



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 21, Folder 9, Graham, Billy, 1984-1988.

FROM...

Graham, Billy

Hyman Bookbinder

4/13/84

To: Marc Tanenbaum

Regards from Dr. John Abers,
Billy Graham's aide, whom I met
at a Polish Embassy reception
last night -- a reception for
their Deputy Minister of Culture &
Religion, etc. --- No cocktails were
at the event, as you could guess.
Nothing said, so nothing to report.
But Abers seems very nice, &
I'm glad I met him.

Bush

BILLY GRAHAM
MONTREAT, NORTH CAROLINA 28757

April 16, 1984

Dear Mr. Lerman,

Thank you for yours of April 7 that reached me just as I am leaving for Europe.

I had read about the United States Holocaust Memorial Council and have been extremely interested in it.

I would count it a great privilege to serve in any capacity I possibly can. The Holocaust is something that we should remember so that it will never happen again. I promised a long time ago that if anti-semitism raised its head in the United States I would be glad to make speeches or to use whatever influence I may have to help stamp it out. God has given me a great love for the Jewish people.

Since touring a number of the terrible camps, such as Auschwitz and Treblinka, I can never be the same.

With warmest personal greetings, and a prayer that "A Campaign To Remember" will be highly successful.

Most cordially yours,



Mr. Miles Lerman
Chairman, Campaign Cabinet
United States Holocaust Memorial Council
Suite 832, 425 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20004

cc. Marc Tanenbaum



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

MAY 10 1984

May 3, 1984

COMMITTEE OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Miles Lerman, Chairman
Mark Talisman, Co-Chairman

Esther Cohen
Reverend Constantine Dombalis
Professor Franklin Littell
Reverend John T. Pawlikowski
Sigmund Strochlitz
Kalman Sultanik
Eli Zborowski

Dr. Billy Graham
Box 877
Montreat, North Carolina 28757

Dear Dr. Graham:

The Chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, Prof. Elie Wiesel, was very happy to learn that you have acquiesced to serve on the Honorary Board of the "Campaign to Remember"

The warmth of your acceptance letter and your endorsement of our objective has touched our hearts.

Your encouragement will serve as an inspiration to all of us to go on with our work and build the National Holocaust Memorial Museum. We will keep you posted of our progress.

Once again, our most heartfelt thanks for your encouragement and support.

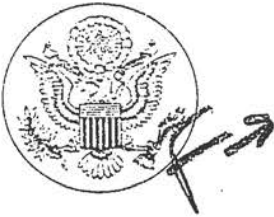
Respectfully,

Miles Lerman, Chairman
Campaign Cabinet

c.c. Prof. Elie Wiesel
Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum/

ML:gg

Suite 832, 425 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20004
202-724-0779



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

Office of the
Chairman

April 7, 1984

Dr. Billy Graham
Box 877
Montreat, North Carolina 28757

Dear Dr. Graham:

AMERICAN JEWISH

The United States Holocaust Memorial Council was established by the Congress in 1980 for a remarkable purpose -- unique among all the nations with the sole exception of the State of Israel. That purpose was to create means to assure that future generations never forget the Holocaust nor fail to learn its lessons, in the hope that no comparable tragedy will befall any people in the future. Our program and mission are organized principally around two tasks: first, to plan, erect and oversee the operation of a permanent "living" memorial museum to the victims of the Holocaust; second, to sponsor annual national and local civic ceremonial observances of the Days of Remembrance of the Holocaust.

As we look toward our statutory task of raising upwards of \$100 million in private funds to plan and build the museum, our national campaign organization will require many layers of volunteers and advisers. At the top will be an Honorary Campaign Board of nationally prestigious Americans. We hope President Reagan will serve as the Honorary Chairman. We are discussing these prospects with the White House staff. Included in the small number of representative national leaders whom we are inviting to join the Honorary Board are Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, Lane Kirkland, Katherine Graham, and Helen Hayes.

It is our great hope that you, too, would agree to serve in this very limited but crucial capacity by lending your great moral leadership to this sacred cause. A description of our activity and campaign is presented in the enclosed document, "A Campaign to Remember."

Please let me assure you that it is not our intention to ask for a commitment of your time or to solicit funds. What we do earnestly hope is that you will honor us by allowing the use of your name, with others, on our Honorary Campaign Board. A great friend of our cause, and yours, Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, joins in encouraging your acceptance.

Sincerely,

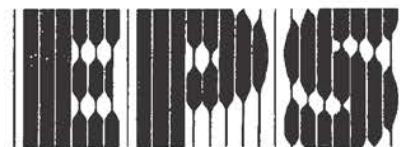


Miles Lerman
Chairman
Campaign Cabinet

cc: Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum ✓



ECUMENICAL PRESS SERVICE



P.O. Box No 66, 150 route de Ferney, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland. Telephone (022) 988988 or 989400. Telex 23 423 OIKCH. Cable Oikoumene Geneva.

11-15 June 1984

year 51 / issue 19

Botha's European visit protested	84.06.70
Religious discrimination ban backed in Australia	.71
US NCC on religion in state-run schools	.72
Juvenaly predicts continued US-USSR church cooperation	.73
US church council considering major organizational changes	.74
World YWCA group makes 1985 plans	.75
World Council official sends note re Sakharov	.76
Mobutu denies church-state rift	.77
Irish 'Two Traditions Group' reports	.78
Clerical controversy a bore?	.79
Pioneer in Finnish church journalism dies	.80
UCC "spirituality network"	.81
World Vision in Ecuador faulted	.82
Half of Britons believe in God	.83
"Pravda" concerned about religious influence	.84
Jamaica church reps oppose casino gambling	.85
New Canadian ecumenical association seen doomed	.86
Atheism statistics	.87
BCC-committee opposes European "cult" guidelines	.88
Serbian Orthodox building new theological faculty	.89
Vatican rejects catechism	.90

ECUTEXTS:

"WACC Central Committee Message"	.91
"WCC Letter on the Papal Visit, 12 June"	.92

ECUVIEWS:

"WACC Meeting in Brazil"	.93
"The Tribes of Lebanon"	.94
"Hunger in Africa"	.95

SHOPTALK

Ecuvview authors in this issue:

T.K. Thomas (.93) is WCC publications editor.
Ghassan Rubeiz (.94) is WCC Middle East secretary.
Kimpianga Mahaniah (.95) is WCC Africa secretary.

+ + + + +

As readers may have noted, the code numbers 84.06.01 - 84.06.42 have been omitted.

+ + + + +

In connection with the pope's visit to the WCC (12 June), the next EPS will contain advance and embargoed material (to be mailed 8 June). Another issue of EPS, with a report on the visit and excerpts from the messages by the pope and WCC General Secretary Philip Potter, is planned for mailing 13 June.

+ + + + +

The WCC central committee meets in Geneva 9-18 July. Its agenda includes election of a new general secretary to succeed the retiring Philip Potter. Journalists who wish to cover the meeting in person should be in touch with Susanne Bredow (Box 66, CH-1211 Geneva 20) before 1 July. Journalists who do not plan to attend, but who have special coverage requests, should contact the EPS editor before 1 July.

+ + + + +

EPS has a new telephone number: 022/91.61.42. It is effective immediately.

GENEVA (EPS) - The World Council of Churches has sent a letter of concern to churches and councils of churches in seven European countries (UK, FRG, Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal, France, and Austria) visited by South African Prime Minister P. W. Botha in late May and early June.

Signed by Programme Secretary Rob van Drimmelen of the WCC Programme to Combat Racism, the letter voices concern that the visit "will lend false credibility to the policies pursued by the South African regime inside the country and in the southern Africa region. Whereas increased pressure on the white minority regime is necessary", he continues, "the visit might lead to the reverse". It offers WCC "support for any initiative you might want to take to expose the South African realities in relation to the...visit".

Also in advance of the visit, the executive committee of the Council of Churches in Namibia sent an "open letter to Christian churches in Europe and North America" to give "an up-date on the reality of the situation prevailing" there under "South Africa's occupation". Focusing on political, social, and economic issues, the CCN letter describes Namibia as a "kind of military camp. The suffering of our people goes on, while the activities of forces under South African command continue to intimidate and insult the well-being and humanity of the local population."

The letter is signed by CCN President James Kauluma and General Secretary Abisai Shejavali, and representatives of eight Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, and Reformed (Congregational) jurisdictions in Namibia.

The visit was protested by a variety of church and other groups in countries on Botha's itinerary, on grounds that the meetings, hosting government disclaimers notwithstanding, would give legitimacy to the South African system of racial separation (apartheid).

In Britain and Ireland, the British Council of Churches and the Council of Churches for Wales issued statements, as did the Roman Catholic bishops of England and Wales, and Director Brian McKeown of the development aid agency of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, who called the visit "appalling". The BCC statement called it "offensive to many black citizens in the UK" and "likely to undermine such confidence as exists between communities here".

Reuter news agency reported from Johannesburg that Botha said "we shall try to hold high the name of South Africa" during "an emotional Afrikaans [departure] ceremony of speeches, a Bible reading and traditional songs of the ruling Dutch-descended Afrikaner whites".

Shortly before Botha's visit, the government announced that apartheid opponent and Dutch Reformed minister Beyers Naude, currently "banned" by the government, would not be allowed to leave the country to receive in person the "Freedom of Worship Medal". The medal was awarded him by the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Four Freedoms Foundation, and was to be presented in the Netherlands 23 June.

SYDNEY (EPS/Bruce Best) - A report to one of Australia's state governments has recommended that religious discrimination be outlawed.

The New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board said many people who had complained to it were "surprised and shocked to find religious discrimination still existed in the modern, supposedly more tolerant world".

Among cases of religious discrimination cited in its report: a trucking company refused to move a statue of Buddha to a new site because it was considered a "heathen" statue; a university department would not re-schedule an examination for a Seventh-day Adventist student; a Presbyterian parish banned a yoga group from meeting in its hall after the church learned that yoga had its origins in the Hindu religion; an employer refused a woman holiday leave in order to observe the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur; a medical orderly who wore a crucifix to work was dismissed after being told that hospital policy did not allow jewellery to be worn; Muslims cannot be buried standing facing East and in contact with the earth because it contravenes health regulations.

The report says: "Australian political, legal and educational institutions exist in a framework dominated historically by the [Anglican] Church of England in particular and mainstream Protestantism in general. Other religious traditions, as well as the Aboriginal, have struggled against the dominance in the past and to varying degrees they still do....The last 200 years have been a history of the struggle of Nonconformist groups large and small, from Catholics to Buddhists, towards some form of public acceptance and freedom from harassment."

Australian Council of Churches General Secretary Jean Skuse welcomed the release of the report. She said that although Australian churches had long made a point of living in a multi-cultural environment, they still had to come to terms with being in a multi-faith community.

According to the report, most people in the State of New South Wales (the nation's most populous, with more than four million of the country's 15.5 million people) still identify themselves as Christian (79.6 per cent) but this proportion is declining. Muslims make up almost half of those from faiths other than Christianity.

The report explains that the settlement of Australia by the British (starting in 1788) was not for reasons of religious or political freedom, and the nation has only a limited and narrowly-interpreted legal protection from discrimination on grounds of religious belief. The Australian constitution protects religious liberty, but the principle is not enshrined in the legal codes of the various state governments.

EPS

US NCC on religion in state-run schools

EPS 84.06.72

WASHINGTON (EPS) - The 31-denomination National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA says it supports proposed legislation to allow teenage students in state-run schools to meet on their own to pray or discuss religion. However, the NCC reiterated its opposition to permit state-sponsored prayer in such schools. Also supporting such "equal access" legislation are the US Catholic Conference, Presbyterian Church (USA), Friends Committee on National Legislation, Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Seventh-day Adventists, and several Conservative Evangelical groups. Among those opposed are the governmental affairs office of the Lutheran Council in the USA.

EPS

LOUISVILLE (Kentucky, US) (EPS/Tracy Early) - Churches of the Soviet Union and the United States will stay together and work to overcome the political barriers separating their two countries, Metropolitan Juvenaly of the Russian Orthodox Church pledged in an address to the governing board of the [US] National Council of Churches during its semi-annual meeting (here, 15-18 May).

Juvenaly, head of a 19-member delegation of Soviet religious leaders visiting the US, 3-21 May, noted that it is a "not very happy period" in US-Soviet relations, but said the delegation tried to serve as "living bridges".

The announcement that the USSR will not participate in this year's Olympics in Los Angeles came while the delegation, divided into groups, was touring the US, and one group's itinerary included Los Angeles. They reunited here for the NCC meeting and then went to Washington, their final stop.

After they left Louisville, the NCC board voted regret that the Soviet Union would not participate. By amendment from the floor, an expression of regret that the US boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics was added. The NCC did not protest the 1980 boycott, and a minority of board members this year objected to equating the two situations.

Others addressing the board included Louisville Roman Catholic Archbishop Thomas Kelly. He spoke of recent efforts of the NCC and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to join forces on the issues of nuclear arms and Central America. He called for more such cooperation.

The first Roman Catholic president of the Kentucky Council of Churches, Covington Diocesan Chancellor Donald Hellman, read the Bible for a celebration at Christ Episcopal Cathedral here of the ecumenical "Lima Liturgy". Orthodox Church in America Vice-Chancellor Leonid Kishkovsky preached. (Official norms preclude Roman Catholics and Orthodox from receiving communion at such ecumenical celebrations.)

In other ecumenical actions, the NCC voted to follow the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity each January with an "Ecumenical Sunday". It also voted to cooperate with the National Catholic Rural Life Conference and other agencies in a project dealing with an economic crisis facing small farmers.

The group voted to suspend the Nestle boycott and support the International Nestle Boycott Committee in its ongoing process of monitoring Nestle's marketing of infant formula. It deferred action on a proposal to support a boycott of the Campbell Soup Company initiated by a Farm Labour Organizing Committee based in Toledo, Ohio. Since that organization's members are not employed by Campbell directly, but work for farmers growing tomatoes and other crops for Campbell on contract, NCC board members said a boycott could not resolve their problems, or at least required further study.

In a resolution on "acid rain", the NCC urged the US government to take actions to reduce emissions of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide. It asked that the national Women, Infants and Children Special Supplemental Food Programme be made available to all those in need. It heard Oumarou G. Youssafou, UN ambassador of the Organization of African Unity, appeal for drought aid.

Compared with the previous board meeting, marked by sharp disputes over the Inclusive Language Lectionary and the membership application - given an indefinite postponement - of the homosexual-oriented Metropolitan Community Churches, the Louisville meeting was calm. But it heard the first reading of a policy statement on racism that will likely arouse debate at its next meeting in November.

LOUISVILLE (Kentucky, US) (EPS/Tracy Early) - A first attempt at earnest wrestling with proposals to reorder the life of the [US] National Council of Churches was undertaken here at the meeting of the council's governing board (15-18 May).

Board members spent major portions of their time responding to a preliminary paper by the Presidential Panel on Future Mission and Resources. It was appointed in 1982 and is to bring its final report to the board in November.

The panel, headed by Church of the Brethren General Secretary Robert Neff, is trying to work out some common understanding of what is meant by "a community of Christian communions", a phrase used to define the NCC when it revised the preamble to its constitution in 1981. On the most pragmatic side, it is seeking a way out of the NCC's financial crisis.

As Myles Walburn, who chairs the finance committee, emphasized, the figures look good from one aspect - total receipts of 43.3 million US dollars in 1983. But as he also noted, despite stringent economies there were significant deficits in the office of the general secretary and the Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism. Some other units, including Faith and Order, avoid deficits only by cutting staff and programme to the bone.

Church World Service receives the bulk of NCC income, and this money mostly comes designated for specific relief and service needs. So other NCC units may wither while total income grows. The Presidential Panel floated the idea of a "common fund" to be secured by "the setting aside of a small percentage of council income". But whether the people who finance CWS relief efforts will accept the setting aside of a percentage for other purposes seems doubtful to some observers.

The NCC was formed in 1950 as a federation of the former Federal Council of Churches and several other ecumenical agencies. It has always remained a somewhat loose structure, with many sub-units largely raising their own budgets and acting with considerable independence. But if they did something that precipitated a storm, hailstones fell on the entire NCC. A recent notable example was the Inclusive Language Lectionary, which the Division of Education and Ministry was able to develop and publish without the governing board giving approval or even being made aware that a public controversy was surely coming.

Governing board members generally support proposals of the panel to let them govern the entire council more effectively, some of them perhaps hoping they can block such radical projects as the lectionary in the future and others hoping wider support for them can be developed by involving the board. Yet, the board faces a situation in which many people have a special interest in particular programmes, and have resources to fund them, so if they were no longer able to operate freely within the council structure they could move outside it.

Another issue is how much unanimity should be required for NCC action. US Anglican Presiding Bishop John Allin made a fervent appeal for acting by consensus. But if conservative minorities were able to block actions such as the NCC has been accustomed to take on issues of social justice and international relations, zealous advocates of these causes would doubtless carry their advocacy to other forums, and the NCC would lose their energy. For now, most governing board members seem to recognize that the NCC must change somehow, and to feel the panel's work will likely bring the kind of change they desire. But some of them say a truer test will come when proposals get more specific.

ANNECY, France (EPS/Ellen Clark) - An assessment of the health of the World YWCA, plans for 1985 and development strategies were on the agenda of the world movement's executive committee at its annual meeting here (May 2-12).

In her address to the committee, General Secretary Ruth Sovik echoed German theologian Dorothee Sölle's plea for "passionate resistance" against "the powers of death". She spoke of four indications of YWCA commitment to the struggle against death and for life:

- "the quality of youth leadership, its high level of political awareness" and the call to the YWCA "to face such basic questions as the injustice enshrined in the present world economic order";
- understanding that "social service rarely, if ever, eliminates the problems to which it is a response, while social change, by altering the relationship of power between groups in society, does remove the problem";
- recognition that political action is essential to deal with root causes and that "the political realm is where a Christian movement belongs", and
- a new responsive "network style of relationship between associations".

The committee made plans to observe the International Year of Youth and the End of the UN Decade for Women, both next year. A new World YWCA youth co-ordinator, Phumzile Mlambo from South Africa, is to stimulate youth activities and programmes focused on young women. At the time of the non-governmental forum parallel to the UN women's conference in Nairobi (July 1985), the World YWCA plans a workshop on its vision of the future. It is to co-sponsor an appropriate technology workshop.

WORLD COUNCIL OFFICIAL
SENDS NOTE RE SAKHAROV

Ecumenical Press
Service 84.06.76

GENEVA (EPS) - The international affairs director of the World Council of Churches sent (25 May) a message to the head of the external relations section of the Russian Orthodox Church in connection with the case of nuclear scientist Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner.

Ninan Koshy told Metropolitan Philaret that the WCC "has received numerous appeals" in connection with the case. He continued: "We trust that the authorities will allow them at the earliest to visit abroad for medical treatment. Our concern is humanitarian. Kindly provide us with any information you may have on the matter".

Both Sakharov and Bonner have heart trouble. They reportedly began a hunger strike 2 May in an effort to persuade the Soviet government to allow Bonner to go abroad for treatment. Both live in internal exile in Gorky. The Soviet government newspaper "Izvestia" said (20 May) that both have adequate medical care available.

Later last month (27 May), Pope John Paul asked a gathering 70 kilometers north of Rome to "pray so that the Lord would grant the expectations and the hopes of those personalities and men of various nations and of every class, who are worried about the health and liberty of the scientist and of his wife".

New York-based Religious News Service reported from Washington (21 May) that a group of visiting Soviet religious leaders "said they had no plans to intervene on behalf" of Sakharov and Bonner. The RNS report quoted Russian Orthodox Metropolitan Juvenaly and Baptist General Secretary Alexi Bichkov.

KINSHASHA (EPS) - The Brussels-based Roman Catholic International Press Center reports from here that Zaïre President Mobutu Sese Seko has reacted to international press reports of a conflict between church and state in his central African country. Speaking (17 May) to a meeting of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, Mobutu said there is currently "neither latent conflict nor open crisis between the state and any other societal body whatever....Why do people always want to present state and church as being in constant conflict?" he asked. More than 90 percent of the population of nearly 30 million is reckoned as Christian.

Irish 'Two Traditions Group' reports

EPS 84.06.78

BELFAST (EPS) - The Two Traditions Group, formed last year as a "non party-political group representative of different interests in Northern Ireland," has issued a 16-page pamphlet on reconciling the Nationalist and Unionist traditions on the divided island. Group Chairman Eric P.M. Elliott, an Anglican priest, describes it as a "succinct outline of our problem as seen by each 'side'," but which refrains from "passing judgment or advancing any solution." He also reports that as far as the main denominational groupings - Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Anglican - are concerned, "none will now gainsay the equal validity of both cultures."

Clerical controversy a bore?

EPS 84.06.79

OSLO (EPS) - Church of Norway News reports (21 May) that "despite broad media coverage, Norwegians are little concerned" about two controversies involving pastors - abortion opponent Børre Knudsen and controversial theologian Helge Hognestad (EPS 84.01.70). About 70 percent of those in a recent opinion poll described themselves as "little concerned" about the cases. On the other hand, 54 percent in the second case and 40 in the first think church authorities treated the two wrongly. CNN also reports that both controversies are "subsiding," Knudsen having been succeeded by another pastor in his north Norway parish, Hognestad seemingly ready to leave his parish to become a theological researcher.

Pioneer in Finnish church journalism dies

EPS 84.06.80

HELSINKI (EPS) - Erkki Kario, 64, died of cancer here (13 May). He retired last year as editor-in-chief of the church newspaper "Kotimaa." From 1967-77 he was instrumental in forming the framework, methods and principles for the then-new information center of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland.

UCC "spirituality network"

EPS 84.06.81

CLEVELAND (EPS) - The newsletter of the United Church of Christ reports (1 May) that a "network of UCC people concerned with spirituality" has been begun in the wake of a UCC "consultation on spiritual development" here earlier this year. The consultation preceded a meeting of the UCC executive council, which, among other things, issued a statement on "theological renewal" in the UCC. It cites six areas of "evidences of renewed theological discovery, exploration, and sharing" in the denomination. Last month (16 May), about 150 UCC leaders met in Massachusetts and approved an unofficial letter calling for "sound teaching" and less "theological disarray and lackluster witness" in the UCC. The group also linked traditional Christian beliefs to efforts for social justice. UCC President Avery Post said he thanked God for the declaration.

World Vision in Ecuador faulted

EPS 84.06.82

QUITO (EPS) Rome-based Inter Press Service reports (28 May) from here that "the main indigenous and peasant groups in the Ecuadorean Andes" have called for the expulsion of US-based World Vision because it is "provoking internal divisions among indigenous groups, destroying indigenous cultural identity, and weakening... community structures." Indigenous peoples make up about three of the eight million Ecuadorans.

Half of Britons believe in God

EPS 84.06.83

LONDON (EPS) - Results of a Harris Research Centre poll published here (27 May) suggest fewer than one in two Britons believe there is a God. About a sixth attend church regularly. They tend to be elderly, of upper or middle class, supporters of the Conservative Party, and rural or suburban residents. Statistics in the "World Christian Ecylopaedia" show about 85 percent of the 57 million people of the United Kingdom as at least nominal Christians.

"Pravda" concerned about religious influence

EPS 84.06.84

MOSCOW (EPS) - London-based Reuter news agency reports (25 May) from here that the Soviet Communist Party daily "Pravda" expressed "serious concern about religious influence among some sectors of the population and called for more vigorous efforts to stamp it out." Of special concern were Islamic and Christian sentiments linked to nationalism in various Soviet republics.

Jamaica church reps oppose casino gambling

EPS 84.06.85

(KINGSTON) - Leaders of the Jamaica Council of Churches held a press conference (15 May) here to denounce what they see as signs the government is preparing to allow casino gambling on the Caribbean island. They said Prime Minister Edward Seaga has not replied to five letters the council sent him on the issue.

New Canadian ecumenical association seen doomed

EPS 84.06.86

TORONTO (EPS) - The London-based Anglican Consultative Council reports from here that Anglicans active in efforts to have a more broadly ecumenical group succeed the Canadian Council of Churches "have expressed their dismay and regret that the plan appears doomed," in large part because of the lack of Roman Catholic enthusiasm for it.

Atheism statistics

EPS 84.06.87

ROME (EPS) - A Vatican report counts 30 countries in which atheism is endorsed by the state. About 200 million people (four percent of the world population) are reckoned atheists.

BCC committee opposes European "cult" guidelines

EPS 84.06.88

STRASBOURG (EPS) - The executive committee of the British Council of Churches says it opposes proposed guidelines on fringe religious groups which came before the European Parliament here (22 May). The BCC said the proposals could infringe religious liberty, in part because they do not adequately define "new religious movements." The committee said "the prime response to the situation must be of a pastoral nature."

Serbian Orthodox building new theological faculty

EPS 84.06.89

BELGRADE (EPS) - Serbian Orthodox Patriarch German presided last month at the laying of the foundation stone for a new four-storey, four-million-US-dollar theological faculty to accommodate about 200 students here. Attending were government and church representatives. About 510,000 US dollars is being sought ecumenically over the years 1983-85 for the project, which appears in the World Council of Churches "Resource Sharing Book." About half of this year's 170,000 dollars has been forwarded so far.

Vatican rejects catechism

EPS 84.06.90

ROME (EPS) - The Vatican's doctrinal unit has ordered removal of the imprimatur (church permission to publish) of "Christ Among Us," the most popular adult catechism in the US. It also advised that it is impossible to revise the text in a way which the unit, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, would find acceptable. Paulist Press editor-in-chief Kevin Lynch described the book, which sold 1.7 million copies in 17 years, as "an inquiry book" designed especially for prospective converts.

ECUTEXT: "WACC Central Committee Message"

EPS 84.06.91

The following is excerpted from a document approved during the meeting of the central committee of the London-based World Association for Christian Communication, 16-22 May in São Paulo. [Related item: EPS 84.06.93].

It is in Brazil, and in other countries in this part of the world, that we come across some of the finest examples of communication based on the values of the Kingdom. Here is a growing movement of people, grounded in participatory and democratic communication, which promises liberation and promotes justice and human development.

We rejoice in this movement and we thank God for the creative ways it manifests itself in the life of congregations, the activities of Christian organisations, the work of communication centres and the witness of grass-roots communities.

At the same time, however, we have become even more acutely aware of the ways in which much of mass media, here and elsewhere, militates against Gospel values.

We affirm the right to communicate as a basic human right. We know that this right is often denied to people in many countries, and severely restricted in others. We recognise this as a violation of human life. We believe that where people are deprived of their right to communicate with one another and denied opportunities to participate, the lives of individuals and communities become impoverished. We reject all varieties of ideological rationale which seek to justify the suppression of people's right to communicate with one another...

EPS

ECUTEXT: "WCC Letter on the Papal Visit, 12 June"

EPS 84.06.92

The following was sent to WCC member churches, with copies to members of the WCC central committee and regional conferences and associate councils of churches by WCC General Secretary Philip Potter.

...In the last two decades, relations between members of the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council member churches have been growing and deepening everywhere. The document on "Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry" expresses this growth in our understanding of doctrines which have long divided the Churches. In mission and evangelism, in actions for justice and service, in education, and in concerns of peace, many examples of close cooperation can be found between Roman Catholics and World Council member churches around the world. A Joint Working Group of the Roman Catholic Church and of the World Council has been actively functioning since 1965. Behind this growth is the deep conviction of the unity God has given to us and demands of us. This gift is based on our baptism in the name of the Trinity. It presses on us the urgency of church unity as a sign of healing and peace in a broken world. But this growth has also made us painfully aware of all that prevents us from moving forward into more visible unity.

The visit of the Pope will therefore be an occasion for us, in common prayer and reflection, to recognize in penitence our divisions and to renew our commitment to our one Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. We shall meet two days after the festival of Pentecost, when we hope you will share with the congregations the message of the Presidents of the World Council of Churches, which you received [EPS 84.03.15]....

EPS

The biannual meeting of the central committee of the London-based World Association for Christian Communication took place 16-22 May in São Paulo. WACC was formed in 1975, a merger of an international Christian communication association chiefly concerned with electronic media, and the WCC Agency for Christian Literature Development. T. K. Thomas attended the São Paulo meeting.

According to an official brochure WACC "is more than an ecumenical funding agency with 127 communications projects and programmes in 57 countries. WACC is also a 'think-tank' on communication developments for the churches". For years, however, the two functions ran on parallel lines and rarely met. The rhetoric of research hardly touched the reality of projects.

