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endering unto the Press: The first of two Billy Graham press conferences I attended took place in February 1970 at the Penn Garden Hotel, across the street from the new Madison Square Garden, and also across the street from a restaurant that has a tank full of live perch in its front window. After coming out of the press conference, I watched the fish for about an hour. There were maybe a dozen of them in the tank. I soon observed that most of them huddled fearfully in one corner, packed together like commuters. They barely moved. Two or three others swam around seignorially in an ill-defined middle ground occupying about one third to one half the tank.

The rest of the water—more than half the space allotted to these perch to live out their lives before being consumed by the perch-loving visitor to New York City—was in the possession of a single, large, powerful and ever-watchful perch with a strikingly pronounced jaw line.

The top perch's jaw line reminded me of Billy Graham's, which I had just spent an hour or so studying. In both cases, it is a singular peninsula, a jutting out, a thrusting forward that attests at once to the owner's power and tenacity and his willingness to use both in defense of his prerogatives. There the resemblance ends, however. The top perch has become deformed and ugly from his perpetual need to defend himself and his territory. His face is repulsive, his eyes are wary and the total effect is one of angry rigidity. Graham, on the other hand, is vigorous and comely. His face is clear. His eyes are not wary but open and receptive to encounter. The total effect is one of virile serenity.

The difference, of course, is that whereas the fish has to spend his every minute asserting himself and expending energy to save himself from all sorts of danger, Graham does not. Billy Graham is in no danger. He has been saved by a Higher Power. He can assert himself, not on his own behalf, but as the agent of an idea, a principle, a system. Consequently, he can relax; he is, in Max Weber's phrase, "an instrument of a god" and has nothing to fear but the horsemen of self-doubt: fear, guilt and shame.

This blessed assurance is precisely the quality he transmitted throughout the press conference. True, he has had years to acclimatize himself in this arena and it is not precisely like the Christians and the lions. But reporters can be relentless and, while they are not allowed to rend the flesh, they can certainly wound the spirit. But Billy Graham is very nearly invulnerable, except for the very few times when he feels the need to be less than perfectly candid. On those occasions, he is notably weakened.

Somebody, for example, asked him whether he didn't think that Spiro Agnew was doing the country less than a service by his caustic attacks on the young. Graham had to pause for an instant, in which a flush crept over his already well-tanned face. His eyes shifted and, for an instant, he seemed oddly indecisive. Then he remembered that he wasn't facing these reporters on his own behalf; he knew what he had been enjoined to render unto whom and if Spiro Agnew wasn't precisely Caesar, so what? Finally, Graham said he wouldn't comment on personalities (though he already had commented on several) and his face cleared and he invited the next question.

When the conference ended, I went up to Graham and introduced myself. He had just concluded a short, lively chat

with a pretty, dark-haired girl from *Time*, conducting himself in a manner I can only describe as sexless flirtation. We chatted a bit and I discovered that Graham in private discourse is friendly, responsive and alert. Everybody goes away from him liking him immensely and so did I. I had learned that Graham always called Mr. Nixon Dick, but now calls him Mr. President; that marijuana is not a hard drug but it lowers the resistance toward hard drugs; that the evangelist's eldest daughter, Gigi, made her decision for Christ at the age of five. That a son of his went to Stony Brook Prep School and never tried grass, whereas, in his youth, Billy Frank smoked a Camel and his dad gave him such a beating, he's never wanted a cigarette since. That Mrs. Ruth Graham, his wife, raised their children similarly, with a Bible in one hand and a hickory stick in the other. That this generation is more disturbed than previous ones, but that he "loves" them, and blames their problems on the older people.

When I indicated that I was interested in joining Graham for the New York crusade, which was scheduled for June 24-28, 1970, he said that would be just fine. He took me over to Bill Brown, the crusade director, and said to me, "Now, whenever you're ready, just contact Bill."

Late in May, I met Brown again and said I was ready. He gave me a copy of the authorized biography to read, a 1966 book, by John Pollock, which, according to the jacket, "meets the need for genuine biographical treatment."

Here I learned that William Franklin Graham, Jr., was born in Charlotte, North Carolina, on November 7, 1918. His father was a farmer who had experienced a religious conversion in early manhood. His mother was a distant relative of President James K. Polk. Billy was high-spirited; frequently, "off came his father's belt or out came his mother's long hickory switch." Not surprisingly, Billy recalls "a great sense of burden that I was a sinner before God and had a great fear of hell and judgment." At the age of 16, he attended a revival meeting in town and came under the spell of fiery evangelist Mordecai Ham. He came forward. He decided for Christ.

