted qualms of conscience through a smug self-righteousness.

In that audience sat a humble, elderly woman who prayed, "O God, bring Dr. Wertheimer to realize his utter need of that Saviour he so boastingly rejects! Bring him, if necessary, to the very depths in order that he may know his need of my Lord Jesus Christ."

What did I need of Jesus? I was perfectly satisfied with life. My

wife was young, attractive and accomplished. I was rabbi of the B'nai Yeshorum Synagogue, lived in a beautiful home, enjoyed a place of prominence in the community where I spoke in every denominational church, was honorary member of the Ministerial Association, served as Chaplain in the Masonic Lodge, and fared sumptuously every day.

Suddenly there came a change. My wife became seriously ill, and was soon dead, leaving me a distraught widower with two small children. I could not sleep. I walked the streets striving to find something that would make me forget the void in my life. My dreams were shattered. Where was comfort to be found? I called on the God of my fathers, but the heavens seemed as brass. How could I speak words of comfort to others when my own sorrow had brought me to despair? I delved into Spiritism, Theosophy and Christian Science only to find them futile and hopeless.

I decided that I must resign and take time to think things through. I was perplexed about one thing in

particular: Where was the spirit and soul of my loved one who had made my existence so sweet? What had become of all her faculties, the intents and purposes of that active, keen mind? I turned to the Bible for an answer.

Again I studied Judaism, but it answered no questions, it satisfied no craving in my heart. Then I began to read the New Testament, comparing it with the Old. In the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah I was perplexed by the expression "... my righteous servant?" I found he was going to bear the iniquity of Israel. I decided it could not mean Israel, for the prophet spoke of them as a sinful nation, laden with iniquity. Who was it?

I began to study the context and in Isaiah 50:6 I found, "I gave My back to the smiters." Then I read how the chapter began: "Thus saith Jehovah." I asked, does God have a back? Did He give it to the smiters? Then I read he "gave his cheeks to them that pluck off the hair." and how he hid not His face "from shame and spitting." I asked myself, when did Jehovah have these



Harper & Row, Publishers

10 East 53d Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

CONTACT: Mary Gregory (212) 593-7000 or 593-7295

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

It is important to understand Richard Nixon's religion, not because his beliefs are unusual or unique, but because they have a peculiar bearing upon his personality, his political style, and his conduct of the Presidency.

So says Charles P. Henderson Jr., in his new book, "The Nixon Theology," published by Harper & Row. Nixon the man transmits a blurred image to the world at large, the author points out, and the missing link for understanding his personality is a knowledge of his religious beliefs and his floundering efforts to reconcile them with the necessities of politics.

Mr. Henderson is Assistant Dean of the Chapel, Princeton University, and he writes that he became fascinated by the puzzle of Nixon's nature because of the sharply contrasting images people have of him.

After studying Nixon's speeches and book, "Six Crises," public records, biographies, editorials, and newspaper and magazine articles, Mr. Henderson concludes that Mr. Nixon is "caught up in a profound perplexity" because his career requires him to act in certain ways, yet he has "an overriding concern that his decisions and acts should be not only sound, but righteous."

"Richard Nixon is not the one-dimensional politician that many of his critics have made him out to be over the long years of struggle for the Presidency," Mr. Henderson writes. "Among his most deep-rooted convictions is the universalist teaching of his Quaker past, his belief that men are born with an infinite capacity for good."

His pacifist Quaker faith which he got from his mother, however, is combined in his nature with the evangelical, crusading beliefs of his father, and this polarization accounts for much of his "martial Quakerism," his hard-slugging campaign tactics, and his blend of patriotism, piety and principles of the puritan ethic, the author points out.

"Most commentators have picked up the strand of violence in his politics and have seen him as 'the hatchet man,' one who would engage in the sharpest political contests, always taking the low road of political combat, while men like Eisenhower would soar to the heights," writes Mr. Henderson.

(MORE)

"But Nixon is only partly a fighter. As we trace his career as Vice President, we find that the two dimensions of his character play off against each other -- the aggressive, hostile, crusading impulses and the idealistic, humane, even gentle instincts. It is the contrast and complexity of Nixon's character that make him so enigmatic and ultimately so fascinating. It is precisely this interplay between opposite poles in his personality that so many commentators have missed.

"Nixon's perennial problem, one might think, is a certain confusion of principle, self-image (as a righteous man), and the realities of power politics. He attempts to operate simultaneously in accord with the lofty principles of a religious crusade and the shrewd tactics of warfare."

On Jan. 21, 1953 Richard Nixon became the second youngest Vice President in the nation's history and, writes the author, he "fast became the hero of youth culture, although it is now difficult to believe with the memory of John Kennedy still so powerful." Nixon was "primed with optimism about the destiny of his country and did not hesitate to blend his hopes with his messianic expectations. He saw only one obstacle to the realization of the nation's most profound ideals, and that was international communism. He imaged the confrontation with communism as a holy war and expressed the belief that all mankind could be saved by a simple imitation of America.

"Having made the prior decision on principle that communism represented the ultimate evil, it then became entirely logical to him to employ any means, and to support any government, however corrupt, if communism could be stopped," writes Mr. Henderson.

Nixon's commitment to victory in Vietnam, his unsuccessful call to America for courage and all-out efforts, and his resolution to continue the war were unflinching until October 1967, when "the political reality of an electorate that did not respond to this call to victory had become overwhelming," writes the author. "Since the fall of 1967 Nixon has tried to design a new rationale for the war; he has tried to shape a new foreign policy around the lifeless skeleton of his cold-war theology.

"Yet he could not bring himself to endorse that most terrible of all prospects for him: a precipitate withdrawal from Vietnam. The President who had never in his life admitted the mere expediency of a major decision could not break his record for self-sacrifice at this juncture."

(MORE)

That Nixon can achieve justice in Vietnam is a suggestion perverse in its impossibility, the author shows. For as the American troops withdraw, "the Vietnamese are left helpless between the terror of Hanoi and the depravity of Thieu-Ky. Whether it be the repressive peace of communism, or the decadent peace of Thieu-Ky, the choice is still the least of three evils -- the greatest of the three evils possible is the war. The people of Vietnam stand as symbols of the tragedy implicit in the continuing policies of cold war."

"Yet even in the face of genuine confusion over the validity of our presence in Indo-China and around the world, Nixon steadfastly holds to his simplistic defense of massive military expenditures and the sincerity of his 'Quaker' search for peace. While the nation plunges deeper into self-doubt, Nixon's simple 'faith in America' appears oppressively inadequate.

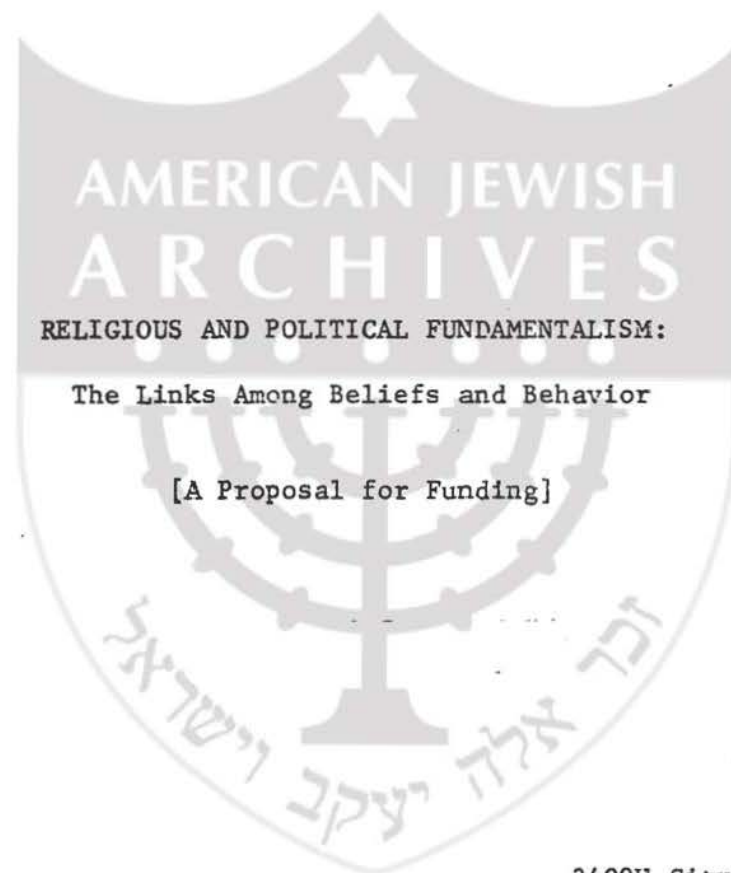
"President Nixon expresses the belief that the United States has both the right and the responsibility to preserve order throughout the world. He says he is prepared to endorse not only localized wars, as in Vietnam, but a total nuclear war. His State of the World Message reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to provide a nuclear shield against a threat not only to U.S. security but to the security of any of her allies. Considering the sheer number of this nation's treaty obligations, it does not require clairvoyance to realize that the possibility of avoiding a future war is small indeed.

"Wholly missing from Nixon's public utterances is a recognition of the awful possibilities which his cold war policies entail. Any nation which sets itself up as watchman of the world order cannot escape the likelihood that its power will be employed.

"The realities of the 70's offer resounding evidence that Vietnam, far from being an exceptionally evil war, is only typical of the conflicts in which we may become involved. This nation is in need of an awareness of human fallibility. Largely absent from American thought is an awareness that noble intentions can often lead to the most tragic results. A nation stubbornly convinced of its own righteousness can present as great a danger as a nation openly bent on war.

"The tragedy of Nixon is that his most noble impulses are not equal to the trials of the time," concludes Mr. Henderson.

In "The Nixon Theology," the author points out that since a President's actions are based on his conscience, and his conscience is influenced by his religious beliefs, or lack of them, it is unrealistic to say that a President's religion is a personal matter which should not influence voters.



Steve Hendricks
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan

3409H City Center Building
Institute for Social Research

I. Subject of the Study¹

This research concentrates on the empirical "overlap" between socio-political and religious conservatism among white Americans. It is a well established fact that fundamentalist Protestants are over-represented among both the elite and supporters of right-wing causes in the United States.² But the relationship can be understood fully only if the religious groups from which many rightists are drawn are subjected to investigation, and here the evidence is considerably more shaky. Most work in the sociology and psychology of religion has focused on attitudes that are fairly closely linked to Christian ethics, such as racial and religious prejudice.³ This study, while including such items, pushes beyond this concern to examine more overtly political attitudes and the development of secular ideologies among fundamentalists, a field that has received scant attention.⁴

In the present work several varieties of political alienation and conservatism; the respondent's degree of ideological constraint and sophistication; and the nature and extent of the individual's political participation serve as the primary dependent variables. Three partially alternative, but interlinked explanatory models will be tested to account for various socio-political "types" among fundamentalists. The first of these, termed the religious ideology model, looks for discriminating factors among the components of the individual's religious belief and behavior system.⁵ The second, a cognitive structure model, seeks to explain the overlap between religious and secular "fundamentalism" by means of the similar appeal each holds for the "dogmatic" mind.⁶ The status discrepancy model also deemphasizes the independent impact of religion, but seeks to predict the appeal of rightist thinking to fundamentalists according to certain status characteristics prevalent among them.⁷

Since all three models are prominent explanations for the rise of the "radical right," the Wallace constituency, or even the "silent majority," the present study allows one to control for competing models and isolate the independent impacts when they occur. In addition the process through which more "basic" social and psychological factors are translated

into religious and political behavior can be traced.

II. Significance of the Study.

The present research attempts to bridge an unfortunate gap between the sociology and psychology of religion and the work dealing with the determinants of political alienation, ideology, and participation. In doing so it confronts some of the more interesting theoretical puzzles in social research. Among others are the following.

A] Traditionally alienation has been considered primarily in terms of individual level incapacities and isolation.⁸ Only in the late sixties did the phenomenon of group level or subcultural alienation receive some attention, and even then interest was concentrated on the alienation of students and Blacks.⁹ In the proposed research I hope to extend this perspective to the rightist alienation of individuals in close-knit religious groups. This will entail a consideration of alienated incapacity, a concept stemming from the "mass society" literature, and a possible motive for joining sectarian groups, but not a characteristic of religious or political activists.¹⁰ That in turn will have to be distinguished from alienated "rejection" which may be promoted by the sectarian¹¹ and orthodox aspects of the fundamentalist congregation.

B] In spite of its wide use in the sociology of religion, the "church-sect" continuum has probably spurred more ideal typical theorizing than empirical research. The groups on which this study focuses combine characteristics of the sect with the more secular "denomination." Crucial to the predictions about the political behavior of the fundamentalist is the degree to which his religious teachings stress withdrawal or evangelical involvement in the secular world. This may be a crucial variable in distinguishing alienated withdrawal from rightist activism.

C] The evidence from national opinion surveys has established fairly clearly that ideological differentiation and constraint are positively correlated with measures of social status such as education.¹² Yet fundamentalists as a group have relatively low levels of education

and nonetheless manifest high levels of constraint in reference to religious subjects.¹³ Whether this belief system serves as a "surrogate" for secular education and is "generalized" into secular conservatism is of course one major interest of the present research.

D] In the past research dealing with problems of cognitive consistency and dissonance has suffered through an inadequate consideration of the relative centrality or salience of belief elements.¹⁴ In much the same way, scholars looking for links between religious beliefs and secular attitudes have largely ignored the interactive impact of religious salience with the content of the beliefs.¹⁵ By concentrating on individuals for whom religion is highly salient, the links and reactions to dissonance can be specified with considerably greater clarity than in past research.¹⁶

E] The literature utilizing some form of status inconsistency concept to explain political attitudes and behavior falls largely into two categories. On one hand, cross-pressure hypotheses predict moderation among those subjected to conflicting normative demands and levels of respect.¹⁷ In contrast status discrepancy or "crystallization" hypotheses find seeds of extremism among the same individuals.¹⁸ Fundamentalists constitute an especially interesting group in light of these contradictory expectations, since the sectarian aspects of their religiosity and the increasing secularization of the culture makes them especially susceptible to conflicting demands and perceptions of overall status decline. Whether such "discrepant" individuals constitute the recruitment base for extreme conservatism or the most moderate elements of the fundamentalist congregation is a key question in the present work.

F] Finally, a somewhat more socially relevant aspect of the present work is its focus on individuals for whom social and cultural change poses severe psychological problems. It seems that this particular reaction to "future shock" may be on the increase as change becomes increasingly rapid and society increasingly complex.¹⁹ The attempt to move churches toward social activism has been largely rejected by whites. Conservative movements in mainstream denominations and the

seeming growth of fundamental denominations indicate that the face of American Protestantism may be turning decidedly toward the right. The political impact of this change may be no more than to reduce the resources available for programs of social change. But the tremendous growth of parochial education among fundamentalist congregations in recent years bears a more ominous tone. Such schools seem more than a short-term reaction to integration in the public system. The curricula and teaching methods reflect a total rejection of cultural pluralism and freedom of thought. It may very well be that the future of technocratic society includes a strong component of religious revival. The question then becomes what sort of values are likely to underly that growth. The answer, I'm afraid, is not necessarily in the realm of toleration and humanism.

III. Plan of the Project

The data analysis in the research is to be based on two samples. Already available is the national sample of whites from the 1972 National Election Study by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. These data include responses from about 240 professed members of fundamentalist denominations. [Excluding Southern Baptists; a separately coded group of about 300 respondents.] In spite of the dearth of religious items in the national study, this sample allows one to compare fundamentalist identifiers with mainstream Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and those without a formal religious affiliation. Dividing the Protestants into fundamental and mainstream groups allows a better measure of religiosity than the common practice of aggregating all Protestant respondents, but the measures of religiosity are simply insufficient, and the internal cleavages within the fundamentalist category too broad to allow tests of all three models.

Thus, the major data collection tasks for the research lie in the local sample of fundamentalists from southeastern Michigan. This group will be drawn from between four and ten congregations spanning several dimensions of church organization and theological position. The total sample size will depend upon available funding, but will probably include about three hundred respondents.

The questionnaire instrument for the local sample is included with the prospectus. The items were chosen to allow a simultaneous test of all three models, and to allow comparisons with the national sample mentioned above. It is designed for either paper-pencil or interview format. In either case the questionnaire will be supplemented by open-ended interview items dealing with the individual's perception of major political and social problems in the United States.



IV. Statement of Costs

The primary funding needs are in the area of survey sampling.

1] Preparation and Duplication of Questionnaire	\$300.00
2] Preparation of Data for Analysis (Codebook Preparation, keypunching, etc.)	\$300.00
3] Interview Costs @ \$4.00 per interview (Includes token donation of \$1.00 per interview to the Church and \$3.00 per interview payment to interviewer.)	\$1200.00
4] Travel costs for interviews @ 1.00 each	<u>\$300.00</u>
TOTAL SURVEY SAMPLING COSTS	\$2100.00

NOTES

1. This is a severely condensed version of arguments presented in a research prospectus prepared for the dissertation committee. For the most part the works cited are for illustrative purposes only, but the bibliography is largely complete. A more complete version of the research and its theoretical antecedents is available from the author.

2. See Chesler and Schmuck (1969); Grupp (1969); Lipset and Raab (1970); Orum (1972); Rohter (1969a; 1969b); Wolfinger et al (1964).

3. See Adorno et al (1950); Allen and Spilka (1967); Allport (1966); Allport and Ross (1967); Bahr et al (1971); Blum and Mann (1960); Evans (1952); Feagin (1964; 1965); Glock and Stark (1966); Maranell (1967); Martin and Westie (1959); Middleton (1973); Photiadis and Bigger (1962); Wilson (1960).