The association was restructured recently so that the two roles could fruitfully interact. Instead of units defined in terms of media, it has now four departments (project development, research and planning, education and animation, and information and interpretation), plus the general secretariat, and other staff involved in funding coordination and finance and administration.

In his introductory address WACC President William Fore (assistant general secretary for communication at the New York-based National Council of Churches) commended this "major restructuring of the staff and committees". WACC General Secretary Hans Florin said in his report that the move was "to enable the WACC to stay abreast of the rapid developments in media and to alert the churches to the changes ahead".

It is far too early to evaluate the effectiveness of the new structure. Judging by the tone and content of the reports which came from the departmental committees, there is much heart-burning over rising emphases and declining empires. The hopeful sign, however, is that, while business as usual took the major part of the committee's time, concerns beyond the exigencies of project-funding received considerable attention.

The meeting had a theme: *The Humanisation of Communication*. The Latin American context underlined the need for such humanization and at the same time provided encouraging examples of participatory and community-centred communication. Presentations on the Latin American scene took a variety of forms - panel discussion in plenary, film shows in the evenings featuring typical situations in some of the countries, and worship services which focused on the same situations. The services made liberal use of the Sixth Assembly worship book of the World Council of Churches, and the alleluias and kyries were reminiscent of the WCC worship tent last year in Vancouver.

Apart from providing for support to a number of ongoing projects and approving new ones, the Central Committee:

- received a statement containing a series of guidelines for Christian communication;
- affirmed the need to strengthen efforts in the area of training and education;
- approved "forum" - described as an activity or function which fosters openness to new ideas and the willingness to harness them to all communication work - as a corporate responsibility;
- discussed the need to develop a network of field staff, appointing regional animators with forum responsibilities and coordination and consultancy roles;
- adopted "women in media" as a priority, in order to ensure women's involvement in and the promotion of women's concerns through communication.

The following is the conclusion of an article which appeared in last month's WCC "Refugees" newsletter (available on request to WCC/CICARWS, Box 66, CH-1211 Geneva 20).

...To sum up, the ethnic minorities of Lebanon are of different sorts. Some are naturalized and are no different from the rest of the population. The Armenians are in this category. Armenians have been, on the whole, wise to stay out of heavy militarization. Palestinians are refugees who entered the Lebanese conflict in full depth and brought new layers of misery to their situation. Now they are much more controlled politically and militarily. The Kurds and other Moslem migrants (Arabs) have joined the ranks of militias as they are often promised residence permits. On the Christian side the Souryanis and the Assyrians fall in this category of residency seekers. The question of immigrants was debated in the Lausanne Conference among the larger issues of reorganization of power. It is sad to see the question of immigrants reduced to power politics, but the mood in Lebanon today does not allow better treatment of such human problems.

The majority of the Lebanese people wishes to compromise and restore normal life in Lebanon, but the politicians and the militia system are in a different world, preferring the diplomacy of the gun to non-violent conflict resolution. When we speak of religious communities we distinguish between the ordinary peace-loving civilians of the various groupings and the smaller circle of militarized people. The ordinary Lebanese civilian who is loyal to his religion is more likely to be outside the culture of war-making.

The irony is that non-religious warmongers have exploited religious symbolism (the cross, the Jihad Holy War concept, slogans, places-of-worship, bells, family traditions, feasts, etc.) to dictate political and economic strategies and spread the mythology of the honourable cause of fighting in their wider communities of identity. Religious leaders have become secondary in the Lebanese war and have lost their credibility. The superficial has masked the essential in religious life. The crisis in Lebanon is a crisis of no authentic religion rather than a crisis of too much religion; institutional religion overcame spiritual religion; the form has taken over the substance.

Lebanon has entered a new phase in power distribution, with the shift of the government toward Syrian protection and away from American-Israeli support. The Christian militia power has decreased but the Syrians do not seem to wish to humiliate the Christians too much. Moslem groups are now critical of Syria but afraid to show opposition to the Syrians' strategy of compromise: a balance of power among the religious groupings. The Christians are being pressured to yield power and they are expected to respond positively.

How far are the Christians willing to share power? How far are they willing to move collectively? The Christians are split; the hardliners are likely to build secretive alliances with Israel. It is also not known if the Shi'ite tide of rebellion can be controlled by the rule of law and lay leadership. If the government is formed soon, bringing together a coalition of militia leaders, some sort of limited peace would be expected. However, for how long it is not known. The uncertainties are too complex and the forces of violence still seem to be dominant currently.

In conclusion, Lebanon's religious groupings are more like tribes than communities of religion. Rule of law is not respected by these communities. There is no change in the system of these tribes which is prognostic of a lasting positive change...

The following is abridged from a presentation to a meeting of the Africa Church Aid Committee in Freetown, Sierra Leone, 2-6 April. [Portions in parentheses are condensations.]

...The inability of African countries to feed their population is very closely related to the inability of the masses over the last five centuries to invent and produce appropriate techniques or tools necessary to control nature. This stage of underdevelopment is due to the exploitation of Africa's human and natural resources through the triangular slave trade, colonialism and the development of underdevelopment.

The process of making Africa humanly and materially poorer is a long one which started in the 15th century when Europe made contact with Black Africa. Out of this contact came the triangular Atlantic slave trade through which millions of young people were taken out of Africa to develop the economies of Europe and the Americas. If Europe benefited in reinvesting the wealth that was brought by the slave trade and labour in the modernization of industries, African society did not benefit from this contact. Indeed, the loss of population weakened the African market in that there were fewer people to buy products that African small industries were producing.

The slave trade also led to the stagnation of African technology. [The once-developed textile industry in West Africa was destroyed through the import of Indian cloth, the resale of goods to other parts of the continent, and the widespread sale of cheap European goods.]

The enslavement of young men and women moved millions of human agents from whom inventiveness springs. [Those not captured spent their time and energy remaining free or were occupied with export trade of ivory or rubber, which did not require any invention of machinery.]

Psychologically, the slave trade had a devastating effect both on those who were captured and on those who remained in Africa. Africa's pride and dignity were affected. People lost faith in leadership that was incapable of providing protection. [Rulers, unaccountable to their communities, became very cruel and terrorised their own people, selling their enemies or even their own subjects to Europeans for the sake of obtaining goods from Europe.]

Africa, south of Sahara, entered into contact with Europe with a hoe and came out with a hoe, at the 19th century. Africa suffered "technological arrest" or stagnation, "and in some instances actual regression, since people forgot even the techniques of their forefathers. The abandonment of traditional iron smelting in most parts of Africa is probably the most important instance of technological regression." This scientific and technological stagnation affects all sectors of African life, including agriculture. The triangular Atlantic slave trade of pre-colonial Africa, like colonialism, one of the factors which has resulted in Africa's incapacity to feed its people in that it did not prepare African societies to produce adequate tools nor a social system to fight adequately the vagaries of nature.

The effective occupation by the Western powers which was made official with the Berlin convention of 1884/85, installed a system of exploitation of human and material resources for the European and American economies. In order to assure this the colonial powers installed a structure of cultural, political and economic dependence of Africa on the metropole. Indeed this period is crucial in that the African people lost not only their scientific and technological know-how, but they also lost...good land for farming to the European colonials. Technologically, Africans entered into colonialism with a hoe, and came out without a hoe.

(over)

The colonial powers [destroyed traditional patterns of production and exchange and]: (1) forced peasants to replace food with cash crops that were expropriated at very low rates; (2) took over the best agricultural land for export crop plantation and then forced the most able-bodied workers to leave the village fields to work as slaves or for very low wages on plantations; (3) encouraged a dependence on imported food; and (4) blocked peasant cash-crop production from competing with cash crops produced by settlers or foreign firms.

Colonialism has been replaced by neo-colonialism which is an exploitation of Africa without responsibility. The exploitation of the natural and human resources of Africa south of Sahara did not stop with the coming of the political independence of the continent. [The developing countries - three-quarters of the world's population - receive only 6.5% of total global income. Unesco calculated in 1979 that the USA, with 6% of the world's population, consumed 55% of the world's total resources and that each North American individual over his lifetime consumes approximately 500 times more material resources than a developing country child.] Exploitation continues by the transnational companies through both expatriates and African elites. The transnational corporations are still encouraging, for European markets, the production of luxury crops like flowers, tea, coffee, cocoa, and industrial crops such as rubber, cotton, peanuts, and wood. While the per capita food production is falling and grain imports are rising, large areas of land are being used to grow flowers and fresh vegetables for air-freighting to Europe.

The little that African countries collect from transnational corporations is very often not reinvested in the rural areas for the modernization of peasant agriculture but rather for the import of luxury goods consumed by the urban population. [Moreover, a good percentage of foreign exchange is used to import food products; such as rice, that the urban population now comes to prefer.]

Colonialism and neo-colonialism are still very much alive. South Africa has undertaken for some years the policy of the destabilization of the Southern African states: Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola. In order to weaken them politically and economically, South African troops have been invading these countries and the government has been supplying arms to opposition groups to fight national governments. The policy of destabilization has produced millions of refugees and displaced people. This is disrupting the agricultural infrastructure and efforts.

Neither the Atlantic triangular slave trade nor colonialism, nor neo-colonialism has helped Africa build a social, political and economic system to meet the challenge of nature: drought, flood, cyclone, disasters, epidemics, famine and earthquake. Thus the social, political and economic system inherited from the colonial heritage has itself become a source of problems by producing man-made calamities (such as civil wars, secessions, political instability and material underdevelopment) resulting in the creation of millions of refugees and displaced populations. So, Africa today is vulnerable to the vagaries of nature and to man-made calamities. Unprepared for these challenges, many countries in Africa are finding it very difficult to feed their populations.

U.S. Visitors Praise the Status of Religion in Soviet

JUNE 21, 1984

By SETH MYDANS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, June 20 — A delegation of 266 American church leaders, the largest such group ever to visit the Soviet Union, today ended a two-week tour of 14 cities with praise for the status of religion in the Soviet Union and condemnation of the United States role in the arms race.

Leaders of the group, sponsored by the National Council of Churches, also voiced irritation that the harmony of their visit had been marred when two demonstrators, demanding religious freedom, held up banners during a Baptist church service.

The visit came at a time when the Soviet Government has curtailed contacts with the United States. The tour pointed up a growing role assigned to the controlled churches in representing the Soviet Union to the outside world.

An Echo of Official Attitudes

Russian church figures often speak out on themes, such as the deploying of American missiles in Western Europe, that echo their Government's foreign policy positions.

The visit of the Americans drew thousands of words of coverage in the Soviet press, which quoted the visitors as supporting world peace and praising Soviet freedom of religion.

The delegation, which broke into 10 smaller groups to attend Russian Or-

thodox, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Pentecostalist and Baptist services, was an exchange for a trip last month to eight American cities by 19 Soviet religious leaders.

Washington Visitor Impressed

"I was impressed by the numbers of people, the numbers of children, the numbers of middle-aged people," said Charles Perry, provost of the Washington National Cathedral in Washington.

Commenting that he had been under a misconception that the Russian Orthodox Church was "moribund," Mr. Perry added, "I was impressed by the clergy."

"We discovered vital religious communities wherever we went, from Tallinn to Tashkent," said John Lindner, program director of the American-Soviet Church Relations Office of the National Council of Churches. "We've heard of a couple of instances of new churches being built," he said at a news conference for Westerners. He held up a photograph he said had been given to him of a new church.

The remarks reflected similar perceptions voiced in the past by church groups on officially sponsored tours, who have been surprised to find crowded churches and gracious officials.

Some Americans Critical

Speaking privately, several members of the delegation, who asked that their names not be used, criticized their leaders for what they said was an insufficiently forceful presentation of human rights issues. "The message we got right from the start was not to do anything that might insult our Soviet hosts," said one.

Several of the group's statements echoed those of the Rev. Billy Graham, who aroused controversy on a visit here two years ago when he said: "It would seem to me that in the churches I visited — and there are thousands of them — services are allowed to go on freely."

Both Mr. Graham and the leaders of the present delegation said they were impressed by the attendance at churches they visited, though Mr. Perry added: "I understand that the numbers of churches are very small."

A Question of Influence

Asked whether they thought Russian church leaders could be an independent influence for disarmament in the way American religious figures have created a peace lobby, the delegation's leaders said they believed the Soviet Government and people were in basic agreement in their desire for peace.

Asked if Russian churchmen could bring pressure on their Government to return to arms negotiations, Alan Geyer, director of the Center for Theology and Public Policy, in Washington, said: "I think they'd be happy if the talks resumed but there is a widespread feeling in the United States, which I share, that it is not the Soviet Union's fault."

The incident at the Church of Evan-

gelical Christian Baptists in Moscow echoed an event during Mr. Graham's tour. On that occasion, a demonstrator was led away by security men after holding up a banner referring to Baptists imprisoned for worshipping at unregistered churches.

Mr. Graham said later that he had not noticed the incident.

A Scuffle in the Church

During the current visit, two demonstrators unfurled banners, one reading: "This is a persecuted church." They were hustled from the hall after what some members of the American delegation said privately was a scuffle during which "six or eight people were down on the floor."

Describing the incident at the news conference, Bruce Rigdon of the McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago, the tour's leader, said:

"They were asked to leave and they were conducted out by members of the congregation. We believe they are free. I understand that in the United States a situation like this would have been handled by the police."

There was no information on the fate of the demonstrators.

07-13-84

4297

Billy Graham captivates 'secular' Britain in summer-long crusade

By Herbert Williams

Religious News Service Correspondent

LIVERPOOL, England (RNS) — When evangelist Billy Graham went to the northeast of England early in his summer-long crusade here, he was reminded that another famous preacher, D. L. Moody, had described the area as the "graveyard of evangelists."

After all, the biggest evangelical meeting on record up till then had been only 2,500 people in 1946.

Mr. Graham stepped into that gale-swept graveyard — a football stadium on the edge of the North Sea — wearing two pairs of thermal underwear, several jumpers, a heavy overcoat, galoshes and a thick woolen cap.

At the end of the traumatic week it was found that 124,097 people from the thinly populated region had sat in the pouring rain to hear the latter-day evangelist. Of these, 11,785 — nearly 10 percent — stepped forward as inquirers.

On July 14, the 65-year-old preacher, with four of his six Mission England regional crusades behind him, was to begin his northwest mission on the sacred turf of Liverpool Football Club (champions of England and Europe). It represented an even greater challenge, and could probably determine the final outcome of this gigantic three-year project, the biggest religious outreach in British history.

For this is a region which encapsulates the whole spectrum of Britain's problems. The great port is strike-bound, crippled by a national dockers' strike. The coal mines, too, are at a standstill. The city council is in open conflict with the government, and unemployment, drug taking and teenage delinquency ravage the waterfront homes.

A public-opinion poll published on the eve of Mr. Graham's arrival confirmed that the main problems facing local people were widespread unemployment (72 percent put this paramount), problems with the young, and drug-taking, and alcoholism.

Asked what relevance his message could have to such a trouble-torn area, Mr. Graham steered clear of direct comment on the strike issues. But he was adamant that if the Christian message had nothing to say to Liverpool's problems, then it should not be proclaimed at all. Jesus Christ was ready to enter into the heart of all things, he said.

Mr. Graham said he had found a tremendous difference between the attitude of the Christian and the non-believer during private meetings with the unemployed. He said the believer had inner resources of strength, grace and courage which God had given him to tackle the situation. Becoming a Christian did not mean the unemployed automatically got a job, but they did get a new strength and vision.

This willingness of Mr. Graham to embrace Britain's social problems, the willingness to research in advance the cause of local heartaches, has been identified as one of the principal reasons for the success so far of Mission England. His publicity slogan — "Worth Listening To" — has been ringing true.

Several conclusions have already been reached by the organizers. They are:

— Response has been beyond all expectations. Attendance at the four week-long crusades so far totals nearly 700,000. Inquirers have totaled more than 62,000 (including one in ten of the quarter-million who attended the Midlands mission the first week of July). This so exceeds forecasts — it is among the highest in virtually all Mr. Graham's world crusades — that the Mission England budget has been burdened with an extra \$65,000 in expenses to deal with the unexpectedly high number of inquirers.

— The nation's ecumenical climate has been noticeably enriched by Mr. Graham's visit. While in Liverpool, for example, he had private talks with both the Anglican bishop of Liverpool, Dr. David Sheppard, and Roman Catholic Archbishop Derek Worlock. Roman Catholics were among the mission's most active supporters. Nearly 1,200 churches united behind the mission.

— Contrary to official ecclesiastical belief, Mr. Graham has already proved there is an eager religious desire beneath the outward secular appearance of the British.

He told Religious News Service, "I think there is a greater hunger for the simple proclamation of the Word of God than the average churchman in Britain had suspected. We had been warned: many church leaders had told me that Britain had changed and would not respond to the message any more. Yet they are here in greater numbers than ever before. The church itself perhaps has misunderstood the longing in the hearts of ordinary people to hear the Bible explained in simple and authoritative terms."

Mr. Graham himself is undeniably another major reason for the remarkable response to Mission England. There is not a churchman in England like him.

On July 12, he opened his heart to a crowded media conference here, speaking of everything from his own illness in the preceding few days — he was confined to bed with a temperature of 102 — the steady recovery of his wife, Ruth (now with him again for the first time since April 15) after major surgery, to his obvious delight on discovering that this city's great Roman Catholic and Anglican cathedrals are joined by a thoroughfare called Hope Street.

Billy Graham's last visit to this part of Britain was 23 years ago, at the 1961 Greater Manchester Crusade. Little, it seems, has changed: not the man, nor the message, nor the method. Nor, it seems, the success.

07-13-84

4295

Divisions weaken Israel's National Religious Party

By Steve Rodan

Religious News Service Correspondent

JERUSALEM (RNS) — At 72, Yosef Burg says he would like to retire and leave the leadership of his National Religious Party to somebody else.

But there is an election to be fought, and Dr. Burg finds his party is struggling to stay afloat. "These are the cruelest elections we have ever had in Israel," he said.

After years of being the dominant religious party in Israel, the NRP faces the most serious challenge in its political history. It's a hurdle that some analysts doubt the NRP can overcome.

The decline in the NRP represents a new trend in the voting pattern of Israel's religious Jews, estimated to make up nearly 20 percent of the country's Jewish population. As Israel's religious community has grown, it has become more diverse and less supportive of religious parties.

The NRP has become the prime victim of this trend. In 1977, the mainstream religious party won 12 seats in the Knesset and became the fourth largest party in Israel, as well as a major partner in the coalition government of then Prime Minister Menachem Begin. In the last election that took place in 1981, the NRP's representation shrunk to six seats.

This election may see a further decline. Most independent polls assert that the NRP could win only four seats in the next Knesset, elections of which will take place on July 23.

Hanoch Smith, considered one of Israel's most respected pollsters, says Israel's religious Jews have been flocking to the nation's two main parties — the ruling Likud Coalition and the opposition Labor Party. This, in part, led to the gain in Knesset seats for Likud in 1981.

Despite what is regarded as its anti-clerical wing, Labor has attracted religious voters — most of them professionals and academics. Labor's religious voters have formed a group called "Time to Act," which is helping the party monitor voter activity in Hassidic communities in Jerusalem, long hostile to labor.

A spokeswoman for Time to Act said her members believe that the war in Lebanon is an issue with religious significance and as a result, Labor's pledge to pull out of that country soon has attracted some religious support.

In addition, Mr. Smith says the religious vote is being fragmented among several religious parties. For most of Israel's history, two parties captured the religious vote. The NRP took the lion's share of the vote, mainly consisting of modern, socialist-leaning Orthodox Jews, and the Agudath Israel took the non-Zionist Orthodox community.

In this election, however, the two religious parties are joined by newly formed religious movements, including a slate of candidates composed of former members of the NRP.

It is the latter movement that has the NRP clearly worried. The Molasha Party is led by Rabbi Hyam Druckman, a former NRP leader who says his new party will try to unite religious Jews under one banner.

Molasha differs from the NRP. The new party is considered more nationalistic, more Yeshiva-oriented and a greater supporter of Jewish settlements on the West Bank.

Rabbi Druckman says if the NRP had been more sensitive to its constituency, Molasha would not have been formed. The rabbi had been in the forefront of efforts to unite the religious Zionists and even obtained the support of Israeli Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapira.

But negotiations broke down when Dr. Burg and other members of the NRP leadership refused to consider being demoted in favor of what is now the current Morasha leadership. The NRP has not held internal elections for 12 years, so such a move did not have the input of the party's rank and file.

Currently, the two parties appear to be campaigning mostly against each other, and relations between Molasha and the NRP have been tense. One indication of this is the refusal of the NRP to share surplus votes with Molasha. Under this system, two parties can pool their votes that exceed a Knesset mandate to acquire further Knesset representation.

The NRP objects to such an arrangement with Molasha because its partner is Poalei Agudath Israel, a mildly socialist religious party that is not avowedly Zionist. Molasha counters that the NRP signed a surplus agreement with the non-Zionist Agudath Israel in 1977.

Some analysts see Molasha as winning up to two seats in the 120-seat Knesset. More important, Molasha is seen as winning the vote of young religious Israelis.

At the same time, the new party is also expected to give new political life to Poalei Agudath Israel, which was not represented in the last Knesset. Rabbi Abraham Werdigier said he believes the partnership may result in as many as four Knesset seats.

Still, he stresses, his party does not share all the views of the former NRP colleagues. "We are not joining one movement," he said. "We are one list."

07-13-84

4299

Pope says refugees have inviolable right to go home

By Eleni Dimmler

Religious News Service Correspondent

VATICAN CITY (RNS) — Pope John Paul II said refugees have an inviolable right to return home and urged the international community to help host nations to maintain them.

In a message read by a Vatican delegate to the U.N. Conference on assistance to refugees in Africa, held July 9 to 11 in Geneva, the pope said refugees must not be treated as mere "human masses" which must be cared for until they move to another location.

"When you study the projects presented to you, may you look beyond the overall problem of refugees, at the drama lived by each one, the distress of every family," said the pope's message, written in French.

John Paul urged aid organizations to study objectively "the causes that create these situations, because they must cease as soon as possible."

The pope said the refugee conditions "gravely and sometimes mortally wound adults and young people in their human dignity by forcing on them a cultural and family uprooting, by placing them in a state of physical distress and inactivity, by depriving them of the exercise of their social rights."

John Paul urged the international community to help cover the costs of refugees, which single host nations often are unable to cover.

He said refugees' time in exile should be used to help them prepare for a better future, if possible in their homeland, which they have an inviolable right to return to.

The pope said the conference itself "is already a first response to the hopes of millions of refugees who ask that you show them they are accepted, respected, loved, and who, with your aid, will prepare themselves their own future so they can regain one day their place in their own homeland — it is an imprescriptible right — with the gained competence which their time in exile should permit them to acquire."

07-25-84

4411

Domestic criticism of June 'American peace invasion' fails to dampen U.S. church interest in Soviet Union

By J. Martin Bailey
Religious News Service Correspondent

"An American Peace Invasion," was how Soviet church leaders introduced the recent 266-member delegation which spent two weeks visiting 14 cities, meeting with church and government officials and talking with common people. The large group was neither the first church-sponsored visit nor the last, but it signaled a mounting interest on the part of American Christians to get to know their Soviet counterparts better and to develop strategies for closer ecumenical collaboration.

This year has already seen several delegations visit the Soviet Union, and Russian Christians are coming to the United States regularly, as well.

During July, in fact, four women from the USSR participated in the Ecumenical Assembly sponsored by Church Women United on the campus of Purdue University in West Lafayette, Ind. They were returning a visit made last April by 16 American women, also under the auspices of CWU. Emphasizing their role as bridge-builders, the U.S. women called their trip a "peace causeway."

In August, two groups of United Church of Christ people planned to visit the Soviet Union. One was sponsored by the Florida Conference and the other by United Church Board for World Ministries. The latter group also planned to visit churches in Eastern Europe, especially in the German Democratic Republic, where a large number of congregations of the Evangelical Church of the Union (EKU) are located. In 1981, the EKU and the UCC affirmed historic and theological ties as a "full Christian communion." Several community church groups also are sponsoring visits. Other church groups are shuttling back and forth as well, including one that includes members of New York City's Riverside Church.

In October, an official delegation from the governing board of the National Council of Churches will go to the Soviet Union to continue formal discussions of Christian unity concerns that began in 1956. According to Claire Randall, the council's general secretary, this year the principal topic for consideration will be the convergence of views on baptism, Eucharist (Holy Communion) and ministry that has been developed within the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches. Ms. Randall will head the delegation. It is expected that a similar group of Soviet church leaders, representing Evangelical-Baptists, Lutherans, Armenian and Georgian Orthodox as well as the Russian Orthodox Church, will come to the United States in 1985.

The official delegations will be made up of persons who have leadership responsibilities within their own churches. Less formal delegations, such as the group of 20 Soviet Christians that visited 18 American cities in May of this year, include local pastors and lay members. In 1985, there will also be a pair of exchanges of seminary students, according to John B. Lindner, a staff member of the Presbyterian Church (USA) who has been loaned by the Program Agency of his denomination to direct the NCC's Committee on US/USSR Church Relations.

"Peacemaking and human rights were principal issues on our agenda," Mr. Lindner said. "Wherever we went — even in the presentation of symbolic gifts — we tried to leave a clear message with Soviet officials on the importance of justice and rights for all people." As an example, he cited a ceramic dove carried to the Soviet Union by a California farmer that was presented to the mayor of

Moscow. "The dove has both obvious Christian meaning and is a recognized symbol of peace," Mr. Lindner pointed out.

The NCC committee worked with 27 local councils of churches this year in arranging for the May and June visits. The "peace invasion" was led by Prof. V. Bruce Rigdon of Chicago's McCormick Theological Seminary, who is recognized both here and in the USSR as the American who is best informed concerning religious life in the Soviet Union. Rigdon made several trips last year to work with church officials in Moscow in planning the complex itinerary for the 10 separate traveling groups.

"We wanted to meet with religious communities in as many places as possible," he said, speaking of the group's visits to Lutherans in Estonia, Baptists in Moscow and the Ukraine, Armenian and Georgian Orthodox in the USSR's Southwest, as well as Russian Orthodox cathedrals and parishes in many different cities. The group also met with Jews in several cities, including dissident non-practicing Jews in Moscow.

In May, a group of American Baptists under the leadership of the Rev. Priscilla Inkpen went to the Soviet Union to meet with members of the fast-growing Evangelical Baptist Church there. That denomination is looking forward to a preaching visit this fall by Evangelist Billy Graham.

Those who have traveled to Soviet cities have been impressed by overflowing churches, even on weekday mornings when they went unannounced in small groups. But, along with Mr. Lindner, they acknowledge that "there are too few 'working churches.'"

Soon after the 1917 revolution, the officially atheist Communist government seized most of the churches and turned them into museums. In what appears to be a thaw in church-state relations, a number of churches and one major monastery have been returned by the government to the Orthodox Church, and a few new churches have been constructed.

Mr. Lindner noted, however, that in one synagogue he visited in Soviet Georgia, the prayer books in use were printed in 1901 and "were in tatters." The group also found a shortage of Bibles and religious literature.

The improvement in church-state relations was acknowledged by Georgy Arbatov, the Soviet government's top advisor on relations with the United States and Canada. In response to a question during an interview with some members of the June "invasion," Mr. Arbatov said that the Russian churches' commitment to peace had impressed government leaders. One of the Americans present, the Rev. Robert White, of the Reformed Church in America, pointed out that church leaders in the Soviet Union find it difficult directly to criticize their government.

Mr. Rigdon told a national television audience after the group returned that "wherever we went we tried to leave a message with government officials, that the freedom with which Soviet Christians are able to exercise their religious faith will have a direct correlation to our ability to work together as Christian peacemakers."

The Church Women's group "returned with an overwhelming sense of the grief of the Soviet people resulting from the devastating losses they suffered in World War II and with their deep longing for peace," said CWU President Thelma C. Adair. The women's group issued a statement upon their return deploring the fear and mistrust that threatens peace and abhorring "the mutual build-up of nuclear and other instruments of death and destruction."

Mr. Rigdon has emphasized that one of the values of the continued exchanges is that "some of us have come to know each other and to trust one another as Christians. We can speak the truth to each other in love. We do not need to agree, nor certainly to approve what one another's governments do. But, in our small way, we are trying to maintain a climate of openness in which we can be very candid with each other."