I found the book genuinely biographically edifying. I also enjoyed a May 26 meeting at Carnegie Hall that Bill Brown invited me to attend, at which Mrs. Graham spoke before a large throng of women in cotton dresses to below the knee. They had almost all arrived by buses chartered far away, in the unknown terminals of the Silent Majority and Righteous Path Coach Lines. Many, many, many of them looked like Pat Nixon. Their faces had an etched quality, as though they had been acted upon year after year without the owner's participation, shaped impersonally by impersonal forces, lacking crucial components of the self. The knowledge that they had been saved (and the subtler knowledge of what they had lost) came out in their faces as a mixture of resignation, resentment and pride.

Several speakers preceded Mrs. Graham, including an earnest young lady named Peggy, who assured everybody that "when you have a need, just say it. All of heaven goes into action." Then Bill Brown introduced the evangelist's wife: "It's just wonderful to see how God is using Ruth Graham."

Mrs. Graham's silver-gray hair was neatly coiffed and swept up and sprayed. She had a bony face, with sunken eyes and a large mouth set in a permanent state of semismile, as well as a long, beautiful neck and a very strong jaw line. She presented herself as a typical parochial housewife (which she is) through a series of homely little anecdotes embodying the Message, like a stand-up comic for godliness, her (continued on page 134)

Meaver, Silent Majority, To Thee

article By SAUL BRAUN heaven's supersalesman billy graham leads an ever-growing flock in the unswerving belief that god, the flag and the president are an immutable trinity—and may the unwashed heathen be damned

Nearer, Silent Majority, To Thee

talk studded with references to "the dear old Negro caretaker" and the "delightful little Jewish businessman" and "one of the most delightful and refreshing little Christians I know today." Her delivery was faltering and pallid and it was clear that she must have worked hard to school herself to these tasks. She received a warm hand. The program ended with Mrs. Fred Esty, whose husband is chairman of the United States Banknote Corporation, delivering a prayer in which she thanked God for His omnipotence and omniscience.

The second press conference took place at the Roosevelt Hotel, on West 45th Street, just prior to the commencement of the crusade. In the meantime, I had talked to my editor at PLAYBOY and asked if he was interested in a piece on Billy Graham. The editor had sent off a letter of assignment to Mr. Gil Stricklin, Graham's press officer, asking for the cooperation of the Graham organization.

Thus, when I entered the Oval Room, where the conference was being held, I first said hello to a girl named Twyla of the Graham press office, who said they had received the letter from PLAYBOY and mailed my credentials to me. (They arrived a month after the crusade ended.) Then, I walked over to Dick Jensen, another member of the Graham press team, and the only one not given to a ready show of warmth. Jensen is not the only suspicious man on the team but he is the only one who makes no attempt to hide it. Upon first meeting me, he had sized me up, made a number of hastily conceived assumptions and said, "Well, like, man, what can we do for you?"

Jensen took me over to Stricklin, a short, thin man with a sympathetic smile and the mixture of brashness and humility appropriate to a little-known Apostle. With a sorrowful crinkle about his eyes, he informed me that Mr. Graham wouldn't be able to give any interviews, he was too busy, and the Graham organization wouldn't be able to cooperate at all.

There must be some mistake, I said dim-wittedly. Bill Brown gave me the authorized biography.

Stricklin said he sympathized with my plight; he truly did. He started to walk away.

Wait a minute. Mr. Graham himself said he would cooperate.

The truth is, Stricklin said, Mr. Graham will not consent to any interview for PLAYBOY, he is against what PLAYBOY stands for. Stricklin said he'd had many conversations with "your Mr. Anson Mount" [PLAYBOY's Public Affairs Manager], and that the conditions had been made plain.

I don't know anything about condi-

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tions, I said. Why don't you tell me what they are?

Well, one of them, Stricklin said, is that PLAYBOY take the Playmate centerfold out of the issue in which the Graham interview appears.

As soon as the conference ended, I approached Graham, who was once again talking to the girl from *Time*. Before I could say a word, Graham smiled warmly and held out his hand, saying, "Hello, good to see you again," and in that same moment Gil Stricklin spotted the encounter and came running. Swift as the vengeance of the Lord, he struck. Darting forward with the information that this was Saul Braun—yes, Graham smiled, I remember him—who had taken an assignment from PLAYBOY and that "we" had told "them" many times, there wouldn't be any interviews. I raised my voice angrily, interrupting, and asked if Stricklin wouldn't mind letting me speak for myself. In the midst of this hubbub, Billy Graham lifted his right arm slowly and magisterially in a sensitive arc, stilling us both instantly. Then he turned to me and smiled.