4. Among the exceptions are Anderson (1966); Gibbs, Mueller and Woods (1973); Johnson (1962; 1964); Lenski (1961); Lipset and Raab (1970); Rohter (1969a; 1969b); Rokeach (1969a; 1969b); Summers et al (1970).

5. The major theoretical development of the religious ideology model has been undertaken by Glock and Stark and their colleagues at the University of California Survey Research Center's Research Program in Religion and Society. See Glock and Stark (1965; 1966); Glock et al (1967); Stark and Glock (1968).

6. This model is derived largely from Rokeach's work. See Rokeach (1960; 1968).

7. The principal application of the status discrepancy framework to political conservatism is Bell's edited volume, (1963b).

8. The primary examples are cited by Seeman (1959). Olsen (1969) makes a distinction similar to the one made here between incapacities and rejection.

9. See Coser (1964); Pinard (1968); Von Eschen, Kirk and Pinard (1970).

10. See Grupp (1969); Keedy (1958); Schoenberger (1968).

11. See Wilson (1967; 1970); W. Stark (1967).
12. See Converse (1964; 1972).
13. See Stark and Glock (1968).
14. See Rokeach (1968).
15. See Gibbs, Mueller and Wood (1973).
16. The argument is directed essentially toward reduction of error variance. See Willer (1970: chapter six).
17. See Hunt and Cushing's discussion of the literature. (1972)
18. The status discrepancy literature could be cited for pages. Lenski (1954; 1956) coined the term "status crystallization." Geschwender (1972), Jackson (1967), Merelman (1968), Rokeach (1968), and Triemann (1966) attempt in one way or another to link status discrepancy concepts to psychological variables, primarily those tied to cognitive balance models. (See Abelson (1967).)
19. See Kelley (1973) and Streiker and Strober (1973). For somewhat contrary views see Stark and Glock (1968: 203) and Bibby and Brinkerhoff (1973).



FOOTNOTES

1. See Welch (1961). I've adopted this hybrid footnote style to facilitate reading both the text and the notes. The exact citations are found in the bibliography.

2. Not surprisingly most of this work is of a descriptive, journalistic nature, focusing on the various rightist movements that have sprung up since the late forties. (Roy (1953); Overstreet and Overstreet (1964); Forster and Epstein (1965, 1967); Rodekop (1968).) Much of the more theoretical work has focused on the genesis of anti-semitism specifically (Adorno et al (1950)) or on the growth of McCarthyism in the fifties (Bell (1963b).) The best introduction to the radical right generally comes from three volumes, Bell's edited work on the subject, (1963b); Schoenberger's collection of empirical studies (1969); and Lipset and Raab's recent history of rightist extremism in the United States (1970).

In terms of specific research findings, Grupp (1969) found that members of fundamentalist Protestant denominations are overrepresented in the John Birch Society by a ratio of about two to one compared to their prevalence in the national population. (20% vs. 10%). About the same ratio and percentage emerged from Wolfinger and his colleagues' (1964) study of Fred Schwartz' Anti-Communist Leadership School in San Francisco. Chesler and Schmuck's study of midwestern "super-patriots", a group drawn from right-wing organizations, letters-to-the editor writers, and other sources were found to be "religiously fundamentalistic and pietistically moralistic." (1969:183) Using attitudes rather than simple denominational affiliation, (See Sampling and Instrumentation, below), they found that 72% of those falling the super-patriot group were "fundamentalistic" compared to 49% of the "conservatives" and 32% of the "moderates." Rohter's (1969, 1969a) study of rightists and non-rightists in the Pacific Northwest revealed the same tendency. Forty-two percent of the rightists belonged to fundamentalist denominations compared to 17% of the non-rightists. And two attitude scales measuring "fundamentalism" and "radical rightism" cor-

related positively ($\gamma = .31$).

Each of these studies base their conclusions on rather bizarre samples from either rightist organizations, or some other activist group. There is some additional evidence drawn from more population representative samples. Orum (1972) found that George Wallace's supporters in 1968 in Atlanta were considerably more likely to come from fundamentalist denominations, and tended to be the most active members of those denominations, relationships that held up in the face of rather extensive socio-economic controls. Lipset and Raab (1970) classified individuals from a nationwide sample into four categories of extreme political belief. Among them were the "right radicals" who held conservative economic views coupled with a distrust of "pluralist" political processes. Fundamentalists constituted 46% of this group, but only 27% of the religious identifiers in the sample.

3. See Wuthnow (1973).

4. The literature dealing with the church-sect typology is voluminous. Unfortunately this is partly due to the fact that it's one of those concepts, like "power" in political science, that becomes increasingly slippery as it becomes increasingly specific. This doesn't cancel its heuristic utility, of course. Niebuhr (1929), Martin (1962) and Wilson (1967: 27-45) made significant contributions in revising Troeltsch's original ideal-typical formulation (1931: volume one 431-5) to fit an intermediate type, the denomination. But as Johnson (1973) points out, these efforts have been more in the form of propping up the original historical taxonomy than attempts to reformulate it in terms of analytic properties. The attempts he notes to follow an analytic path haven't been conspicuously successful. (See Berger (1954); Johnson (1958); Moberg (1962); Gustafson (1967); Yinger (1970: 251-81).) Not surprisingly a new generation of scholars has suggested junking the taxonomy altogether. (See Eister (1967); Goode (1967).) The problem seems similar to that surrounding "power," a concept that lumps quite distinct phenomena together on the basis of a few similarities.

Fortunately, this research doesn't stand or fall on the

basis of a critical distinction between church and sect. Its use here is based on a relatively non-controversial aspect of sectarianism, the rejection of some part or all of secular culture, and the "exclusivist" nature of the commitment required for sectarian membership. (See Johnson (1973:133).)

5. Mainstream denominations are not of course "churches" in Troeltsch's terms. But the notion that "liberal" denominations are major sources of leftist protests seems more a fantasy of fundamentalists, or the hopes of some clergy in the sixties than an accurate description. For evidence of the splits between clergy and lay members of mainstream denominations see Glock and Stark (1965; 1966); Glock et al (1967); Kersten (1970); Hadden (1969); Kelley (1972); Campbell and Fukuyama (1969); Nelsen (1973b); Quinley (1970); and Wood (1970).

6. See V. Stark (1968:11). This touches on a central concern of this research; the degree to which religiosity is socially integrative. Parsons (1963) and various work derived from a Parsonian framework tends to stress such an integrative function. But such an analysis tends to ignore the other possibility, that of organized deviance. The reader familiar with Parsonian formulations will recognize the problems with such a functionalist bias.

7. At least since Marx and Engels commented on the narcotizing effect of religion, the alternative nature of sectarian religiosity and radical political action has been a focus for speculation among social theorists. (See Yinger (1957:170-3) and Pope (1942:37). Unfortunately, the speculation hasn't resulted in a coherent explanatory structure.

This is partly due to the necessity for testing the hypothesis in some "deprived" sample. Gary Marx' (1967) study of the impact of religious belief on militancy among Blacks is probably the best example. (See also Aberbach and Walker (1970).) But it, like most other work has concentrated on left-wing movements. When one shifts attention to rightist reactions, the question becomes considerably more complex since such groups' goals are not necessarily antithetical to sectarian religiosity.

As far as I know only one American study has focused on factors that lead individuals to choose rightist organizations OR sectarian religions to alleviate feelings of deprivation. Photiadis and Schweiker (1970) found that among a group of small town businessmen attitudes toward both groups were positively correlated, indicating a coincident, not an alternative pattern. But the "pure" sectarian tended to be more anomic than the pure rightists. The authors concluded that those who perceive normative order in society and feel themselves to be part of it are more likely to join authoritarian political organizations than sectarian churches. (1970:232). See also Keedy (1958).

Of course, this work is only partly relevant to the proposed research since the groups to be studied are limited to religious identifiers. The concern here is not between secular rightism and an apolitical orientation, but between the individual who combines religiosity with a positive ideological orientation and one whose religion is a substitute for politics.

8. See Gusfield (1963) for an excellent historical treatment of the links between pietistic Protestantism and the Temperance movement in terms of the status decline model discussed below.

9. The fact that I've used "religious" labels for these forms of conservatism doesn't indicate that they may only stem from religious beliefs. Alan Westin (1963) used the same descriptive, but non-analytic device when he termed Birchers and their allies "right fundamentalists." In spite of the suggestion of similarities between the two, the links between fundamentalism and conservatism are to be demonstrated through empirical test rather than through assumption.

10. See Milbrath (1965) for a thorough discussion of the varieties of conventional participation and their "scalability" in a mass population.

11. The distinction between these two issue positions within conservatism is well recognized in the literature. Lipset has practically made a career out of applying it to various sub-

stantive situations. (See Lipset (1955; 1962; 1963: chapter four); Lipset and Raab (1970: chapter eleven).) Converse and his colleagues use it as a major distinguishing characteristics between the Wallace and Goldwater constituencies. (See Converse et al (1969).)

12. See Wolfinger et al (1964:282-84).

13. See Lipset and Raab (1970: 428-83).

14. In spite of its central theoretical place in the current research, the complexity and ambiguities of the alienation concept dictate that a thorough discussion of the concept be reserved for the dissertation. But a few points can be made to place the use of the term here in context. First, in this research alienation fits into the "subjective" attitudinal tradition of Kenniston (1965) and Seeman (1959; 1971) that Aberbach (1969) distinguishes from the "objective" Marxist tradition, a viewpoint that sees alienation existing independent of attitudes.

Four of Seeman's five categories of alienation find their way into this work; powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, and isolation. Self-estrangement, as Seeman noted, is almost impossible to deal with in attitudinal terms without using a psychoanalytic framework that is largely avoided here. (See Fromm (1955).) (See the discussion of the Cognitive Structure model below, for further comments on psychoanalytic explanations.)

Unfortunately, as I've noted elsewhere, (See Hendricks (1973).) the conventional conceptualizations of alienation tend to mix Seeman's neat types. In particular, mass society theorists have managed to impose a rather bizarre conception of existential isolation on all forms of alienation. (See Srole (1956); Dean (1960; 1961); Kornhauser (1960).) As Pinard (1968) and Gusfield (1962) point out, however, this view reveals an extreme pluralist bias that ignores the possibility of alienated collectivities. Since the focus of this research is on members of somewhat deviant religious and political groups the point is well taken. (See also Von Eschen, Kirk and Pinard (1971).)

15. Olsen (1969) makes an identical distinction referring specifically to political alienation. The framework is also similar

to Keniston's formulation at several points. (1965: 454). He too considers the object or focus of the alienation. And through consideration of the "modes" of alienation, he can distinguish between rejection and incapacity.

In terms of empirical work, early research focused to a great degree on incapacities. (See Lane (1962); Dean (1960; 1961); Litt (1962).) This is hardly surprising given the political tenors of the late fifties. But with the growth in protest in the sixties, attitudes of alienated rejection excited more interest. The most utilized measures of alienation in political terms, efficacy and trust, reflect this distinction. (See among others Aberbach (1969); Agger et al (1961); Thompson and Horton (1960); Muller (1968); Seeman (1966). In terms of more general rejection of democratic principals see McClosky (1958) and Prothro and Grigg (1960).)

16. Following Aberbach (1969), I suspect that the whole question of the relationship between feelings of powerlessness and social behavior has been confused by a confusion of incapacity and rejection, and a lack of attention to the focus of the alienation. Though it's difficult to tease a generalization out of the confused literature, it seems irrefutable that the attitudes are independent to some extent. (See Finifter (1969).) Feelings of powerlessness are associated with sporadic participation in social groups. (See Dean (1968); Allen and Spilka (1967).) But distrust, especially that focused on outgroups may actually be increased or sustained by social participation. (See Neal and Seeman (1964); Coser (1964); Bolton (1972).)

I don't have the space here to develop the cognitive balance model that I believe can account for these differential impacts and the links between feelings of powerlessness and distrust. That task is reserved for the dissertation. Suffice to say here that various forms of incapacity are seen as dissonant psychological states that give rise to withdrawal from the dissonant situation or translation into rejection. This scheme correctly predicts the low levels of powerlessness coupled with high levels of rejection

among right-wing extremists. (See Wolfinger et al (1964:288); Schoenberger (1968); and Grupp (1969).)

17. The question of whether fundamentalists are more or less anti-Semitic than other Christians is a matter of some dispute. (See Middleton (1973); Glock and Stark (1966); Adorno et al (1950); Carrol and Hoge (1973); Berliner (1946); Blum and Mann (1960); Evans (1952); Lipset and Raab (1970: chapter eleven).) But there is little doubt that they are considerably more anti-Catholic. (See Lipset and Raab (1970: chapter eleven.) It may be that fundamentalists attachment to Biblical prophecy places Israel and Jews in general in a more favorable light than that found in mainstream churches. That at least is one possibility included in the social consequences dimension of religiosity discussed below.

18. See Festinger, Riecken, and Schachter (1956).

19. See Hofstadter (1963; 1965) and Gusfield (1963).

20. The framework as a whole is most closely associated with Glock and Stark and their colleagues at the University of California research project in religious behavior. (See Glock and Stark (1965; 1966); Glock et al (1967); Stark and Glock (1968); Stark et al (1971).) The other major contribution to the model comes from Gibbs, Mueller and Wood's (1973) excellent study of the impact of religious salience on the relationship between orthodoxy and social attitudes. But the model as a whole was constructed for this research. The "dimensions" of religiosity that I will discuss should not be considered unidimensional scales in either a "guttman" or factor analytic sense. That possibility will be investigated in the dissertation of course, but for the present reference is to theoretical dimensions only.

21. Stark and Glock (1968) found that orthodoxy was largely unrelated to their measure of Christian ethicalism. But Davidson (1972) presents even more negative evidence. In his sample of midwestern Protestants he found a fairly strong negative relationship between "vertical"(orthodox) and "horizontal" (ethical)

beliefs. The former was positively related to reported growth through religion, while the latter was positively related to liberal political action.

22. This might seem at first to be the least politically relevant of the fundamentalist's attitudes. But in reality it may be one of the most readily tapped in the course of political mobilization. In recent years it has taken the form of opposition to "evolutionism" and behavioral science in the public schools. And in conjunction with the strong tendencies toward Puritanical moral standards, has spurred attacks on sex education. Perhaps coincidentally in line with the integration of the public schools, fundamentalists have increasingly turned to private church related education. In fact, the decline in parochial education among Catholics has been matched by a surge in Protestant based "fundamental" schools from elementary through high school. Such schools usually are organized only after severe struggles over school policy in the local community. Two local congregations with their own schools are included in the sampling frame for this research.

23. By far the largest single category of studies included in the bibliography are those linking doctrinal orthodoxy to some form of conservatism. Their vastly different indicators and samples means that treating them in any detail here would require considerably more space than I have available. While an extensive discussion of the relationship is planned for the dissertation, the reader is referred to Wuthnow's (1973) excellent review and the various studies cited in the other notes and bibliography for the present.

I should note, however, that the plausibility of a negative relationship between orthodoxy and conservatism is largely dismissed in this research, in spite of Wuthnow's finding that eleven percent of the studies he surveyed found such a relationship. That can be accounted for primarily by three factors. First an extremely restricted definition of conservatism such as Republican Party preference. Second, bizarre samples not characteristic of church

members as a whole. (See Strommen (1963; 1967).) And third, in line with Dittes' (1969:629) suggestion, it may be that orthodoxy is curvilinearly associated with conservatism. This last possibility I think is somewhat remote. More likely such a relationship is due to the impact of religious salience in interaction with orthodoxy. (See Salience discussion below.) But it will be tested in the present research nonetheless.

24. Another possibility is that background characteristics such as social status produce a spurious relationship between orthodoxy and conservatism. This is essentially the argument of both the status discrepancy and cognitive structure models below. But evidence suggests that such impacts are not simple. Feagin (1964); Allport and Ross (1967); Glock and Stark (1966); Keedy (1958); and Stouffer (1955); and Anderson (1966) find that status controls reduce but do not eliminate the relationships. And in some forms of conservatism, especially economic, imposition of controls may actually increase the relationships. (See Lipset (1964: 126) and Allport and Ross (1967:434).)

25. See Gibbs, Mueller, and Wood (1973:36).

26. See Wuthnow (1973:126).

27. Variables in this category include not only intrinsicity and extrinsicity discussed below. Their relatively low correlation with orthodoxy make them prime indicators for the interactive hypotheses discussed here. But other measures that tap the salience of specifically fundamentalist belief include the level of biblical knowledge (Willis (1968)), the reports of religious experience (See Stark and Glock (1968) and King (1967).) and a comparison of various terminal values including salvation. (See Rokeach (1969a; 1969b).)

28. See Alport (1959; 1963; 1966) and Allport and Ross (1967). Dittes (1969:631-6) relates the intrinsic-extrinsic distinction to numerous other authors' differentiation between religiosity committed to Christian belief and that linked to the institutional forms. See Lenski (1961); Allen and Spilka (1967); Edwards (1946).

29. See Feagin (1964); King and Hunt (1967); Carrol and

Hoge (1973); Allport and Ross (1967); Strickland and Weddell (1972); Dittes (1969: 631-33.).

30. Allport and Ross (1967: 439).

31. See Carrol and Hoge (1973); Photiadis and Bigger (1962); Strickland and Weddell (1972); Strickland and Shaffer (1971).

32. Allport and Ross (1967); Feagin (1964); Wilson (1960). A similar finding is reported in Lenski (1961) and Allen and Spilka (1967).

33. Strickland and Weddell (1972).

34. Seem among others, Bahr et al (1970); Johnson (1964; 1966; 1967); Wood (1970); Stark et al (1971); Kersten (1970); Hadden (1969); Quinley and Mitchell (1965); Salisbury (1962); Maranell (1967); Carrol and Hoge (1973); Summers et al (1970).