Despite criticism by American Jewish groups and editorial writers for the Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal and the Los Angeles Times, the National Council of Churches is expected to announce this fall that the exchange visits will continue next year. "We feel that especially at a time when our two governments are not speaking with each other that the churches must keep their own lines of communication open," Mr. Lindner said.

The writer, editor of the Church World Service magazine CWS Connections, was a member of the group that visited the Soviet Union in June.



United States Holocaust Memorial Council

COMMITTEE OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MILES LERMAN, CHAIRMAN
609-691-7600

July 27, 1984

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
45 E. 89th Street, Apt. 18F
New York, N. Y. 10128

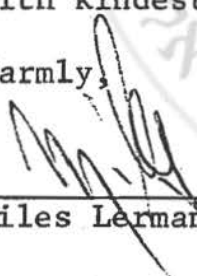
Dear Marc:

As per your request, I am mailing you a photocopy of the letter that we have received from Billy Graham in reply to our request to him to serve on the Honorary Board of the Campaign to Remember for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Once again, my heartfelt thanks to you for assisting me in this matter.

With kindest regards,

Warmly,


Miles Lerman

ML:gg

Suite 832, 425 13th Street, NW Washington, DC 20004
202-724-0779

Billy Graham
EVANGELISTIC ASSOCIATION
TEAM OFFICE

Donald L. Bailey
Director of Media / Public Relations

To: Media Communicator

July 31, 1984

From: Don Bailey

Subject: PRESS PACK/MISSION ENGLAND

At a glance, you can see that the enclosed information is possibly more than you will ever need, however, there is a wealth of important information contained in these pages. Rather than trying to pick what I felt was most interesting, I decided to make a press packet of all of the reports and then let you decide which hold relevance to your needs. Actually, some of the information could be kept in a file for future reference. Most probably it is more than you can use right now---but I do think you will find it enlightening and thrilling when you consider the impact that these meetings have made upon England.

We have had positive comments from a few of you in relation to the availability of our 800 phone number. Once in awhile we had a blip or two over the three month period---but generally speaking it worked well. Forrest Boyd and his cohorts at International Media Service in Washington were very faithful and helpful in receiving the information from England and then placing it on to the cartridge machines. Our thanks to each of you for using the service. In our travels across the United States we ran into numerous instances where we heard the reports and that was most gratifying. If you have comments to make we would appreciate hearing from you. Our aim is to provide you with information that is relevant, fresh, and useable concerning Mr. Graham and his ministry.

Thank you very much.



DB:kn

Enc.: Press Pack

Billy Graham Team Office

P.O. Box 9313

Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, U.S.A.

Phone (612) 338-0500

Cable: BGTEAM—Telex: 29-0259

Donald L. Bailey, Director of Media/Public Relations

CRUSADE
INFORMATION
SERVICE

MISSION ENGLAND

July 30, 1984

QUOTATIONS

"His message has enormous relevance to many of our disillusioned and disaffected young people. Many of them have an enormous vacuum in their lives. What he had to say was inspiring and apposite. Liverpool was once riddled by sectarianism and religious discord. The Missions have helped to bring people of all denominations closer together."

David Alton
M.P. (Liberal)

"Dr. Graham's Mission in England has been, under God, a huge success. Thousands of lives have been changed. In addition, the response to his simple presentation of the need for men and women to make their peace with God, has revealed a spiritual hunger which both our churches and individual Christians must now work to satisfy."

Dr. Brian Mawhinney
M.P. (Conservative)

"My small involvement with Mission England was a gigantic privilege. For many thousands of individuals it was a turning point. I just hope and pray that the church will be big and wise enough to welcome the new members of its family and provide them with the right kind of environment for growth and encouragement. Personally, I'm enormously grateful to have seen the spirit of God work in a way I may never experience again."

Cliff Richard

"I was delighted to meet Billy Graham again and to hear him preach. The response in the Midlands Region to Mission England has strengthened the commitment of church members and drawn in people of all ages. Now it is wholly up to the churches to nurture the new Christians."

The Right Reverend Hugh Montefiore
Bishop of Birmingham

MORE . . .

"Mission England must not be seen in isolation. It is, as Billy Graham had hoped, a major indication of the turning of the tide for the church in Britain. It now remains for us to build on a marvellous beginning. Evangelical Christianity has been affirmed by its major world spokesman. We are grateful for Dr. Graham's courage, devotion and spokespersonship. As was once said of Jesus, 'the ordinary people heard him gladly.' Now, with that same message evangelical Christians in Britain must move out with the 'Good News' to their community."

Clive Calver
General Secretary
Evangelical Alliance

"When I met Dr. Billy Graham in Sunderland as a journalist I found it started a most profound stirring in my heart which I could not fully comprehend. I found understanding in Norwich when I went forward to accept Jesus Christ into my life--a step which has left me with a tremendous sense of joy. I have kept our readers fully informed of everything which I've done and feel that the quite unprecedented response we've had as a newspaper shows that Dr. Graham has awakened a sleeping giant in England--a vast need for an injection of spiritual understanding. My own life is richer for it and I know that hundreds of my readers feel the same way."

John Harper-Tee
Associate Editor
PETERBOROUGH EVENING TELEGRAM

"Despite north east England's heritage of being Britain's cradle of Christianity, it had, in this century, developed a reputation as 'a graveyard for evangelists'. This, however, was disproved to such an extent during Dr. Billy Graham's eight-day visit to Roker Park, Sunderland, that he was prompted to observe that 'Britain could well be on the verge of a great spiritual revival'. Visitors to the stadium said that the warmth of the acclaim extended to Billy Graham was due to the fact that he had something relevant to say about the everyday, contemporary life, whether it be world peace, coping with today's problems, social issues, the family, unemployment, morality, adolescence and youth, as well as Bible teaching. 'People need God and can have a personal relationship with Him'; 'God gives new meaning to life and makes it eternal'; 'You are important to God and He loves you'; 'There is no peace without God' - these and many more like them were the assurances which people from every walk of life, many suffering from all manner of incapacities, took away with them to build upon and cherish."

Maxwell Deas
Tyne Tees Television

"Sales of Bibles have considerably increased since the Mission in Bristol. It's good to know that Christians generally are using Christian literature, especially that designed for young Christians. A new bookshop has been opened in Weston-Super-Mare since the Mission to help meet the demand."

Alan Maynard
Manager of E.C.L. Bookshop, Bristol

"As one who for many years strove to serve his country in national and local government, I am increasingly convinced that our great national problems cannot be solved by political or administrative action alone. The basic truth is 'you cannot have a better world without having better people'. And this can only be achieved by winning the people for Christ. To this great task Billy Graham is making a supreme contribution. I have worked with him for over 30 years, and believe his greatest work still lies ahead."

Sir Cyril Black

"Never in the history of Birmingham has there been such an impact made by the gospel. Billy Graham has preached it in its basic simplicity with profound authority, and in doing so has proved beyond question that when people hear it, they respond to it, and realise their need of new life in Christ. Now the ball is at the feet of Christian people who have an unprecedented opportunity to build upon the foundation that has been laid. Society in Britain can be dramatically changed for the better only when every Christian is motivated by the Holy Spirit to present Christ through a life transformed into His likeness. A tremendous responsibility rests upon Christian leadership and the ministry of local churches to seize the opportunity provided by the momentum of Mission England, and attack on all fronts. I believe it is now or never in a world rapidly heading for disaster. Britain renewed and revived by the Spirit of God could become the spark for world revival. May the Lord grant it before it is too late."

The Reverend Alan Redpath
Birmingham

"Anfield Stadium was our particular focus for Mission England. As a church we have been a hundred per cent committed to it and like many churches in North Staffordshire provided nightly several free coaches. We have been thrilled with the way these have been taken up and as a result I have well over 60 referral forms on my desk. We have up to six nurture groups at the ready and a special stopgap programme for new Christians and enquirers to tide us over the difficult holiday period. We had a thrilling testimony evening last week and a nearly doubled Sunday evening congregation."

The Reverend Colin Day
Vicar of St. Thomas'
Kidsgrove, Stoke-on-Trent

"Mission England has obviously enabled many church members to make their implicit faith explicit in daily life. It has certainly given a lift of expectancy among church members with good reports coming in about glorious Sunday services following Anfield. In addition to the responses, the training of the choirs and other specialist ministries (such as the deaf) have strengthened Christians by helping them discover their relevant skills."

The Right Reverend Bill Flagg
Assistant Bishop of Liverpool

"Members of the Force policing Mission England at Ashton Gate, Bristol, found it a most rewarding and worthwhile experience. During the series of meetings, some quarter of a million people attended at Bristol City Football Ground over the eight days of the campaign, and during that period an outstandingly good rapport was established between the mission organisers and police officers. The senior police officers more closely involved were impressed by the professional approach of all concerned, and the efforts which were made to keep the inconvenience to residents and people passing through the area to an absolute minimum. The warmth of the response from the crowd on the evening of the last meeting paid a high tribute to the efforts of the police officers involved in stewarding during the event. It was a great pleasure for the Force to be involved in this memorable occasion."

Chief Constable
Avon and Somerset Constabulary

"Mission England, with its emphasis on preparation and continuation through the local church, aided by the work of a full-time evangelist, has provided one helpful model for us to explore. The quality of the organisation, the commitment of the Team and particularly the evangelist, and the wide welcome from the denominations have all conspired to make this a memorable occasion. The size of the attendance and the response suggests that many people in this country are not satisfied with their lives as they are at the moment, are willing to explore a Christian solution to that problem and would even come to an open-air meeting and walk forward onto a football field in order to find the help they need."

The Reverend Dr. Donald English
General Secretary
Methodist Division of Home Mission

"I think the most important way that Mission England has benefited us has been the way the churches have come together and worked together in a new way as never before. It has awakened the average church member either into a personal faith that was lacking, or into a realisation that they have a gift to contribute. We have a deep respect in the good leadership and the way in which it was organised and especially the training and equipment of fresh materials. It was the fresh approaches and the new materials produced that has stimulated a desire to be used effectively and we hope to see some more in year three."

The Reverend Hugh MacKay
Minister of Evangelical Free Church
Bath area

MORE . . .

"Concerning Bristol, the great help here was the preparation. We had 50 congregations working together arranging prayer groups, training courses, and all kinds of outreach. I am speaking of the Torbay areas of South Devon - I know of 750 people who were in the prayer triplet groups and many of these groups spoke of new spiritual life in those for whom they prayed. The supporting churches were brought together in a wonderful way so that even if Billy Graham hadn't come to England what happened would have been immensely worthwhile."

The Reverend Peter Larkion
St. Mathias' Church, Torquay

"The choice of Ipswich as one of the venues for Misson England has made a great impact on the churches of Suffolk. Participation before the event enabled the churches to consider their mission, to prepare counsellors, and to look forward to the nurturing of new Christians. By the time that Billy Graham and his Team arrived, there was a great sense of anticipation which transcended denominational boundaries. The Portman Road gatherings confirmed that the high hopes of many were not misplaced. The warmth of the fellowship, the inspiration of the worship, the preaching of the gospel, led on to the solemn yet joyful time when hundreds came forward to make an act of commitment to Christ. Every one of these will be prayed for and referred to the churches. The responsibility is now firmly on the churches to welcome them, cherish them and enable them to grow to maturity."

The Right Reverend John Waine
Bishop of Ipswich

"I am deeply thankful for the very high number of those who have made some Christian response in Liverpool, whether the response has been public or hidden. Many churches have prepared energetically for this week and for the follow-up. My hope is that those Christians who have prayed so faithfully for new blood to come into the life of the church, will also be open to the new ideas which young Christians bring with them. I am particularly glad at the encouragement to new Christians to join small 'nurture groups.' I hope that it will increasingly become normal for churches to have many small groups in which Christians can pray, question, and think through some of the issues of the world. This is one of the ways in which the excitement of the great occasions at Anfield will be translated into lively and enduring service for Christ in the world."

The Right Reverend David Sheppard
Bishop of Liverpool

"The tide has been going out for our country in many respects for a long time. And one of the reasons for that in my estimation is that we have lived as a nation without any word abroad in the land that there was a God to whom we are responsible and one who loved us and cared. And now that message is coming back in full force through Mission England and the ministry of Dr. Billy Graham. I believe that the response of the people indicates that the time has come when people will heed that message, the love of God through Jesus Christ."

The Reverend Tom Houston
President, World Vision International

MISSION ENGLAND

July 30, 1984

GRAHAM ANNOUNCES RETURN TO ENGLAND IN '85

Evangelist Billy Graham announced today that he will return to England for another mission next year.

During his three month, six-city tour of England this summer, which attracted a total attendance of over one million people, Mr. Graham has been considering a long-standing invitation from church leaders in Sheffield.

He will speak at a week-long mission at Sheffield United's Brammall Lane Football Ground, possibly in the summer of 1985. Exact dates are not fixed due in part to Mr. Graham's heavy schedule in America next summer, and the availability of the stadium. Some 2.5 million people and 3,000 churches are in the catchment area which includes Yorkshire, Nottingham and Dergy, extending as far east as Humberside.

It will follow the same pattern as the six missions held this summer and like this year's events, it will be under the umbrella of Mission England. Local Christians will be invited to attend preparatory training courses to help them share their faith personally, and to care for new Christians.

A local co-ordinator, Paul Wells, has already been appointed to oversee the arrangements, and Blair Carlson, a member of Mr. Graham's staff who advised the organisers of the Liverpool Mission, will be moving to Sheffield to help the local committee. The main Executive Committee will be elected in September.

Sheffield churches had hoped to be included in Mr. Graham's itinerary this year but it had not proved possible. Instead, eleven video missions were held in the city, using video recordings rushed from his meetings in Bristol and Birmingham.

Mr. Graham completed his six-city tour of England this summer on Saturday in Ipswich. Following today's press conference he flies to Korea to share in the celebration of 100 years of Christianity there.

Billy Graham Team Office

P.O. Box 9313

Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, U.S.A.

Phone (612) 338-0500

Cable: BGTEAM—Telex: 29-0259

Donald L. Bailey, *Director of Media/Public Relations*

CRUSADE
information
SERVICE

MISSION ENGLAND

July 30, 1984

SUMMARY OF ATTENDANCE AND ENQUIRERS

	<u>ATTENDANCE</u>	<u>ENQUIRERS</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
National Totals as of 30 July, 1984	1,025,664	96,982	9.4

Additional Mission England outreach

Associate Evangelists Extension Meetings (681 meetings)	101,000	(Not Available)
Video Missions	210,000	8,000

Billy Graham Team Office

P.O. Box 9313

Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, U.S.A.

Phone (612) 338-0500

Cable: BGTEAM—Telex: 29-0259

Donald L. Bailey, *Director of Media/Public Relations***CRUSADE**
Information
SERVICEMISSION ENGLAND

July 30, 1984

FACT SHEET

REGION	SW	NE	EA(N)	MIDS	NW	EA(S)	TOTALS
Number of Churches Involved	721	352	850	883	1,194	750	4,750
*Number of Christian Life and Witness Classes	56	36	39	93	88	43	355
*Number Attending Christian Life and Witness Classes	11,690	4,500	5,240	12,711	10,661	5,178	49,980
*Number of Caring for New Christian Courses	150	77	30	1,746	114	66	2,183
*Number Attending Caring for New Christian Courses	7,050	2,940	1,000	2,940	6,380	2,568	22,878
Number of Stewards	700	445	350	821	742	425	3,483
Number of Counsellors	3,907	1,533	1,456	5,802	4,650	2,200	19,548
Number in Choir	2,700	1,802	1,745	2,313	3,700	2,475	14,735
Number in Follow-Up Team	500	381	372	520	850	550	3,173

*Christian Life and Witness Classes - A four-week course to help Christians understand and share their faith more effectively.

*Caring for New Christian Courses - To help people who will be involved with Bible study groups for new committed Christians.

Billy Graham Team Office

P.O. Box 9313
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, U.S.A.
Phone (612) 338-0500
Cable: BGTEAM—Telex: 29-0259

Donald L. Bailey, *Director of Media/Public Relations*

CRUSADE
INFORMATION
SERVICE

MISSION ENGLAND

July 30, 1984

THOSE WHO CAME FORWARD

Billy Graham has said at virtually every meeting that coming forward does not make a person a Christian. Rather it is a public demonstration of person's desire to put Christ first in his or her life. Mr. Graham asks for a public response because most of the people Jesus called to follow Him were called publicly, and an outward action can help reinforce an inward conviction.

Although coming forward is a public act, it is also a personal one, and we do not wish to invade people's privacy by revealing their identities and detailed stories--they alone can decide how public they want their lives to be. However, the following true incidents will convey some of the moving and profound human elements which lie behind the cold statistics.

Young People

About 60 per cent of those coming forward were under 25 years of age...one 17-year-old, with no church background, said, "They never taught me like this at school."

Ten Christians in a school got a local church to pay for a bus so they could take their friends to a meeting. Forty-seven non-Christians came, laughing and joking about the meeting to which they were going, forty of them went forward, and the drive back was rather different.

One lad came forward because he wanted to walk on his soccer team's pitch, but a counsellor met him and led him to faith in Christ. Another gave false information to the counsellor, but came back a few minutes later and confessed, and was shown how to become a Christian.

The police in one stadium kept a close eye on a well-known gang of pickpockets, as they came forward at the invitation. However, instead of coming to take wallets, they came to receive counselling.

Older People

Statistically, number of people coming forward in the 35 to 60 age bracket has been running at a steady level at around 20 per cent, with perhaps another five to seven and a half per cent over 60.

MORE . . .

For one 52 year old man, "Tonight it all jelled for me."

An eighty year old woman living in a retirement home spoke for many with religious background. "I've been in church all my life but this is the first time I've ever made a personal commitment to Jesus Christ."

Another pensioner did not have the courage to go forward. "If I'd been younger I'd have burned by boats and gone," she said--but she had prayed the prayer of commitment in her seat, which is something a significant but quite unquantifiable number of people seem to do, from reports which reach us after missions have ended.

The Professionals

People came from all walks of life to the meetings. One businessman hired a helicopter to bring friends, and the head of a large company went forward. He had made a commitment to Christ as a child but had never declared himself publicly as a Christian.

One businessman came to a meeting under sufferance, wanting to restrain his wife from going forward. When the invitation was given, he got out of his seat first. Another, a highly qualified sales rep, was met by a nervous counsellor. Several times the salesman reassured the counsellor: "You're doing fine," he said, as he was shown the steps to faith in Christ.

Several media people came forward. One reporter phoned his news editor with the statistics of the previous night's meeting. "I know," said the news editor: "I was one of them."

A TV cameraman left his equipment with a colleague and went forward, later saying that his soul was more important than his job. And two young reporters went into the crowd to hear what people were saying. They were met by a counsellor who led them to commitment to Christ.

Several MP's have openly associated themselves with the meetings. One accompanied to the front a friend who wanted to go forward.

Group Decisions

Not everyone who comes forward comes alone. While faith is a personal thing, it affects the web of relationship around a person, and sometimes people go forward together.

A carpet salesman brought a carload of friends to one meeting, none of whom attended church. They heard the Christian gospel for the first time, and all went forward to accept Christ.

A family of seven drove two hours to one meeting because they all wanted to make their commitment together. Many times, families come forward as a group--on one occasion it was a church minister with his wife and daughter, who all wanted to rededicate their lives to Christ.

MORE . . .

Converts Become Evangelists

The new faith a person has often bubbles out of them in a infectious way. People fresh with the joy of new life in Christ are often more effective as evangelists than people who have been Christians for many years.

A woman who became a Christian at one of the early missions had relatives in a city which was the venue for a later mission. She brought her brother and sister to an open-air meeting held as part of the total thrust of the regional mission, and they both accepted Christ.

A young girl accepted Christ. The next day she led a friend to faith in Christ, and wrote for another follow-up book. A week later she phoned her counsellor at 6:45 a.m. and asked for more booklets--two more of her friends had become Christians. Later she reported that another six had come to Christ and the group of ten were now meeting for prayer during the morning break at school.

God's Timing

Christians tend to expect "coincidences", because they believe God is in charge of their movements. Two such coincidences represent others reported this summer.

A woman met a counsellor in a crowd of over 2,000 on the pitch. "You don't know me," she said, "But I know you. I refused to take your literature when you came to my door." The counsellor had also been involved in door-to-door visiting before the mission: the woman had come to the meeting despite her earlier antagonism, and had gone forward to accept Christ.

On another occasion, a counsellor was able to help a vicar's daughter receive assurance of her relationship with God--the counsellor was also a vicar's daughter.

Behind the Scenes

It is not only those who come forward who have stories to tell. Even more unsung are those Christians working for the mission behind the scenes.

A honeymoon couple gave up the chance of a holiday of a lifetime to clean the toilets at one stadium.

A 70-year-old woman fell and five stitches in her head. That night she reported for duty as usual in the follow-up room after the meeting. "I wasn't going to let a little thing like that stop me," she said.

And behind the crystal-clear sound at the meetings lies the faith of 29-year-old Mike Spratt. His small firm, Wigwam Acoustics, bought the equipment needed for such a huge operation before they had the contract. "We just knew it was the right thing to do," he said.

Billy Graham Team Office

P.O. Box 9313

Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, U.S.A.

Phone (612) 338-0500

Cable: BGTEAM—Telex: 29-0259

Donald L. Bailey, *Director of Media/Public Relations*

CRUSADE
INFORMATION
SERVICE

MISSION ENGLAND

July 30, 1984

PERSONAL STATEMENT BY BILLY GRAHAM

The arrival of the Olympic Torch in Los Angeles and the opening of the Summer Olympic Games marks an historic moment for people all over the world. For the athletes who compete, this summer will be remembered as perhaps the most momentous of their lives.

As we look at this summer and the past three months of our involvement in Mission England, we consider it to be one of the most historic and momentous periods of our entire ministry. During our 40 years of public evangelism, there have been some major turning points:

- the Los Angeles, California meetings of 1949 first brought national recognition of our Crusades across America.
- in 1954 we held 12 weeks of meetings in Harringay Arena in London with a final meeting drawing over 120,000 to Wembley Stadium with an overflow at White City Stadium. This led to international recognition and we began receiving invitations from all over the world to come and preach the Gospel.
- in 1957, our meetings in Madison Square Garden in New York City were extended week after week until we had preached every night for a total of 16 weeks.

And yet, we consider our three months of involvement in Mission England to be among the times in which we have witnessed a great demonstration of the power of God. This summer of public evangelism has been historic. As far as I know, never have people in such large numbers gathered in England during the last century to hear the Gospel. And never in our ministry have we seen such a large percentage of the audience respond to the invitation to come to Christ.

The attendance at the meetings and the response to the invitation have been two of our greatest surprises during this mission. When we arrived, I was concerned that we had scheduled football stadiums that were too large. In fact, they turned out to be too small. In Bristol, Birmingham, and Liverpool, thousands of people had to watch the meetings on a large outdoor television screen outside the stadium because they couldn't get in.

MORE . . .

In several of the regions, we were told not to expect a large attendance, and yet the people came by the thousands. This large attendance has been a strong indication of the tremendous hunger of people for the simple, authoritative, urgent and even repetitive preaching of the Gospel.

The overwhelming response of people to the call to receive Christ has been another surprise. During these Mission England meetings, we have seen more than twice the number respond to the invitation to receive Christ than we saw during the three months of meetings at Harringay in 1954. This has been a landmark for a united campaign of evangelism in Britain. Everywhere we have gone, churchmen of all denominations have told me they have been amazed at the ordinary person's response to the Gospel.

We have also been surprised and delighted at the extent of church cooperation and involvement in these missions. As far as I can tell nearly all denominations have been involved in some way. In addition, a great many small fellowships, assemblies and house churches have joined hands with us in this cooperative effort of bringing the Gospel to the people of Britain. During this mission, we have had some 20 Anglican bishops join us on the platform, far more than any of our past missions here in the United Kingdom.

Earlier in the year the Archbishop of Canterbury gave a reception for church leaders from across the country. His support has been heartening and encouraging to us throughout the mission.

I don't believe that the impact of religion in Britain can be judged by church membership statistics. There are deep moral values present in Britain which have their roots in Christianity. A stream of evangelical spirit and commitment to Christ still runs deeply in this country.

Because of the tremendous church cooperation, I believe that the follow-up of new Christians will be the finest of any series of meetings we have ever held in this country. I leave with a sense of great satisfaction that the new believers will be cared for and welcomed into the fellowship of churches all across Britain.

Another surprise has been the number of opportunities given us through radio and television. We have received more coverage than all our previous missions in Britain combined and have had far more requests for interviews than we were able to fulfill. The Sunday night service from Sunderland was carried live by the BBC Radio World Service to a worldwide audience estimated at 60 million. We are grateful to BBC radio and television, ITV television, local and regional radio and television stations, to British Telecom and others who helped set up land-line relays to hospitals, and for the people behind the video exterior missions.

We have also received extensive, fair and even sympathetic coverage from the press, largely in the regional papers in the areas of our missions. We are thankful for their interest and their willingness to report the extensive news of these meetings.

MORE . . .

I would like to see people in the press and the media give more time to the Christian faith here in Britain. I'm sure they would find an overwhelmingly positive response from their audiences. Because of the tremendous interest in sports, it is regularly reported as news. Yet, in every region where we have been, football managers have told us that there are more people attending the Mission England meetings than usually attend football matches. On almost any given Sunday during football season, more people will be in church than were in football stadiums on Saturday. I think the press and media have a responsibility to consider these factors as they plan their coverage of news and events of interest to people.

Our hospitality in Britain has been of great encouragement to us throughout this spring and summer of meetings. We have been warmly and graciously received, and for that we are most grateful. I have spent so much time here that I feel as much at home in the UK as I do in America.

Another of my great surprises is the fact that I was physically able to complete this demanding schedule. I attribute that to God answering the prayers of thousands of people around the world. I arrived in England tired from a mission in Alaska and weakened from a persistent sinus infection. Just a week before our missions began in Bristol, I underwent surgery in London for the sinus problem and then went promptly into a very busy week of interviews and receptions. The cold, rainy weather of Bristol was just what the doctor had told me to avoid, yet we went ahead with the mission.

I'm pleased to say that I am physically fine though a few days of rest would be welcome. God has been especially gracious to our whole group, both British and American, some of whom have worked non-stop for over a year.

Whether or not I return to Britain in the near future for evangelistic meetings is problematical. I'm quite sure I will never be back for such a long series of meetings again. We have received invitations from a number of cities in England, Scotland and Wales. We have accepted an invitation from Sheffield if the dates can be worked out for the football stadium, and in light of our own very heavy American schedule for next year.

Several years ago, the Governor of Osaka, Japan, gave a reception for some five hundred secular and religious leaders. He told us: "Christianity has grown only one per cent in Japan since the 17th century and I think I know why. It has never been made clear to the Japanese people. I challenge you, Dr. Graham, to make it clear and simple. The Japanese people need what Christianity has to offer at this hour of our history."

As we leave, I would leave this challenge with the churches of Britain. Make the Gospel clear and simple. Even the most intelligent, the most intellectual person will respond to clear, simple, authoritative and urgent presentation of the Gospel message. During the years past and this summer as well we have seen thousands of students and many of their professors respond to the simple message of faith in Jesus Christ.

The prophet Amos spoke of a time when there would be a famine in the land, "Not a famine of food or a thirst for water, but a famine of hearing the words of the Lord." (Amos 8:1) If that famine has existed in Britain, I hope it is coming to an end.

The three year programme of Mission England has brought religious faith into the open as a talking point in everyday conversation in many regions of Britain. I believe that in some strange and unique ways, the events of this past summer such as the theological controversy, the York Minster Fire, and even the unusual earthquake, have served to shake people from their apathy and cause them to consider what the Bible really does have to say about life and God.

Mission England has brought together probably the most efficient, gifted and dedicated staff that has ever been involved in an evangelistic effort of this kind. Without their leadership and support, these meetings could never have been held.

Another factor undergirding these meetings has been that of worldwide prayer. I have never seen such prayer interest and commitment in so many countries for a single evangelistic event. We have received letters from all over the world saying, "We are praying for you and for Mission England."

For the results and the impact of these meetings, I want to say that we give all the glory to God. We feel very strongly that this has been His time and His place. The atmosphere was right, the fields were ripe for harvest and God gave the strength and knowledge to pursue it.

Almost every night, we have sung "To God be the Glory" at our meetings. It is the thanksgiving of our hearts to God. "Great Things He Hath Done."

As we leave, we are passing the torch to the churches of Britain. Three months ago, they handed the torch to us with the invitation to run one leg of the relay race in which they were already involved. It is a race we all share with the followers of Christ down through the centuries who have answered his call to take the Gospel to every person.

Our leg of the relay race is finished and we return the torch to those who gave it to us early this summer. We leave with a great thankfulness for the privilege of co-laboring together and a great confidence in the spiritual commitment and fervor of the churches of Britain.

You have a whole new generation of British evangelists. They are fine men who are doing a great work for God. I would like to see the churches, and press and the media get behind them in the same way you have supported us.

In spite of the troubles and difficulties we see blaring at us almost daily from the front pages of our newspapers, I see great hope for the future in this country. Many thousands have opened their lives to Christ this spring and summer. If, through their witness, many thousands of others respond, what could happen in his society through this committed minority who have turned to God?

MORE . . .

As I rode away from Anfield Stadium on July 21, following the final meeting in Liverpool, I could hardly believe what had taken place in that city. In a city where some people have said "There is no hope," we saw thousands finding new hope for their lives and for a new generation standing at the crossroads. We pray that this generation might turn to God.

As I leave Britain with such warm memories, I do not say good-bye, but au revoir - till we meet again.

-30-



Billy Graham Team Office

P.O. Box 9313

Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, U.S.A.

Phone (612) 338-0500

Cable: BGTEAM—Telex: 29-0259

Donald L. Bailey, *Director of Media/Public Relations*

CRUSADE
information
SERVICE

MISSION ENGLAND

July 30, 1984

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE BILLY GRAHAM MISSIONS

1. Public Awareness and Attitudes

Several Gallup Poll surveys were taken during the summer--locally, before the Bristol, Sunderland and Liverpool Missions, and nationally before the Birmingham Mission. The following factors were revealed:

- A. There was a high public awareness of Billy Graham's meetings: nationally 74 per cent knew of the missions, locally the figures rose to 93 per cent in Bristol, 87 per cent in Liverpool and 84 percent in Sunderland.
- B. Almost half of every group polled said Mr. Graham had something relevant to say in Britain today.
- C. A surprisingly high proportion claimed to be religious--68 per cent in one survey. Many also claimed to pray or meditate every day: 21 per cent in Sunderland, and 32 per cent in Liverpool (including 21 per cent of those there who never go to church).
- D. In Liverpool, 64 per cent of non-church goers believed Jesus was the Son of God, also a surprisingly high figure.

2. Grassroots Support

- A. No exact figures are available for the numbers of people actively involved. A conservative estimate would suggest about 5,000 churches have fully participated in the mission and thousands more have given some support. At least 50,000 people have worked as counsellors, stewards, choirs and house-to-house visitors. Also, 50,000 took the Christian Life and Witness series of four classes, which helped people understand and share their faith. And 30,000 to date have taken the Caring for New Christians Course, so they could assist with the Nurture Groups to which enquirers are referred. At least 30,000 Christians were involved in 10,000 prayer triplet groups, each group praying for nine friends by name.
- B. People travelled long distances to the meetings. For example, coaches and trains came to Bristol from Cornwall, to Sunderland from Scotland and to Birmingham from Luton.

MORE . . .

- C. Huge numbers of coaches were involved. In Liverpool, for example, 500 coaches a night (700 on one occasion) lined two miles of roads: police are used to handling only 100 coaches for an average football match at Anfield. The final meeting at Ipswich on a Saturday afternoon had to be held at 6:00 p.m. instead of 3:30 p.m. because police said the town could not cope with the extra traffic on an already busy shopping day.
- D. People took their holidays to support the mission. From police to journalists, professional people gave up their holidays to use their skills free of charge during the missions. One couple even spent their honeymoon cleaning portable toilets at one of the stadiums.

3. Attendances and Responses

The figures are given in a table included in this press pack. Certain points should, however, be noted in addition:

- A. The attendance at Bristol exceeded that expected at football matches and on the final day came within 4,000 of the ground record.
- B. There had never been an attendance at a religious meeting higher than 2,500 in the north east before the mission.
- C. The percentage response of over nine per cent (that is, those who go forward at the end to seek further spiritual help taken as a percentage of the attendance that day) may be compared to the average four to five per cent normally seen at similar missions in the USA.
- D. The response of 11.4 per cent on the opening night in Liverpool was the highest ever first-night response in Mr. Graham's entire 40-year-ministry.
- E. An average of 55 per cent of those who go forward have registered a "first-time commitment" (as opposed to "rededication" or "seeking assurance"). This, too, is higher than normally seen by the Graham Team, which is 35 to 40 per cent.

4. Youth Response

An average of over 60 per cent of the enquirers (the people who go forward) have been under 25 years of age. This is higher than the response seen by Billy Graham in the USA and elsewhere, and reveals that Christianity has not been rejected by young people as is sometimes supposed.

MORE . . .

5. Response to Broadcasts

- A. BBC Radio 4 and the World Service broadcast a meeting from Sunderland live, with an estimated audience of 60 million listeners. Another meeting from Sunderland was networked by ITV the Sunday after. A special office set up in Sheffield handled hundreds of letters following the broadcasts.
- B. The Birmingham Mission was for British Telecom one of the most extensive use of land-lines they had ever undertaken. Hospitals around the country took the meetings live over the hospital radio system, and 220 telephone lines, hooked up to the meetings to enable the housebound to listen in, were fully loaded.

6. Official Church Support

- A. In January, the Archbishop of Canterbury hosted a reception for church leaders to meet Mr. Graham. His personal message assuring his prayers and support was read to the audience on the opening night in Bristol.
- B. Over 20 Anglican Bishops attended mission meetings during the summer, some of them bringing public messages of support to the platform. Among those who spoke or said prayers were Hugh Montefiore (Birmingham), Kenneth Gill (Assistant Bishop of Newcastle), David Sheppard (Liverpool), Maurice Wood (Norwich), John Wayne (Ipswich), John Bickersteth (Bath and Wells).
- C. The Methodist Conference sent an official message of support to the Birmingham Mission from its meeting in nearby Wolverhampton, and it encouraged its member churches to give their full support to the remaining Mission England programme. The Reverend Amos Cresswell, President of the Conference, personally brought greetings from the Conference to one of the meetings.
- D. Leaders of other denominations were much in evidence. Local Baptists, Brethren, Methodists, Salvationists, other Free Church leaders and Roman Catholics gave their public support or attended meetings with their colleagues and congregations.
- E. In many areas, the inter-church cooperation has developed such deep relationships that it is likely to find other, more spontaneous expressions in the future.
- F. Many newspapers gave editorial endorsements of Mr. Graham and the missions. One national daily suggested Mr. Graham would make a good Bishop and an even better Archbishop.

MORE . . .

7. "Extension" Ministry Widened Influence

Alongside Billy Graham there was a Team of American and British evangelists working together in schools, prisons, factories, home groups, and at open-air meetings in parks and shopping centres. The figures for their meetings are enclosed. Their meetings took the Christian message to some people who would not have come to the stadiums, and they also encouraged others to attend the main meetings.

8. Platform Guests

A number of well-known people sang or spoke from the platform during the missions. Pop singer Cliff Richard sang at both the Bristol and Birmingham Missions, and country and western singer George Hamilton IV has had a warm welcome at several missions. He and other singers such as Jimmy Mamou, a former rock star who came to Christian faith after sliding into the drug culture, also worked with other evangelists in the extension ministry. Christian singer/songwriter Graham Kendrick led the preliminary worship at most of the meetings. Among those who shared their Christian experience from the platform were Brian Mawhinney, MP; David Gough, a surgeon; Fiona Castle, wife of entertainer Roy Castle, and Dave Merrington and Joe Brown, both involved in football.

9. Video Extension

- A. Meetings in Bristol and Birmingham were videotaped. A scheme is in operation whereby churches, singly or in cooperations, and other Christian groups, can buy four video tapes for a mini-mission in their area.
- B. So far 185 have been booked, and about 150 have already taken place. Some 210,000 people have attended video missions so far, and more than 8,000 have responded to the invitation (over four per cent).

10. Wide Media Coverage

Mr. Graham commented several times with gratitude for the extensive media coverage of his visit, which revealed that the grassroots interest in Christianity is both widespread and newsworthy. He received 160 requests for private interviews, of which only 91 could be accepted in the time available.

During Mr. Graham's visit this summer, over 1,700 articles or news stories about his meetings have appeared in more than 390 publications, including 28 national journals or newspapers, 333 regional papers, and 29 religious journals.

Broadcast coverage of the actual meetings has also been unprecedented. Two meetings were recorded for national television broadcast, one by BBC and another by Independent Television. One meeting was broadcast live on National Radio 4 and simultaneously carried on the BBC world service to millions of listeners around the world.

Services from each region were carried by local BBC and Independent Radio and the Hospital Network carried almost every meeting. Viewers and listeners were given a special address and telephone number to receive counselling materials.

During the week of 6 August, there will be a series of five major television broadcasts on BBC-2 at prime evening time. Four will feature in-depth interviews with Mr. Graham and the fifth will be the mission meeting recorded earlier in Birmingham.



CBS NEWS

A Division of CBS Inc.
524 West 57 Street
New York, New York 10019
(212) 975-4321

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

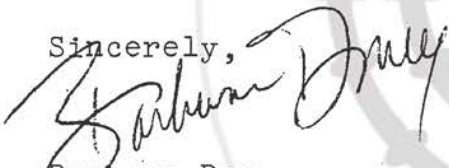
August 1, 1984

Thank you for your July 10th letter to Mike Wallace. Mr. Wallace is presently on assignment for "60 Minutes", and he has asked me to respond.

Enclosed is the transcript that you requested with an interview with Rev. Billy Graham. (Please note: Mr. Safer conducted that interview). I'm afraid "60 Minutes" did not start using tape until 1976, so a video cassette is not available of that segment.

If you have any further questions, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,



Barbara Dury
Assistant to Mike Wallace

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Director
International Relations Department
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, NY 10022

Encl.

TRANSCRIPT

All copyright and right of copyright in this transcript and in the broadcast are owned by CBS. This transcript may not be copied or reproduced or used in any way (other than for purposes of reference, discussion and review) without the written permission of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

See page 15

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES 60 MINUTES VOLUME III NUMBER 9

as broadcast over the

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Tuesday, January 5, 1971

10:00-11:00 PM, EST

With CBS News Correspondents Morley Safer and Mike Wallace

PRODUCED BY CBS NEWS

EXECUTIVE PRODUCER: Don Hewitt

FEDERICO FELLINI: When I was about seven years old my parents took me to the circus. I remember the clowns. They really shocked me. I didn't understand what they were, whether they were animals or ghosts. I now realize that I was to be a clown just like them, making pictures, working in the circus of the cinema.

MIKE WALLACE: Number 471 Graham Avenue. It used to be a condemned tavern. It was bought by a real estate speculator for \$1800 in November of 1969. He did some electrical work, some plumbing and heating work, about \$3,000 worth - and the FHA approved a mortgage for \$20,000.

REPRESENTATIVE WRIGHT PATMAN: There's bound to be corruption in this program somewhere. It couldn't exist that way otherwise.

WALLACE: The traditional Jewish marriage ceremony performed in a Communist country. The center of the Jewish community in Romania is in the synagogue of Rabbi Rosen. The survival of the Jewish community for over 20 years has depended on his reading of the political situation, on his intuition in knowing just how much independent expression would be tolerated.

I'm Mike Wallace.

SAFER: I'm Morley Safer. Those stories and more tonight on 60 MINUTES.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

SAFER: It has been my experience that artists are not nearly so fascinating or interesting as their art. John Milton, who enriched English literature beyond measure, was a whining old bore; and many artists who seem remote hermits are only that way because they find that, as people, they are tongue-tied, that their only means of communications is their art, of putting words on paper, paint on canvas or molding clay into a form that their own inner eye sees, a form beyond the simple dimensions seen by ordinary folk. Most great artists are lonely men.

But when the artist happens to be a film maker, his vision can only materialize through many different people. Of the great film makers of today, Federico Fellini is truly a magician. His magic expresses his own obsessions, his own fantasies. "La Strada," in 1955, his first great film, where he transformed his wife, Giulietta Masina, into the pathetic character of Gelsomina. "The Nights of Cabiria" in 1957, with Masina again, as a prostitute with too large a heart. In "La Dolce Vita," permissiveness became a style, and Marcello Mastroianni a star. Now, ten years later, "Fellini-Satyricon," his vision of the decadence of ancient Rome.

But Fellini does not want to be remembered by the films he has already made. He only wants to think about the next one.

FELLINI: You have to live with your picture just the time that she needs it, it needs you, but when that is finished you have - you have to try to forget completely, because otherwise you run the risk to be eaten from your creature, you know, especially that if your creation is very alive. The more alive, more powerful is the creation of an artist, the more danger there is that this creation try to eat his creator. So as soon as I finish a picture I try to forget completely what I have done, and certainly if the picture is a success, if the picture has good review, good criticism, I am happy.

(MUSIC)

SAFER: We recently watched Fellini direct his latest film, "The Clowns." It is a personal and nostalgic look at the world of the circus mixed up with his own childhood memories.

FELLINI: It recalled many memories. How I was attracted by thesefigures, pathetic and majestic, with their abstract and strange pantomime.

When I was about seven years old my parents took me to the circus. I remember the clowns. They really shocked me. I didn't understand what they were, whether they were animals or ghosts. I now realize that I was to be a clown just like them, making pictures, working in the circus of the cinema.

Being faithful to the script, which is done beforehand, is absolute. On paper, one can only simulate what the thing will be. But it will always be different. The film's length and breadth will be as unpredictable as any living creature. Unpredictable and real. For this reason, the film slowly gives me the impression that it is not me who is directing, but the film that is directing me.

Faces are the medium with which I express myself; my fantasy, my story. Faces are the first real contact with what already exists in my imagination. I look at people, actor or not actors, and their faces say to me: Look at us, everyone of us is a little bit of your film.

It's as if the film already existed. It is just a matter of going around in search of it, to recognize it.

Every one of my films is a trip. Every trip starts in complete confusion, full of contradictions. When the atmosphere is good, everyone embarks on the trip looking for its meaning as the film is being made. It's like the crew of a ship.

Directing an actor or someone who is not an actor, but has a part to play in the film, is the story of a relationship, of a friendship of likes and dislikes. I cannot work in a state of sadness. Usually I need around me an atmosphere of gaiety. I'm not the kind of

director who likes silence, who has to work alone, without company or curiosity. In that sense, I am really a man of the circus. I need to feel at home - to create a little family. I believe that the film derives richness and strength from the moods and temperaments of all the participants. So I need to have around me people I like, or people I frankly dislike, but who have a strong personality. I mean people who do not correspond to professional labels like cameraman, script girl or assistant director. I mean people like my wife, Giulietta, or Liana, Alvero, Gasperino. Real people, friends, that I know very well.

SAFER: It is difficult to imagine anyone more Roman than Federico Fellini. He refuses to work in a foreign environment. If he made a film in New York, he says he would not know what sort of shoes or clothes a character would wear. Unlike many other Italian film directors, Fellini is not politically oriented, but his vision is very much influenced by the pressures of Italian life, especially that of the Catholic Church.

FELLINI: Real religion should be something that liberates men. But churches don't want free men who can think for themselves and find their own divinity within. When religions become organized, it is no longer a religious experience but only superstition and estrangement. Childhood of my generation was conditioned by a sense of duty, by ideals, myths and taboos of the pagan.

SAFER: The Federico Fellinis at home. It has the look of conventional, Italian middle class comfort. On Sunday mornings, with Giulietta, he sits on his terrace reading Rome's popular press. Superficially, he is another tired suburban husband. But as an artist he is always alone, in the middle of his own work, making his own fantasy. It is only through his subconscious that Fellini the magician appears.

FELLINI: What I call magic is the power in each of us to create something. All creators are magicians. And artists are too, when they work in the dimension of fantasy that they then materialize. An artistic creation is an extremely scientific operation, yet, at the same time it is irrational, intuitive, emotional. One needs to recognize faces, things, colors, objects, the (indistinct). Sometimes pulling a little tail, one finds an elephant at the other end.

I consider myself a lucky man. I only do what I know and can do and no one asks me what I don't want to. All told, my work is not real work, but just a long vacation. When I am asked what my hobby is, I never know what to answer I don't seem to have any. But if I were really sincere, I would say that my hobby is film making and I make films because this seems to be my life.

SAFER: The artist as a contented man. Fellini's imagination and vitality seem unlimited. His style and technique has probably affected film making more than that of any other in the past ten years. Now fifty, how does he feel about aging?

1/5/71

FELLINI: [If there is a little wisdom in becoming older and older, I think that it is just to forget to try to know who you are.] To try to know who you are in terms of moralism, in terms of idealism, you know, you lose time. [When you know that you are exactly so-and-so, so what?]

SAFER: Fellini speaks in a very healthy-minded way. We asked him if he has any fears, anxieties, or hang-ups of middle age?

FELLINI: Yes, the physical decadence bothers me. To be obliged, for example, don't make love six times a day, like in the past time.

SAFER: Six times a day.

FELLINI: Five.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

WALLACE: "The Department of Housing and Urban Development and its Federal Housing Administration may be well on the way toward insuring itself into a national scandal."

That charge is made in a scathing report by the House Banking and Currency Committee to be released in Washington tomorrow morning. The report focuses on the FHA 235 program, a program designed to make it possible for people who previously couldn't afford to own their own homes - to do just that.

Under FHA 235, with just \$200 down, a low or moderate income family can buy a home. The FHA helps. It appraises the house, says the house is worth what the seller is asking. Then the FHA guarantees the mortgage and pays almost all the interest on it.

Since FHA 235 began two years ago, more than 100,000 homes - new and old - have been purchased under it. More than a billion and a half dollars have been committed by the taxpayer to back up those purchases, and all the while the Congress has received a stream of complaints from those who have bought these FHA 235 homes.

It is those complaints that triggered the investigation by the House committee. Its chairman, Wright Patman, is satisfied there is substance to the complaints and he told Housing and Urban Development Secretary George Romney just that.

PATMAN: I called Mr. Romney's attention to the fact that the law is not working. It's greatly abused. It contains many terrible scandals. It's a detriment to the people who are involved in the purchasing of homes under these contracts and possibly cause them great harm in the future. And something should be done about it immediately. It should be stopped. It's too much of a national scandal now to be allowed to go on.

WALLACE: When Chairman Patman says "national scandal" he is talking about a house like this one in Washington, D.C. Bought by a speculator for \$10,000, sold by him three months later, with FHA approval and a 235 mortgage for \$17,500, despite 30 major housing code violations.

Or this house in Washington. A speculator bought this one for \$9,700. He got FHA approval for a 235 mortgage and sold it for \$15,800, despite a dozen building code violations.

Or this rather nice looking house in Paterson, New Jersey, \$1900 and sold eight months later, after rehabilitation, for almost \$19,000. Until a week ago the owner, a widow with six children, had no heat on the first floor.

We'll look more closely at an FHA 235 sale later in this report, but first let's take a look at some other aspects of what Chairman Patman calls "a national scandal."

Elmwood Park, a subdivision in St. Louis County, Missouri. New homes here, and FHA 235 guarantees mortgages on these, too. Thirty-two new homes bought by people trying to get out of public housing projects, trying to make a better life for themselves and their children. Thirty-two home owners - all disappointed, all angry.

Paul Broiles is typical. He is head of the newly formed Elmwood Park Homeowners Association.

BROILES: A year ago we bought these houses from \$14,000 to \$16,000. Sight unseen. And because the mortgages were guaranteed by the FHA, we felt as though the houses would be worth from \$14,000 to \$16,000. We were also told that the neighborhood would be integrated. But the houses aren't worth from \$14,000 to \$16,000 and the neighborhood isn't integrated. A lot of the houses have leaking basements. And if you're one of the lucky ones, then the builder gives you a pump, which pumps right out into the backyard. It's got the place looking like a swamp around here. The back steps are - from anywhere from, let's say, ten inches to almost two feet from the ground and if a child - for a small child or a crippled person, it's impossible to use them. So they're just totally useless. We even had one house where the - where the ceiling is beginning to come in, where the roof leaked on the plaster and, well, the ceiling is dropping. We have several of the basements with uncovered insulation. It was never covered up. It's coming out of the walls. And we asked the builder about it. He said they were finished. Well, they're not finished with me and they're not finished with the people that's buying them. Now, they all got showers but the builder never bothered to put the tile in the shower stall. We asked the builder about it and he comes out with "Supposed to be a waterproof paint." It's not waterproof and it just falls in. When you stop and think you got 30 years to pay for a house that's falling in in one year - in less than one year - well, what would it look like in ten?

WALLACE: After talking to Mr. Broiles and seeing the conditions in Elmwood Park, we tried to talk with the builder of these homes. He refused comment and hung up on us.

On the West Coast, a similar story, except at Frontier Homes outside Seattle the home owners are white. There are 57 homes in this subdivision, in the \$13,000 to \$18,000 range. Good-looking homes, it would seem to somebody driving through. But though they are just one year old, they have already been classified "an instant slum" by an investigator for the Banking and Currency Committee. Mrs. Donna Tetzlaff's \$17,000 home is typical, she says,

MRS. TETZLAFF: I have many problems with my house. It's a little over a year old and it's falling apart. Here is an example. This is common with these houses. I have water in my light fixtures from the bathtub upstairs. The water was coming out this outlet. It was repaired. Now, it's coming out here. They came out and fixed the floor. You'd walk in the front door, the whole house would shake. This is the patchwork repair. We've complained to the builder. We've complained to FHA. And we have complained to the Congress. All we get is a runaround and patchwork.

WALLACE: The Tetzlaffs and the rest of the homeowners here have organized, and they are suing. But many are not waiting. "For Sale" signs dot this community of new homes. But Frontier homeowners are having trouble selling, because the reputation of the subdivision is no secret. For them, and for the Elmwood Park homeowners, in Missouri, all the FHA says it can do is try to persuade the builder to take action by suggesting that he might - in the future - have trouble doing business with the FHA, unless he fixes what's wrong. Beyond that, the homeowners are simply stuck. But in even worse shape are some of the people who bought old houses with the help of FHA 235.

A case in point in Paterson, New Jersey. The 400 block on Graham Avenue, obviously in decay. "For Sale" signs on almost every house. And yet, there is a \$20,000 house on this street, according to the FHA, which approved and helps to pay the mortgage on it, in that amount. Number 471 Graham Avenue. It used to be a condemned tavern. It was bought by a real estate speculator for \$1800 in November of 1969. He did some electrical work, some plumbing and heating work, about three thousand dollars worth. He was notified by the City of Paterson that the work being done on this house, the conversion from tavern to residence, was in violation of the law. Still, he sold the house, had the FHA appraise it and the FHA approved a mortgage for \$20,000.

Living in it now are William Gurley, a truck driver, his wife and six children. They like their home - even though the old bar lights are still on the ceiling and the old bar still lines their living room wall. They like it, but the City of Paterson says they have to leave it.

GURLEY: Well, the city's trying to get us out.

WALLACE: The City of Paterson? Why?

GURLEY: Because (indistinct) was a tavern and it wasn't fit for living quarters.

WALLACE: Do I understand that you want to sell this house now, Mr. Gurley?

GURLEY: Yes, I would sell it.

WALLACE: Why?

GURLEY: Well, because if it's not fit for living quarters, I'll sell it and get my money back out of it.

WALLACE: And the City of Paterson says it's not fit for living quarters?

GURLEY: That's right.

WALLACE: So the Gurleys won't be able to sell their house. The City of Paterson won't let another buyer take it. The FHA can do nothing for the Gurleys, so the Gurleys' only hope is to try to track down the original speculator and sue him. In the meantime, though, they have been ordered to vacate 471 Graham Avenue by February First. So they lose, the FHA loses, the taxpayer loses. The speculator does not.

How does all this happen? I talked with Eugene Gullege, Assistant Secretary at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the man in charge of FHA 235.

235 can be a haven for a fast buck operator, a shoddy operator, a quick get-in, quick get-out artist.

GULLEGE: I think it can be; it has been. I don't think it's going to continue to be. I think we, administratively, have been able to recognize the fact that this is drawing flies like honey, and as a consequence we've been able to erect some proper safeguards to - certainly reduce to a minimum the possibility that fast buck artists are operating in this particular field, to the detriment of the homeowner. We have been aware of some of these activities. We have moved to correct those of which we've been made aware. We've issued directives and instructions to warn our offices about the possibility of this type of activity going on. Another thing is that we have instituted steps to make certain that people who buy houses for the purpose of re-selling them, a purchaser-seller in this particular case, sometime called a speculator - but that's a - that's a language people don't like to

use sometimes; it has unsavory connotations. But a purchaser-seller, he has got to certify to us now - he hasn't been doing it - but now he has to certify to us what he paid for it, what he's done for it and what his costs of repair were, all on a form which in case there - there is deception or fraud, he can be prosecuted for having done so.

WALLACE: How long ago did this regulation go into effect?

GULLEGE: Oh, it's just gone into effect in the past two weeks.

WALLACE: How come it took almost two years to get this kind of watchdog regulation?

GULLEGE: The reason we didn't do it two years ago instead of now is frankly we didn't know the problem existed two years ago.

WALLACE: During those two years the trouble in the 235 program developed almost unnoticed. Who's to blame? Let's go back to Wright Patman.

Who's at fault? Is it the FHA?

PATMAN: I think the FHA has been at least careless and negligent in the performance of their duties.

WALLACE: How?

PATMAN: I can't just say to someone that they are guilty of theft or extortion or corruption, but I know that there's bound to be corruption in this program somewhere. It couldn't exist that way otherwise. It lends itself to corruption. Potential corruption is all over the place.

WALLACE: When Chairman Patman talks of "corruption" it's not just speculation. His investigators have turned up more than one case that suggests a pattern to them. We talked with Patman's chief investigator, James Doherty.

DOHERTY: One appraiser contacted the committee and we sat down and talked with him. And he indicated that on these 235 appraisals, whenever he would make them, the real estate broker or dealer would meet him at the house, would make solicitous remarks about his future, about how little money he was making working for the government and how bright he was and this kind of thing. He, of course, would cut these conversations off. The implication being that if he carried them on, there would be something in it for him. And he summed up by saying that, "I can't say that my fellow - my

colleagues in the office - take bribes," he says, "but I can say that the clear implication is that they're offered."

WALLACE: Doherty adds that what he found in the Middle West he found elsewhere in the country, too. So, charges of scandal, hints of bribery and a lot of unhappy homeowners, as a result of FHA 235. How does the FHA view it? Eugene Gullege again.

WALLACE: Mr. Secretary, Chairman Patman has characterized this whole business as developing into a national scandal. Is that too serious a charge?

GULLEGE: I believe it's an overdrawn charge. I think anything which - which is wrong is scandalous, but it's not a national scandal unless it's a widespread and national pattern.

WALLACE: Washington, D.C., Paterson, New Jersey, St. Louis, Missouri, Seattle, Washington? That's national.

GULLEGE: These are all the areas where complaints have been received. No attempt had been made to see what - what are the areas where complaints have not been received. I simply don't think it's a national scandal. It's scandalous but not a national scandal.

WALLACE: So even Mr. Gullege of the FHA admits it's a scandal.

The dimensions of the scandal won't be known for sometime because the investigation is really just getting underway now. The FHA, we learn, is looking into every case we have cited tonight. The U.S. attorney's office in Newark, New Jersey, is looking into several of the FHA 235 transactions in Paterson. And the FBI has launched at least 30 separate investigations into possible fraud or bribery, not in all of the FHA's many programs, just in the 235 program.

The Committee report, as we said, comes out tomorrow morning. It is full of tales of greed and stupidity and bureaucratic ineptness, of a well-meaning notion gone wrong at a painful cost to the American taxpayer. An aide to the House Banking and Currency Committee sums it up this way: "Either the FHA is the most naive and inefficient agency in the Federal Government," he says, "or it is in bed with the real estate operators."

SAFER: All of which brings us to guest columnist James J. Kilpatrick who has some thoughts about the use of the taxpayers' money in several areas of American life.

KILPATRICK: All public funds tend to corrupt, to paraphrase Lord Acton's famous dictum, and the trouble with what we euphemistically call federal funds is that they tend to corrupt absolutely, irresistibly. The notion never can be put down that this money has

an independent source unto itself, and because it comes mainly from some other fellow and some other place, we assume it belongs to nobody. Thus we have a few fat cat doctors getting fatter on the cream of Medicare, and a few farmers feeding on crop subsidies, and a few contractors engaged in deliberate cost overruns. We have builders cheating on housing and students cheating on scholarships, and welfare recipients chiseling on the dole. We have great universities cheating, and a few scientists who cynically ride the fellowship gravy train. And almost everybody with earnings of more than \$25,000 a year fudges just a little on his income tax.