35. See Wuthnow (1973:122). The low level of relationships may be due in part to the low salience of religion outside the organized churches in mainstream denominations. Whether this is true in fundamentalist denominations hasn't been investigated in depth.

36. See Streuning (1963: Chapter Nine); Friedrichs (1959); Pettigrew (1959); Tumin (1958). Other work looking at the links between conservatism and behavioral commitment include Anderson (1969); Campbell and Fukuyama (1970); Hadden (1969); Johnson (1962; 1964); Lenski (1961); Lio (1969); Maranell (1967); Martin and Westie (1959); Photiadis and Bigger (1962); Stouffer (1955); Adorno et al (1950); Summers et al (1970); and Vanecko (1967).

37. There's practically no hard evidence on this point, but Grupp (1969) reports that fundamentalist Birch Society members are more likely to report regular church attendance than members of mainstream churches. The former group's attendance, however, (about 75%) is about average for fundamentalists based on data from the 1972 National Election Study by the Institute for Social Research.

38. Religious Particularism is a term taken from Stark and Glock's research. See Stark and Glock (1968: 64-9).

39. See Glock and Stark (1966). Similar measures are found in King's (1967) "religious dogmatism"; Putney and Middleton's (1961) "religious fanaticism"; and some aspects of Brown and Lowe's (1951) inventory of religious belief (See L. B. Brown (1966).)

The major thrust of the work has been toward explaining religious and racial prejudice. The generally low levels of particularism and salience in mainstream samples hasn't allowed a thorough test of the hypothesis in more remote domains. (See Gibbs, Mueller and Wood (1973); Bahr et al (1971).)

40. See Middleton (1973) and Glock and Stark's comments following the article.

41. See Glock and Stark's reply to Middleton (1973).

42. See Gibbs, Mueller and Wood (1973); Davidson (1972).

43. Allport and Ross (1967:435) makes a point worth quoting in this context.

"At this point, however, an important theoretical observation must be made. Low education may indeed predispose a person toward an exclusionist, self-centered, extrinsic religious orientation and may dispose him to a stereotyped, fearful image of Jews. This does not in the least affect the functional relationship between the religious and the prejudiced outlooks. It is a common error for investigators to 'control for' demographic factors without considering the danger involved in doing so. In so doing they are often not illuminating the functional (i.e. psychological) relationships that obtain."

What this means is that the religious ideology model is crucial in this research in two ways. The overlap between fundamentalism and conservatism may be "explained" in the sense that the covariance is independent of other factors. But even if its explanatory power is weakened by other controls, the simple empirical links between religious and political beliefs and behavior are worthwhile outlining for descriptive purposes. (For a contrary view that stresses the need to follow Campbell and Stanley's "canons of

causality" in outlining the impacts of religiosity, see Bouma (1971).)

44. See Adorno et al (1950). For the most influential criticism of the early model see Christie (1954). See also Rokeach (1960).

45. Rokeach (1960).

46. See Rokeach (1968: 820108) for a discussion of the links and distinctions between his framework and other cognitive balance theories. For a more thorough introduction and interesting examples of cognitive balance theory in terms relevant to the research problems pursued here, see Abelson (1967); Abelson et al (1968); Bennett (1971); Festinger (1954); Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955); Festinger, Reicken, and Schachter (1956); Heider (1946); Katz (1960); and Rosenberg and Abelson (1960). Bem (1970) provides an interesting "Skinnerian" approach to cognitive balance phenomena that attempts to avoid the problems of motivation inherent in it.

In the dissertation I intend to expand the treatment of cognitive balance theories considerably in terms of its relationship to dogmatic belief systems and its predictions about reactions to alienation.

47. I realize the thrust of this statement betrays an "establishment liberal" stance that I share with Rokeach. It's only a half-step away to declare that extremists of all sorts share certain "undesirable" personality characteristics. (See McClosky (1958); McClosky and Schaar (1965).) We've perhaps made the error of the early authoritarian personality theorists more indiscriminate, but the political bias of the concept is now aimed at both left and right.

I think, however, that the formulation can be defended on grounds other than its appeal to readers of the New Republic. First, the labels Rokeach attaches to the phenomena (and I will continue to use) embody a normative component. Dogmatism is an undesirable trait that few will defend. But call it "principled thinking" and its aspects are no longer so abhorrent.

Once this much is granted, the reasons for links between

extremism and a "closed mind" are easier to state without raising hackles. In order to hold extreme beliefs a certain amount of cognitive closure is necessary. Moderates, even of a militant civil-liberties variety are afforded the luxury of open mindedness in the United States. The lower scores on Rokeach's dogmatism scale is evidence of greater tolerance, or greater "scatter-brainedness", depending on one's viewpoint.

48. See Rokeach (1960: Chapter four; 1968: Chapter one). Though he largely avoids discussions of "personality" Rokeach's "primitive beliefs" function much as personality variables are usually conceived to operate. They are formed early, modified little through subsequent experience, and generally are seen more in an independent than a dependent role in any model of behavior.

49. Such evidence ties us back to the cognitive centrality of religious versus secular values. In the local survey (see Sampling and Instrumentation, below.) respondents are asked to rank order eight of Rokeach's "terminal" values, including salvation and a selection of secular values. (For a different methodological approach to the same problem see Rokeach (1969a; 1969b).)

50. See Rokeach (1960: Chapter four). The fifteen dogmatism items taken from Rokeach's original sixty for this study were selected from the most highly loaded in Trohldahl and Powell's (1965) subsequent factor analysis of the items to yield an undimensional scale. (See Robinson and Shaver (1970:351).)

51. It would be fascinating to pursue the conflicts and compatibilities of past and future orientations in belief systems. Obviously the two preoccupations can coexist, as in the case of the traditional religious individual whose future orientation is exclusively focused on a life after death. Cyclical theories of history may provide another way of reconciling the two. Unfortunately, research is lacking in this particular aspect of Rokeach's theory. (See Rokeach (1960: Chapter twenty).)

52. Rokeach (1960: 101-32) provides the most direct evidence on both of these points. But numerous other works support the contention through various measures of authoritarianism and dogmatism.

On the political side are McClosky (1958; 1964); McCloskey and Schaar (1965); DiPalma and McClosky (1970); Lutterman and Middleton (1970); Kaufman (1957); Roberts and Rokeach (1956); Tumin (1958); Sokol (1968); McDill (1973); Bennett (1971).

On the religious side among others, see Fendrich and D'Anotnio (1967); Fisher (1964); Gregory (1957); Loomis and Beegle (1957); Jones (1958); Martin and Nichols (1962); Martin and Westie (1958); Monaghan (1957); Photiadis and Johnson (1963); Ranck (1957); Raschke (1973); Salzman (1953); Spilka (1958); Stark (1971); Strickland and Shaffer (1971); Swindell and L'Abate (1970); Thouless (1935); Wilson and Kawamura (1967); and Wilson and Miller (1968).)

53. Several studies of some utility do exist, however. Gilmore (1969) found that among Pentecostals, dogmatism is an important predictor of various conservative social attitudes. In this group at least, the intensity of fundamentalism was not associated with dogmatism. But this was probably due to small sample size and limited variance in religiosity. Strickland and Weddell (1972) found that measures of intrinsity were not related to racial prejudice, but negatively related to dogmatism, which in turn was a strong positive predictor of prejudice. Carrol and Hoge (1973) report that in a sample of Presbyterians and Methodists in the North and South status concern and dogmatism were stronger predictors of anti-Black and anti-Semitic attitudes than religious belief variables. And the latters' influence was reduced to insignificance with the former variables controlled. Photiadis and Schweiker, in work cited above, found that authoritarianism is associated with positive attitudes toward both politically authoritarian and sectarian religious organizations. Middleton (1973) in secondary analysis of Glock and Stark's national sample, (See Glock and Stark (1966).), concludes that the direct religious impact on anti-Semitism is wiped out by controls for dogmatism and various measures of secular alienation. But such findings shouldn't obscure Allport and Ross' point noted above (See footnote 43.).

54. The essays by Bell, Hofstadter, Parsons, and Lipset in Bell (1963) provide the best theoretical introduction to the status decline hypotheses. Stouffer (1955); Trow (1958); Lipset (1959); Kornhauser (1960); McDill and Ridley (1962); Gusfield (1963); Photiadis and Schweiker (1970); Kessel (1968); Wolfinger et al (1964); and Koeppen (1969) all use one kind of empirical data or another to test status decline hypotheses. But without an adequate psychological component to test the degree of status concern the individual manifests, the evidence is decidedly mixed. (See Carrol and Hoge (1973).)

55. See Berelson et al (1954). Also see Campbell et al (1960).

56. See Lenski (1954; 1956); Kenkel (1956); Rush (1967). Actually, as the parenthetical example indicates, there are close ties between status decline and role conflict hypotheses. (See Lipset (1959; 1963); Wolfinger et al (1964); Koeppen (1969); Rohter (1969). Unfortunately, those links; the ties between status and cognitive inconsistencies; (See Geschwender (1972); Merelman (1968).); and the intricacies of status "crystallization" or role conflict versus cross-pressure hypotheses, (See Hunt and Cushing (1972); Eitzen (1972); Segal (1969).) are beyond the scope of this prospectus. Those tasks, like so many others here, is reserved for the dissertation. I'll attempt only to outline the major features of the argument here.

57. See Rokeach (1968: 82-108). Actually, Rokeach is one of several scholars who have noted the need to consider cognitive interaction in status discrepancy hypotheses. Geschewender (1972) has explored the issue most directly. His argument centers first on similarities in formal organization of the status and cognitive inconsistency theories and second on the utility of cognitive dissonance to sort out the predictive problems of status discrepancy hypotheses. For examples of combined applications of status and psychological variables, see Jackson (1967) and Trieman (1966).

58. See Hunt and Cushing (1972).

59. See Hunt and Cushing (1972:326). Their study falls somewhere near the center of a dimension running from a primary concern with objective status variables and formal memberships to studies stressing the psychological aspects of attachment and salience. McNall (1969) and Wolfinger and Greenstein (1969) take the most "Durkheimian" approach by looking at the impact of social disorganization and cultural structures. Nie, Powell and Pruitt (1969a; 1969b); Alford and Scoble (1968); Seeman (1966); and Neal and Seeman (1964) all focus on the mediating and generally socially integrative effects of formal group memberships. Their concern with psychological integration is relatively minimal and belief systems are assumed on the basis of social status characteristics. The last of these studies is especially interesting in terms of this research. The authors found that participation in union activities reduces feelings of powerlessness, but not distrust. (See discussion of the differential impacts of sectarian participation on forms of alienation above.)

On the other end of the scale, Merelman (1968), along with Rokeach is primarily concerned with the measurement of psychological salience. He compares the impacts of conflictual and consonant primary groups on ideological development and activism among college students. He finds that consonant statuses produce greater politicized conflictual situations are more likely to develop ideological orientations than those in congruent but depoliticized environments.

60. See Glock and Stark (1965; 1966) Stark and Glock (1968); King (1967; 1969); King and Hunt (1972); Rokeach (1969a; 1969b); Allport and Ross (1967); Gibbs, Bueller and Wood (1973).

61. For a comparison of "pentecostals" and "evangelicals" or "holiness" groups, see Wilson (1970:48-92) and Wilson (1967: 106-60). This distinction will be one focus of discussion in the dissertation.

62. See Willer (1970: chapter six).

63. It should be noted, however, that representation of an adequate scope of the variables is the primary goal of sampling. When necessary a random draw will be sacrificed to achieve that goal.

64. These include whether or not the local congregation is linked to a larger denomination and the quality of that link; the degree to which the church stresses abstention from secular pleasures; and the place of Biblical prophecy in the church's teaching.

65. Most of these items are found in Robinson and Shaver (1969) and Robinson, Ruck and Head (1968).

66. See Stark and Glock for the basic items used here. They've been supplemented, as have the other religiosity measures, by more extreme items dealing with specific variants of fundamentalist doctrine.

67. See Hendricks (1973).

68. See Converse (1964; 1972).

69. See Pinard (1968); Gusfield (1962).

70. This is a point of considerable contention. Bibby and Brinkerhoff (1973) maintain that the seeming growth of conservative denominations is primarily due to periodic recommitments of back-slidden former members. Stark and Glock (1968:203) follow a similar line by maintaining that both conservative and liberal churches are declining in membership, the latter slightly faster because, although they benefit by gaining individuals from lower status, conservative congregations, they lose liberals already in their midst even faster. But Kelley (1972) and Streiker and Strober (1972) argue that the most conservative churches and the conservative wings in mainstream churches are growing considerably and more and more reflect the views of Christians in the United States.

The positions are not necessarily contradictory, of course. But a lack of hard and reliable data on the church affiliation of Americans makes reaching some conclusion almost impossible. Nonetheless, impressionistic evidence indicates at least that fundamentalism is not declining as fast as liberal Protestantism. The recent history of Missouri Synod Lutherans and the Presbyterians indicate the renewed power of church conservatives. The growth of the "charismatic" movement in terms of both pentecostal denomination growth and its influence even in the Catholic Church should be noted.

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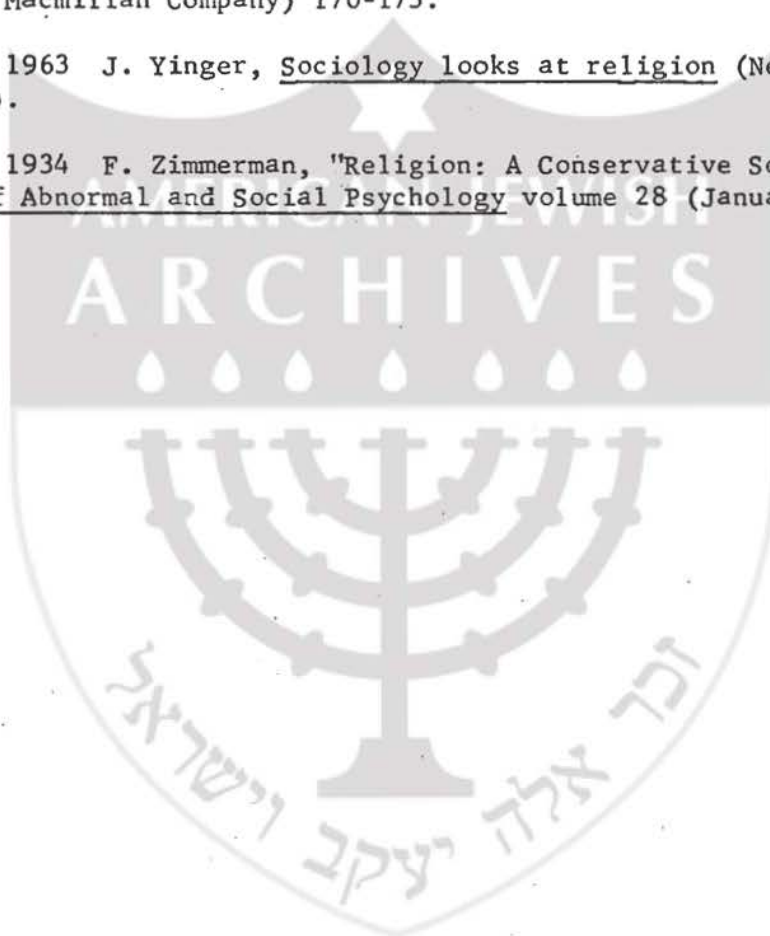
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Nat. Religious Broadcasters), Mr. Arthur Matthews (Associate Editor, Christianity Today), Ms. Kathleen Osbeck, Producer of World Religious News
Mr. President, Christians believe that a personal commitment to Jesus Christ has to be an integral part in their faith. In the light of that, can you tell us what Jesus Christ means to you, and have you dedicated your life to Him?

I have said on several occasions, when asked, that I have a commitment to the Christian faith and I have a relationship with Jesus Christ through my church and through my daily life. My faith goes back to my upbringing by my parents when I was very young. It has been reinforced in my lifetime by a number of experiences that I have had. Faith means the dedication to His life and to His principles and I seek to follow in my own public, as well as private, life those principles.

Many Presidents have testified that Bible reading and prayer were essential to them in times of crises. Do you find this to be true in your experience as well?

Very definitely, and it has been all of my life, but it has been accentuated by the fact that our oldest son, Mike Ford, is currently going to seminary, Gordon-Conwell, up in Massachusetts. He is very dedicated and since he has taken that as his life work, whenever he is here, we do have an even broader experience in reading the Bible and studying it together.

He gave me one of the priceless things that I have in the Oval Office, a Bible, which meant much to him and now means an even greater amount to me. Both my wife, Betty, and myself read excerpts from the Bible on a daily basis.

How does that Christian commitment that you have made to Jesus Christ affect the political decisions that you have to make day by day?

It is somewhat hard to be definitive in that regard, but the fact that I have that commitment has a tremendous subjective impact on decisions that I have to make, and some of these are very "close calls" as we say.

When some of these very difficult decisions have to be made by me in the Oval Office, I don't hesitate to ask for guidance through prayer.

Prayer is very important to me. From Proverbs, I have a favorite verse which I express daily, and have for a good many years. It is a daily source of strength for me: "Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; lean not to thine own understanding; in all thy ways acknowledge Him and He will direct thy paths."

How does a person's private moral conduct affect his ability to serve in public office?

As a Christian, I strive to live up to the moral code as set forth in the Ten Commandments and in the teachings of Jesus.

As a public official, I feel that I am responsible to conduct myself privately so as to earn the respect of those I serve and those with whom I work.

The most effective public servants I have known were those who had a high moral code in their personal life.

We cannot stand very long on the shifting sands of "situation ethics." History proves that power and prestige are slippery peaks from which the mighty have often fallen into disgrace. Jesus said, "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

We stand in danger today of losing the soul of America to the seductions of material gain and moral apathy, to a new code of conduct which reviles the basic truths and mocks the fundamental beliefs on which this Nation and much of religion were founded.