Well, crooks have always been with us, and if it weren't for sinful men, my friend Billy Graham would be out of a job. Most Americans are tolerably honest, but if the swindling upsets us - and it should - let us cut at the source, at the wasteful extravagance of the federal programs that undermine a free society and sap the vitality of our federal system. I can think of a thousand better reasons for cutting back on these programs, but a reduction in cheating will do for a start.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

WALLACE: The Jew in an Iron Curtain country is an object of suspicion. Surely recent events in the Soviet Union attest to that. It is not just his religion that makes the Communists wary of the Jew. After all, they are hardly partial to Christians. But beyond the traces of traditional anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, the Jew is viewed as a clear and present danger because a Jew, they think, must be a Zionist. If the foreign policy of the Iron Curtain countries is pro-Arab, then, say the Communists, they must guard against the Jew, a partisan of Israel. That is why the status of Romania's Jews is so remarkable. Through the centuries, no country, except for Nazi Germany, treated its Jews more cruelly than Romania. But now, a radical reversal has taken place. Though it shares a long and vulnerable border with its behemoth neighbor, the Soviet Union, Romania dares displease the Russians by taking an independent line in the treatment of its Jews. As if to prove the point, 60 MINUTES was permitted to take an unprecedented and unrestricted look at Romania's Jewish Community. We were assigned no guides, accompanied by no police, as we filmed this report.

The renaissance for Romania's Jews began when Party Chief Nicolae Ceausescu came to power three years ago. His tribune has been the chief Rabbi of Romania, Moses Rosen. On the festival of Simhat Torah, Rabbi Rosen carries the sacred scroll through his congregation in Bucharest.

There are 100,000 Jews in Romania today: 50,000 in Bucharest, the remainder in the provinces. All of them are sensitive to the new and unexpected liberalism. Before World War II, there were 800,000 Romanian Jews. Only half survived the pogroms, the concentration camps, the fascist terror. I visited the oldest Jewish cemetery in Bucharest. The tombstones speak of rich and powerful Jewish

families brought down in the terrible days of the Thirties, and the Forties and the Fifties. This is a dying community. Two-thirds of the Jews in Romania today are over sixty. Remnants living out their days crippled, some in body, some in spirit. These survivors are feeling now what Auschwitz did to them a quarter of a century ago. There are many funerals here every day now.

(SINGING)

The center of the Jewish community in Romania is in the synagogue of Rabbi Rosen. He followed his father in the post in 1948. The head of a religious community needs to be as much a politician as any medieval prelate. And Rosen is a shrewd politician. The survival of the Jewish community for over twenty years has depended on his reading of the political situation, on his intuition in knowing just how much independent expression would be tolerated. He is a member of the state parliament. He has the confidence of Romania's leaders. Rabbi Rosen has two main concerns. He wants to soften the waning years of the old, and he wants the young to find a sense of their Jewishness, their identity. Hundreds of the young now go to classes organized by the synagogue to learn Hebrew, Jewish history, and literature.

(TEACHER IN HEBREW)

WALLACE: These youngsters, some of them only three years old, learn to speak Hebrew in a small class conducted at the synagogue. Some of the classes are taught by Rosen himself. The teenagers interest him most of all. Until very recently, they had known almost nothing of their heritage. They were surely not Jews in the religious sense, nor are they that today, but they are curious about Israel, and Rosen hopes that as they study and learn together, these encounters in class will ripen into lasting relationships, perhaps marriage. In a country where mixed marriage has become a commonplace, he feels that these classes can be the seed of a strengthened community.

(MUSIC)

The traditional Jewish marriage ceremony performed in a Communist country. The stamping of the glass underfoot, the drinking of the toast in wine, the bride circling the bridegroom. But there is a difference. Rabbi Rosen marries this young couple in the name of peace and of the Socialist Peoples Republic of Romania.

This synagogue, Rabbi, is now closed completely?

RABBI ROSEN: Yes, it is closed. This was the synagogue of Rabbi... of the Spanish Portuguese Synagogue in London.

WALLACE: There used to be six hundred rabbis back in 1948 -

RABBI ROSEN: All over the country.

WALLACE: And now there are how many?

RABBI ROSEN: Now, three rabbis.

WALLACE: From six hundred to three.

RABBI ROSEN: Yes, yes. This is a great and very difficult problem for Romanian Jewry, for all future, lack of leadership. We have no leaders of the communities. And we are here as decapitated Jewry. If it is a danger for the future, here is it.

WALLACE: That you don't have -

RABBI ROSEN: We have nobody to lead seventy-five communities all over the country. You see this synagogue.... There was a rabbi here; now it is closed.

WALLACE: Where did the rabbi go?

RABBI ROSEN: To Israel.

WALLACE: He went to Israel.

RABBI ROSEN: Now, we have here food packages - we are giving to the poor people, to the poor and old people. We are distributing five times a year, Kosher food packages. Every package is fifteen or twenty kilo, oil, sugar, and we are giving them to any and all people who are in need of our help.

WALLACE: It is American charity mainly that supports these people. The United Jewish Appeal funnels money to the joint distribution committee. The JDC spends over two million dollars a year in Romania alone.

Etched into these faces is the bitterness of memory, the hopelessness of now, and the loneliness of parents whose children have left to go to Israel. These old people receive a small pension from the state, but it is such a token that they need help from the JDC. Clothing to guard against Romania's bitter winters. And they get a meager cash allowance too, to help make ends meet. The Joint Distribution Committee also supports kosher canteens throughout the country, where the older residents and young students in need can get hot food.

We went to a dress rehearsal of the 19th century musical comedy, "Mazeltov," at the new Jewish State Theater, which is entirely

subsidized by the Romanian Government. All of the plays presented here are done in Yiddish, which used to be a forbidden language in Romania. This company went on tour to Israel two years ago. It played to capacity houses there for forty-five days. The theater is a bright spot in the cultural life of the Jewish community. It lightens the drabness of the everyday sameness of a Communist state.

This house in what used to be the old Jewish ghetto of Bucharest is home for the Dickter family. The father is an engineer, the son a university student, the daughter is in high school and wants to be an actress, the mother is a graduate chemist. Should a family like this apply for emigration to Israel as they have the legal right to do. The children will lose their place in school, the father will lose his job, and the wait for exist visas can be a long one. But the fact is that Romania is currently permitting some emigration. In 1970, perhaps as many as five thousand Jews left. Perhaps more. The Arabs don't like it, nor do the Russians, but the Romanian Government pursues its independent course. Rabbi Rosen avoids the sensitive emigration issue, but he talks of the motivation of Romania's young Jews.

RABBI ROSEN: The young people now, are more, are better Jews.

WALLACE: Well, why are the young people in Romania, the young Jews, so interested in their Judaism today?

RABBI ROSEN: For many reasons. It's not so easy to give all the reasons. I think that first of all, they have seen that every nation, we have here Romanian and German and Hugarian living around here, and they have seen that every young boy or young girl has his own indentity. And they ask themselves, what is my identity?

WALLACE: Who am I?

RABBI ROSEN: Who am I? This is first of all, this is a problem. Secondly, it is their willingness to know something on their history, their literature. Their parents didn't tell them nothing on this matter. But now, they are coming to us and you know, it is not possible to make difference between religion and history and literature. This is - and also, the Six Days War.

WALLACE: They feel a kinship with Israel.

RABBI ROSEN: In all the world, not only Romania, the Jewish youth has now in other cultures their own identity.

WALLACE: And do many of the young, do they want to stay here, or would they if they could prefer perhaps go to Israel?

RABBI ROSEN: This is an individual problem. Many of them, part of them which have their families in Israel are willing to unify their families. And part of them are willing to be here.

WALLACE: And you, Rabbi Rosen, do you want to go to Israel to live?

RABBI ROSEN: To live, in my opinion, it is no Jew of the world since two thousand years, who doesn't want to live in Israel.

WOMAN: I want to go to Israel because I have my family there. All my mother and my father's families, we want to be together with them.

MAN: I don't think I'd go to Israel. There are lots of problems here and in Israel too. I think if I am going to end up in Israel there are more problems than here.

WOMAN: I like everything coming from Israel, because everything coming from Israel is Jewish. And I like everything that belongs to the Jew.

WALLACE: Three times a week planes leave Bucharest Airport for Tel Aviv. And there are some who say that before many more years go by, Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen will leave too. And Romania's Jewish Community will be no more.

SAFER: Mike, at a time when the Russians are taking such a hard line on Soviet Jews, how come the Romanians let us in to shoot this story?

WALLACE: We asked ourselves the same question. Originally we made the request of the Foreign Office there and they turned us down. And then later on, the Chief Rabbi, Rosen, invited us. Obviously he's well connected in the government, so he had to have permission. The speculation is that Rosen thinks that Jewish community is going to be by and large gone in ten years and he wanted a film record of it now.

SAFER: So really it's not a Communist policy towards Jews; it's a national policy, each individual Communist country.

WALLACE: Soviet - Polish - The Soviet Jew, the Polish Jew, the Bulgarian Jew and the Czechoslovak Jew don't have a very good time of it. But the Yugoslav, the Hungarian and, as you've seen, the Romanian Jew are treated in a much more benign fashion.

SAFER: What's going to happen? Is the Soviet policy going to have an effect in countries like Romania, or might the Romanians have a softening effect on the Soviets and the Poles?

WALLACE: I think that's pretty hard to speculate on. The Romanians are the only Iron Curtain country who maintain diplomatic relations with Israel. They have a full Ambassador in Bucharest,

and at the same time the Arabs - when the Israeli Ambassador went to Bucharest, the Egyptians withdrew their Ambassador from Bucharest, although they still maintain diplomatic relations. There is that long and vulnerable border with the Soviet Union, but Nicolae Ceausescu is a tough and independent man.

SAFER: The survival of Israel has been of particular concern to a leading American Christian, the Reverend Billy Graham, who joins us tonight as a guest columnist.

Dr. Graham, what do you think the attitude of Christians should be towards Jews and the Jewish state?

GRAHAM: Well, I think Christians should always love the Jews, perhaps as much or more than any other people, because we owe so much to Judaism. Christianity is built on Judaism. Jesus himself was a Jew. All the early leaders of the Church were Jews. And of course, we believe in the Old Testament as well as the New Testament. We believe that both were inspired of God. And we believe that one of the things that has caused the Jew to return to the Middle East and to what we call Palestine is the fulfillment of prophecies that were given long ago by Jewish Prophets and by Christian leaders; they both agreed at this point. And any nation that turns against the Jew in history has always made a tragic political error, and many times, such as Hitler did, it's dug its own grave. So the attitude of Christianity toward the Jew and toward Israel should be one of great love and prayer.

SAFER: Quite a bit of our mail this week has been about conservative newsman James J. Kilpatrick, who has been appearing with us as a guest columnist. One viewer said he turned off our broadcast during Mr. Kilpatrick's defense of Vice President Agnew, and wrote: "My wife is still listening to the program...but I have asked her to use earphones because...the mindless mouthings of Mr. Kilpatrick make me think Agnew has really scared you gutless."

Another viewer wrote directly to Mr. Kilpatrick: "Thank you for your defense of Mr. Agnew. You were great."

Another viewer wrote: "While I personally disagree with most everything Mr. Kilpatrick said, I commend you for allowing him the time. This airing of differences is what democracy is all about."

About the story on dangerous toys that we ran along with a story about teenage drug addiction and a look at Jerusalem during the Christmas season, a viewer wrote: "You showed only a small percentage of the toys in order to allow time for a bunch of spoiled drug-addicted brats plus a lot of drivel about Jerusalem...Spiro Agnew is right on."

That teenage drug addiction story was about a program in Westport, Connecticut called Renaissance. And one viewer wrote: "I hope your show stimulates other...towns...to wake up to, and face up to, the local existence of drug abuse; and prods wealthy Westport into adequate support of RENAISSANCE."

And, finally, about our story on racial conflicts in the Army, a viewer wrote: "Negro soldiers wear non-GI Afro haircuts...they dance with white women and brag about turning everything down... they are being discriminated against? To hell with them and 60 MINUTES."

I'm Morley Safer.

WALLACE: I'm Mike Wallace. And we'll be back two weeks from tonight with another edition of 60 MINUTES.



Ring Bell

45/89

18F

TODAY: MEN'S FASHION OF THE TIMES, ART 2 OF THE MAGAZINE

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition
Weather: Partly sunny and cool today,
northerly winds; mostly clear tonight.
Mostly sunny and cool tomorrow.
Temperatures: today 60-65, tonight 50-
55; yesterday 54-65. Details on page 45.

ONE DOLLAR

\$1.50 beyond 75 miles from New York City,
except on Long Island.

VOL. CXXXIII . . No. 46,169

Copyright © 1984 The New York Times

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1984



Associated Press

BILLY GRAHAM AT MOSCOW SYNAGOGUE: The Baptist evangelist greeting a member of the congregation. Last night, he spoke at the Moscow Baptist Church

and today he is to give a sermon at the city's main Orthodox Church. Tomorrow, Mr. Graham flies to Novosibirsk to continue his 12-day tour of the Soviet Union.

BUSINESS

U E S D A Y

Final PAGE
your eyes
in the cor-
power.
a new,
phic for-

mat like no other
section. It's written
and edited for the
financial com-
munity... for busi-
ness people at

every level... and
for everyone inter-
ested in money.
hat are the hot
new jobs in town,
and who's got
them?
What's the surprise
that's got Wall
Street buzzing?
What DON'T they
teach about busi-

ness at Harvard
Business School?
Find out in BUSI-
NESS TUESDAY.
Tomorrow and
every Tuesday in the
NEW YORK POST
— THE ONLY
PAPER WITH
SAME-DAY STOCK
TABLES AND
BREAKING NEWS.



Russian Orthodox leader Metropolitan Filaret greets Billy Graham in Moscow.

Graham tells Moscow faithful there's hope for peace

MOSCOW — Dozens of security men watched and photographed a crowd of about 300 Russian Orthodox members of Moscow's Church of the Resurrection yesterday during a brief address by the Rev. Billy Graham.

The American evangelist told the crowd of

mostly elderly women that "in the last few days, we've had a little encouragement about peace in the world," and mentioned that President Reagan and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei

A. Gromyko plan to meet in Washington on Sept. 23.

"We can pray that it will be a good conference and that it will lead us toward peace," Graham said.

His statement was probably the first word of the official meeting for many of those at the ornate, icon-adorned church. Soviet news media have not yet mentioned it.

On Saturday night, security forces had closed off the Moscow Baptist Church, barring reporters and some invited guests during Graham's sermon to about 1500 people there.

Orthodox church leader Metropolitan Filaret introduced Graham yesterday, calling on the congregation to "greet the American people with feelings of love and praise, and with the hopes that the dark clouds of unfriendliness will pass away and by our common efforts peace will ring over the world."

As he was leaving, reporters asked Graham if he had raised the issue of incarcerated Baptists with Soviet church officials. He replied: "I intend to."

N.Y. Post
9/17/1984

The Soviet worshippers Billy Graham won't see

L.A. HERALD EXAMINER 9/19/84

By Rabbi Abraham Cooper

This has been labeled the year of the new Cold War. President Reagan's forthcoming meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko notwithstanding, relations between the superpowers have nosedived to an all-time post-Stalin low. The invasion of Afghanistan, the breakdown of nuclear arms limitation talks, the Korean Air Lines tragedy, the brutalization of human-rights activist Andrei Sakharov and the closing of the emigration option for Soviet Jewry have all contributed to an atmosphere of "mutually verifiable" distrust and animosity.

Against this contentious backdrop, the current trip of the Rev. Billy Graham to the Soviet Union merits special attention. For the second time in two years, America's foremost evangelist has been granted permission to conduct a "religious crusade" in five Soviet cities.

Graham's trip comes at a time of renewed interest in religion among Soviet citizens. There are more than 20,000 churches in the USSR, while many requests for permits to open additional houses of worship are still awaiting official sanction. Most leaders in the USSR have regular contact with their religious compatriots in the Middle East and a growing number of Jews are unofficially, if illegally, studying the Bible, Hebrew and Jewish philosophy.

Agreement to follow a carefully orchestrated itinerary was a small price for Graham to pay for the

opportunity to bring a message of peace and to preach "the word of God" in a society predicated on and committed to the disappearance of religion. It could enable him to tap into and tacitly succor the Soviet people's growing grassroots search for long-suppressed spiritual values. The reasons for Graham's calculated risk are quite clear, but what lies behind the "godless" Soviets' decision to roll out the red carpet for a onetime anti-communist zealot is less apparent. Sadly, the answer lies not in a Kremlin decision to moderate its position on organized religion within its borders, but

No Jewish Bible has been published in Russia since the 1917 revolution.

rather in its perception that Graham can actually help the Russians put their best foot forward in the ongoing ideological and propaganda battle with the West.

So far, this new, "enlightened" approach has paid off handsomely for Moscow. After his May 1982 trip, Graham talked of expanding freedom, not suppression, of religion. "Saturday night, I went to three (Russian) Orthodox churches that were jammed to capacity... the churches that are open, of which there are thousands, seem to have the liberty to hold worship services." Earlier this year, similar sentiments were echoed by the head of a prominent delegation of American churchmen who traveled through the Soviet Union under the sponsorship of the National Council

of Churches.

Statements such as these overlook the severe restrictions and, in many cases, persecution that religious people face every day in the USSR. They fail to mention that all places of worship must be registered with the government, which has the power to grant or remove the right to assemble. Small private meetings and religious instruction for children are forbidden.

The 3 million-plus Soviet Jews find themselves in an even more precarious situation. A policy bordering on cultural genocide has been imposed upon this community. Barred from emigration on the one hand and denied equal access to the better schools and jobs on the other, many Jewish scientists and other professionals, not surprisingly, have turned toward in search of solace and strength within the traditions of their forefathers. But it's a particularly difficult and dangerous path to tread. No Jewish Bible has been published in Russia since before the 1917 revolution. Hebrew, the holy tongue of the Bible, is *de facto* a forbidden language, and a few unofficial kindergartens that offered Jewish instruction have been busted by KGB bullies.

Perhaps the plight of the religious Jew in the USSR is best exemplified by Josef Begun. The 52-year-old engineer has paid dearly for trying to share his knowledge of Judaica with his co-religionists. Having already served three years in Siberia for such "anti-Soviet activities," Begun languishes today in the hospital ward of the notorious Perm labor camp.

It would be foolish and counterproductive to suggest that Billy Graham or other religious leaders should cut off their contacts with Eastern bloc officials. There is too little contact now. On the other hand, one would hope that as Western religious leaders, in the name of world peace, attempt to walk the thin line between leadership and collusion, they be guided by the Biblical dictum which serves as the foundation for all social action: *Tzedek, tzedek, u'dofar Justice, justice thou shalt pursue.*

Rabbi Abraham Cooper is associate dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles and editor of its Social Action Update, a quarterly publication monitoring contemporary anti-Semitism.

Bat
Sept 21, '84

Graham Tour of Soviet Ends on an Upbeat Note

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Sept. 21 — The Rev. Billy Graham concluded a tour of the Soviet Union today, saying the 12 days had been among "the most unforgettable and fascinating of my entire ministry." Addressing a news conference after preaching in Baptist and Russian Orthodox churches in Moscow, Leningrad, Tallinn and Novosibirsk, Mr. Graham said there had been "no restriction" on his preaching, and that the only limitation was that "in accordance with Soviet law, all services have been held only on church property."

Evidently mindful of the controversy over his first visit to the Soviet Union, in 1982, when he was criticized for seeming to restrict his attention to state-sanctioned churches and churchmen, Mr. Graham said he had privately raised the issue of religious and other dissidents. But he declined to give details, saying, "It is not my practice to reveal details of private conversations I have with political leaders."

From the time of his arrival, Mr. Graham had insisted that his primary purpose was "to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ." His last sermon today was at the Cathedral of the Epiphany, seat of Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia, who attended. Mr. Graham declared today that he had fulfilled his mission, and that he would like to return.

Appearances Closely Monitored

Critics of Mr. Graham's visits to the Soviet Union, however, have questioned whether the price for permission to preach at selected, sanctioned churches has been to give the impression of endorsing the state's policy toward the churches, which includes strict controls on church activities, sharp restrictions on religious education and repression of believers who step outside the permissible bounds or who refuse to register their denominations with the state.

His appearances in Moscow were closely monitored by dozens of plainclothesmen, while the official Soviet press depicted his visit as largely devoted to peace, rather than to the Gospel that he described as the focus.

Criticism of the 1982 visit had focused on statements in which Mr. Graham appeared to accept the official line on the churches. This time he seemed to try to preclude such criticism.

He insisted that his 1982 statement to the effect that there was a "measure of religious freedom" was meant to contrast the state of the church today with the past, and that it was understood that "there were in fact tensions and difficulties between the churches and the state from time to time."

'Difficulties' for Believers

"My present visit has confirmed these statements," Mr. Graham said. "Many churches are open and active, and it is my understanding that they normally are allowed to carry out their work on church premises as long as they abide by the Government's requirements."

"At the same time," Mr. Graham said, "the Soviet Union does not allow churches to be a rallying point for what it considers anti-Soviet activities." Mr. Graham noted that believers who refuse to register with the state "run into difficulties" and "may face definite opposition from their Government." Mr. Graham did not elaborate. Many unregistered Baptists and Pentecostals have been reported imprisoned.

Mr. Graham was asked by a Soviet correspondent for the Moscow radio whether he thought the Western press had been justified in speculating that the Soviet authorities might exploit his visit to gain support for their disarmament policies.

"I'm sure that there is some element of truth in that," Mr. Graham answered, probably to the correspondent's surprise. "But I think it's worth taking a risk for peace in the world, worth taking a risk to preach the Gospel."

In his prepared statement Mr. Graham said that in his limited contacts with "ordinary citizens" he found that "the Soviet people like Americans." "They are curious," he said, "about our way of life — such things as our families, how we live and what we think of them."

M.T.

Billy Graham, Ending 2d Soviet Trip, Cites 'Measure of Religious Freedom'

9.22.84

By Celestine Bohlen
Washington Post Foreign Service

(16)

MOSCOW, Sept. 21—The Rev. Billy Graham, ending his second trip here in two years, said the 12-day tour confirmed his view that "a measure of religious freedom" exists in the Soviet Union.

The 64-year-old evangelical preacher, appearing weary from his tightly scheduled tour of four Soviet cities, avoided the kind of positive generalizations about religious life in the Soviet Union that ended his 1982 trip on a controversial note.

At that time, Graham told reporters that the different approach to religion here did "not mean that there is no religious freedom" in the Soviet Union. He later said the remarks were taken out of context.

Today, Graham, once known for equating communism with the devil, again took care not to offend his Soviet hosts with any provocative public statement on religious rights in this officially atheistic state. But he did refer to Soviet laws that prohibit religious activity outside officially sanctioned church property and other "difficulties."

Graham said he pressed issues of religious and civil freedoms—including the status of Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov and the right of Jews to emigrate—in private conversations with Soviet officials. He acknowledged that he had no opportunity to meet with members of religious organizations that have run afoul of the government.

There are an estimated 300 Baptists in jails, hospitals or prison camps in the Soviet Union, many on

charges stemming from their refusal to register their churches with the state. A group of unregistered Baptists, carrying protest signs, gathered outside a Leningrad church where Graham, also a Baptist, was preaching last week.

"It is true that some believers refuse to accept the registration of their churches with the state, or in other ways run into difficulties," Graham said in a prepared statement. "I have expressed my concern for the situation" in private meetings with officials.

On his possible use for propaganda purposes, Graham said, "When I go to any country, people use me for this, that or the other thing." By his own count, Graham spoke more than 50 times during his tour, mostly to Baptist and Russian Orthodox churches in Moscow, Leningrad, the Estonian capital of Tallinn and the Siberian city of Novosibirsk. He also had meetings at institutes, with an alternate member of the Politburo and with the Council for Religious Affairs.

Ed Plowman, a journalist from Northern Virginia who is Graham's press spokesman, said this trip was more relaxed than in 1982. "Then the government people were a little wary. This time they learned they could trust him, that he was not going to embarrass them publicly," said Plowman.

Graham traveled with a group of about 15 Americans, including his son Franklin and a crew filming the trip for a one-hour television special due to be shown before the end of the year.

"I think to some extent I've been paraded around like I was some big deal but I think my influence in my country is vastly overrated and overstated. I'm not that much of a person in our country," he said.

While Graham's activities were reported extensively in the Soviet media, his schedule was not, which meant that believers interested in hearing him preach were informed either through the churches or by the western media.

The approaches to the Church of the Resurrection here were under the close watch of plainclothed and uniformed police, who asked people for identification. Inside, a congregation of about 300 filled only two-thirds of the church.

Most were older women, their heads covered in shawls, who reverently followed the elaborate service. At the end of Graham's 20-minute sermon on the need for peace, punctuated by broad gestures and laced with personal anecdotes unknown in the highly stylized Orthodox rite, the women thanked him in unison.

In among the babushkas was a heavy contingent of young men with impassive faces, carefully eyeing the congregation. Despite official denials, believers say agents of the KGB state security keep track of people who attend church.

Asked in Britain recently whether he was concerned that his congregations in the Soviet Union consisted mainly of KGB agents, Graham replied: "Good. Those are just the people I am trying to reach."

Southern Decade 12/28/84

Graham mum on private talks concerning Russian Jewry

*Tanenbaum
Zeller*

by Kevin Freeman

NEW YORK (JTA)—The Rev. Billy Graham, just back from a 12-day tour of the Soviet Union, said that oppression of Soviet Jews has lessened in recent years as compared to the period immediately following the Bolshevik revolution and the years of the Stalin regime.

Since the regime of Leonid Brezhnev in the 1970s, Graham said, "there seems to be far less oppression" of religious freedoms in the Soviet Union. He added that this "trend which started under Mr. Brezhnev seems to be continuing."

Asked specifically whether he felt that oppression of the Soviet Jewish community has decreased since the Brezhnev regime, Graham said: "I don't know if there is more oppression or not in the Jewish community."

Tuesday's news conference at the Hilton Hotel, attended by dozens of reporters, marked Graham's first full-scale meeting with the press since he returned from his second trip to the Soviet Union in as many years.

When he returned from the U.S.S.R. in 1982, Graham caused considerable controversy in religious circles when he indicated that he thought there was a "measure of religious freedom" in the Soviet Union, a position disputed by



The Rev. Billy Graham is greeted by a worshipper at the Moscow Synagogue.

many sources.

In a statement distributed to reporters prior to the news conference, Graham noted that he visited synagogues in Moscow and Leningrad, and "I talked with several Jewish leaders in those cities about their religious and cultural life, aspirations and problems. I talked with Soviet officials about the possibilities for more Jews to emigrate as the number has decreased in the last two years."

Graham said he raised the issue of matters of concern to the Christian and Jewish community when he met privately with Soviet officials. He said he would not elaborate these private meetings. It is

understood that the issue of Jewish emigration was raised in these private meetings.

Soviet Jewish activist groups here and abroad have persistently pointed to stepped-up harassment and persecution of Soviet Jews. Emigration for Soviet Jews has reached its lowest levels since the mid-1970s, with little indication of the emigration doors being opened to Soviet Jews in the near future.

Graham said that in addition to visiting the two synagogues in Moscow and Leningrad, he attempted to visit synagogues in the Siberian academic community of

Continued next page.

F — **Graham** —

Continued from page 6.

Novosibirsk and also in Tallinn. He said he requested to meet with Jews in Novosibirsk but was told by officials they did not know of any Jews living there or of any synagogue.

On the airplane back to the United States, Graham recounted that he was told by an unidentified passenger that there were in fact

Jews who resided in Novosibirsk, many of them Soviet scientists.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, the American Jewish Committee's director of international affairs, told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, following the news conference, which he attended, that Graham had privately pressed the issue of Soviet harassment and oppression of Jews and Jewish emigration when he met with Soviet officials.

As to why Graham decided to back away from public comments affirming Soviet Jewish harass-

ment when asked by reporters at the news conference, Tanenbaum could only speculate. He suggested that it is perhaps part of Graham's concern that he again be allowed to visit the Soviet Union, a massive feat, according to Tanenbaum.

The AJCommittee official asserted further that Graham has been a strong activist and supporter on behalf of Soviet Jewry. He said Graham did make strong representation on behalf of Soviet Jews when he met privately with Soviet officials.

Thursday, September 20, 1984

His Excellency,
Boris N. Ponomarev
Central Committee
Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.

Your Excellency,

Today marks the eleventh -- and next to last -- day of my very memorable and highly informative visit to the Soviet Union. During these days I have been privileged, along with my associates, to visit four of your great cities, from Tallinn on the shores of the Baltic, to Novosibirsk in western Siberia. I had read of the vastness of your nation, but today more than ever I have begun to realize just how vast your territory really is, and how difficult it is for a visitor such as myself to gain even a superficial knowledge of Soviet life as it is in reality.

My primary purpose in coming to the Soviet Union was to meet my fellow Christian believers and to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ within your churches. During these days that purpose has been more than fulfilled. I have visited and preached in Baptist and Orthodox churches in each city and met with church leaders and a wide variety of other believers. Christians in many other parts of the world have great respect for their fellow believers in the Soviet Union, a respect which I have come to share to an even greater degree through my contacts with them during these days. I have found them to be people who love their country and have a deep yearning for peace in our world. I have also found them to be people who do not covet political power for the church or make religion a cover for unpatriotic activity.

During this visit I also wanted to see various aspects of Soviet life and culture, and meet ordinary citizens as much as possible. No visitor to the Soviet Union can help but be impressed with the deep feeling your people have about peace in our world, and by their patriotism toward their fatherland.

I also came to the Soviet Union hoping my visit would make some contribution to the search for peace in our world. My contact with your people has reinforced an opinion I have often expressed in recent years, and which I expressed again during my memorable visit to the Piskarevskoe Cemetery in Leningrad: If a vote of the world's peoples could be taken, the overwhelming majority would vote for peace. The peoples of the Soviet Union are committed to preserving peace, and I can assure you the peoples of the United States are committed to peace -- but there may be differences in the "how." I am not a pacifist, nor am I in favor of unilateral disarmament; each nation has a legitimate right to defend itself against those who would destroy it. But as a follower of Jesus Christ, who is called in the Bible "The Prince of Peace," I have a special responsibility to speak for peace. The voice of many Soviet churches for peace is well known in many parts of the world, and all of us who follow Christ must stand with all who sincerely and honestly seek true peace in our world.

Many of you know better than I that we live in a dangerous world because of the continued development and deployment of nuclear and bio-chemical weapons of mass destruction. I have spoken out frequently on this issue in my own country and elsewhere. Every world leader knows the dangers, and yet tragically it seems to the average person that progress is painfully slow (if there is progress at all) to reverse the continued escalation of the nuclear arms race. No nation, and no leader, can claim they have done enough in the search for peace. That is why I call upon the leaders, especially those that have atomic weapons, to have the vision and courage to make renewed efforts at eliminating these as soon as possible, and to tone down hostile rhetoric that only inflame emotions and make the path toward peace much more difficult.

I am not a politician, nor do I consider myself able to deal with the very complex details which are involved in arms control. But somehow a way must be found for our nations to work together to reduce and even eliminate the awesome stockpiles of weapons which threaten to destroy our world. The issues are too serious for us to ignore. I take encouragement that President Reagan and Foreign Minister Gromyko will meet in the next few days. I also take encouragement from President Reagan's statement quoted in his interview with the SUNDAY TIMES of London a week ago this last Sunday, in which he declared that the goal of his second term, if he is re-elected, would be to not only limit but eliminate all weapons of mass destruction. This is what I have been urging for several years.

That will not, I fully realize, be an easy task. It cannot be done without at least a minimal level of trust and goodwill on both sides. Even though we have different ideologies and social systems we must learn to coexist, and even be friends.

Communication and understanding are vital in this process. Scientific, cultural, educational, and commercial exchanges are very helpful. The opportunity for religious believers to have frequent contact with their fellow believers in other parts of the world is also highly beneficial.

I am committed to the goal of better understanding, and building bridges of friendship between our nations. I want to help in this area and that is one of the reasons that I am here -- and it is precisely because of my deep concern for peace between our two countries that I would like the privilege of speaking frankly about a problem that makes it difficult for me, or anyone else that comes from America or other western countries to the Soviet Union, to promote goodwill between our two great nations once we return home. I am not speaking of the question of our differing political, social, and economic systems, great as those differences may be. I would simply say concerning them that it is possible for radically different systems to coexist and even cooperate for mutually advantageous goals, if there is goodwill on both sides.

I know that you also have concern about many issues, and I have appreciated the warmth and frankness with which many have spoken with me concerning them. Please be assured that I take these concerns seriously and will do whatever I can to help people in my own country understand them more clearly.

It is in that same spirit of honesty and a concern for better relations that I raise one specific issue that might be helpful to you in understanding the views of many people in my country.

My concern at this point is with the situation of religious believers in the U.S.S.R. -- a situation which has a direct and important bearing on relations between our two countries.

Historically, both our nations have been deeply influenced by religion, although in totally different ways. As you may have noticed in reading the polls which are often taken in America, over 90% of the American people declare they believe in God. With millions, it is only an intellectual belief that often does not affect their lives significantly. But for millions of others, it affects every area of their life.

Today, you are officially a Marxist society with an atheistic ideology in the Communist Party. But you are governed by laws that permit, under certain circumstances, believers to gather for worship and other activities in thousands of places of worship.

You are also a multi-religious society with Christian, Jewish, Islamic, and Buddhist groupings. Within these are numerous denominations or groups with differing views among themselves. I realize this makes it very complicated for your government as well as for the groups involved.

Americans have read for many years about the difficult times that Soviet believers have had, especially during the 1930s and 1960s. These Americans have not yet realized that changes for the better have taken place since those days. They also react against the idea of a society which attempts to establish atheism (for the first time in human history) as its official position. In my judgment, this is the greatest psychological and philosophical problem between our two nations.

From all I have read, studied, and the personal interviews I have had, I am convinced that the believers are among your most loyal citizens, the hardest workers, and the greatest patriots. They proved this during the Great Patriotic War and, in my judgment, would prove it again in case of a crisis. Even if you do not fully agree

with this, you would at least agree believers are as good workers and citizens as their atheistic counterparts.

The problem Americans have -- especially if they are believers themselves -- is that they cannot understand why there should be discrimination between two types of Soviet citizens: those who believe, and those who do not believe. They ask what is wrong about allowing believers to practice and propagate their beliefs freely, just as non-believers have this freedom?

We in America have fought for decades against discrimination among our citizens because of race, religious creed, color, or national origin. It was a long time before these ideas germinated, but presently it is accepted and more and more practiced by the majority of our people. It also is fully backed by our laws.

However, the issue of religious freedom causes a deep gulf between the American people and the Soviet nation. To put it clearly, a major reason the American public does not support closer ties with the Soviet Union is because of what is perceived as religious discrimination and even oppression, especially of believers and Jews. Whether or not believers represent a minority or majority within your society is not the point here: Americans hold strongly to the idea that all groups should be treated equally and allowed the same advantages as any other group, regardless of their number.

I understand that you are in the process of building a new society -- a society which will seek to give equal rights and opportunities to the dozens of national and ethnic groups which are found in the Soviet Union. You are, in other words, seeking to build a family of Soviet citizens -- a family in which all members are equal among themselves. I hope it is your goal to ultimately grant equal rights for believers and non-believers alike, as was the case (I understand) in your First Constitution of 1918. Encouraging steps are already being taken, such as opening new churches and printing more Bibles, but it is painfully slow. I would like to see the process speeded up dramatically for the whole world to see.

I am sure you do not want to give the impression that in Soviet society religious believers -- Christians, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, and all other types of religious believers in your nation -- are second-class citizens, and only members of the Communist Party have full rights as citizens. For your own good name, as well as for the sake of peace in our world, with steps taken here and there these perceptions could be changed.

Therefore I would humbly like to suggest, for the cause of world peace, that restrictions on the believers be lifted as much as possible and that the citizens of the Soviet Union have freedom to practice and propagate their religious beliefs. In the words of the Final Act of Helsinki, which the U.S.S.R. and the United States signed and agreed to with many other nations, it is the hope of many nations of the world that someday all nations "will recognize

and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience" (Final Act of Helsinki, section VII).

I know the most recently promulgated Soviet Constitution allows both freedom of belief and non-belief. It is my understanding that the same Constitution guarantees the right to spread atheistic beliefs in virtually every circumstance. It is my understanding also that the same Constitution does not, however, provide the same right for spreading religious beliefs. This again is one of the primary psychological stumblingblocks between not only your country and most Americans, but scores of other peoples throughout the world. The average American accepts the right of any nation to choose its own ideology but the average westerner has a difficult time accepting the idea that a believer should have less freedom of action than a non-believer. Believers should, in their view, have at least the same rights as unbelievers and should be allowed to communicate their belief in God freely.

I would not be a friend for peace between our nations, nor a friend of the people of the U.S.S.R. if I did not speak frankly about this barrier to better relations. It may take, I realize, time, discussion and debate in various forms. You already know that many Americans are concerned over the very low number of Jews who have been permitted to migrate from the Soviet Union in the last year or two, and other issues affecting people of Jewish background, such

as rabbinical training and language teaching in Hebrew. It is difficult for detente to be successful as long as these problems remain.

I realize there can be misconceptions and prejudices which make matters difficult. When I came to Moscow in 1982 I took a great deal of criticism in the western press for what I believe to be true statements I made concerning the believers in the Soviet Union. To give you one ridiculous illustration as to how far prejudice can go, I was taken to the monastery at Zagorsk. Because the schedule was very heavy and we were in a downpour of rain, two traffic policemen on motorcycles escorted us through heavy traffic. I was deeply appreciative. When I got out of the car I shook hands with the policemen, and thanked them for their help. A photographer took the picture and it appeared in a western newspaper stating that Billy Graham was congratulating the policemen that were persecuting the Christians.

So we have difficulties on both sides that need to be straightened out in our communications and understandings in the religious area. When asked in America about my understanding of the situation of churches in the Soviet Union I have tried to explain over and over that churches have ways of practicing their religious beliefs and are free to express them within certain legal boundaries on recognized church premises. I have tried to explain that times are quite different from the 1930s and 1960s and that religious policies have changed in the Soviet State in general. As I have already

stated, the state has shown more understanding toward religious attitudes and beliefs than used to be the case in the past. In the long term, I am convinced it is in your own best interests - for that policy not only to continue but to expand if you are truly to seek peace with the western world.

When I return to the United States I will have to answer strongly worded questions from the press and other people about the religious situation in the Soviet Union. I would like to be able to say in good conscience that in the Soviet Union there is a trend toward granting more and more freedom of religion, and toward lifting regulations and administrative measures which discriminate against believers. For example, I would like to truthfully say that young people are free to pursue religious activities without fear of discrimination in school or on the job; restrictions limiting the printing of Bibles, hymnals, and other religious literature will in time be withdrawn; regulations making it difficult or impossible to construct new church buildings or alter old buildings will likely be revised; fuller provision for theological training will be seriously considered. These and other concrete steps would do much to overcome the negative image many Americans and other westerners have about Soviet religious life -- a negative image which again I stress is a major barrier in friendly U.S./Soviet relations.

I fully realize that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is at present atheistic in its ideology. Although I do not share that ideology, it is your right to accept atheism as your faith and apply

this ideology to those who have chosen to become members of the Communist Party. However, I would suggest that the Party permit others who are loyal citizens and yet are not members of the Party to practice and propagate their religious beliefs if they are believers. Christians who seek to follow the teachings of the Bible know that it teaches they are to be honest and above reproach in all their dealings as members of the society where God has placed them. Devout Christians have a great sensitivity to issues such as peace, justice, hunger, poverty, a fair distribution of world resources, and other problems that afflict our world. They feel an obligation to reach out to others in compassion and service. If the plight of believers in the Soviet Union finds a satisfactory solution, I am convinced the many millions in the west will be more ready to join hands with them in service to humanity.

We must not only talk about how much we need peace. We must also establish suitable conditions for peace. Improving the situation of believers in the Soviet Union could be one of the most important steps you could take in that direction. I realize this will not necessarily be easy, but I fear the alternative is continued suspicion and confrontation, tension, and even hostility -- all of which gravely threatens the stability of our world. Again I stress that I speak to you out of a deep commitment to peace, and a sincere desire to help both my nation and your nation overcome the barriers to peace. I am a loyal and proud citizen of the United States of America -- and I would like to be considered a friend of the people of the U.S.S.R. -- especially in our mutual search for peace.

Now a final personal word. I was reared on a small farm in the southern part of America. As a boy and as a young man I had to work very hard. My parents forced me to go to church and I rebelled against it. I did not want anything to do with religion. However, through a series of circumstances I came to know Jesus Christ as my personal Lord and Savior. That was forty years ago. The thrill and the joy and the love that I have in my heart has grown as I have studied the Bible and learned more about its teachings. I have peace with God in my heart. If I die, I know I'm going to Heaven. God has given me the ability to love, be more tolerant, be more understanding, and be for peace in our world -- within families, between races, and between nations. He has given me a burden for the suffering people of the world. He can do that to anyone who turns in faith to Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord. I only say this to show you that it is because of my relationship with Christ that I stand before you today and offer you my hand of friendship and a renewed dedication to work for better understanding and peace in our world.

I would like to thank you for your trust in me and your willingness to provide me with so many opportunities to observe your nation and its life. I leave your nation with a deeper love for your people, and a deeper commitment to work for better understanding and peace in our world. Human nature is basically the same, regardless of political and social systems. In spite of the differences, the peoples of our two nations share similar hopes and anxieties. May the time soon come -- before it is too late -- when

our nations will live in peace and mutual respect. As the two major powers on this earth, we have a special responsibility to fulfill the yearnings for peace not only of our own people, but of all nations on this planet. We share this responsibility before history and before God Almighty, the Lord of history.

Thank you for your courteous attention. Again, I want to thank you for the privilege of being here. It has been one of the highlights of my life and I shall never forget the warm hospitality of your church and state leaders. I also will never forget the greetings of love and peace from the bearded priests in the churches -- symbols of the friendship with which I have been received everywhere.

9/19/84

Dr. Billy Graham
New York Press Conference
Tuesday, September 25, 1984

The twelve days in the Soviet Union (September 9-21) were some of the most unforgettable, profitable, and fascinating of my entire ministry. I must admit they have also been among the most exhausting, as we traveled from the Baltic Sea to Siberia with an intensive schedule of speaking, preaching, and discussions. There were a number of interviews with both western and Soviet TV, radio, and press. I think most church leaders were amazed at Soviet television, radio, and press coverage of our tour. One Archbishop said he did not recall anything like it in his lifetime. It was an immensely rewarding experience, and I am deeply grateful to all those church and state officials who had a part in making the visit possible.

I was invited to the Soviet Union by the Russian Orthodox Church and the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists of the U.S.S.R. (which includes a number of denominations other than Baptists). It was a special privilege to participate in part of the All-Union Council's celebration of the 100th anniversary of organized Baptist activity in the U.S.S.R.

As I stated when I arrived on September 9, my primary purpose in going to the Soviet Union was to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, just as I have done in many other parts of the world. There were no restrictions on my message, which is the same message I have preached throughout my ministry, but there were restrictions on where I would preach. Many churches and cathedrals were filled to overflowing, and in some situations loudspeakers were used so groups standing in church courtyards or in other church facilities could hear. The only limitation I had was that, in accordance with Soviet law, all services were held on church property. In all, I gave over fifty sermons, lectures, speeches, or greetings at receptions. Thus it became the most intensive schedule of my entire forty years of ministry.

During this time I had wonderful fellowship with my fellow Christians and had opportunity to meet a cross section of Soviet citizens. I think through reading, preparation, and actually being there, I have gained a greater insight into Soviet society.

All my goals that I had set before going to the Soviet Union were fulfilled. We ministered in four major cities (Moscow, Leningrad, Tallinn, and Novosibirsk--the largest city in Siberia), where I preached in Russian Orthodox and Baptist Churches. In addition, I addressed the students and faculty at the Leningrad Theological Academy of the Russian Orthodox Church, one of the most respected theological schools in the world; and two major meetings of clergy in Tallinn and Moscow.

There were a number of other engagements also--far too many to recount here--but I would especially mention the meetings in various cities with civic, educational, research, and governmental institutions and organizations, in addition to the churches. Of special interest to me was the "Academic City" in Novosibirsk where I had dialog and discussion

with a brilliant atheistic scientist and a leading anthropologist. Siberia is 17% larger than the United States and is probably the wealthiest country in the world with every conceivable precious stone, minerals, oil, gas, and gold. They have one lake, for example, that contains one fifth of the world's fresh water.

I also had many private talks with both state and church officials. Last Thursday night I had an hour and forty minutes with His Excellency Boris Ponomarev, who is Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and also Chairman of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee. In addition, he is a member of the Politburo. We had a cordial but candid and frank discussion on many issues. As I told one reporter, we discussed everything from relations between the United States and the Soviet Union, the dangers of nuclear war and the possibilities of world peace, to religious and moral issues. This meeting, incidentally, was played up on television, radio, and the Soviet press.

I also was cordially received by Minister Vladimir Kuroyedov and his colleagues for dialog and discussion in the Council for Religious Affairs. I was also received by Dr. Georgi Arbatov of the Institute for United States and Canadian Studies, and he and I also had private discussions. I had an interesting hour's dialog and discussion with Yuri Zhukov of the Soviet Peace Committee. In addition I had a very interesting and frank discussion when I was received by the leadership of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia. There were a number of very interesting opportunities for dialog with people who hold atheistic views.

In every meeting, both public and private, I have spoken openly of my personal faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and my conviction that Christ alone can solve the basic problem that causes so much turmoil in our lives and our world--the problem of the human heart.

It will take many months for me to digest all the experiences I have had in the Soviet Union. No one can pretend to be an expert on the Soviet Union after such a short stay. Both our nations are far more complex and diverse than many people in each realize. One of the most distinguished American reporters told me he had been there for several years and still did not understand but a fraction of Soviet life. I am sure that could be equally true of a Soviet reporter in the United States. Because of my schedule it also was difficult for me to meet as many ordinary citizens as I would have liked, although I was impressed by the warmth and friendliness I sensed every time I shook hands with people or had a short conversation with them. The Soviet people like Americans. They are curious about our way of life--such things as our families, how we live, and what we think of them.

I certainly left the Soviet Union with many vivid impressions. We will always remember the magnificent hospitality we received everywhere. There are many small but significant events that come to mind; like sitting with a little blond-headed girl as she was eating her soup on a collective farm, or talking to a young mother who was holding a baby in her arms and reminded me of my grandchildren, or hearing a choir of blind people sing, or little old ladies dressed in black slipping in and

out to see that candles were still burning at the altar, or on two separate occasions seeing men ordained to the Christian ministry.

I don't think anyone can have the slightest understanding of the enigmas, the complexities and the ambivalences and contradictions of the Soviet Union without taking into account their long history, their weather (which Napoleon and Hitler both floundered in), their Orthodox religion (which, incidentally, is no longer a state religion, but is often referred to as the national religion), and their pressing obsession with peace and fear of war. They have been constantly invaded through their history by the Turks, the Swedes, and the Mongol conquest and domination of Russia for nearly two hundred years. As a result, such important movements in history as the Renaissance and the Reformation had very little or no impact on Russia.

I found the Russians to have a fear of the West. Twice within this century the Russian people have suffered the terrible consequences of the application of scientific genius and modern technology on the battlefield and have experienced war on their own soil. You can hardly be in any meeting that they don't remind you that they lost twenty million people in World War II, and hardly a family escaped.

My visit to the memorial cemetery in Leningrad, for example, was a very moving experience. Leningrad endured 900 days of siege in which tens of thousands starved to death. Because they know from personal experience the devastation of war, the average citizen of the Soviet Union has a deep concern for peace. They also reminded me several times that the United States and the Soviet Union were allies in that struggle. I reminded them that many Americans died getting supplies to them across the North Atlantic.

I have also assured people wherever possible that the American people likewise want peace. I have also explained a number of times that Mr. Reagan's one or two off-the-record remarks should not be taken seriously. When I asked believers there to pray for the forthcoming meeting of President Reagan and Foreign Minister Gromyko, I did not realize I was announcing it to the Soviet public for the first time. While the Soviets do not expect too much from this meeting, just the fact they are meeting has given a ray of hope. I was told by one high-ranking official, privately, that while they do not like some of the policies of the Reagan administration, they have respect for him personally.

This visit especially gave me an opportunity to observe the life of Christian believers in the Soviet Union. Although full statistics are not kept by the churches, it has been estimated that at least one hundred million people in the Soviet Union profess belief in God--Christians, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, and others. I have been impressed by the vitality and dedication of the Christians I have met, and I noted with interest that a large number of young people attended many of the services where I spoke. This is a new trend that has been slowly developing in the last eight years.

I also visited Jewish synagogues in Moscow and Leningrad, and I talked with several Jewish leaders in those cities about their religious and cultural life, aspirations, and problems. I talked with Soviet officials about the possibilities for more Jews to immigrate as the number has decreased in the last two years.

I know many of you from the press may have questions about my observations on church and state relations in the Soviet Union, and the issue of religious liberty. Some of you may recall that when I was asked similar questions after my visit in 1982 I stated there were in fact tensions and difficulties between the churches and the state from time to time, which is a widely-known fact. In addition, I said it was my observation that there was "a measure of religious freedom," especially when compared with some periods in the past (such as the 1930's and the 1960's) when churches faced intense hostility and even oppression. My just completed visit has confirmed these statements. Many churches are open and active, and it is my understanding that they normally are allowed to carry out their work on church premises as long as they abide by the government's requirements for religious organizations. At the same time, the Soviet Union does not allow churches to be a rallying point for what it considers anti-Soviet activities. It is true as well that some believers refuse to accept the registration of their churches with the state, or in various other ways run into difficulties. As is widely known, when that is the case they may face definite opposition from their government. Although I have met several of these people on this visit, I have not had opportunity to talk privately with such individuals, but have talked in-depth to several people in Western Europe who are well acquainted with the situation (some of whom criticized my first visit, and enthusiastically supported this last visit). I have expressed my concern for the situation of these believers in several of my private meetings with officials.

Communication must be a two-way street. I have tried to listen with respect to the views and opinions of the people I have met during my visit. At the same time, I have also tried to help a number of them understand the concerns many people in the United States and elsewhere have about human rights and religious liberty. It is not my practice to reveal details of private conversations I have with political leaders, whether here or in any other part of the world. Let me simply say, however, that in conversations with several high-level officials, I have touched on a wide range of issues, especially those that are of concern to Christians and Jews here in the United States. I have pointed out that these issues often are serious barriers to closer relations--perhaps the #1 cause--I pointed out that it brings a psychological and philosophical difference in how the American people feel.

Again, I am very grateful to all of those who had a part in making our visit such an unforgettable experience. We live in a very difficult and dangerous period of history, and contacts like this can, I am convinced, be an important means of understanding each other and helping bring peace to our world. I am deeply grateful to the Western press who treated this visit sympathetically and, in most cases, accurately.

17-28-88
M.F.
WP. 84

Graham Urges Faithful to Be Politically Active

Religious News Service

ATLANTA—Christians have a duty to be active in both political parties, the Rev. Billy Graham said in an interview here during the Democratic National Convention, where he was invited to offer a prayer.

"People do get the impression that if you're an evangelical Christian, you're a conservative Republican," he said. "I do feel that that idea should be dissipated."

Graham pointed to himself as an example of someone who defies the stereotype. The 69-year-old Southern Baptist evangelist is a lifelong registered Democrat, he said, although he describes himself as an

"independent" who has voted for candidates from both parties.

Graham was invited by Georgia Gov. Joe Frank Harris to offer prayers at the Democratic National Convention.

He has made several such appearances, having attended most conventions of both political parties.

In keeping with his rule of not endorsing a candidate, Graham had only kind words for both Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis and Vice President Bush.

He also offered high praise for Jesse L. Jackson, who, Graham said, "by far has the most charisma of anybody in politics today."

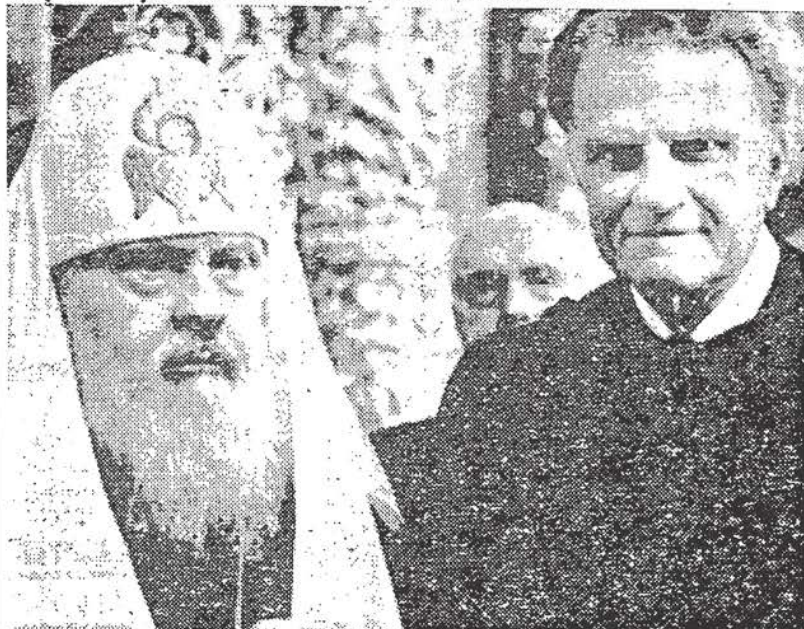
The last personal contact between the two came about 18

months ago, Graham said, when the noted evangelist was asked by Jackson to phone his mother as a special Christmas gift.

Commenting on the recent primary campaigns, Graham said Republican candidate Pat Robertson doomed his candidacy by trying to distance himself from his religious past.

"If Pat Robertson made a major mistake, it was when he renounced his ordination," Graham said. "I think he lost a lot of his following at that point."

Many Americans, he said, could not accept Robertson's decision because they believe that ministers are "called of God" and "called for life."



Associated Press
American evangelist Billy Graham meets Russian Orthodox leader Pimen yesterday in Moscow.

Soviet trip worth risk of exploitation, Graham says

From Sun-Times Wires
MOSCOW—The Rev. Billy Graham said yesterday he realizes the Kremlin may exploit his 12-day tour of the Soviet Union but it was "worth taking a risk for peace."

The 65-year-old Baptist evangelist ended his trip by taking part in a mass at a Russian Orthodox church and meeting with Soviet officials who, he said, assured him that dissident Andrei D. Sakharov is well.

Sakharov, sentenced to internal exile in the closed city of Gorky in 1980 for condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, reportedly began a hunger strike May 2 to press the Kremlin to allow his wife, Yelena Bonner, to travel to the West for vital medical treatment.

Asked whether he had inquired about

the couple, Graham said at a news conference:

"I don't think you can think of a problem or concern that I've heard expressed in America ... that I haven't brought up."

Graham said most Soviet officials listened to him "courteously and attentively," but he refused to give details of their talks.

He was criticized for suggesting after his last trip to Moscow, in May 1982, that there is more religious freedom in the Soviet Union than Americans are led to believe.

Graham reiterated yesterday that he was misinterpreted. He insisted he had said there was "a measure of religious freedom" in the Soviet Union and would stand by that statement now.

When a U.S. reporter suggested that Graham's views would

have been clearer had he raised religious and human rights issues in public and not in private, the evangelist replied:

"Nowhere did Jesus or the Gospels take up any debates with the Roman authorities."

Graham also refused to be drawn into a dispute by a Soviet reporter who sought his view of U.S. reports suggesting the Soviets would exploit his trip to push their disarmament policies.

"I'm sure that there's some element of truth in that," said Graham.

"I would not know exactly what the ramifications would be. But I think it's worth taking a risk for peace ... to preach the Gospel."

"All of us ought to be doing whatever we can to save the world from nuclear holocaust."

The Task OCTOBER 10, 1984

A VOICE OF CHRISTIAN-JEWISH CONCERN

FOCUS: Religious Freedom,
A Study in Contrasts

p.1 Rev. Billy Graham says there is "a measure of religious freedom in the USSR."

pp.1-6 The trials of Soviet Jews today and the tribute to a great Christian hero, Cardinal Slipyj, show how small that measure of freedom really is.

pp.7-8 Rev. Bryan Hehir stresses the importance of religious freedom; Lithuanian Catholics go underground to keep the faith.