Public officials have a special responsibility to set a good example for others to follow, in both their private and public conduct. The American people, particularly our young people, cannot be expected to take pride or even to participate in a system of government that is defiled and dishonored, whether in the White House or in the halls of Congress.

Jesus said, "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required." Personal integrity is not too much to ask of public servants. We should accept nothing less.

The American people have seen too much abuse of the moral imperatives of honesty and of decency upon which religion and government and civilized society must rest. To remedy these abuses we must look not only to the government but, more importantly to the Bible, the church, the human heart.

In your view, is there any threat to religious liberty by big government and expanding government regulations?

I have said on numerous occasions that a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have.

I have also stated that what we need is not bigger government but better government. I am sympathetic with most Americans who are fearful that government can become so large and we can be burdened with so many regulations that our individual liberties may be taken from us little by little. As long as I am President, I will resist government bureaucracies intruding into the free religious institutions of America.

We want the freedom in America to choose our own course, our own lives, to chart our own terms without having the government tell us everything we can or cannot do.

Do you propose any presidential initiatives on prayer and Bible reading in public schools?

I believe that prayer in public schools should be voluntary. It is difficult for me to see how religious exercises can be a requirement in public schools, given our constitutional requirement of separation of church and state.

I feel that the highly desirable goal of religious education must be principally the responsibility of church and home. I do not believe that public education should show any hostility toward religion, and neither should it inhibit voluntary participation, if it does not interfere with the educational process.

As long as this is the case, I do not plan any initiative.

You have already stated your opposition to abortion on demand. What actions do you propose to take to reduce the number of such abortions, especially those performed at governmental expense?

I have a deep concern about the rising tide of secularism. There is an apparent increase of irreverence for life.

I do not believe in abortion on demand. I think the Supreme Court went too far in its 1973 decision which invalidated the rights of the states to make their decisions on abortion. I disagree with the recent Supreme Court decision which permits abortion without the parents' permission.

As you know, I have consistently opposed the 1973 decision of the Supreme Court, but as President, I am sworn to uphold the laws of the land and I intend to carry out this responsibility. In my personal view, however, this court decision was unwise.

As Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, I co-sponsored an amendment which would restore this authority to the States, and I have consistently supported that position since that time.

My position has been based on three fundamental convictions:

- I am against abortion on demand
- The people of every State should have the Constitutional right to control abortion
- There is a need to recognize and provide for exceptional cases

I should also point out that the Republican Platform which I support is fully consistent with these views.

Some problems are better dealt with by the church or in the home. Government cannot in and of itself solve every problem.

Americans have benefited greatly by our rich spiritual heritage. The sound, sensible lessons of goodness imparted by religious teachers and devoted parents have done more than anything else to prepare our children for life.

What is your view of homosexual relations?

I hold a personal viewpoint that homosexual relations are wrong. I have always tried to be understanding and fair about people whose views are different from my own. That does not mean that I always agree with what they do or with what they believe. I just think we have to be considerate and respectful of others.

The teachings of the Bible are very explicit on this matter and when you consider it in a Biblical context, in my view homosexuality is morally wrong.

Many Christians are more interested in freedom to operate their religious and non-public schools without influence by and interference from governmental agencies than they are in subsidies. Are you concerned to safeguard this freedom?

This question gets back to the subject of big government and excessive government intrusion through a morass of bureaus and regulations. I have already stated my opposition to this.

This question also suggests the reaffirmation of something that I believe in very strongly, that there should be a wall of separation between church and state. Government should not be allowed to control any of our religious institutions.

I have a long standing commitment to diversity in American education. We need our public schools. I also have a long standing commitment to limited government, freedom of religion, and the separation of church and state.

If any alleged abuses by the FBI and the CIA are proven true, what do you think should be done?

America's intelligence agencies are vitally important to our Nation's security. They are essential in wartime, but they are also essential in peacetime. They are the best insurance we have that we will not be caught napping.

We have to keep strong our intelligence gathering arms, the FBI and the CIA. Without the excellent crime fighting skills of the FBI this country would be at the mercy of international lawlessness.

As to proven and alleged abuses, as President, I will not tolerate any improper activities. I have attempted during my Administration to strengthen the intelligence community and at the same time to assure the prevention of abuses by the intelligence community against American citizens. We now have very specific guidelines defining what the intelligence agencies can and cannot do. If those guidelines are ignored, the persons responsible will be held fully accountable.

I have great confidence that both the FBI and the CIA will do an effective job in helping to keep Americans safe at home and America safe in the world.

Do you think world Communism is a threat to freedom in the world today, and if so, what responsibilities does America have in this regard?

The actions of our adversaries, as we have known them over the last four decades, have indeed been a threat to freedom in the world, but it is not nearly as great a threat to freedom and world peace so long as America is strong and determined.

I see clearly the expansionist desires of some countries and their leaders, and as President I have sternly resisted their efforts. It is essential to world stability that American defenses and those of our allies be maintained. As President, I have consistently proposed the necessary funds to make sure of our military capability in order that we may play our necessary role in helping to maintain peace and stability in the world.

While I have often stated my opposition to the basic philosophy of our adversaries, I would not like to see us return to the cold war or return to an uncontrolled arms race. Confrontation is not only costly; it is very dangerous. Therefore, we continue to maintain lines of communication and to create an improved climate, one with a minimum of distrust, so that hostilities are much less likely to occur.

Does the current state of crime and punishment call for any reform in the American judicial system, and if so, what do you recommend?

I share with millions of Americans their concern about the problem of crime. The preamble to our Constitution seeks "to insure domestic tranquility." It was John Locke who said "Where there is no law, there is no freedom."

As President, I have called for the enactment of a comprehensive criminal code to replace the highly complex and confusing set of laws now on the books. I have also set forth the following proposals:

- Establishment of "career criminal" programs designed to assure quick identification and prosecution of persons who repeatedly commit serious offenses.
- Continuation and expansion of programs designed to divert certain first offenders into rehabilitation prior to trial.
- Creation of additional Federal District Court judgeships and expansion of the criminal jurisdiction of United States Magistrates.
- Upgrading of prison facilities, including the replacement of large, outdated prisons with smaller, more modern ones.
- An increase this year in U.S. Attorneys prosecuting Federal crimes and reinforcement of the number of U.S. Marshals.

To keep a convicted criminal from committing more crimes we must put him in prison so he cannot harm more law-abiding citizens. To be effective, this punishment must be swift and certain.

I disagree with the concept of so-called "victimless crime." In many instances, although it may not be possible to identify a particular individual who is the victim, society itself is often the victim. For example, prostitution is a major source of income for organized crime. And clearly drug abuse is responsible for much of the more violent crimes in America today.

Society has made a judgment that these activities are illegal, and I firmly believe that those convicted of such offenses should be brought to justice. The law must be fairly, but firmly, enforced.

More importantly, these offenses threaten the moral fiber of our nation.

Some political observers feel that for the first time in over a decade religion has become an issue in a Presidential campaign. How do you feel about this emphasis on the religious views of a candidate?

I believe a candidate's personal religion is a proper concern for voters when they are choosing their President. However, I do not believe that it is proper for any political figure to deliberately exploit religion for his or her political advantage.

If I am asked about my beliefs, I will respond for I am proud of the convictions I hold.

If you are elected to a full, four-year term, what is your foremost hope for America?

My hope is that in working together we can build an America that does not merely celebrate history, but writes it – that offers limited government and unlimited opportunity – that concerns itself with a quality of life marked by strong and free religious institutions, homes which nurture the young, weaving a strong moral fiber for future generations, an America where the other basic institutions in education and industry are solidly grounded and productive for the good of all who live in this great land.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO COMMISSION ON REGIONAL AND LOCAL ECUMENISM

- by - H. Conrad Hoyer

HISTORY

Regional and local ecumenical agencies developed before national ones. Thus the American Sunday School Union was formed as early as 1824, but there were local city-wide associations as early as 1816 in Brooklyn, New York and Boston, and these led to the national movement. By 1869 the Sunday School Association movement had spread so that it was organized on a statewide basis in 19 states and many of these states had county associations in most of their counties. By 1918 there were 336 persons employed in this movement of which approximately half were full-time.

State and city federations of churches likewise preceded the formation of the Federal Council of Churches. Maine had an organized Association of Churches before 1890; New York organized in 1900; Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Ohio in 1901, etc. The New York City's Federation dates back to the early 1890's and at least a dozen city federations were organized before 1900. The National Federation of Churches and Christian workers was found in 1901. By 1905 the "Church representative" type of Interchurch Conference or Federation was developed and this led to the formation of the Federal Council in 1908. That same year the Home Mission Council was organized as well as the Council of Women for Home Missions.

In early discussions church leaders faced the problem of appropriate participation and representation of regional and local ecumenical agencies in a national ecumenical body, and that question is still with us. However, the interest of national ecumenical bodies in developing regional and local ecumenical bodies and in relating to them has always been strongly affirmed even though practice has not always lived up to profession.

Dr. Ross Sanderson reports in his book, Church Cooperation in the United States, that "1915 marked a definite new beginning for state and local cooperation" for in that year the Federal Council's administrative committee made Fred Smith chairman of a special committee on Federated Movements "to shape the whole proposition" and Dr. Roy Guild was employed to lead this enterprise. The purpose was two-fold.

1. "Organizing, inspiring, and standardizing local and state federations. 'No community with two or more churches should lack a federation.' While 'remarkable work' has been done 'in several cities' the 'whole country needs such a plan continuously promoted.'"
2. "Bringing the various kindred Christian organizations into closer fraternal, cooperative relations with each other and with the Federal Council." (Sanderson - p. 100)

The action gave significant forward thrust to the local and regional federative movements so that Dr. Paul Douglas could write in 1930 that "nearly 1/3 of the existing organizations take their origins from the three years 1918 - 1920. (Sanderson - p. 11)

Interest ran high. A second staff person was called in 1923 in the person of Harry N. Holmes and the Executive Committee of the Federal Council voted in December of that year:

"That the method of church cooperation in local communities developed successfully by the Commission on Councils of Churches be pressed in cities that do not have organized cooperation, and that special attention be given for securing effective cooperation under volunteer leadership in all communities where it is not practical to employ executive secretaries." (Sanderson, p.117)

Performance did not quite square with profession, however, for there was no adequate underwriting of the expanded staff on the part of the Federal Council. Dr. Guild soon resigned to take a pastorate, and the dream failed to materialize.

Then followed some years of exploration as to role and relationship of national to state and local ecumenical expressions. The depression of 1930 cut heavily into the Federal Council's program and the state front was accented. States in turn, were expected to encourage city and local ecumenical development but Sanderson comments: "It was as easy for state councils to get absorbed in other work as for the Federal Council." He quotes one local executive as saying: "Frankly, I do not know of a single state secretary who is giving this more than a fraction of time or interest." (Sanderson, p. 141)

The depression also prompted the coming together of ecumenical groups locally as well as nationally. Sunday School Associations and local Federations soon found common cause and common structures. There emerged also a joint approach to field services on the part of the Federal Council, the Home Missions Council, and the International Council of Religious Education in an Inter-Council Field Department. Emergency needs during World War II highlighted the importance of this kind of joint approach. Two persons emerged from this field experience in cooperation who continued to give leadership in the field for another twenty years: Dr. Quinter Miller and Dr. John B. Ketcham.

When the National Council was founded in 1950 this function was absorbed in the Central Department of Field Administration under the leadership of Dr. J. Quinter Miller, with Dr. Ketcham as a staff member. This central department became a General Committee on Program and Field Operations in 1955 and an advisory committee was set up for the Office for Councils of Churches. In the meantime W. C. Buckwalter, Jr. had been added to the staff to give special help to councils of churches in financial matters.

Ross Sanderson reports the rate of growth of various ecumenical expressions during the year 1940 - 1950, as follows:

	Councils of Churches and of Religious Educ.			Ministerial Associations	Councils of Church Women
	Paid Staff	Volunteer	Total		
1942	108	162	270	1,400	
1944	127	243	370	1,600	1,441
1946	196	439	635		
1948	227	485	712	1,775	
1950	222	699	921	1,827	1,764

From 1951 to 1959 he reports the following concerning Councils of Churches.

	State	Local Paid Staff	Local Volunteer	Total
1951	39	172	687	898
1959	50	278	614	942

Mr. Buckwalter resigned from the staff in 1962 and Dr. Ketcham served alone as staff person with specific responsibility for councils of churches through the NCC reorganization in 1964. At that time responsibility for this work was assigned to the Division of Christian Unity, and a Department for Councils of Churches was established under the Division to supervise this phase of the work. The "Southern Office" of NCC staffed by Dr. Ed Lantz was related to this Department to give special attention to promoting ecumenical work in the South.

Reorganization not only brought new structure but new staff we well. This writer joined the staff in December, 1964, and Mrs. Mossie Wyker became a part-time staff person (shared with the United Church Women) beginning in January, 1965. The Department was chaired by Dr. Kilpatrick, Executive of the Texas Council of Churches, during the triennium, ¹⁹⁶⁴⁻⁶⁵ and by Dr. George Harkins (LCA) during the triennium 1967 - 1969.

The Department functioned well under limiting circumstances. An early analysis highlighted the need for increased attention to metropolitan developments, to local ecumenical expressions, and to building morale and skills of staff in councils at state, metropolitan, and local levels in the face of radical changes taking place. The Department also tried to build meaningful communication and supporting relationships between these regional and local ecumenical expressions and the NCC.

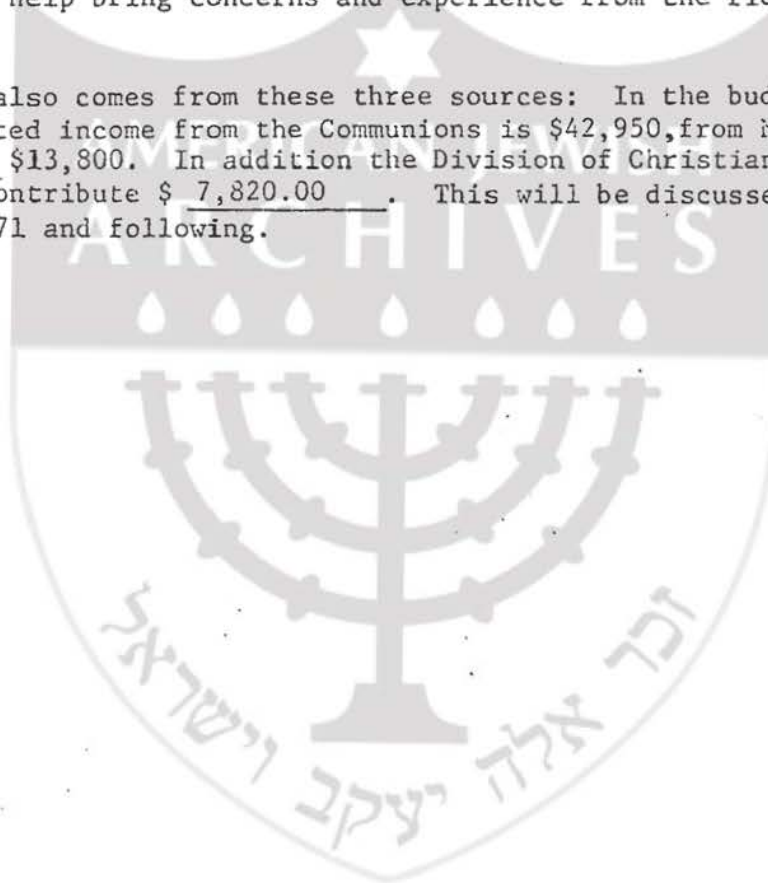
Regional and local ecumenical agencies have always operated under a variety of names: Councils, Federations, Associations, etc. However, the proliferation of names in recent years often handicapped the Department for Councils of Churches in its service because of its limited designation. The move to broaden the designation really started three years ago.

Then came the resignation of Dr. Wedel as executive of the Division of Christian Unity, the appointment of a committee to study the future of the Division of Christian Unity, and the actions of the General Board last June in response to that committee's report. This Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism was created as a part of one of those actions. Our charter, which members of this Commission have all received was a part of that action.

As we begin work a primary question needs to be faced: "Who and where are our constituencies?" Who and where are the constituencies that support us? Who and where are the constituencies we serve? The question is important and the answer is almost unique for this Commission as compared to other units in the National Council. We have three constituencies that support us. We, in turn, serve these same three constituencies. They are: Communions; the

NCC and its several program units; regional and local ecumenical agencies. Perhaps the order should be repressed. At least the image is that our first point of concern is the service to regional and local ecumenical agencies -- "out there." The image is correct for that is the primary point of focus. Perhaps the best service we give to Communions and to NCC and its program units is to develop and strengthen creative and constructive ecumenical agencies at regional and local levels to enable the Communions and the National Council to function effectively there. We serve the Council and the Communions also by providing liaison contacts and communication between the field and the national headquarters; both NCC and Communions. We help make NCC resources available; we help bring concerns and experience from the field to the national headquarters.

Support also comes from these three sources: In the budget prepared for 1971 anticipated income from the Communions is \$42,950, from NCC \$63,030 and from Councils \$13,800. In addition the Division of Christian Education has budgeted to contribute \$ 7,820.00 . This will be discussed further under budget for 1971 and following.



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Dolores Reid photos



RABBI MARCH H. TANENBAUM
PROFESSOR MARVIN R. WILSON
RABBI A. JAMES RUDIN

New York News Conference launches "Evangelicals and Jews in Conversation"

Pages

Chamber Singers 2nd England tour planned



THE GORDON COLLEGE CHAMBER SINGERS practice for their summer England Tour.