Cardinal Slipyj

(1967 photo)

NATIONAL INTERRELIGIOUS TASK FORCE ON SOVIET JEWS
1307 SOUTH WABASH AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605



ARREST OF ALEXANDER KHOLMIANSKY

On 24 July 1984 the Moscow refusenik ALEKSANDER KHOLMYANSKY (b.1950) was arrested in Estonia, in the town of Voru where he was on holiday. A. KHOLMYANSKY, an engineer and computer programmer, has been seeking to emigrate for a number of years. He was dismissed from his professional post, and has recently worked as a cleaner.

The arrest took place when A. KHOLMYANSKY was taking a walk with friends in the streets of this Estonian resort. A stranger started pestering him. A. KHOLMYANSKY ignored him, but police appeared and arrested A. KHOLMYANSKY, accusing him of "petty hooliganism" and also of "trampling on flowers in a flower bed". On July 25 1984 A. KHOLMYANSKY was sentenced to 10 days' administrative arrest.

However, on 3 August 1984 A. KHOLMYANSKY was not released as expected. Instead he was charged with hooliganism (Art. 195 of the Estonian Criminal Code, = Art. 206 of the Russian Criminal Code). A search was carried out in the room which A. KHOLMYANSKY had temporarily rented in Voru. Hebrew textbooks were confiscated. A number of A. KHOLMYANSKY's friends were summoned for questioning. It appears that the trial will take place soon, A. KHOLMYANSKY already has a lawyer.

A. KHOLMYANSKY is not married. His parents, and his brother Mikhail who is also a refusenik, live in Moscow.

USSR News Brief #15
815/84

On August 29, a gun and ammunition were found in the apartment of ALEX KHOLMYANSKY's elderly parents after they filed a complaint protesting the illegality of the case against their son.

KHOLMIANSKY is being held in Voru, Estonia, where he was arrested. His mother Rozalia and his elder brother Mikhail delivered a parcel of food and clothing to the prison. They were told that his trial will take place TUESDAY, 25 SEPTEMBER, 1984.

FLASH!!!!

JUSSR #34 9/20/84

Five people in Moscow have been recently interrogated about ALEXANDER's case by a special investigator from Tallin. The trial is set for 25 OCTOBER and appeals should be made to the Deputy Prosecutor LANG, telephone Tallin 443 490. The address is:

USSR / ESTONSKAYA SSR / TALLIN / Michurina 7 / Deputy Prosecutor LANG

Protests should be made to this official as soon as possible, bearing in mind that the trial will take place shortly.

35's #1 10/2/84

Friends in need

Romanians flock to see Billy Graham

By Eric Bourne

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Vienna

People turned out excitedly to hear American evangelist Billy Graham wherever he went on his recent visit to Romania.

His 12-day, six-city preaching tour became an outlet for a major demonstration of faith by some of the most rigorously harassed religious communities under communist rule in Eastern Europe.

Dr. Graham is now on a six-day visit to Hungary, which ends on Monday. The government in Budapest has neutralized the churches as a source of political opposition and has even enlisted them to assist in its reform programs.

That policy stands in sharp contrast to actions by Romanian officials. Indeed, Graham's Romania visit (from Sept. 7 to Sept. 17) was a paradox, and it raises the question of why the hard-line authorities there countenanced the visit at all.

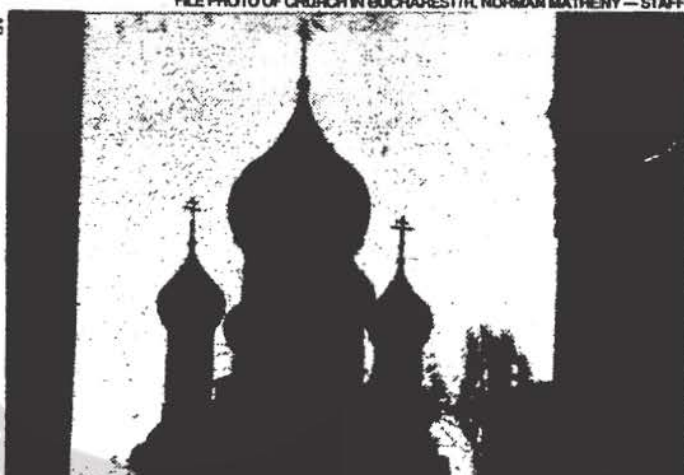
For years they have engaged in an unremitting campaign against religion in general. This has included hefty jail sentences for such "illegal" activity as the distribution of Bibles sent to Romania by Western and religious organizations.

A clue to official behavior appeared to lurk, however, in a brief report on the Graham tour by the official Romanian news agency.

Agerpress cited a purported remark by the preacher praising the "full religious freedom for all religious denominations" existing in Romania. But that was not quite what Graham himself said speaking by telephone from a stopping point in northwestern Romania to a Western news



Graham's trip highlights problems of church in Romania



FILE PHOTO OF CHURCH IN BUCHAREST/R. NORMAN MATHENY—STAFF

agency bureau here in Vienna.

"My impression is that Romania is an extremely religious country," he told the agency — a rather different thing. If any support was needed for his statement, it was to be found in the packed churches and congregations that hung fervently on the preacher's words. Many listened by loudspeakers rigged up outside the meeting places.

Less than two months before Graham's arrival, Constantin Sfatcu, an engineer and well-known Baptist preacher in Iasi (a town in Moldavian Romania) was sentenced to 7½ years. He had been arrested when Bibles were found in his car.

An even more painful case has been that of a Romanian Orthodox priest, Gheorge Calciu-Dumitreasa. His stubborn challenge to official interference in church life brought him a total of 21 years in prison. He was freed last year — half way through a 10-year term — after strong protest by religious and human-rights groups in the West.

Two months ago he was given permission to emigrate — but, again, only after implicit signals to the Bucharest government from the United States Congress that its most-favored nation trade advantages with the US would be at risk if Fa-

ther Calciu's harassment continued.

Such considerations might be behind the decision by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu to allow Graham to deliver his gospel message from Orthodox and Baptist pulpits in Bucharest, the Romanian capital, and around the country. If this, in fact, is the case, it seems unlikely to carry any conviction in the West.

None of the Romanian churches is immune from official polemical and more actual pressures. Baptist and other evangelical churches in Transylvania and Bucharest have long asked for permission to build 14 new churches, using their own funds. The requests have been ignored. Moreover, five almost completed buildings have fallen victim to "urban renewal" demolition squads.

The Roman Catholic Church is much less significant than either Orthodox or Baptist churches. The stronger Eastern-rite Catholic (Uniate) Church — outlawed by the communists soon after the war — still holds considerable influence in parts of Romania. That probably explains why its "underground" bishops' appeal for restoration, presented during the follow-up meetings on the Helsinki accords, has elicited no response in Bucharest.

Not surprisingly, it is currently the Baptists who are under the most severe government pressure.

Twenty years ago the Baptists in Romania numbered fewer than 100,000. They now have nearly three times that number in active worship, making it the biggest Baptist community in the whole communist bloc. Its very evident appeal to youth is a major irritant to the ruling atheistic ideology.

NEWS

Rev. Graham Brings A Message Of Love

Staff Report

The local chapter of the American Jewish Committee staged a highly-successful "love-in" Tuesday night in downtown Detroit. More than 900 persons responded to emotional tributes to *Detroit Free Press* Publisher David Lawrence Jr. made by guest speaker Rev. Billy Graham. Gov. James Blanchard and Mayor Coleman Young.

Lawrence was given the Human Rights Award of the AJCommittee's Institute of Human Relations for his efforts in making the *Free Press* an open forum for all points of view, and for his personal work within the community.

Rev. Graham, who has a long record of work on behalf of Jews in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, excited the crowd with his evangelistic style and his message of universal brotherhood.

He commended Pope John Paul II for visiting the central Rome synagogue on Sunday, saying, "It will have a tremendous impact on the entire world. Never again will we have those ghettos, put there by Christians."

He praised the AJCommittee for working for human values, and stressed America's pluralism and common values throughout his speech.

"Pluralism is our strength, not our weakness, but a pluralistic society is always under attack." He said those attacks will push America toward totalitarianism, increasing disintegration or isolation within our society, "or lead us to accept the challenge of a pluralistic society ... to work together for the common good. It is a hard path, but the only one if we are to achieve the promise of the future."

The charismatic evangelist, who first preached in Detroit in 1948, said the U.S. still has a common core of "moral-spiritual values based on Judeo-Christian moorings ... This is why terrorism is so wrong — there is no room for hatred." He called for a just and compassionate government, and greater efforts toward building a more peaceful world.

In reference to the U.S. air strike against Libya on Monday, Graham said he is not a pacifist. "Every legitimate nation has the right to defend itself." But he also called for increasing efforts to solve world problems through peaceful means. "We must all stand together and pray," he said.

During a visit to Israel, Graham spoke to one of the Chief Rabbis, pointing out that they both believed in the coming of the Messiah. "I told him that I believed that the Messiah would be Jesus Christ. He just smiled and said, 'That is our difference.' It is our difference," Graham said, "but it is also our commonality."

He said society's greatest need is for a "moral and spiritual re-

awakening." He stressed his opposition to "state religion and mandated prayers in our schools," but advocated hanging the Ten Commandments in every classroom in America. No religious group could oppose that action, he said, hoping that the Ten Commandments could replace the current teacher of morals in America — television, with its emphasis on sex and violence.

Rev. Graham was introduced by Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, director of the AJCommittee's Institute for Human Relations, who eloquently listed Graham's achievements and efforts on behalf of Jews throughout the world, blacks in South Africa, and oppressed peoples

He opposes state religion and mandated school prayer, but advocates hanging the Ten Commandments in every classroom.

everywhere. "Next to Pope John XXIII and Detroit's Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr, Billy Graham is the greatest friend to Jews and mankind that this century has known," Tannenbaum declared.

During the press conference which preceded the dinner, Rev. Graham responded to reporters' questions. He said religious leaders can try to use their influence in limited ways in foreign affairs, by trying to befriended foreign officials. During visits to the Soviet Union he has quietly pressed human rights issues.

He said religious leaders can not mediate the U.S.-Libya dispute "because feelings are running too high. Jesse Jackson and A.B. Hill did their best last year, but I don't think they accomplished very much, and they don't think so either."

Asked about evangelist Pat Robertson's possible campaign for President, Graham said he does not endorse political candidates. "Jackson ran last time and many thought he did a good job. But I stay out of politics."

Asked about the Middle East, Graham offered a one-word solution for its problems: "Love." He described Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran as "a man of religion, but not a man of God."

David Lawrence, in his brief acceptance speech, told the audience he would work hard "to live up to your faith and trust." He lauded dinner chairman Paul Borman, speaker Judge Damon Keith and Graham as an "ecumenical trio" of his close friends. Judge Avern Cohn made the award presentation at the event.

Cooperation, credited Mr. Burchfield's release to an outpouring of telegrams and telephone calls from ALC bishops and others who make up an informal advocacy network.

The Burchfields were among more than 30 people arrested when an informal group of church members went to bid farewell to a German missionary couple at the Cape Town airport March 7. They were charged with disorderly conduct, but the charges against them were later dropped.

07-22-86

3744

ALC Church Council reverses, approves Chicago as site of new church

By Willmar Thorkelson

Religious News Service Correspondent

MINNEAPOLIS (RNS) — Leaders of the American Lutheran Church voted 26 to 12 here to support Chicago as site of national offices for the proposed Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

Previously, the ALC's 41-member Church Council had favored Milwaukee.

A commission negotiating the three-way church merger had also favored Milwaukee. But at a late June meeting in Seattle the commission changed course and approved Chicago as the headquarters site after ALC Presiding Bishop David W. Preus urged selection of the Illinois city. Bishop Preus had earlier favored Milwaukee.

The new 5.3-million-member church will bring together the ALC, the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches and the Lutheran Church in America.

In his report to the Church Council here Bishop Preus said he believed that the merger commission's recommendation for Chicago "represents a strong majority opinion among U.S. Lutherans."

He said he was certain at the Seattle meeting that Chicago was going to win over Milwaukee in a close vote, and "hence attempted to encourage a substantial vote for Chicago."

"Traveling through the ALC, I found support for Milwaukee only in areas close to Milwaukee," Bishop Preus said. "Those who spoke to me in the wider areas of the church indicated a decided preference for Chicago."

He said he found that members of the other two merging churches also seemed to prefer Chicago by a strong majority.

He said Chicago is the easiest meeting place and that people traveling to church board meetings would be able to get one-stop air service from different parts of the country.

07-22-86/3731

With Photo No. P59872

Graham passes torch to young evangelists, announces 1989 events

By Jim Newton

Special to Religious News Service

AMSTERDAM, Netherlands (RNS) — The Rev. Billy Graham symbolically passed the torch of world evangelism to more than 8,000 evangelists from 174 countries during the final session of the second International Conference for Itinerant Evangelists here.

He also announced plans for two major evangelistic events in 1989.

The 10-day meeting ended the way it began — with a dramatic parade of flags of the 174 countries represented, led by six torch-bearers symbolizing the world's six continents.

The 67-year-old American evangelist, whose pace at times appeared to be slowing, did not say so explicitly, but the torch ceremony seemed to imply that Dr. Graham was passing some responsibility on to younger, Third World evangelists.

Most of the participants were young (their average age was 31), had never attended an international religious conference before, and came from a Third World nation. The largest number, 2,337, were from Africa, with Asia and Latin America ranking second and third. Baptists were most numerous, at 1,161. Pentecostals ranked second, followed by those who identified themselves as Assemblies of God, "evangelicals," Presbyterians and Methodists.

Conference officials were sensitive about criticism that the program was a thinly veiled attempt to "westernize" evangelists, and one leader pointed out that 91 percent of seminar leaders were from outside North America.

In organizational style the meeting was slick and efficient, from its meal service, which fed 10,000 daily in under two hours, to its arrangements for free transportation on local trams and buses. Simultaneous interpretation of plenary sessions was available in 16 languages for listeners wearing wireless headsets.

Almost 300 evangelists from underdeveloped countries who arrived with little personal clothing were given new western-style suits by Dutch Christians and Samaritan's Purse, a relief group run by Billy Graham's son, the Rev. Franklin Graham. But many participants wore flowing African robes to the sessions.

Estimated cost of the conference was \$21 million. Mr. Graham said all but \$1.5 million was raised before the meeting began.

Mr. Graham said the purpose of the conference was to provide training to better equip evangelists for ministry in their own cultures. In a statement issued at the close of the conference, he said, "Evangelism, it seems to me, is about the only word we can unite on today." The meeting was marked by "an ecumenicity that you cannot get under any other umbrella," he said.

Program content was unabashedly similar to that of the first such conference Mr. Graham sponsored here in 1983.

For those who attended Amsterdam '83, the 1986 conference prompted feelings of *deja vu*. Some of the 32 major plenary speakers preached again, with slight variations, the same messages they delivered three years earlier. The 1986 conference was almost twice as large as the earlier version, however.

At a communion service led by Anglican Bishop Maurice A. P. Wood of Norwich, England, and a Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Donald Hoke of Knoxville, Tenn., representatives of every continent and various Christian traditions distributed baskets of unleavened bread and small, sealed containers of grape juice to the crowd.

In almost every session, Mr. Graham led the evangelists in shouting together the only word that is apparently the same in every language — "hallelujah."

But lest anyone think it might have been Mr. Graham's last "hallelujah," the evangelist announced in the closing session that he plans to hold a worldwide evangelistic crusade carried live by satellite television to hundreds of cities around the world. He estimated the potential viewing audience at 1 billion and said he would like to hold the crusade in London.

A spokesman later said Mr. Graham hoped the crusade could take place in June 1989.

Mr. Graham also announced plans for a second International Congress on World Evangelization, to be held in Lausanne, Switzerland, in July 1989.

The initial Lausanne Congress, which sparked organization of the continuing Lausanne Committee on World Evangelization, was held in 1974.

Unlike the Amsterdam meeting, which was a school for traveling evangelists, the 1989 congress will bring together key world religious leaders to discuss theology, strategy and the need for world evangelization, Mr. Graham said.

Mr. Graham's brother-in-law, the Rev. Leighton Ford of Charlotte, N.C., chairman of the Lausanne committee, said he expected about 6,000 religious leaders from 167 countries to attend the Lausanne meeting.

Summons to the "Unknowns"

Billy Graham organizes a massive training school for evangelists

To many Americans, the word evangelist may evoke visions of fashionably clad pulpit orators performing on television in vast halls before thousands of the faithful. There is, however, another category of evangelists, in the U.S. and elsewhere. In the developing nations where Protestantism shows the most vitality, far more often than not they are humble in social status, travel on foot instead of in limousines and preach in huts rather than crystal cathedrals. While their celebrity counterparts hobnob with the rich and powerful, non-Western evangelists often face harassment or imprisonment for proselytizing, even for importing Bibles.

The epitome of the American evangelistic star is the Rev. Billy Graham, 67, now in his fifth decade of traveling revivalism. But Graham has long had a concern for his less celebrated brethren. This month in Amsterdam, he greeted 8,000 preachers invited from all over the world to attend the ten-day International Conference for Itinerant Evangelists, a meeting twice as large as the first such gathering, in 1983. It was a massive \$21 million training session, made possible only by the administrative and fund-raising muscle of Graham's organization.

Graham had directed his people to seek out "the unknown young preachers, the barefoot preachers, who go from village to village, preaching and teaching." The widespread search was remarkably successful. Most of those who arrived in Amsterdam were clad in Western-style suits and sport shirts, some in tribal costumes, and they sang and spoke in a Babel of tongues. (Plenary meetings were simultaneously translated into 14 languages.)

The attendees were selected from among some 50,000 evangelists. Global sweep was one of Graham's goals, and it was attained: 185 nations and territories were represented; 80% of the preachers came from developing countries. In Nigeria, for example, organizers had tried to recruit at least one evangelist from each of that huge (pop. 105 million) nation's 137 major tribes, but in the end were able to cover only 136. Said one Graham organizer: "We looked hard for an evangelist from the last tribe, but we just couldn't find one." The throng included members of every sort of Protestant and An-

glican denomination, and even a handful from Eastern Orthodox churches.

The elaborate conference was designed to "train, equip and encourage" others who, like Graham, travel to spread the Christian message. North Americans and Europeans provided the majority of the instruction but cheerfully performed



Graham addressing itinerant evangelists

the routine chores as well, ushering and operating the weapon scanners that are now fixtures at large European gatherings. How-to workshops offered tips on everything from prison projects to street preaching to the use of drama, with continual emphasis upon methods that would be practical, efficient and inexpensive.

In the exhibit hall, 55 suppliers discreetly displayed their publications, a bewildering array of Bible translations and

the latest wares for the complete modern missionary. While television is the engine of U.S. evangelism, it is of no use to most of these frontier workers. A hand-cranked cassette tape player was the favorite gadget for preachers who cannot afford batteries and operate in areas that lack electricity.

To ease the evangelists' economic burdens, a group called Samaritan's Purse, operated by Graham's son Franklin, allotted two shirts, a tie, a pair of socks and tennis shoes for each male attendee (only 500 women participated). "I've been praying for some shoes," said one delighted visitor. Seven tons of donated clothing were also provided to be taken home to wives and children.

The evangelists in attendance exuded simple and unshakable faith. "The hand of God protected me," said Pastor Krisnapillai Saravanapavan of Sri Lanka, recalling his banishment from his hometown and family after he converted from Hinduism to Christianity. After mission travels in Sri Lanka and India, he plans to return to his village because "that is where my call is." Christians currently constitute about 8% of Sri Lanka's population of 17 million; the growth of the faith, Saravanapavan believes, could have a positive impact on a nation suffering bloody division between Buddhist Sinhalese and his own minority of Hindu Tamils. "The Christians come from all communities in Sri Lanka," he said. "Only the Prince of Peace can unite my country."

Another participant, John Barnabas Gibbons, is an Assemblies of God evangelist who works in Ghana with policemen and soldiers. In many African nations, such men are despised because of their association with torture and murder under revolving-door dictatorships. Gibbons wants to overcome their alienation and believes that "by bringing the men of government to Christ, we can change the political and social life of the country. After all, Jesus only took twelve men to turn the world upside down."

Graham spoke three times but soft-pedaled his presence in favor of other speakers. He took quiet pride in the spiritual strength of his young colleagues. With schooling of only six years on average, "they aren't educated," he said, "but they know the Bible." And they will ensure that evangelism remains vigorous. Their average age is 31, and many will be toiling in distant places long after Graham is gone. —By Richard N. Ostling.

Reported by B.J. Phillips/
Amsterdam



Delegates from 185 nations and territories at Amsterdam conference

"They aren't educated, but they know the Bible."

09-24-86

4223

Graham organization in full swing for 1987 Denver crusade**By Religious News Service**

NEW YORK (RNS) — Billy Graham's 1987 Denver crusade, although 10 months away, already is gearing up with 20 full-time employees and expenditures of more than \$60,000.

The staff has contacted 2,700 churches in Colorado, enlisted 150 volunteers to help with the event, and received calls on four telephone lines that will soon be expanded to 10 lines, according to press reports.

Organizers hope that by March more than 150,000 persons will have pledged to join an around-the-clock prayer chain which will continue through the crusade, scheduled for July 17-26.

Tom Phillips, director of the event, said he did not know how much the Denver crusade will cost, but that most Graham crusades now cost between \$600,000 and \$1 million.

More than 670 churches in the Denver area have committed themselves to help, he said.

09-24-86

4234

China reported planning to return churches used as factories**By Religious News Service**

NEW YORK (RNS) — Christian churches in China which have been used as factories and schools for the past 20 years will be restored as church buildings by 1987, according to a Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) official who recently returned from residence in the area.

Mary Kay Hobbs, education consultant for the Disciples and resident in Hong Kong for the past three years, said that China is distinguishing between religion and superstition. It is "superstition," rather than religion per se, that Chinese Communist leaders don't like, she said.

Many churches that were built before the Cultural Revolution 20 years ago were converted to production and education roles. Now the government's growing tolerance of Christianity is evident by the return of these buildings to houses of worship, according to Ms. Hobbs.

The government has reaffirmed religious liberty by withdrawing a clause in the constitution that denied Christianity the right to promote itself. Ms. Hobbs said that preaching must still be done within the confines of church property.

There are 10,000 "meeting points" and thousands of other house churches, said Ms. Hobbs. There are 4,000 churches now open for worship to serve the six to eight million practicing Christians in China.

07-21-87

6233

Gay church convention voices support for Jim and Tammy Bakker

By Adon Taft

Special to Religious News Service

MIAMI (RNS) — Tammy Faye Bakker cried on tape, and 2,000 homosexual men and lesbian women stood cheering and applauding July 20 at the biennial convention of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches (UFMCC).

"I pray Jim and Tammy get their ministry back," declared the Rev. Troy Perry, moderator of the UFMCC, which ministers to more than 30,000 gays in 267 congregations. A mostly white, mostly male crowd at the Deauville Hotel in Miami Beach roared.

"I happen to respect the ministry of Jim and Tammy Bakker," said Mr. Perry of the fallen leaders of the PTL television ministry. "Anybody who asks forgiveness of God has it. They don't have to ask church councils or Troy Perry or anybody else to get it," said the chubby former minister in the Church of God of Prophecy.

The tape showed Mrs. Bakker's sympathetic, on-the-air interview last December with the Rev. Stephen Peters, one of the ministers in the UFMCC from a congregation in the suburbs of Los Angeles and a delegate to the conference here.

On the tape, he discussed his treatment for various ailments, including two forms of cancer associated with AIDS. In introducing him, Mr. Perry said the cancers now are in remission and vowed that Mr. Peters "is going to overcome this disease."

In a humorous and rousing tent-revival-style report on the state of the church, Mr. Perry said that "God is anointing and blessing us" in the midst of the AIDS crisis.

He said the disease is driving homosexuals to the UFMCC for comfort and is spurring an attitude of caring in the general religious community despite isolated incidents of violence against those in the gay community.

07-21-87

6225

Even Billy Graham has trouble with a sermon sometimes

By Virginia Culver

Special to Religious News Service

DENVER (RNS) — The Rev. Billy Graham has been preaching sermons for more than 40 years, but it still doesn't come easily to him all the time.

"Sometimes I feel inspired when I'm preaching, and other times I feel empty and alone," the 68-year-old evangelist said during his July 17-26 crusade here. "Sometimes I have a terrible struggle in preaching. I tend to wander or get off the track. I really try then to just stick to the subject.

Crusade director Tom Phillips said Mr. Graham received at least 20 invitations to meet with religious and business leaders, legislators and individuals while in Denver, but he turned them all down so he could devote his time to preparing sermons.

"My driving aim is to get a person to make a commitment to Christ," the evangelist said during a press conference. "That's different from giving a lecture or a normal sermon. It's a burden on the evangelist that drains one — it is difficult to explain."

Mr. Graham said he knows he can't "go on forever holding these big crusades because of the sheer physical effort." He later said he feels well, except for problems with medicine for chronic high blood pressure, which has made him tired since arriving in Denver.

After his Denver crusade, Mr. Graham will hold a six-day crusade in Helsinki, Finland, and then go to China with his wife, Ruth.

He accepted but later turned down an offer to appear with Pope John Paul II in Columbia, S.C., in September during the pope's American tour. Mr. Graham said he is the first Protestant ever asked to preach from the same platform with the pope.

"I don't handle jet lag very well," Mr. Graham said. "It was just too tight a scheduled. My doctors warned me about it."

Mr. Graham met privately with Denver Jewish leaders before the opening of his crusade to allay any fears that he would target Jews for conversion to Christianity.

The meeting was arranged after Jewish leaders asked crusade officials several months ago about plans for the crusade. Graham organization officials assured Jewish leaders then that the evangelist never targets Jews. Mr. Graham told 30 Jewish leaders here that he believes God's covenant with the Jewish people is eternal and that Jews are God's chosen people.

He told the rabbis, agency presidents and synagogue officials that he has always had good relations with Jews and has even helped Soviet refuseniks leave the Soviet Union. He said he was a personal friend of the late Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir and has visited that country several times.

"I thought the way he reached out to the Jewish community was commendable. I was very pleased," said Warren Toltz, president of the Allied Jewish Federation. Another Jewish leader, who asked that his name not be used, called the 45-minute meeting "very interesting and very positive."

Graham spokesman Larry Ross called the meeting "very cordial." After the meeting, Mr. Graham invited the Jewish leaders to his crusade at Mile High Stadium. "I think I'll go hear him," one rabbi said.

07-21-87

6230

State Department still uncertain who abducted missionaries

By Jean Caffey Lyles
RNS Associate Editor

NEW YORK (RNS) — The identities of four missionaries who were kidnapped in Sudan July 7 have been made public, although U.S. State Department officials are still uncertain what group abducted them.

Captors of the two men and two women may be a tribal group that has "tenuous ties" to the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army, Donna Sherman of the State Department's Citizens Emergency Bureau said July 20. The captives include three teachers and a nurse. All four were working at Anglican-related Bishop Gwynne College in Mundri, a village in southern Sudan.

Robert Callard, also of the Citizens Emergency Bureau, said earlier that reports from Sudan indicated that the abductors may have taken the missionaries "to remove them from the area before an attack was made" by the SPLA. A Sudanese family taken at the same time and released soon afterward said the missionaries were unharmed at the time they were last seen.

Ms. Sherman said U.S. government officials have received no communication from the captors but talk regularly with the government officials of Sudan and neighboring countries and with the SPLA. She said SPLA leaders say it is contrary to their policy to kidnap or take hostages.

The four kidnapped missionaries:

— The Rev. Marc Nikkel, 37, is an Episcopal priest and tutor at the college. He is the son of Reuben and Rosie Nikkel of Reedley, Calif., and was raised in the Mennonite Brethren

Detroit Free Press, Page 3A April 16, 1982

Graham fears U.S. raid might increase terrorism

By RUTH SEYMOUR
Free Press Religion Writer

The Rev. Billy Graham predicted increased terrorism as a result of U.S. bombing in Libya, but quoted Winston Churchill in urging some 850 listeners at an American Jewish Committee dinner Tuesday: "Never give up, never give up . . . the struggle to create a peaceful and just world."

"There is reason to believe (it) is still possible," he said. "It will only happen when we commit ourselves to a common set of moral and spiritual values and common goals."