The Gordon College Chamber Singers, under the direction of Dr. Alton C. Bynum, Associate Professor of Music and Music Department Chairman, will be making a return tour of England from May 25 to June 8.

The 25-voice choral group will present a program of varied Christian music covering a broad span of periods from the Renaissance to Contemporary, including

styles of traditional classical, spiritual and modern hymn arrangements. The Singers will be performing in different locations throughout England, including the London area.

The group is presently involved in fund-raising activities as well as scheduling engagements in the area throughout the spring prior to the England tour.

"Evangelicals & Jews"

Continued from Page 1

Newsweek magazine recently devoted its Religion section to an interview with Rabbi Tanenbaum describing him as "the American Jewish community's foremost apostle to the gentiles... who has been able to solicit support from all factions of the Jewish community." He has also been named last month as the fourth of the ten most influential persons in the field of religion in the U.S. today by a pool of 35 religion editors — 18 from secular news media and 17 from the religious press. He follows Billy Graham who is listed first, Martin E. Marty who is second and President Jimmy Carter who has been ranked third.

Dr. Wilson commented on the fact that the noted Protestant scholar, Martin Marty, Associate Professor at the University of Chicago Divinity School, recently stated that "the most interesting single religious development" of 1977 was "the new visibility given relations between Jews and conservative Protestants." Dr. Wilson attributed this trend to the following factors:

1. "a general improvement in interfaith relationships brought about by ecumenical endeavors and the easing of racial tensions;
2. "a genuine interest by Evangelicals to deepen this understanding of the Jewish roots of the Christian faith;
3. "the growing effect of relational theology within Evangelicalism;
4. "an increased awareness of the need to dispel faulty images and popular stereotypes of each other;
5. "the rise of Jimmy Carter to the Presidency, and the Bicentennial celebration;
6. "a common interest in the survival of Israel."

Despite major theological differences, Dr. Wilson stated, Evangelicals and Jews share "a common belief in the centrality of Biblical Scripture, a common concern for the Biblical ideals on which this nation was founded, a common belief in the separation of church and state, and a common abhorrence of the secularization of modern society. Hence, he added, they have "a

common ground from which to begin a conversation."

The major barriers to such dialogue, Dr. Wilson continued, were the long history of Christian anti-Semitism, the lack of information on the part of Evangelicals concerning post-Biblical Judaism, the lack of information on the part of Jews concerning the New Testament, divergent views on the perception of Jesus, the Jewish concept of "chosenness," and the stereotyped images that each group has held of the other.

Rabbi Rudin compared the present movement in Evangelical-Jewish relations to "the period just prior to Vatican Council II, when Catholics and Jews began a rich and fruitful dialogue."

"After years of separation and mutual ignorance," he said, "the publication of *Evangelicals and Jews in Conversation* marks the beginning of a new and important relationship. The book breaks through the stereotyping and suspicion that unfortunately have grown up between our two communities. The new understandings it communicates offer a unique opportunity for Jews and Evangelicals to work together in vital areas of concern and interest."

Speaking for the publishers, Mr. Van't Kerkhoff predicted that the book "will serve well to forge stronger bonds of understanding, empathy and concerned effort between two major religious forces in the United States."

By the time this Gordon is in the hands of the College's constituents, a press conference for Rabbi Tanenbaum and Dr. Wilson will have taken place, Friday March 17, on the Gordon College campus for local media, and to which the North Shore Jewish leaders will be invited.

Rabbi Tanenbaum who will be on campus for two days will address Dr. Marvin Wilson's Modern Jewish Culture Class on Thursday afternoon, March 16, speaking concerning "Jews and Evangelicals in an Age of Violence." Prior to the press conference on Friday, he will address the Gordon community at a 10:20 convocation in Rhodes Gymnasium speaking on "Evangelicals and Jews — A New Era."

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New York news conference launches "Evangelicals and Jews in Conversation"

A national press conference in New York City Friday, March 10, launched the newly published book, *Evangelicals and Jews in Conversation: On Scripture, Theology, and History*.

The book was edited and with contributions by Dr. Marvin R. Wilson, Professor of Biblical and Theological Studies and Department Chairman at Gordon College, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Director of Interreligious Affairs for the American Jewish Committee and Rabbi A. James Rudin, AJC's Assistant Director of Interreligious Affairs. All three editors participated in the press conference, together with Dan Van't Kerkhoff, Editor at Baker Book House.

This book, which has been hailed as a landmark study of Evangelical and Jewish relationships, is a compilation of papers presented by 18 Evangelical and Jewish scholars and religious leaders at a symposium in New York City in December 1975, the first major convocation ever held between leaders of the two faiths. Dr. Marvin Wilson was the national Evangelical coordinator and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum the Jewish coordinator of this major dialogue.

Announcement was also made of a new project that will involve religious and lay leaders of the Evangelical and Jewish faiths in extended dialogues about the similarities and differences in their religious beliefs, and about the socially useful projects they can work on together. The new book, together with a study guide prepared by Dr. Wilson, is intended to serve as a basis for these discussions, which will be organized on a regional basis, and coordinated through the local offices of the American Jewish Committee.

Dr. Wilson contributed the first chapter of the book, "An Evangelical Perspective on Judaism." Other evangelical contributors include William Sanford LaSor, Carl Edwin Amerding, Edwin M. Yamauchi, Roger Nicole, Paul E. Toms, Vernon Grounds, G. Douglas Young and Leighton Ford. Jewish contributors are Michael Wyschogrod, Ellis Rivkin, Seymour Siegel, Asher Finkel, Bernard

Martin, Marc H. Tanenbaum, Albert Vorspan and A. James Rudin.

In a pre-question time before 33 members of the national and local media, the editors made introductory statements. Rabbi Tanenbaum described *Evangelicals and Jews in Conversation* as "a milestone in the growth of understanding and mutual respect between the two faiths." He declared that it was "not only necessary, but an urgent requirement to help enlightened Evangelical Christians and Jews sort out their common concerns and correct misperceptions, not only for their own integrity, but for the well-being of American democratic pluralism."

He added, however, that "it would be naive in the extreme if anyone were to conclude the act of publishing this cooperative study has somehow magically or mystically dissolved the real and extensive problems that continue to exist between Evangelicals and Jews, especially on the level of men and women on the street."

"In addition to their long held fear of proselytizing, Jews have been adversely affected in their attitudes toward Evangelicals by a variety of recent reality developments," Rabbi Tanenbaum stated. In addition to the Carter Administration's policies on Israel, he listed the growth of Christian Yellow Pages, which encourage readers to trade only with "born again" Christians; the establishment of Christian Medical, Lawyers and Businessmen's groups; and the recent Los Angeles Congress of the Laity. These groups, he said, "have excluded Jews and others from the American mainstream."

As "mitigating factors," however, he also cited Billy Graham's strong statement in support of Israel; advertisements by Evangelicals in numerous daily newspapers opposing the Soviet-U.S. accord of last October, and favoring stronger support of Israel; the recent establishment of an International Organization of Evangelicals Concerned for Israel; and strong statements by Dr. Jimmy Allen, President of the Southern Baptist Convention, in favor of religious pluralism,



PROFESSOR MARVIN WILSON (right) and Rabbi A. James Rudin field questions from the national media.

separation of church and state, and human rights for Jews and Christians in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

"It is important to recognize," Rabbi Tanenbaum concluded, "that there are enlightened people of both faiths who

would profit individually and collectively from a deepened perception of what the other group believes and stands for. Differences should be looked upon as a source of enrichment rather than as a threat."

Continued on Page 8

Colson to give Commencement address

Chuck Colson, a former chief aide and confidant of former President Richard Nixon, who was prosecuted for the Watergate Coverup and later made a dramatic decision for Christ, will be the 1978 Gordon College Commencement speaker at the 86th annual exercises to be held May 20.

His book, *Born Again*, details the events which led up to his 1973 conversion and speaks of the confrontation with the Boston businessman (a member of the Gordon

College Board of Trustees) which led to his spiritual rebirth.

Chuck Colson is now deeply involved in prison ministry in the Washington, D.C. area.

The Reverend Gordon MacDonald, pastor of Grace Chapel in Lexington, Massachusetts, and author of two recent books on Christian marriage and the Christian family, will be the Friday evening baccalaureate speaker.

Lodge speaks on Canal Treaty



AMBASSADOR HENRY CABOT LODGE

Henry Cabot Lodge was the guest speaker at the 1978 Breakfast Seminar for area business people and politicians, sponsored by Gordon College and held February 21.

The Panama Canal Treaty, which has been the subject for discourse recently in the national and world press, was the issue Ambassador Lodge addressed himself to.

Lodge was a close friend of Philippe Bunau-Varilla, the Frenchman Engineer-Statesman and World War I military hero who negotiated the original Panama Canal Treaty. Also, both Ambassador Lodge's

father and grandfather were intimate friends of President Theodore Roosevelt who was ultimately responsible for building the canal after having signed the Treaty.

Ambassador Lodge, who has been invited by President Carter to Washington for briefings on the present Panama Canal Treaty, briefed those at the Breakfast Seminar on various aspects of the issue.

President Carter recently asked the U.S. Senate to ratify two separate treaties pertaining to the Panama Canal. The Panama Canal Treaty details the administration and defense of the canal by the United States up to the year 2000. A second neutrality treaty guarantees that the canal will remain permanently open and permanently neutral both during the life of and after the expiration of the Panama Canal Treaty. It also provides that the United States may act in defense of the canal if ever the need arises.

Lodge, who supports the President in this matter, noted that Carter's proposal has also the support of former President Ford, former Secretary of State Kissinger, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He expects the treaty package to be ratified.

The building of the Canal was "the moon shot of the early twentieth century and an accomplishment of which the American people should be quite proud," says Lodge. However, the military, shipping, international and other conditions have changed

much since the first canal treaty was drawn up in 1903.

The canal is still important militarily, but has become "less indispensable" with the more dangerous threat of nuclear war and new weapons.

"General George Marshall, Army Chief of Staff during World War II, once observed," notes Lodge, "that national security is not just achieved by military power, but also by actions which subtract from the list of one's potential enemies and add to the number of one's potential friends." This is applicable in the canal question.

Lodge mentioned that there is much feeling across the nation that if the Canal Treaty is signed then the United States is giving up its sovereignty.

United States relations with the Panama Canal were to proceed according to the 1903 treaty, "as if we were sovereign," Lodge stressed that "in other words, we are not sovereign. We do not own the place, we never have, never wanted to and we are not sovereign, so there is no question of us giving up sovereignty."

The crucial question, Lodge feels, is whether we should conduct ourselves so that we incur the hatred rather than the respect of Latin America, and that rather than some mythical sovereignty is what is truly involved. He said "we need goodwill throughout Latin America and not the Panamanian real estate."

If the Senate fails to ratify the treaties, Lodge, who was ambassador to South Viet-

nam during 1963-64 and 1965-67, feels that it is likely that the United States will become involved in an expensive guerrilla warfare.

Speaking of the historical roots of the canal treaty, Lodge told that as the 1903 treaty was being finalized during the early years of this century, President Theodore Roosevelt asked the members of his cabinet what they thought of the arrangement. After the others had commented, President Roosevelt asked his attorney general, who was somewhat reticent, what he thought of the legal aspects of the arrangement.

Lodge said the attorney general, Philander Chase Knox, replied, "If I were you I would have no taint of legality about it."

"The matter has little humor for Panama and Latin America," says Lodge. This time let us hope that the passing of the treaties will provide a "taint of legality."

In addition to his appointment as Ambassador to South Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge was the U.S. representative at the United Nations during the Eisenhower years. He was the chief negotiator of the Paris Peace talks in 1969 and also served as U.S. Ambassador to Germany and Special Envoy to the Vatican.

During the past two years Lodge has been a Distinguished Visiting Lecturer at Gordon College, sharing his knowledge and understanding in History Department seminars on American Foreign Policy.

black student receives Skinner Scholarship



PAMELA COLEMAN, a Gordon College Freshman, awarded a scholarship by the Tom Skinner Associates, receives a check from the Reverend Tom Skinner. Left to Right: Ted Rodgers, Director of Financial Aid, the Reverend Tom Skinner, Pamela Coleman and President Richard Gross.

Pamela Coleman, a Gordon College freshman from Springfield, Massachusetts is the first Gordon recipient of the Tom Skinner Associates Scholarship Grant. This scholarship is awarded a black student who is a freshman with financial need and upon the recommendation of the College and the student's minister.

The award was made at a special luncheon held Monday, March 6 by the Rev. Skinner following his chapel address to the Gordon student body. "We are seeking to establish a whole new generation of black Christian leadership in the black community," explains Rev. Skinner, "and we feel that this can be done through 1) helping to give black students a sound Christian liberal arts education, which we believe Gordon College provides, and 2) helping Gordon College through the presence of black students on this campus to become more sensitive to creating an atmosphere where black students can thrive. By establishing this scholarship we can become partners with Gordon and become a catalyst in making these objectives happen."

Pamela's mother, Mrs. Mercedes Coleman, her brother Paul and sister Patricia, as well as her pastor and his wife, Rev. and Mrs. Roy Glave of the Bethlehem Baptist Church, Springfield, and her aunt, joined with President Richard Gross, Rev. Skinner and others in honoring Pamela at the luncheon.

Rev. Skinner's address to the student body was based on the scriptures, Luke 4:18 and Luke 11:2: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and discovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised." And "Our Father, which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth..."

As kingdom people, we should behave as Christ did. "We don't have to leave our neighborhood for others to know what the kingdom of God is like. If we are truly kingdom people, others will know what the Kingdom of God is like from observing us."

And as kingdom people we are commanded to love one another. "Love is not an emotion that hits you, or something you fall into," Rev. Skinner emphasized. "Love is an act of the will. Jesus said, 'I order or command you to love one another.' It is not an option if you are kingdom people ... It becomes a new ballgame," he continued, "for you to embrace people who are different, those who are not part of your little group, and to lay down your life for them. Christ did just that ... Love is a 100 percent proposition on your part, whether you are loved in return or not. This is commanded of God."

Tom Skinner is the Chaplain for the Washington Redskins and the chapel coordinator for the Eastern Division of the National Football League. He is President and founder of the Tom Skinner Associates, Inc. and together with a team of black men is committed to exposing the claims of Jesus Christ to everyone in general and to black people in particular.

He was born and raised in Harlem and was converted to Jesus Christ while a gang leader. Later he received his education at Wagner College and Manhattan Bible Institute in New York City. Reverend Skinner has authored three books: *Black and Free*, and *Words of Revolution*, both published by Zondervan, and *How Black is the Gospel* published by Lippincott.

Tom Skinner has made a wide impact on the Christian church and thousands of people have come to know Jesus Christ personally because of his ministry across the U.S. and in ten foreign countries. Rev. and Mrs. Skinner and their two children live in Brooklyn, New York.

News Briefs

Articles by Dr. Royce W. Miller, Professor of Foreign Languages and Linguistics have been published in the January, May, September and November 1977, and January 1978 issues of *Spanish Today*. One other will be published in the next issue of this professional journal and an article on "Judaico-Spanish Ballads on Captivity" was published in the June, 1977 issue of *Judaica* (Switzerland). Six additional articles have been completed and submitted for publication.

During the past year he has also published a college textbook in Spanish, *Explicaciones de texto*, and has completed the translation into Spanish of his revised, condensed doctoral thesis, *A Literary and Linguistic Study of the Sephardic Romancero*. Interest in its publication has been shown in Spain.

Dr. Miller is the Massachusetts Director of Sigma Delta Pi, the national honor society in Spanish. He has been active during the year installing new chapters in Massachusetts institutions: Wheaton College, Southeastern University, Lowell State and Worcester State.

John Beauregard, Director of Winn Library has announced the purchase by Gordon College of a collection on microfiche of over 150 rare books on Afro-American culture taken from one of the largest private collections of books and writings by and about Blacks. The Afro-American Rare Book Collection was compiled over a fifteen year period by Mrs. Mayme Clayton, one of the United States' foremost authorities on Afro-American history and literature.

Dr. James Skillen, Assistant Professor of Political Science, is a new member of the Board of Trustees of the Association for the Advancement of Christian Scholarship which is located in Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Nancy Macomber, Assistant to the Director of Alumni Affairs, and Dolores Reid, Director of Public Information, attended the District #1 CASE (Council for the Advancement and Support of Education) Conference January 30-February 1 at Dunfries in Hyannis, Massachusetts.

Howard invited by Pres. Ford to Congress of Laity

Dr. Thomas Howard, Professor of English, and his wife Lovelace, were invited by President and Mrs. Gerald Ford to join with them and other leaders of North America to participate in the North American Congress of the Laity to explore leadership alternatives through the theme "Divine Creation: Human Creativity" February 17-20 at the Hyatt Regency in Los Angeles, California.

Dr. Howard was one of a three member Theoprobe panel together with Peter Berger, Rutgers sociologist, author and Lutheran lay-theologian and Michael Novak, Catholic lay-authority, essayist and columnist. They were invited as "incisive social observers" to probe the speakers of the Congress and as "recognized authorities in both contemporary society and Christian theology," to engage each keynote speaker in dialogue.

The keynote speakers were Peter Drucker, management philosopher and author, Abigail McCarthy, novelist (Circles: A Washington Story); Malcolm Muggeridge, magazine editor, author, lecturer, social critic; John Newport, Rice University philosopher and author; and James Eston, author New York Times columnist, and social analyst.

Father Eugene Kennedy, Loyola University pathologist, Bishop Festo Kivengere, Anglican church leader in exile



Dr. Thomas T. Howard from Uganda; and Dr. Martin E. Marty, University of Chicago church historian, provided an inquiry into the Scriptures.

Invited to the Congress included such people as R. Sargent Shriver, Andrew Young, Barbara Jordan, Tom Landry, Art Linkletter, Steve Allen, Thomas L. Phillips, Robert Finch, Mark Hatfield, Marg Champion, and many others.