Mr. Graham spoke at the Westin Hotel at the first Detroit dinner of the Jewish committee's Institute of Human Relations. The ecumenical dinner honored David Lawrence Jr., Free Press publisher and chairman, for his commitment to human rights.

AT A NEWS CONFERENCE before the dinner, Mr. Graham described the U.S. raid of Libyan targets early Tuesday as "like tossing a rock at a hornet's nest."

Mr. Graham described the U.S. raid as "like tossing a rock at a hornet's nest."

"We are at the most dangerous and most explosive moment in world history," Mr. Graham said. "We have all kinds of weapons and they are going to be used, not only by nations but by terrorist groups who are already organizing and planning."

"We must stand together spiritually and morally and kneel together in prayer. Because there is only one God. And whether you are Islamic or Jewish or Christian or Buddhist . . . whatever we believe, we stand in danger of this planet blowing up."

Mr. Graham also used the speech to commend Pope John Paul II for his visit this week to a synagogue near the Vatican. "It has made a tremendous impression on the entire world," he said.



Free Press Photo by CRAIG PORTER

Mayor Young jokes with, from left, David Lawrence Jr., publisher of the Free Press, his wife, Bobbie, and the Rev. Billy Graham at the Westin Hotel Tuesday night.

Mr. Graham's news conference and speech marked his first public appearance in Detroit in more than a decade. He had come at the invitation of Lawrence, whom he had come to know when Lawrence was editor of the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer. Lawrence became Free Press executive editor in 1978 and publisher last year.

From the podium, Mr. Graham recalled his first time preaching in Detroit, in the late 1940s, "to the largest crowd I ever spoke to up until

that time," and a crusade in Detroit in the early 1950s to which "Joe Louis came night after night."

After talking with Mayor Young throughout dinner, the 67-year-old evangelist declared:

"There are people today who say that our cities are dying and there is no hope for them. But you see this (Renaissance) center here . . . and the plans that I heard Mayor Coleman talking about on TV."

"Detroit's future lies ahead — not behind."

Graham ends trip 'optimistic' on future of Christianity in China

By Darrell Turner
RNS Associate Editor

(RNS) — The Rev. Billy Graham said he was "very optimistic about the future of the Christian faith in China" after his three-week trip to the country, during which he met with government and religious officials — including those of both registered and unofficial "house churches" — and discussed questions of religious freedom on numerous occasions.

Among the highlights of the April 13-28 visit were a tour of the former medical mission compound in Huaiyin where the evangelist's wife, Ruth, spent the first 17 years of her life, and a stroll on the Great Wall that ended with Chinese children singing "Jesus Loves Me."

In a news conference in Hong Kong April 29 the Southern Baptist preacher said, "One of the greatest things I learned on this trip was how much I don't know about China. In fact, I doubt if there is a true expert on China to be found anywhere, because to know China one has to know not only its long history but all the trends that are taking place in each province in every field of knowledge."

Mr. Graham related that in nearly every conversation, "I spoke of what Jesus Christ means to me personally and what I believe Christianity could do for the future of China." He said the subject of religious freedom and human rights was often brought up by his hosts, and "in every case I told them how concerned the American people and people in many other countries were" about religious freedom and human rights.

The evangelist said he was repeatedly told that the Chinese "recognize they have had serious problems and continue to have some" in the area of religious freedom. "They stated part of the problem is fear that has been left over from the Cultural Revolution," Mr. Graham related. "They are only 10 years away from that terrible period which dragged China along the edge of hell. They are recovering rapidly from it, but they all admitted they have a long way to go."

Mr. Graham said that when he asked people who had been persecuted and jailed in the Cultural Revolution if the situation has changed recently "everyone said it is far better than it has been in many years." He said he was "encouraged that there is now a limited measure of

religious freedom and that thousands of churches have reopened in recent years." The evangelist added that he "expressed the hope there will be steady progress toward greater religious freedom for all believers."

According to Mr. Graham, "the Chinese constitution guarantees religious freedom, yet it is not fully implemented by local officials in many areas." He said Chinese officials told him a proposed new law "will clarify and solve many of these problems."

The evangelist also reported that he was told "many individuals still suffer direct and indirect discrimination in income, housing, education and social status because of their identification as Christians. Many leaders openly admit this and are hopeful in the discussion about the new law that it will be a wide-ranging discussion of the issues involved with religious belief that will help educate both officials and populace."

Mr. Graham said that during a two-hour discussion on religion with church leaders and university professors, "one who was presented as an atheist scholar who studies the religious phenomenon in China pointed out that Christian growth is almost everywhere, even in the remote ethnic groups, but is primarily among the Han people, which is the largest and most dominant group in China." The evangelist said the scholar "indicated that there is no single province in China without a strong Christian minority."

While noting that official statistics suggest the number of Christians has grown by eight to tenfold since the Cultural Revolution, Mr. Graham said he doubted if anyone knows "how many believers there really are." But, he said, "almost everyone admits that there are many millions and that it is growing very fast. At the same time, Chinese Christians are still a tiny minority, and they live in a society which is guided by an atheistic ideology."

Mr. Graham said that in another discussion with about 20 scholars in Shanghai, "the leader of the discussion pointed out that there is no way we can compare the religious situation in America and in China. He himself, though a high government official, indicated that he was a Christian. He said, 'You people in America cannot understand the Christians in China because we live in an atheistic society.'"

The evangelist said he came away from China "with the conviction that Christians in America and elsewhere have much to learn from their fellow believers in China. The Chinese church lacks many things materially, but they have a spiritual wealth which can overflow to those of us in other parts of the world. They have a spiritual depth which has grown strong through persecutions and hardships."



Associated Press

ev. Graham believes clergymen can run for office without mingling politics and religion.

Graham: In praise of Jackson

ATLANTA (AP) — Jesse Jackson's presidential candidacy has demonstrated that clergymen can seek public office and take strong moral stands without mingling religion with politics, evangelist Billy Graham said Tuesday.

Jackson "has the most charisma of anybody in politics today, in my judgment," Graham said.

The Baptist preacher was invited to deliver the invocation at Tuesday's session of the Democratic National Convention and said he had been asked to do likewise at the Republican gathering next month in New Orleans.

While clergymen and other Christian politicians should not exploit their positions by depicting themselves as God's candidates, neither should they downplay their religious ties, Graham said.

"If Pat Robertson made a major mistake, it was when he renounced his ordination," Graham said. "I think even the people who followed him, or peo-

ple who didn't follow him, would have a hard time understanding how a man could be called of God, ordained of God — and you're ordained for life — and to renounce it."

Graham, who has been close to several presidents including Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon but says he never took sides in a presidential election, said he would stick to that policy this year.

He said he hoped both parties' conventions would serve as catalysts of a "genuine spiritual revival in America" that would spread around the world, including the Soviet bloc.

"We are a very pluralistic society," he said. "We shouldn't have a Jewish platform or a Muslim platform or a Christian platform, but we should have principles based upon our religious faith and of course the dominant religion in America is Christianity."



Associated Press

Jackson 'has the most charisma of anybody today in politics,' according to Rev. Graham.

July 23, 88. Anchorage Times

08-30-88

8690

Graham official: studio closing but filmmaking to continue

By Darrell Turner
RNS Associate Editor

(RNS) — The chief executive officer of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association has denied press reports that the organization's film operation, World Wide Pictures, is shutting down.

"In no way are we closing down," John Corts said in an Aug. 30 telephone interview from his Minneapolis office. "We are still in business, quite in business. What we have done is to decide that we no longer need a studio to make pictures."

Although press reports said the World Wide Pictures studio in Burbank, Calif., was shut down in May after 25 years, Mr. Corts said the facility is still being used for sound mixing and film editing, although there are no plans to use it for filmmaking anymore.

Mr. Corts said the Graham association is planning to move World Wide Pictures to Minneapolis as part of an overall consolidation of all Billy Graham operations there. "We are looking at selling off the property," he said of the Burbank studio, although he added, "We haven't listed it. It's not on the market in that sense."

Mr. Corts said World Wide Pictures has a current budget of \$3 million, which he said is "about the same" as it has been in recent years. He said the motion picture operation is developing "a new sense of strategy about the kinds of films we want to do" and is planning to do more filming overseas, using national actors in films designed for particular overseas audiences.

World Wide Pictures is also making more of a push to book Graham films in churches, Mr. Corts said. He reported that the audience for World Wide films in churches rose 34 percent in the past year.

"We think we've got another 10 or 15 years of life without the studio," Mr. Corts said of World Wide Pictures. He said he anticipates that the move to Minneapolis and the new emphases on international production and church showings will "result in a fine film program and a stronger film program than ever before."

08-30-88

8692

Lutheran college opens French 'language village'

By Willmar Thorkelson
RNS Correspondent

BEMIDJI, Minn. — Concordia College, a Lutheran institution in Moorhead, Minn., has opened its third permanent "language village" here on the shores of Turtle River Lake.

Concordia, affiliated with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, will now operate a French language village at the lake alongside existing German and Norwegian villages.

The French village, named "Lac du Bois," was dedicated recently during an international festival attended by approximately 4,500 persons, 1,100 of whom were young people studying the culture and languages of 10 nations at Concordia language villages scattered across northern Minnesota.

Each of the language villages recreates the lifestyle of the country whose language is spoken and studied.

And Then There Was Billy

At 70, the century's most popular Protestant is busier than ever

BY RICHARD N. OSTLING

Jim and Tammy, Jimmy, Jerry, Oral, Pat. With other evangelistic stars beset by scandal, political controversy or organizational woe, the untainted Billy Graham remains America's most admired religious leader. And the most durable. "My schedule is just as heavy as when I was 40," says Graham, who this week reached 70. His 1988 itinerary has featured revival meetings, drop-ins at both U.S. political conventions and breakthrough tours in two Communist lands.

It was 50 years ago that a rawboned young Billy delivered his first sermon one cold night before 36 Baptists in Bostwick, Fla. Since then, he has preached in person to upwards of 100 million people, more than any other clergyman in history except perhaps Pope John Paul. With recent appearances in Buffalo, Rochester and Hamilton, Ont., Graham has achieved a remarkable four-decade run of 375 carefully choreographed revival meetings along a civilized sawdust trail.

When Graham preaches nowadays, those piercing blue eyes flash from behind bifocals, the honey-brown mane of hair is fringed with white, and it takes a half-second longer to uncoil his 6-ft. 2-in. frame when he stands up to preach. But the lilting Carolina voice, firm as ever, still stirs the stadiums. Graham's simple messages always conclude with words like these: "I'm going to ask you to get up out of your seat and come forward to say, 'I open my heart to Jesus as Lord and Saviour.'" To date, say the Graham computers, 2.2 million people have responded.

In Graham's twilight years, the 1950s Red baiter has been targeting the Communist world. Over the past decade, Graham has managed to preach salvation and world peace in Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary and—three times—the Soviet Union. Last April he conducted his first tour of mainland China, where his wife Ruth was raised by missionary parents. Prior to the arduous three-week visit, he was briefed by Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger; during it, he was the second foreign dignitary (after Corazon Aquino) to be received by new Premier Li Peng.

On a 1982 Soviet visit, Graham

was lambasted for downplaying religious repression; he contends he was more effective by raising the problem in private. When the post-*glasnost* Graham preached last June at Orthodox and Baptist churches in Kiev, the authorities allowed outdoor loudspeakers for the overflow crowds, numbering in the thousands. During the Soviet adventures, he added admiration for the Eastern Orthodox to his longtime friendliness toward Roman Catholics. "I find the Lord's people among all these groups," remarks Graham, whose toleration infuriates Fundamentalists.

Relaxing at his elegant mountainside log house at Montreat, N.C., Graham recalled his ten-day Soviet marathon with wonderment: "You couldn't believe that human beings could live through it at any age." How long will this keep up? In 1989 there will be a London mission, linked by satellite to hundreds of sites in Britain and Africa. Graham is mulling bids from Hong Kong for 1990, and after that Barcelona, Buenos Aires and Kinshasa. His doctor hopes he can persist till age 75, but Graham wonders. "To try to hold the at-

tention of a crowd of ten, twenty, thirty thousand people takes a tremendous amount of energy. In the next year I'll know how much it takes out of me."

One reason to keep on the road is Graham's conviction that "I don't see anybody in Scripture retiring from preaching." Another is that no new Billy is waiting in the wings. In fact, Graham could be the last of the big-time Protestant revivalists—at least in the West, where TV has overtaken in-person meetings. Nor is anyone in line to take over Graham's organization (1987 contributions: \$60.2 million). The association is cutting back but still sponsors periodic prime-time telecasts on 270 North American stations, a weekly show on 517 radio stations and numerous special projects. The only monuments Graham will leave behind are archives at Wheaton College and a North Carolina study center.

Instead of bricks and mortar, Graham's heritage will consist of the huge Evangelical movement that he, more than any other individual, created. Though the born-againers now dominate the U.S. Protestant landscape, Graham recalls that "when I started, the Evangelicals had no power at all. Liberalism held sway over everything." Yet he has shied away from asserting leadership over the Evangelical flock, maintaining that he lacks "the intellectual qualifications."

He shies even further away from comment on the recent misadventures of fellow evangelists, just as in earlier times he ducked confrontation with Fundamentalists and liberals. "I don't like to get into personalities," Graham says. "I feel these people are being handled by the Holy Spirit and the churches and the public. What they need from me is love and prayer." He would like to think that Evangelicalism has become "stronger spiritually" through the tumult.

The chaos might have been prevented if other evangelists had emulated Graham, who in 1950 gave control of his affairs to a board of businessmen. To keep things clean, they let local committees control revival offerings, and Graham gets a straight salary, currently \$59,100, plus his \$19,700 clergy-housing allowance. Graham has not kept any speaker fees since 1951 and has given away all royalties on his best-selling books since 1960. From the very beginning of his career, says the evangelist, "I was frightened—I still am—that I would do something to dishonor the Lord." So far, so good



Between engagements: relaxing at his North Carolina home

"I don't see anybody in Scripture retiring from preaching."

Billy Graham Arrives Moscow

6-9-88 M.T.

By Gary Lee
Washington Post Foreign Service

34

MOSCOW, June 8—The Rev. Billy Graham arrived in the Soviet Union today with 10 senior Vatican representatives and said he is interested in finding out what changes Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms have meant for Soviet Christians.

Graham, the American evangelist who prompted an uproar in the West after he declared during a 1982 visit that the practice of religion was freer in the Soviet Union than in England, seemed more cautious in an opening statement released today.

After referring to Gorbachev's programs of *perestroika* and *glasnost*—or reconstruction and openness—Graham said, "I especially look forward to learning more about the implications of these new policies for religious believers in every aspect of their lives."

Graham also appealed for full Soviet adherence to the 1975 Helsinki human rights accords, of which the Soviet Union is a signatory.

The 69-year-old American preacher said that during previous visits he "sought to explain, both publicly and privately, the deep concern that people in my own country—both Christians and non-Christians—have for human rights and freedom of religious practice."

Graham arrived today to participate in ceremonies for the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in this country.

Graham and 10 Roman Catholic cardinals were met at Moscow's Sheremetyevo airport by Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk, an envoy from Patriarch Pimen, the highest religious authority in the Soviet Union.

Among the visiting cardinals, who are part of the largest Vatican delegation ever to visit the country, are the Vatican secretary of state,

Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, and Cardinal John O'Connor of New York.

Graham lauded Gorbachev for a historic meeting that the Kremlin leader held last April with Pimen and other leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church. During the meeting, the first held between a Kremlin leader and senior church figures since the 1940s, Gorbachev conceded that many mistakes had been made in the Soviet authorities' treatment of Christians.

Contrary to statements he made during previous visits here, in which he roundly praised the state of religion in the Soviet Union, Graham today injected a mildly critical note.

"We must hope that some day all nations [that signed the final act of Helsinki declaration] will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice" religion, whether alone or in community with others, Graham said.

OUTLOOK

Commentary and Opinion



KEVIN CHADWICK FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

The Greening of Billy Graham

By Frye Gaillard

THE FIRST TIME I met Billy Graham, I did not expect to like him. He had the aura for me not of religion, but of religiosity. And he was Richard Nixon's preacher.

My awareness of him crystallized during moments of public righteousness, during all of the agony over Vietnam, when he would pound at the pulpit of his television crusades, inveighing against the storms of youthful rebellion. "There is too much negativism," Billy Graham would say, "too many people knocking our institutions." And he would clack the podium assorted young marines, clean-cut and earnest, to explain how God had helped them kill communists.

On domestic moral issues, he often sounded much the same. In October of 1971, the business and civic leaders in his hometown of Charlotte, N.C., proclaimed a day in his honor. President Nixon was on hand to speak, and there was a private party with Danish lobster tails and cross-shaped sandwiches and a 30-pound cake in the shape of a Bible.

Graham seemed overwhelmed by the gales of attention, and he smiled and joked and said gracious things. But his public remarks took a turn for the serious.

"In my family," he said, "we also wrestled with poverty if you go by today's standards. Except we did not know we were poor. We did not have sociologists, educators and newscasters reminding us of how poor we were. We also had the problem of rats. The only difference

between then and now was that we did not call on the federal government to kill them."

For those whose images of Graham remain frozen in that time, his Washington crusade next month (April 27-May 4 at the Washington Convention Center) may bring a few surprises. For more than a decade now, he has been on what he calls "a pilgrimage"—an inexorable and public evolution of his views—and no longer does he sound like a forerunner of the Rev. Jerry Falwell.

Beneath the durability and apparent simplicity of his image—the sun-tanned presence calling people forward, proclaiming the saving grace of Jesus Christ in cavernous stadiums and auditoriums scattered around the planet—lies a complex personality. Billy Graham has become—even more than he was—an honest, unpretentious man, who has had the courage to admit his capacity for error.

He was plunged into deep and painful introspection in 1974, when Richard Nixon—whose persistent flatteries he had gratefully received—suddenly fell from grace in the Watergate scandal. By that time, Graham had become a familiar figure in the halls of power. Every president since Eisenhower had courted his favor, and it was heady stuff for a Carolina farmboy—a man of touching humility, easily transformed into a need for acclaim—when presidents of both parties seemed to seek his counsel.

So Graham was devastated by the fall of Richard Nixon, felt used and tainted by the public character of the friendship. Until he listened to the Oval Office tapes, with all their vulgarities and sinister plottings, he had regarded Nixon as a man of great integrity, mistaking his pieties for an expres-

sion of real faith. Now, perhaps for the first time in his life, confusions and doubts outweighed his easy certainties. The enamel had cracked, and Graham began to brood over the complexities of human nature, the evil that can lurk beneath benign exteriors.

He had always been a man of *answers*. Suddenly there were *questions*, and they only became more troubling over the next several years when he took a series of trips to the Iron Curtain countries—where he began to re-examine the Cold War rhetoric that shaped his career. During his visits to Poland and Hungary, he began to see the humanity of America's adversaries. And in any final showdown between East and West, he now understood, the first casualties might include these human beings to whom he was speaking.

During the same period of time, he also visited Bangladesh, Calcutta and other Third World areas, where the scope and gravity of world hunger finally began to hit him. Starving people, like communists, were no longer an abstraction.

Because of such experiences, Graham's current ethical agenda reflects a deep concern for people who hurt. He denounces racism, nuclear weapons and hunger—all the sins of oppression and preparation for war, even as he crusades for personal morality. Thus, in the spring of 1982, he stood before 700 people at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, speaking softly, informally, utterly without pretension.

"As a Christian," he said, "I believe that God has a special concern for the poor of the world . . . I believe God has a special concern for things like peace, racism, the responsible use of Earth's resources, economic and social justice, the use of power and the sacredness of human life. I confess

See GRAHAM, D2, Col. 1

Frye Gaillard, an editorial writer for *The Charlotte Observer*, covered religion for that paper from 1979 until 1982.

The Greening of Graham

GRAHAM, From D1

that I have not always seen many of the complexities . . . I am still learning . . . But I have come to see in deeper ways some of the implications of my faith and the message that I have been proclaiming."

Graham Allison, the dean of the Kennedy school and a former resident of Graham's hometown, was astonished by the humility of the speech, and he said many students had a similar reaction. Nor were they alone. "I've developed a great admiration for Billy Graham," said Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the American Jewish Committee. "Just look at him today and the way that he's grown."

And Will Campbell, a renegade Southern Baptist theologian and author, a civil rights advocate who once criticized Graham for his coziness with power, declared with some emotion: "I used to accuse him of being the court prophet to Richard Nixon. I have to say, he's God's prophet now." But there is still an odd reluctance about him—a cautious yearning for acceptance, for the accustomed safety of the middle, that frustrates his critics on the left and the right.

And there are the lingering questions: Who is Billy Graham really, this man who has become a symbol of mass market Christianity? What will be his legacy? And what is there about him that we can't quite dismiss?

The search for answers leads to his 16th year when, as a thoroughly ordinary American teenager given to guilt-riddled fascinations with girls and fast cars, he found himself and a friend at a revival. The presiding evangelist, a ferocious itinerant named Mordecai Ham, demanded that the sinners confess and come forward. Graham says he almost didn't go. But then, with an ill-defined repentance surging violently inside him, he moved hesitantly up the aisle and asked Jesus to forgive him. Before long you could find him on Charlotte street corners, stiffly self-righteous in his newfound propriety, preaching to pedestrians about the wrath of God Almighty.

Then he went away to college, first to the ultra-fundamentalist Bob Jones University, where he was miserable, and later to the Florida Bible Institute in the suburbs of

Tampa, where his theology and his style took on the first hints of polish. His fire-and-brimstone understanding of sin became at least a little tempered by his sunny disposition, his gathering optimism about the efficacy of the faith, and when he graduated and began his work as an evangelist, the crowds were caught up in his natural, vibrant decency.

He still lunged about the pulpit, lashing the air with a pointed forefinger and warning his listeners of the ravages of hell. But then as now, there was an undeniable compassion when he stood before them and told them softly:

"I have no power to save anybody, to forgive anybody, to heal anybody. I'm praying right now while I'm talking to you. I'm praying, 'Lord, help me say the right thing to that person before me.'"

There was in addition another major factor in Graham's appeal. In the 1940s and '50s, on up through the early years of the 1970s, he was a righteous anti-communist, a committed Cold Warrior, proclaiming that the world was divided in half. "On the one side," he declared, "we see Western culture, with its fruit and its foundation in the Bible, the word of God . . . Communism, on the other hand, has declared war against God, against Christ, against the Bible."

Such words fell pleasantly on the ears of William Randolph Hearst, the newspaper magnate, who, after a crusade in Los Angeles in 1949, ordered his reporters to "puff Graham." What Hearst ordered, his staff quickly did, and suddenly Graham's picture was splattered across the newspapers all over the country, prompting Time-Life's Henry Luce to get into the act. Graham was stunned, perhaps even frightened, by the sudden and unrelenting shower of attention, and he remembers that he telephoned a colleague and told him: "You better get out here. Something's happening, and I don't know what it is. It's way beyond me."

Such feelings of inadequacy are not at all surprising. Graham has a genuine, unflinching understanding of his own ordinariness that is still intact after all the accolades. It is, perhaps, his most touching trait. But it has a peculiar flip side—a lingering need to justify himself, that has left him susceptible to flattery.

The flattery has come, and still does, from the highest of places. But Graham's response to it has quite clearly changed, chastened irrevocably by the demise of Nixon. In the wake of it he has emerged as a more reflective person and his relationship to American politics and culture—his understanding of his country's mission in the world—is no longer the same. He now speaks with a different perspective.

"There was a time," he told Sojourners magazine, a Washington-based Christian journal, in 1979, "when evangelicals were in the vanguard of some of the great social movements. I think of the fight against the slave trade, for example. Then in some respects we lost sight of our responsibilities to fight social evils. We said that the world would never be reformed completely anyway until Christ came again, so why bother?"

"But of course that was evading the issue. After all, I know that not everyone will believe the Gospel, but that does not mean I should give up preaching it. I know the human race is not going to suddenly lay down their arms, but that does not keep us from doing all we can before it is too late."

"Now I think evangelicals are regaining their social concern, seeing that God is concerned about the whole person. There is a danger that we will go to the opposite extreme and reduce the Gospel to social activism, of course. But what we all need to do is return to the Bible afresh—not going to it to prove a point, but seeing what it says as the Holy Spirit opens our eyes. We need to see what it says about our priorities, our lifestyles, and our mission in the world."

"Then we need to obey."

He was never, of course, a one-dimensional right-winger. In 1952, he addressed himself forcefully and unmistakably to the predominant moral issue of his time. Stalking angrily from the pulpit during a crusade in Chattanooga, he pulled down the ropes that separated blacks and whites in the audience, and from that moment on, he made clear his opposition to the practice of segregation.

He developed a cordial relationship with Martin Luther King (knew him well enough to call him by his nickname, Mike), and in 1957 he spoke out again in his own hometown. He had seen the newspaper photographs of Dorothy Counts, a young black girl in a prim checkered dress, taunted by a mob

as she broke the color barrier at a Charlotte high school. Deeply moved and offended by the image, Graham sat down and wrote her a letter, stiff and awkward in its sympathy; a curious mixture of Christian compassion and Cold War patriotism:

"Dear Miss Counts," he said. "Democracy demands that you hold fast and carry on. The world of tomorrow is looking for leaders, and you have been chosen. Those cowardly whites against you will never prosper because they are un-American and unfit to lead. Be of good faith. God is not dead. He will see you through. This is your one great chance to prove to Russia that democracy still prevails. Billy Graham, D.D."

For the better part of 20 years, he refused to hold a crusade in South Africa, and when he finally did go in 1973—speaking to 105,000 people in Johannesburg and Durban—he denounced the practice of apartheid, calling it a sin, and he insisted that his audience be fully integrated.

In the years since then, he has continued his urgent pace of overseas travel, and in the early summer of 1982—a time of great approval from unexpected quarters—he set out for Moscow. His mission was twofold: to preach the Gospel in several Russian churches, and to testify at an international religious conference on nuclear disarmament.

At the heart of his peace conference message was a quote from Albert Einstein: "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our way of thinking. Thus we are drifting toward a catastrophe beyond comparison. We shall require a substantially different manner of thinking if mankind is to survive."

Graham echoed the sentiment: "Our purpose is to rise above narrow national interests . . . Let us call the nations and leaders of our world to repentance. We need to repent as nations and over our past failures—the failure to accept each other, the failure to accept each other, the failure to be concerned about the needs of the poor and the starving of the world, the failure to place top priority on peace instead of war . . ."

"I would urge the leaders of nations, especially the major powers, to declare a moratorium on hostile rhetoric. Peace does not grow in a climate of mistrust . . ."

Though he still speaks passionately on the subject of peace, weaving the issue into nearly every public message, he generally avoids the debate on the best way to pursue it. He has dodged reporters' questions on the Rea-

gan arms buildup, and skirted the issue on specific new weapons.

Though criticism pains him if he respects the source, Graham does his best to shrug it off.

"My main focus is the Gospel," he says, with the faintest trace of apology. "I'm concerned about what it can do for you, for a person's life. There may be issues distantly related to the Gospel, or perhaps they are deeply related. But the gift of an evangelist is a very narrow gift."

He shrugs when you ask how history will judge him.

"I think I won't have any control of that," he says. "There are a couple of books being written right now—religious history in the 20th Century—and I don't know that I'll even be mentioned because there are so many people that have come along who have made a much greater impact, right or wrong, than I have."

"But Daniel Schorr said something last night that made me feel rather good. He said, 'You give credibility to the Christian cause.' And whether that's true or not, I would like to think so, because we've certainly tried."

So in the years left to him at the age of 67, he remains committed to the energetic application of his talents—proclaiming the gospel and its link to peace and justice, but more than anything else, simply urging people to recommit their lives.

He will stand at the podium in Washington, Paris, Amsterdam and Tallahassee, and the arena will suddenly fill with the sound of his voice—rich and honey-toned and gently pleading, the words familiar after so many years:

"You come forward now, men and women, black or white; you come, hundreds of you. It'll only take a moment to come. Mothers, fathers, young people too. The ushers will show you. You may be an elder or a deacon in a church, but you come."

And they will come, too, moving forward slowly in numbers that are startling, the choir as always singing "Just As I Am," and above it all, the same hypnotic voice: "You come now. It's important that you come. There's something about coming forward that helps settle it in your mind."

It is a calling deeply rooted in the simple decency of his faith, and whatever it means or doesn't mean—whatever its limitations in the eyes of his critics—he is doing, without question, what he thinks God has in mind.