The Congress of the Laity is an activity of the H. E. Butt Foundation, of Corpus Christi, Texas.

Skillen testifies before Ways and Means Com. In support of tuition tax credit legislation



Dr. James W. Skillen

Testimony in support of the tuition tax credit legislation was given by Dr. James W. Skillen, Assistant Professor of Political Science, before the House Ways and

Means Committee in Washington D.C. February 16.

The House is now considering between six and 12 different kinds of bills which pertain to educational expenses people are incurring from kindergarten to graduate school and methods of tax reduction for those who pay tuition.

Dr. Skillen testified on behalf of the Association for Public Justice and the National Union of Christian Schools. "I addressed myself to one main problem, and that is the constitutionality of federal help to private education. Is it constitutional for government to aid anything other than its own schools? My position is that it is constitutional," affirms Dr. Skillen.

Some of the dynamics which led to Dr. Skillen being chosen to testify is first of all his vital concern in the area of public justice for education and the fact that he and his colleague Dr. William Harper, Associate Professor of Political Science, and Rockne McCarthy, a professor at Trinity Church College, Palos Heights, Illinois, have been writing a book on public justice for education. The book deals with the proper relation of government to education, historically, philosophically

and in other ways.

Ted Malluck, a 1975 Gordon College graduate and political science major aware of their work, made the initial contact for them in Washington. Ted is doing six months of investigative work for the APJ in Washington, and keeps abreast of all the legislation concerning aid to education.

Rockne McCarthy was the first to testify in support of tuition tax credit legislation. He was invited to speak briefly before the Senate Finance Committee on January 20 which was considering the Moynihan-Packwood Bill.

The House heard positive responses to Dr. McCarthy's testimony and invited further testimony before the House Ways and Means Committee when the same issue was being considered. Dr. Skillen was invited to present this testimony on February 16.

His testimony was given on the basis of three major points.

Financial Equity and Qualitative Diversity in Education.

For those who want to select a non-public school there is financial inequity built into the existing system of

monopolistic tax support for public education. Also threatened by the existing system is the healthy diversity of educational opportunities offered to the public by schools that receive little or no public support. We believe that financial equity ought to be established and qualitative diversity encouraged.

The poor have no choice whatever about the schools to which they must send their children, and even those who can afford to choose a non-public school must pay tuition for such a choice above and beyond the taxes that they pay to support a public schools system which they do not use.

The fact that private education is threatened with extinction because of increasing costs leads to the conclusion that public funding for private schools is essential to keep the options open. Diversity rather than monopolistic uniformity is a better guarantor of educational quality. If those of us who are concerned with education want solutions to the growing number of problems and declining quality in many public schools, then we should support measures that will encourage qualitative diversity in education.

Retarded helped by Gordon students

A long-time paradox of camping for exceptional persons is that the more exciting the experience, the greater the letdown when it's over. This does not hold true for Big Friend experiences, however, as the camping session is merely a catalyst to forming on-going relationships. This theory, for the third year, was tried over a weekend at Grottonwood with 34 students from Gordon College.

Ron Brown, Director of Church Relations; Duane Kuik, Associate Professor of Education at Gordon College; and Ed

"touch" communicated as big and little friends responded to each other. Pity gave way to respect for the unique gifts God gave each camper to enjoy.

The Grottonwood experience is one of several field and laboratory experiences for Gordon College students in various disciplines to become aware of different opportunities for Christian service.

One student expressed her reaction to the weekend. "I can only be thankful for this experience. I came knowing very little



GORDON STUDENTS work with retarded children at Grottonwood Retreat Center.



Guerard, Director of Camping for TAB-COM, discovered they had a common interest in how the Christian church can minister to exceptional persons and how the institutions with which they were involved could help to shape that ministry.

This concern became the cornerstone for a cooperative effort called the Big Friend Weekend For Retarded Persons. Gordon College students with an interest in special education volunteered to serve as Big Friends to retarded persons who came to Grottonwood. No one was disappointed. The students characterized by a somewhat anxious look shared their lives and their God with 23 very special persons. They played games together, slept in the same bunks, sang on the hayride, splashed from the boats, bowed their heads before meals, and even discovered that because they were all different, they were all alike. Anxiety became concern, concern became sharing, sharing became joy, and God's family grew. When language failed,

about myself in regard to the mentally retarded, and I was amazed throughout the weekend how quickly my attitudes came to the surface and were changed. I was so ready to classify everyone initially into different categories, and now I see how foolish I was. Every little friend I met this weekend is unique with very different needs and very different capabilities. I no longer feel pity for mentally retarded individuals, nor do I feel the need to talk down to them or mother them. I have learned the necessity of being encouraging and expecting the best from them, yet also the importance of being sensitive to them as human beings."

There is no instrument which can accurately measure the change which occurred in the lives of the participants. The changes found their roots on that weekend, but will not bear fruit until long after—maybe during a birthday card, or a warm fuzzy sent by a little friend.

Faculty promotions

Dean Judson Carlberg announced in the fall the faculty promotions approved by the Board of Trustees for the year 1977. T. Grady Spires has been promoted from Associate Professor to Professor of Philosophy; Dr. John Mason has been promoted from Associate Professor to Pro-

fessor of Economics, Dr. Virginia Anderson has been promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor of German; and Dr. John Herzog has been promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor of Biblical and Theological Studies.

President's Pen

Financing education

The financing of higher education is a topic which has generated much discussion in recent weeks. This is an issue of considerable significance to families and students who face increasing burdens in paying for collegiate education. It is also of utmost importance to the future of over three thousand post secondary institutions in the United States, and has profound implications for the nation which depends upon educated persons to fill critical roles in our society. No wonder, then, that everyone from President Carter to the man on the street is talking about the problem of how to pay for higher education.

Much of the discussion relating to this question deals with the plight of the middle income family, the segment of our population that is having the most difficulty in meeting the escalating costs of higher education. Upper income families have always had the financial resources to provide their children with quality education. Existing state and federal financial aid programs and policies are geared to meet the needs of families with incomes of less than \$15,000. In spite of the fact that these programs are still underfunded, they have made higher education accessible to many children of lower income families. Not only must these existing aid programs be continued, their level of funding must be increased and the middle income families' needs must be met as well.

There are several proposals for dealing with this problem and I would like to summarize them for you.

President Carter has recently proposed an increase in funding of present federal financial programs and extending the eligibility to students from families whose annual income is as high as \$25,000. The President would add 1.2 billion to the existing federal commitment of approximately 4 billion for various forms of student assistance.

Another idea that is receiving considerable attention is the tax credit. In this scheme wage earners would receive a tax credit (not a deduction) for tuition paid to any elementary, secondary, or post secondary institution. There are several variations of this proposal, the most prominent being that sponsored by Senators Packwood and Moynihan. This bill would allow a tax credit of up to \$500 for tuition payments. There is considerable support for this legislation in the Senate, but perhaps less support in the House which is considering similar bills. Undoubtedly such legislation would assist families and colleges, but, in general, educators have demonstrated only limited support for this proposal.

It is felt by many that a tax credit of \$500 is minimal and does not represent a long-term solution to a problem that is going to be with us indefinitely. Tax credits come and go and the viability of this solution over the long haul is open to question. Then, too, the passage of such legislation

might provide an excuse to eliminate or reduce existing federal financial aid programs.

A unique and perhaps more long-range solution to the problem is being advocated by Dr. John Silber, President of Boston University. Silber proposes to have the government establish a Tuition Advance Fund from which any student, regardless of need, could borrow for purposes of paying tuition costs. Room and board costs would not be covered in this plan. The unique aspect of the Tuition Advance Fund would be that students would repay the loan at low interest rates over the course of their lifetime. This would be done through payroll deductions equal to 1 percent - 2 percent of one's income.

The advantages of this program are several:

1. The long pay-back period would not burden anyone. For instance, an individual with a before-tax income of \$20,000 would repay \$300 in that year. One with a before-tax income of \$7,500 would repay \$112.50 in that year.

2. The program could be administered by an existing government agency such as Social Security, and not require the expansion of H.E.W.

3. The administration of the program at the level of the college would be simple and not require additional financial aid administrators. It would not be a burden for employers either. A simple payroll deduction, such as is now the case with Social Security deductions, would be necessary.

4. Any student, regardless of family income, would be eligible. This would eliminate a "needs test" for many students.

5. The fund, once established would be self-sustaining.

The most significant aspect of this proposal is the shifting of the responsibility of paying for one's education from the family to the student. Since the student is the principal beneficiary of an education, the student ought to bear the cost. There are details to be worked out in this proposal, but it has merit and I think we will hear it discussed more widely in the future.

There are other proposed solutions such as a Tuition Investment Plan in which families could establish a tax-free savings and investment fund much like the Keough and Individual Retirement Accounts. Money for the children's education could be saved and accumulated, tax free. This would be much less help to lower income families who have more limited savings potential, but it is an attractive option.

Perhaps a combination of existing aid programs and one or more of the above solutions will be combined to bring relief to the difficult problem of financing higher education. A viable, long-range solution to this problem cannot come too soon for financially pressed families.

Richard J. Gross

Skills before Ways & Means Com.

Parental Responsibility, Religious Freedom, and the Supreme Court's Failure

According to several basic laws and commitments of the U. S. government, parental responsibility for the education of children is recognized as a primary right. However, by an unjustified and faulty interpretation of the First Amendment to the Constitution, the Supreme Court has sustained governmental abridgment of these two primary rights. By its own preemptive definition of what is "religious" and "secular" in education, the government has withheld most tax moneys from any but its own "secular" schools. However, the religious-secular distinction is improper and misleading in this case not only because the identity of families and schools cannot be accounted for by means of this distinction, but also because the government cannot justify either its claim to being non-religious or its claim that religious schools are not fully secular (secular—"of or pertaining to this world"). The social contradiction is that the government expects parents to fulfill their responsibility of child-rearing, but it turns around and takes away an essential part of

parental freedom which is necessary for the fulfillment of that responsibility, namely, the equitable freedom to choose schools for their children.

Government responsibility for Education

There is an important and legitimate role for government in the area of education, but it must be exercised in a way that allows parents and educators to develop and select the schools of their choosing without penalty or special favor to any one school or school system. If the local, state, and federal governments decide to establish schools, let them do so, but let them not give special advantage to those schools or penalize the parental choice of non-government schools in any way.

While the Federal Government acknowledges the primacy of parental responsibility in education and the right of citizens to exercise their freedoms of speech, assembly, and religion, nevertheless, the laws of the land that hold for education only respect parental responsibility and civil freedoms within a context predetermined by governmental primacy.

The different levels of government in the United States count on parents to nurture

their children through to a healthy and stable maturity. These governments realize that society cannot survive without parents fulfilling their responsibility and without the moral training that religious institutions and other free associations help to provide for the young people of our society ... Parents clearly do not have

equitable freedom to train their children within the framework of their own convictions, because at a very early age in the life of children the government steps in with its preemptive claim to determine the structural framework for education within which parents must fulfill their responsibilities.

Those parents who believe that the local public schools are not compatible with their own moral, intellectual, and religious outlook are dealt a severe blow of financial discrimination by the government itself—especially in the case of the poor. The social contradiction is that government expects parents to fulfill their responsibilities, but it turns around and

takes away an essential part of parental freedom which is necessary for the fulfillment of those responsibilities.

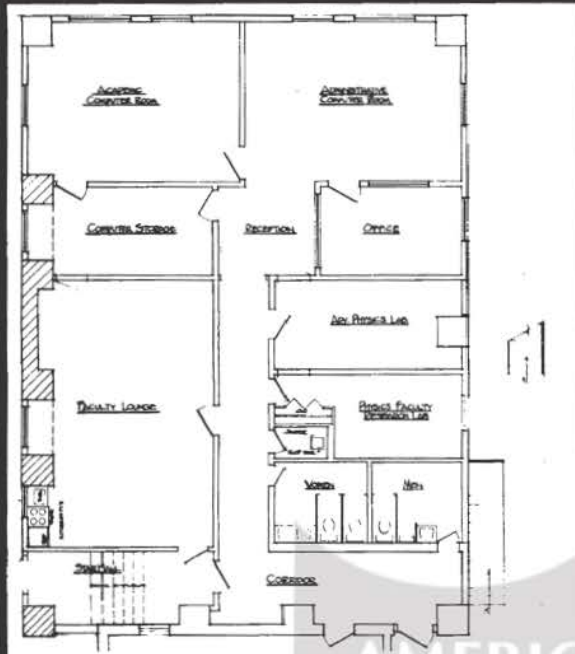
Allowing schools to be schools rather than departments of the governmental bureaucracy means simply that the government should exercise its oversight in a way that allows parents and educators to develop the schools of their own choosing without penalty or special favor to any one school or school system.

The tax credit legislation will clearly not do all that is necessary to establish full justice in the area of education, because even a substantial tuition tax credit from the federal government to parents will not be enough to give the non-government schools equal standing alongside the public schools. Nevertheless, this legislation is one of the most important and valuable steps that can now be taken in the direction of equity and justice in education.

Senator Moynihan of New York has used the arguments in both McCarthy and Skillen's testimonies in an article which he has written for the April issue of *Harper's Magazine*.

For additional information concerning tax credit for tuition and financing of higher education, see "The President's Pen," page 3.

FIRST FLOOR NEW WING FROST HALL

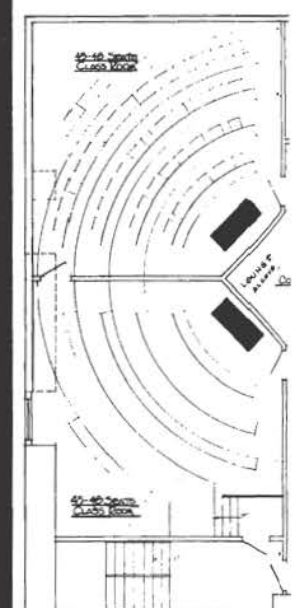


NAMING GIFT OPPORTUNITIES

Faculty Lounge	\$17,000.
Computer Rooms (2)	(Each) 13,500.
Advance Physics Laboratory	6,000.
Faculty Research Laboratory	4,500.
Office	5,000.
Reception Area	3,000.

NEW CLASSROOM

SECOND FLOOR NEW



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Large Lecture Halls (2)
Offices (3)



N. C. HUBLEY JR.
CHAIRMAN,
EXPANSION PROGRAM 1978

EXPANSION PROGRAM UPDATE

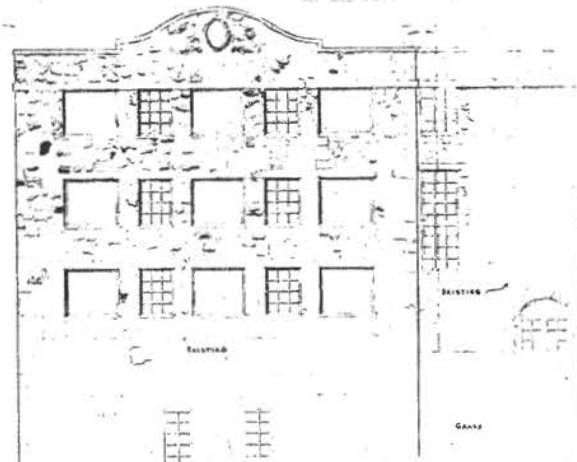
THE LAST ISSUE OF THE GORDON CARRIED A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE ABOUT THE SUCCESSFUL FUND-RAISING TO COMPLETE THE THIRD FLOOR ADDITION TO EMERY SCIENCE BUILDING. CONSTRUCTION IS SCHEDULED FOR MAY 1978.

IN THE LAST FOUR MONTHS OF 1977, \$275,000 WAS RAISED OF WHICH \$245,000 HAS BEEN ALLOCATED TO EMERY. THIS AMOUNT INCLUDES THE CHALLENGE GRANT FROM THE KRESGE FOUNDATION WHICH WAS MET FOUR MONTHS IN ADVANCE OF THE CHALLENGE DATE.

GORDON COLLEGE MOVES AHEAD FROM THIS SUCCESSFUL SEGMENT OF THE EXPANSION PROGRAM TO COMPLETE THE FUND RAISING FOR THE CLASSROOM ADDITIONS PRESENTED ON THESE PAGES. REVISED COSTS DUE TO INFLATION AND STRUCTURAL CHANGES ARE REFLECTED IN THE FIGURES ON THE FACING PAGE. PLEASE STUDY THE PROPOSED PLANS AND BE PREPARED TO MAKE A PRAYERFUL AND SACRIFICIAL RESPONSE SO THAT TOGETHER WE MAY SHARE IN ANOTHER SUCCESS IN THE REMAINING PART OF THE EXPANSION PROGRAM. \$45,000 IS CURRENTLY AVAILABLE FOR THE FROST HALL ADDITION.



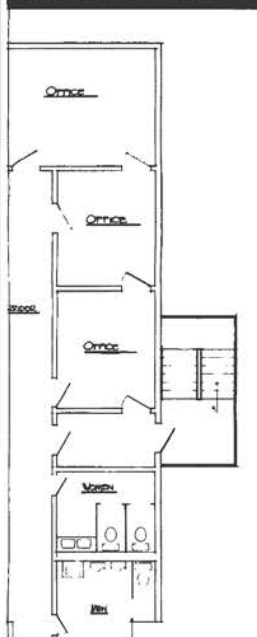
The unfinished wing of Frost Hall.



Architect's rendering of the completed wing on Frost Hall.

WING FROST HALL

WING FROST HALL

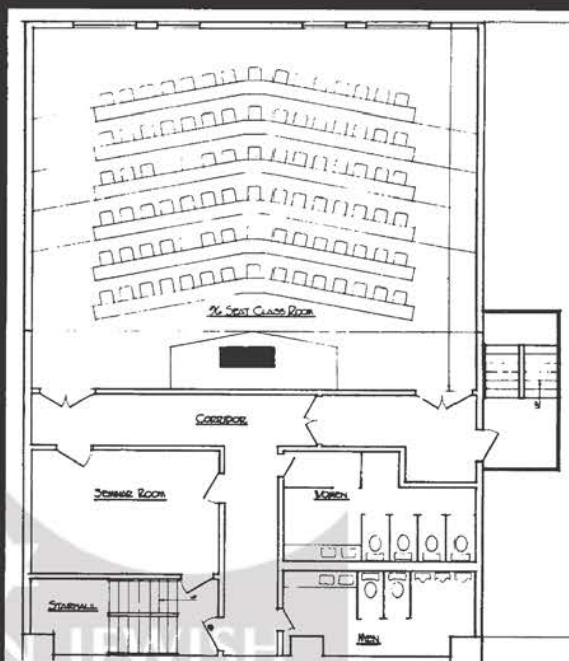


OPPORTUNITIES

(Each) \$28,000.
(Each) 4,000.



THIRD FLOOR NEW WING FROST HALL



NAMING GIFT OPPORTUNITIES

Large Lecture Hall \$60,000.
Seminar Room 9,000.

OTHER COMMEMORATIVE GIFT OPPORTUNITIES UNDER \$3,000. AVAILABLE FOR NEW EQUIPMENT.

THE TASK BEFORE US

Gordon College's priority needs for additional classrooms and other essential educational facilities are presented in this center section. All supporting friends of Gordon will be asked to pledge and to give **OVER AND ABOVE GIFTS TO THE ANNUAL OPERATION EXPENSES** to the Expansion Program '78. The period of payment of pledges and gifts is between now and December 31, 1978.

Alumni, parents, trustees, friends, churches, foundations, the local community, and business and industry will be asked to be "workers together with GOD" to raise \$445,000 by December 31, 1978.

FROST HALL NEW WING \$ 410,000
EQUIPPED

EXISTING CLASSROOMS 80,000
UPGRADING

\$ 490,000

PLEDGES/GIFTS ON HAND 45,000

TO BE RAISED BY 12/1/78 \$ 445,000

NAMING GIFTS WILL BE
SUITABLY IDENTIFIED WITH
A PLAQUE THAT REFLECTS
THE WISHES OF THE DONOR

THIS IS:

**THE TIME TO GATHER STONES
TOGETHER**

METHODS OF GIVING

Outright Gifts of Cash

The donor is entitled to an income tax deduction as provided by law. Current law allows up to a 50% deduction of adjusted gross income for gifts of cash. There is a carry over provision for five additional years of any excess beyond the allowable limit.

Gifts of Appreciated Property

Gifts of securities, real estate and other assets which have appreciated in value make an excellent method of giving. The tax deduction is limited to 30% with no capital gains tax on the appreciation if property has been held more than 12 months. The 5 year carry over provision also applies.

Gifts of Life Insurance

The donor transfers ownership of a life insurance policy, no longer needed and probably less productive than other capital to Gordon College and receives a tax deduction for approximately the current cash surrender value. Gifts of insurance are also deductible as provided by law. Any "excess" over the legal limitation can be carried over for up to five additional years.

The U.S. Government is a partner in your charitable giving. If you are in the:

10% TAX BRACKET EACH GIFT DOLLAR COSTS YOU.	\$.90
20% TAX BRACKET EACH GIFT DOLLAR COSTS YOU.	.80
30% TAX BRACKET EACH GIFT DOLLAR COSTS YOU.	.70
40% TAX BRACKET EACH GIFT DOLLAR COSTS YOU.	.60
50% TAX BRACKET EACH GIFT DOLLAR COSTS YOU.	.50
60% TAX BRACKET EACH GIFT DOLLAR COSTS YOU.	.40
70% TAX BRACKET EACH GIFT DOLLAR COSTS YOU.	.30

Note: Your tax bracket is based on the amount of federal income tax you pay in relation to your taxable income. Your net cost is further reduced when state income taxes are added in.

Gordon
College



For additional information on the foregoing or your specific gift situation please contact your own financial advisors or

Cecil Breton
Expansion Program Director
Gordon College
Grapevine Road
Wenham, Massachusetts 01984
Telephone: 617-927-2300

*Naming Gifts have been received for First Floor Office \$5,000 Advanced Physics Lab \$6,000 and Third Floor Seminar Room \$9,000 Faculty Lounge \$17,000.

Spiritual growth supports academic growth

by HAROLD L. BUSSELL



THE REVEREND HAROLD BUSSETT, Dean of Christian Life.

"Chapel has served to give me a break from a busy routine during the day. It provides a time to gather my thoughts into their proper perspective, that of worshipping God with my whole life. I look forward to the music, prayers, scripture and teaching which always challenges me with practical guidelines for living from God's word," says Laurie Watson, a Biblical Studies major from Brookfield Center, Connecticut.

A Sophomore at Gordon, Laurie has been playing an active role with the planning of special music for the chapel services which are held twice weekly at Gordon College.

Laurie is a member of the Christian Services Committee, a group of students which, along with the Christian Life Office, coordinates all on and off campus ministries.

"I believe God has called me to minister to this campus community as an enabling pastor would to his congregation," continues Dean Bussett. "The diversity of background and experience, and expectations of the students, administration, staff and faculty present many unique and exciting challenges." Bussett's background in both pastoring and counseling, plus his desire to see Biblical foundations taught, enable him to meet these opportunities with confidence.

"I firmly believe that Gordon must of necessity demand excellence in academics. If the Christian is not willing to be pushed to his full capability, I think he has to be confronted with a contradiction. It is hypocritical on the one hand to say

that his mind and while life is under Christ's authority, and on the other hand to exhibit in practice that he really doesn't believe that at all. In order for us to change our society we need to have a clear sense of not only who we are but what we are trying to change. This requires knowledge, not just an introductory type of exposure, but knowledge that comes from disciplined and correct study. Knowledge in itself does not bring community and worship of God. Every aspect of our lives must be brought under submission to Christ and his word.

"Worship during the chapel time is seen as one of the means to bring our lives under the submission and authority of Christ. The Chapel program continues to be my major priority, the emphasis being placed on quality worship and content, as well as the provision of small discussion groups to meet specific needs. It is my conviction that corporate worship is at the heart of a healthy Christian institution and is essential to its spiritual well-being. The Chapel program will always be as necessary as the academic, physical and social programs. We take the Chapel program seriously because we take Jesus Christ, his word, and membership in his corporate body seriously. We express our faith publicly as a college realizing that our relationship with Christ is not only an individual matter, but also a corporate matter. This also implies that we are a community, not only seekers about God and his ways, but that we desire to be servants, actively engaged in worshipping and serving him."

Emphasis has been placed upon producing a quality chapel program that will encourage the Christian not only with an integration of faith and learning, but faith and behavior. "I don't see the instruction time in chapel as a time to defend Christian assumptions, but rather as a time to build upon them," states Bussett. In the four years of a student's college career, Dean Bussett desires a student to experience as many different aspects of Biblical teaching as possible, to have a balanced perspective of Biblical foundations as presented in both the Old and New Testaments, and practical in nature.

The Dean works on series each term that are thematic in nature, substantial in content and relevant in application. There are two services each week: one on Monday and the other on Wednesday.

This past fall the Monday chapel services were set aside to focus on the theme "What is Spirituality?" Dean Bussett himself taught this series with the goal to clarify the Biblical foundations which if not laid can easily lead one to seek goals of spirituality that confuse and ultimately



RON HUTH, Hamilton (Mass.) Young Life Leader, conducts "Ministry to Unchurched Youth" small group chapel at Gordon.

damage one's walk with Christ. The Wednesday service focused on the theme of "Living Responsibly." Enablers for this series were local pastors, members of the administration, and well known evangelical authors. Some of the topics covered in this series were, "The Art of Walking Together," Rev. Gordon MacDonald; "Living Responsibly," Rev. Howard Keeley; "Forgiving Others," Rev. Richard Kew; "The Christian in an Age of Affluence," Dr. Ronald Sider; "Our Relationship to the Church," Rev. Richard Schoenert; "The Responsible Use of Time," Elisabeth Elliot Leitch; and "Facing One's Self Realistically," Dr. R. Judson Carlberg.

This winter and spring the focus of the Monday chapels is "Getting to Know Our Community" with instruction being given by administrators, trustees, faculty, students and staff. The Wednesday chapels are devoted to a study of the book of Ephesians under the theme "On to Maturity." Enablers will be Dr. John Herzog, Dr. Marvin Wilson, Mr. David Tam from the Bible Department, and Dean Bussett. Occasionally brief summaries of the lessons or tapes are made available to the students to provide added means of review and to give continuity to the series.

An alternative chapel program of small groups meeting during the chapel hours is also offered. This program provides students the option of attending the more traditional college-wide worship service or one of several small discussion groups, each dealing with a specific spiritual topic. The small group structure not only provides another point of contact between faculty and students outside the classroom, but it also provides the rare opportunity for students and administrators to mix, since faculty members and administrators lead each of these small groups. The topics discussed cover a wide range of subjects such as "The Ministry of the Holy Spirit," "Politics and Eschatology," "Singspiration," "Preparation for Relational Ministry to Unchurched Youth," and "French Language Bible Study of the Book of John." This program enables a student to actively participate in grappling with the Lordship of Christ in areas that are of particular interest to him.

Ken Colby, Gordon's Vice President for Finances, has been a frequent leader of these small groups. "The sessions have

been helpful to me," says Mr. Colby. "It gives me the opportunity to know what the students are thinking. It is rewarding to sense their genuineness. The chapel program should challenge them," he continues. "Here they have the opportunity to exercise their own brains. We challenge these students in the educational sphere. We should also have the sharpest chapel program going." Mr. Colby also sees the program as an asset in relations between the student body and the administration. "Administrators often appear to students as lofty individuals in another world. Through these sessions some are exposed to the fact that we are rational men. It has given them confidence in us."

With the aid of his administrative secretary Nancy Anderson, the Dean oversees off campus ministries, the Christian Services Committee, the chapel programs and personal enrichment seminars. These seminars are organized with the purpose of meeting specific needs of the students. The Timothy Fellowship is designed to address important issues for those considering a pastoral or lay leadership role. The group is presently studying areas of Christian leadership. Another seminar taught by Dean Bussett studies the basic foundations of the Christian faith as found in the book of Genesis. In March the Christian Life Office sponsored the film series, "How Shall We Then Live?" by Francis Schaeffer. The weekly films will be followed by panel discussions.

"In an age of fragmentation, it is my desire to see a total program that has continuity, balance, and substance in order for each student to meet the challenges that confront them in our generation," states Bussett. "With this type of emphasis it is my hope that each of us will be better enabled to face the issues and struggles we all encounter in our process of growth as followers of Jesus Christ in the twentieth century. I am constantly reminded, as I encounter the Scriptures, that God is not an impersonal force that thrusts upon us without consideration for us. He has given us His word upon which we can build the totality of our life-style. He personalizes history. He shapes the affairs of nations and institutions corporately. He also shapes the lives of individuals personally. Because of these facts, my primary goal in these various programs is to enable each other to stand on the solidarity of God's sovereignty and build one's life within the security of God's grace and word."

Gross establishes President's Associates

"The President's Associates", a significant group of men and women who are concerned about the mission of providing distinctive Christian higher education to committed young people has been established by President Richard F. Gross.

Adoniram Judson Gordon, founder and first President of Gordon College, was a man of faith and action. In 1889, under divine guidance, his vision and bold leadership brought Gordon College into existence. Almost a hundred years later his legacy is a liberal arts college that is distinguished by the quality of its education and its authentically Christian commitment.

But A. J. Gordon was not alone in his educational vision and effort. Ten men, H. G. Guinness, M. R. Deming, C. A. Ufford, G. R. Kelso, N. E. Thayer, A. T. Pierson, S. B. Thing, C. W. Perkins, W. H. Breed, and J. A. Blair, backed the founder with their prayer, wisdom and finances. In effect it can be said these individuals composed the initial membership of the President's Associates. A. J. Gordon did not stand alone in launching a new college in those early, difficult days! Fortunately, succeeding Presidents of Gordon College have not had to stand alone either — they have enjoyed the counsel and support of gifted individuals who, in similar fashion to

Gordon's original ten backers, committed themselves to continuing involvement in the college.

To lead a college in critical times demands the kind of support A. J. Gordon enjoyed at the time of the school's founding. It is essential that a group of benefactors becomes more closely associated with the College and its President so that Gordon can continue to flourish as a Christian liberal arts college of distinction. For this reason the President's Associates has been established.

The purpose of the President's Associates is:

- 1) to provide financial resources to support student scholarships and faculty development
- 2) to provide a forum whereby members can contribute their counsel to the College
- 3) to assure appropriate recognition to those who share substantially in the development of the College.

Three A. J. Gordon Scholarships, funded by the President's Associates, will be given to present qualified students for the fall of 1978, and other A. J. Gordon Scholarships will be awarded incoming freshmen.

Members will be recognized at an annual meeting and banquet hosted by the President. They will also receive invitations to major College events and receive a specially designed insignia.



PRESIDENT AND MRS. RICHARD GROSS entertain the Gordon ice hockey team after a game. Other student groups have been entertained by the Gross's in the recently purchased President's home across from campus.

Spring Celebration

Thursday, April 13

U.S. Navy Band to give concerts

The United States Navy Band from Washington, D.C., known around the Globe as "The World's Finest," will be in concert at Gordon College during Spring Celebration on Thursday, April 13. Two performances of outstanding music will be given during a 2:00 o'clock matinee and a 7:30 o'clock evening concert in Rhodes Gymnasium.

This unique cultural event is being sponsored by the Parents' Association of Gordon College to provide the College, its constituents, and the local community with an opportunity for a memorable musical experience, and to raise funds for its growing scholarship program. There will be a \$3.00 admission charge.

The United States Navy Band became the Navy's official band on March 4th, 1925, the day Calvin Coolidge was inaugurated President of the United States. On that date President Coolidge signed a special act of the 68th Congress recognizing this band as the permanent representative band of the United States Navy.

Since 1925, the Navy Band has traveled throughout America each year on tours authorized by Congress and approved by the President. These highly acclaimed concert tours have made it possible for vast audiences outside the Nation's Capital to enjoy the outstanding musicianship and varied programs offered by "Their" Navy Band.

In 1940 the American Bandmasters Association recognized the United States Navy Band as the outstanding band in America and bestowed upon it the now famed motto, "The World's Finest." No other military band has since been so honored.

Lieutenant Commander Ned Muffley, Conductor of the Band, conducts all performances without scores, a feat mastered by few band or orchestra conductors. With intense preparation and a fantastic memory, Commander Muffley conducts any of the 25,000 selections in the Navy Band music library which includes traditional and modern



THE UNITED STATES NAVY BAND, from Washington, D.C., under the direction of Commander Ned Muffley (crt), is the premier musical organization of The United States Navy.

band music, orchestral transcriptions, instrumental and vocal solos, marches and the great pop tunes of today.

Friday, April 14

Gordon Experience Day



PROSPECTIVE GORDON STUDENTS study class schedules during the Winter Gordon Experience Day.

On Friday, April 14, non-Gordon students and their parents will arrive on campus between 8-9:30 a.m. when they will join in an informal coffee hour with faculty in Frost Hall Foyer. From this beginning, students and their parents will get involved in a wide variety of campus activities — attending regular classes, campus tours, chapel, personal interviews in Admissions and Financial Aid, meeting Dr. Gross, President of Gordon College,

and informal contact with Gordon students.

What is the occasion for this happening? Gordon Experience Day, Spring 1978. The formula for this day has been highly successful in helping students and their parents determine the "fit" between themselves and Gordon.

The April 14 GE Day will especially appeal to two groups of students with different needs: high school juniors and prospective transfers.

For transfers, appointments with faculty and administrators to deal with specific questions about programs will be available. The objective for these students will be to obtain the information needed to assess the impact of transfer and to obtain the valid comparison of Gordon with their present institution.

In addition, informative sessions will be held to deal with Gordon's new Field and Cooperative Education Program and Financial Aid. A reception for parents with President Gross is also planned.

Students, parents, and pastors wishing to attend the day should contact the Admissions Office directly or return the coupon below. The registration fee is \$2, which includes lunch. Overnight and transportation arrangements can be made in advance through the Admissions Office.

"Elijah" to be performed by Concert Choir



THE GORDON COLLEGE CONCERT CHOIR

The Gordon College Choir will present Mendelssohn's Oratorio "Elijah" on Friday evening, April 14, at 8:00 o'clock in Prince Memorial Chapel. In the Choir's last performance of this piece in 1973, it sang to a packed audience.

The 26-voice student choir is directed by Dr. Alton C. Bynum, Chairman of Gordon's Music Department and director of the choir since 1964.

Soloist Raymond McAfee will join the choir for this performance and their performance in Park Street Church on Sunday evening, April 16. Mr. McAfee lives in New Jersey and is a member of the Christian Opera Society in New York City which was organized by Jerome Hines.

The public is invited to this admission-free event.

Saturday, April 15

Gordon Banquet '78



LEIGHTON FORD

Leighton Ford will be the featured speaker at The Gordon Banquet '78 set for Saturday, April 15 at 7:00 p.m. in Rhodes Gymnasium. This will be the third Gordon Banquet held in the last few years. Corrie ten Boom was guest speaker in 1976 and

Dr. Timothy Johnson, national television doctor, spoke in 1977.

TIME Magazine has singled Leighton Ford out as being "among the most influential preachers of an Active Gospel."

He is Vice President of the Billy Graham Association and an Associate Evangelist and has been with the organization since 1955.

Leighton Ford has spoken face to face to more than three million persons in every continent in the world and shares with Billy Graham on "The Hour of Decision" carried weekly on some 850 radio stations worldwide. His daily TV News Feature is seen in scores of cities.

As Chairman of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, he has observed grassroots evangelism in many cultures. Books which he has written include *The Christian Persuader*, *New Man*, *New World*, and *Good News is for Sharing*.

Dr. Ford is a graduate of Wheaton College and Columbia Seminary. In 1973 he received the Honorary Doctorate, LL.D. from Gordon College.

The Gordon College family, constituents and friends are invited to attend. Tickets will be \$6.50 each.

Plan To Attend Spring Celebration

TO: Mr. John Good, Director of College Relations
Gordon College
Wenham, Massachusetts

- ☐ I would like to attend the Navy Band Concert _____ Matinee _____ Evening, April 13
Number of tickets _____ at \$3.00 each.
- ☐ I would like to attend Gordon Experience Day, April 14
Number of reservations _____ at \$2.00 each.
- ☐ I would like to attend the Concert Choir's presentation of "Elijah", April 14
Number attending _____ No admission charge.
- ☐ I would like to attend the Gordon Banquet '78, April 15
Number or reservations _____ at \$7.00 each.

Name _____ Tel. () _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

(For Gordon Experience Day): Name of student _____

Yr. of grad. _____ Admissions interview desired _____

If transfer, from what college _____

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 27, 1976
to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
from Sheryl Leonard
subject Evangelical Who...and What?

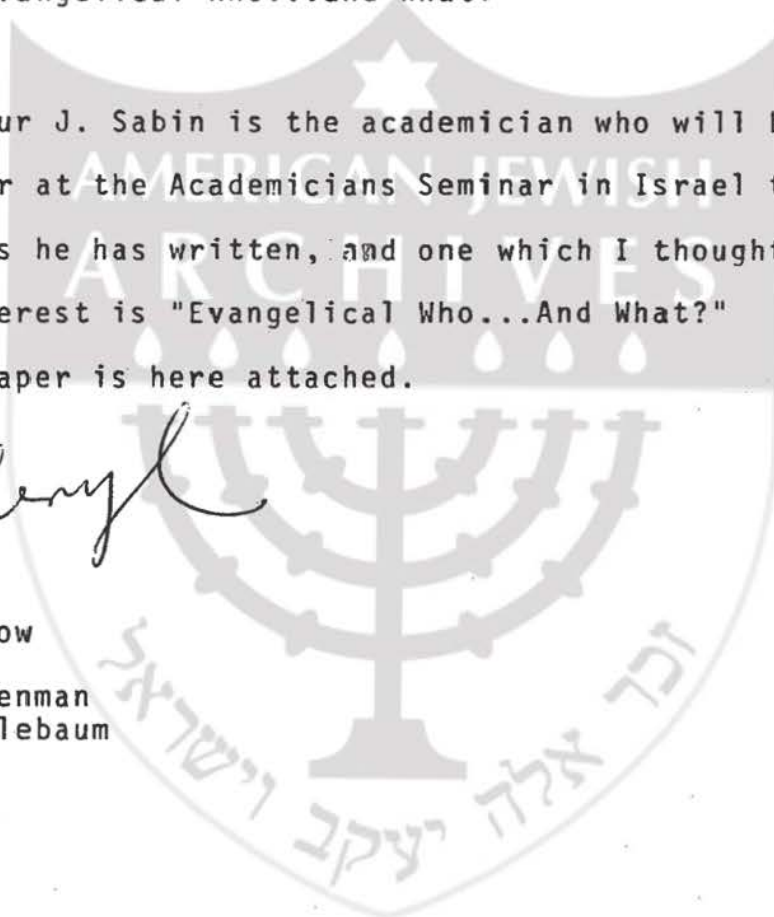
Professor Arthur J. Sabin is the academician who will be representing the Chicago Chapter at the Academicians Seminar in Israel this year. Among the many papers he has written, and one which I thought you would find of particular interest is "Evangelical Who...And What?"

Copy of this paper is here attached.

Regards.

Sheryl

cc: Eugene DuBow
 Will Katz
 Yehuda Rosenman
 Harold Applebaum



EVANGELICAL WHO...AND WHAT?

by Professor Arthur J. Sabin

Given the reasonable accuracy of the political polsters, the November 1976 Election will produce a new president, Jimmy Carter of Georgia. His victory at the polls will be but the fulfillment of the astounding rise of this man and his organization from obscurity (Jimmy Who?--the one term Governor of Georgia) through to victory in the primaries, upsetting all of the regular, old line and well known Democratic party names..

The analysts have not brought in a final verdict on just how this happened. Good organization, reasonable financial support, personable individual, good though limited political record, advantage of new face, new voice...all of these have been suggested. The one element that is most intriguing, however, in explaining the wide Carter appeal has been his Southern Baptist-Evangelical roots. As one analyst recently put it, Jimmy Carter tapped a hidden well spring because U. S. Evangelicals involve a long overlooked power; in numbers, between 30 or 40 million cutting across every Protestant sect in a Protestant country.

Yet, the appeal of Carter and his Evangelical Christianity background is not the old line Protestant appeal symbolized by New English Churches, the Yale Divinity School and the puritan-Protestant Ethic.

Fears concerning his kind of Evangelical Protestant Christianity are supposed to be allayed by references to Harry

Truman, an Evangelical Christian, but the comparison just doesn't hold up. Truman was first and foremost a politician and his life experience as an Evangelical Christian was not the central molding force which it has been in the life of Jimmy Carter. No, this is new and requires some understanding, particularly for those who know little about Evangelical Christianity, and undoubtedly the group that knows the least is the American Jewish population.

Basically, an Evangelical Christian is one who has been "reborn" beyond his Baptism as an infant and beyond any schooling or "normal" religious instruction or experience. Evangelicals have gone through some religious crisis experience brought on by an Evangelical (in this case Carter's sister) so that there is the personal actualization in the Evangelical that they have been reborn by entering into a personal relationship with Jesus Christ who has saved them. Through this crucial religious experience, the Evangelical Christian is dedicated to converting all others, of every Protestant denomination and to every other person (Catholics and Jews) to undertake the same experience, the same rebirth in accepting Jesus Christ as the personal savior of that individual and in turn the commitment to help others be reborn. Here is the missionary zeal, the proselytizing that is the core of the religious experience and activism

of millions and millions of Americans.

What the political analysts are telling us is that when Carter spoke, millions of Americans knowing of his religious Evangelicalism felt a real rapport with him, one that transcends geographic boundaries and communicates in almost subliminal ways that this person is a fellow Evangelical, that this person has "experienced grace."

If you want to "tune in" to this message, just get up early on any Sunday morning and whip across your AM or FM dial and listen to what is being said. Additionally, if you prefer television, many large cities have one channel devoted in part or entirely to Evangelical Christianity; one or more radio stations in all metropolitan rural areas are similarly dedicated; therefore there is plenty of opportunity to see and hear what Evangelical Christianity is all about. Every time you see a church with the word Evangelical in it, you're looking at a group dedicated to the missionizing, proselytizing and converting of Christians into reborn Christians and non-Christians into Evangelical Christians.

Does this mean that I am fearful of Jimmy Carter, fearful of the Evangelical Christian holding the highest office in the land and the most powerful political person in the world? I have never feared an authentic (I like that better than "good") Christian. An authentic Christian respects the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of Man and uses no force or coercion nor does that person send thunderbolts of damnation to those who do not believe as he or she does. America has been blessed with leadership and with institutional protection reflecting authentic Christianity in the pluralistic society. The blessings of the First Amendment

of separation of Church and State and religious freedom have been and will remain the great bastions of our safety whether we be in the minority or majority. I am confident, though this is but a personal view, that Carter is an authentic Christian to whom moral issues are important and ethical questions meaningful and to whom the institutional protections for pluralistic society are both necessary and untouchable.

But we, as American Jews, have to go further. History demands that we go further in terms of understanding what is involved, what are the potentials and what we should be doing.

This was well illustrated by a recent article in Chicago Magazine (March 1976) in, of all places, the Movie Review Section written by Dan Rottenberg. He was reviewing a number of movies where religion played a role and in the larger sense the possibilities involved when the majority attempt to inflict their will on any minority. The title of his review was "The Sanity of The Majority." In his review he stated, "But as I watched the Hiding Place with its smug assumption that the Ten Booms owed their saintly instincts to their religion, I couldn't help recalling the experience of my own family who have been fleeing in terror from sincere, dedicated Christians for more than a thousand years. Over that period, we Rottenbergs have developed a few basic rules for survival, the most important of which is: Whenever you hear someone talking about salvation, the Holy Spirit, the Lamb of God, the Prince of Peace,

spreading the Spirit of Christ among the heathens -- whenever you hear anything of that sort, drop whatever you are doing and run for your life. In the course of some recent research in Jewish history for a project unrelated to this column, I was struck by the remarkable number of persecutions committed against Jews at the behest of Christian officials or in the name of Christianity. The number of murders, tortures and rapes was so staggering that I finally had to restrict myself only to mass murders. And even then, the list filled three pages of a legal pad, allowing one line per outrage -- all committed for the sake of Christianity."

What Rottenberg summarizes in two paragraphs is something which any Jew is knowledgeable about, namely, that ever since early Christian fathers decided to stop trying to convert Jews and emphasize the conversion of Pagans, an ancillary development has been the teaching and practice of contempt against those who refuse to accept conversion. The core and root of enduring anti-Semitism can only be explained and understood from Christian roots in the teaching of an acting out of contempt for Judaism.

But here in the United States, there are no forced mass conversions upon threat of death or torture, the Inquisition is not operative here, there are no stormy pogroms. In a word, the conversion efforts which every American Jew has had some exposure to really doesn't seem very threatening or menacing and in some respects it isn't. Even among non-observant, non-involved

and totally disinterested Jews, the ~~actual~~^{Actual} rate of conversion is barely measurable. The real threat lies, as statistics tell us, from inter-marriage and from something more difficult, perhaps impossible to measure, namely Jews who simply fade away as Jews and they or their children with no feeling for remaining Jews, become Christians.

But it must be remembered, that except for one period in human history and Western Civilization there was always an alternative to persecution, torture, inquisition and the like and that was to convert, to yield and become Christian. Literally one hand held the axe but the other hand always held the flower. The axe was yielded, and Mr. Rottenberg's legal pad got filled up because in most instances Jews refused to leave their heritage and faith and take the flower as the alternative.

The only singular aberration in this process was the Nazi Holocaust where there was no "flower" as an alternative and in fact where just the opposite took place, that is, even those who had become Christians but who under Nazi racial laws were classified as Jews, died by virtue of that fact. It has been estimated that between a hundred and a hundred and fifty thousand German Christians were exterminated even though they and their parents were Christian because one grandparent was Jewish. I cannot begin to imagine what such individuals must have felt in terms of understanding or explanation as to why they were victims.

Returning to the United States and Evangelicalism, the

"flower" has always been held out, because our institutions, legal and spiritual, deny anyone or group that might desire, the alternative of force. But one thing is certain, and American Jews must be aware of its existence, and that is that new and concerted efforts have been made in the last few years to reach American Jews with the Evangelical message of conversion to Christ. We see rumbles of it here, see something of it there and generally, if we are willing to look, can see quite a bit of activity. This Evangelical conversion movement is still to be found in not only the traditional Christian religious groupings, Catholics and various Protestant Evangelical groups but also in the way out groups like the Hare Krishna and the "Moonies". For Jewish youth, unfortunately, there has been more appeal in these far out groups than in the mainstream of American Christianity.

Vital to this entire matter is the basic distortion which Evangelical converters would have potential converts believe, namely, that the only difference between Judaism and Christianity is simply the acceptance by the Jew, of Jesus as the Christ, that is, as the Messiah. The emphasis is that everything else is easy; don't both believe in the fatherhood of God; aren't both monotheistic religions that stress the brotherhood of man?

Indeed, Christianity and Judaism are monotheistic and stress the brotherhood of all men but what most Jews are not

fully aware of or sensitive to is the vast differences that do exist between Judaism and Christianity beyond the idea of simply accepting Jesus as the Messiah. A great injustice is done, an injustice to Judaism in not understanding the depth of differences between Judaism and Christianity. Let me briefly review, not as a theologian but as a layman, some of the differences that we should keep in mind.

At the core of Judaism is the indivisibility of God. One of the great gifts of Judaism was the unity of God, indivisible and really not definable. It was Judaism that ended Paganism, that ended idolatry and that emphasized a God defined more by what God isn't by what it is. Put another way, Judaism was the great step away from representing God corporeally, that is in terms of an actual person or body. Christianity, on the other hand, may be considered a step backward in that its appeal was to place before men a man who claimed to be God and the son of God, therefore, to call for the worship of a person who also was divine. Judaism was harder; it demanded that you consider, confront and relate to a creative force, a spirit, a guide, and the basis for the ethical and moral structure under which man shall live. Christianity, stepped back to representing God in terms of a corporeal person, Jesus and dividing God into the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost or Spirit.

In Catholicism, the use of the Crucifix, the worship of the "Mother" of God, the worship of the Saints all returned to

the worship of corporeal things, statues, relics and the like. In Judaism there is no prayer to anything. There is only a personal God who speaks directly to each person without the intercession of any group, clergyman or intermediary.

In Judaism, man can only be man, where in Christianity, a man or woman can become the object of worship (Jesus, Mary or the Saints).

In Judaism miracles play a minor role; they are doubted, disparaged, questioned and allegorized. Christianity on the other hand is built upon miracles and the superiority of belief in miracles.

In Judaism there are no sacraments through which an individual experiences God. In Catholicism there are seven sacraments, in Protestant Christianity there are two, Baptism and the Last Supper. The Christian sacraments include the body and blood of Christ, again corporeal representation of the Supreme Being.

In Judaism, salvation depends on each individual's free will effort to achieve, through deeds and prayer, a righteous and worthy life as defined by Torah. In Christianity, salvation only comes through accepting Jesus Christ and praying for his intercession with God.

In Judaism, nothing is authoritative that is contrary to the laws of Nature and reason; all events biblical and otherwise are explained in allegorical terms because Nature is a manifestation of the creative power of God and therefore the

belief in miracles, in effect, violating the laws of nature in terms of life and death is a core of Christian belief.

In Judaism, we seek understanding, we believe in mercy, we seek to do justice; Judaism would never have persecuted a Corpernicus or a Galileo. Judaism is grounded in the belief that every individual has absolute free will to choose between right and wrong and good and evil; that what we are came pure from God. On the other hand, Christianity is founded on the concept of original sin and that the weight of sin results in eternal damnation unless faith in Jesus is accepted. In Christianity, all flesh is the seat of sin; therefore, our bodies are impure and sinful. In Judaism, the contrary is true because nothing that God has created is in itself evil; only Man does evil. In Judaism we are commanded to take care of our bodies as well as our spirit or soul and it is out of this thought that Judaism stresses the sanctity of every human being and the holiness of life itself. Only in Judaism is life considered the most precious gift of God unburdened by the concept of the evil of original sin or the evil of our earthly desires or physical drives. In Christianity sin rules man and can only be conquered with the help of Jesus; in Judaism there is no antagonism between the flesh and the spirit. Man has the capability of ruling sin and distinguishing good from evil.

In Judaism, God's love and forgiveness are emphasized.

Judaism is basically optimistic and does not deprecate the so-called "animal instincts" but rather perceives of all as part of the gift of life. In Judaism, the saintly person, the worthy person is not one who is an ascetic, not one who has "purged" himself from all fleshly desires but, on the contrary, recognizes that desires do burn within us but that it is ^{withi}ⁿ our ability to tame and govern and cultivate our minds as well as our bodies. Christianity calls for asceticism and lauds the individual who removes himself by celibacy, solitude and other asthetic deprivations. In Judaism, life indeed is with people and the Jewish ideal is the person who confronts life and acts to relieve the suffering of others, to make life just somewhat better. In Judaism, there is love of life, while in Christianity the major concepts involve denial, withdrawal, other worldliness for a promise of a Kingdom in another world.

The ethics of Judaism are social and not individual; Judaism is less involved with whether an individual attains some degree of perfection and holiness but more concerned that all people, all nations shall know peace, justice and neighborly love. As one author has put it, "Jewish piety is not tested away from the t^urm^oil of life but in the heat of its battle." Judaism is a religion of joy in which the Sabbath celebrates the joy of creation, the beauty of life and of human beings in body and spirit. Christianity regards poverty, celibacy, and solitude as singularly conducive to piety, disparaging joy and physical beauty as sinful.

Also to be understood is that to Judaism, the Law of God has been given to mankind through the Torah; Christianity rejects and repudiates this Law, replacing Law with Faith. In Judaism, Man's search for goodness, for understanding of life and its meanings are in the Law of the Torah. For Christians, faith in Jesus replaces the Torah because, as the Apostle Paul said, "If uprightness could be secured through the Law, then Christ dies for nothing."

What I have tried to emphasize is that Judaism and Christianity are different and fundamentally so. Furthermore, the beauties of Judaism come shining through so very well for one willing to study, to understand and to get involved. In a word, it is not enough to simply say, I reject conversion because I want to remain a Jew without knowing what Judaism stands for as against what the Evangelical offers.

That Evangelicalism is on the rise in this country and that at least some segments are aimed at conversion efforts, which may become major efforts directed toward the Jews, seems reasonably clear. Our institutions deny the tools of torture and death for those who would use against those who would resist the "flower." But to be willing to reject the smile, the outstretched hand only makes sense when there is a genuine appreciation of the beauty, the joys, the honesty and the magnificence of a heritage, a way and a religion that have withstood both the flower and the axe for 4,000 years.