That smile is a possibly conscious imitation of Christ. It is soft and gentle and comforting, and invites a feeling of reassurance. That this is an ancient smile is attested by the kindly lines framing his mouth and eyes. His eyes are very blue, very intense, piercing, it is hard not to feel judged, but there is no doubting the genuineness of his warmth. It made me shy and fumbling. I am on balance a doubter, but also a seeker, and something about the way Billy Graham cast his net made it easy for me to be dragged in. He stands for the principle of stern but merciful judgment, embodying it in such a way as to enable you to feel secure in the integrity of the system. For the first time in many years, I felt willing to put myself under the protection of another man's justice and mercy. I reported on my dialog with Stricklin and explained that I hadn't known about the problem with PLAYBOY and would be happy to relinquish the assignment, if that would clear up the problem.

No, he said. I won't have time for any interviews at all. Still smiling. He leaned back with a challenging look on his face lurking just beneath the smile.

I was baffled. Why not? I asked.

He said he wouldn't say.

Is it because of the PLAYBOY assignment?

He said he wouldn't say.

Why won't you say?

Graham leaned forward sharply, his chin suddenly outthrust, a triumphant look on his face, his finger jabbing in the direction of my left hand. Because you have your tape recorder going, he said.

I looked down. The tape recorder was

indeed going. I was mortified. There were perhaps half a dozen people around and they were all looking at me. Their eyes upon me shamed me further still. I had done something wrong, something bad. I knew I had done something bad and had been justly punished for it. I hung my head. I felt a burning sensation in my ears and wished only that the earth would open up beneath me.

The tape recorder had been running without pause for more than an hour. It had been on throughout the press conference. I was carrying it about with me reflexively, as I conceive any good reporter would. When I gave myself a moment to reflect on it, I knew for certain that I had not switched it on to trap Graham into some heinous admission of distaste for PLAYBOY, or even thought of it. *Then why was I feeling guilt and shame? Where had these feelings come from? By what mysterious alchemy had this relentless doubter, also a seeker, submitted himself for judgment?* I was amazed. Searching my heart for malice and finding none, I raised my head with assurance.

Graham, in the meantime, had turned back to the girl from *Time* and commenced a discussion of the flag and of patriotism, matters I had intended taking up with him. However, I was now filled with self-righteousness and the knowledge that I was on a higher mission than my own petty journalistic ends. I snapped off the recorder with a conspicuous gesture and shoved the microphone into my pocket, fortifying myself with the sacrifice of a few good quotes. I squatted alongside Graham's chair and said, excuse me, but it is very important to me that you know it was never my intention to trap you. I said that it was important to me that Graham believe that, saying that and searching Graham's face carefully, kneeling beside his chair now because I am getting too old to squat for any length of time, one of my arms extended like a mendicant's, resting upon the arm of Graham's chair.

Graham leaned forward and smiled, gripping my forearm and squeezing it gently. "I know," he said.

He knew. I believed that he did know and it was as if a great weight had been lifted from me. I had been right in trusting that all I needed to do was search my heart and report on it honestly and Graham would understand. I was Graham's child. Graham loved me and would care for me.

Then I can have the interview?

No, he said, you cannot.

After a long pause, my cheeks burning, I said, why not?

I'm not going to say.

You're not going to say?

That's right.

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Nearer, Silent Majority, To Thee

Is it because of the PLAYBOY assignment after all?

"I'm not going to say, he said, and smiled and that brilliant brutal smile of grace told me all I needed to know about the Fortress of Heaven. This was my last personal contact with Billy Graham. It reassured me that what Graham knows best is his own lesson, one that I have seen on many a thrifty, mercantile's wall: IN GOD WE TRUST. ALL OTHERS PAY CASH.

Rendering unto God: "You've come to say not to me but to Christ," Billy Graham is telling a vast crowd in Shea Stadium. "Now remember, God loves you. He's interested in every detail of your life. He knows all about your past. Just say, Lord I have sinned. I'm sorry. Forgive me. And then receive Him by faith, receive Christ by faith. Say, Lord I do believe. We know we're saved, not because we always feel it but because God's word says it."

The platform upon which Graham stands is decked out with flowers, but resembles more than anything the thrusting prow of a warship. There are a piano and an organ, both used to support a sequence of speakers and singers who witness to their own faith. The guest artists, drawing cards all, range from faithful, tired old Ethel Waters to vivacious young Anita Bryant, a former Miss Oklahoma, who, in 1968, "became the first woman to head Freedom's Foundation at Valley Forge." Her "favorite type of singing is that in which she can express her personal faith in Jesus Christ," and her "marriage to Bob Green has often been described as being an ideal one." Miss Bryant sings with a large forceful voice and then pleads winningly with the girls in the audience to preserve their virginity for their intended husbands.

Graham, in a recent article in the *Reader's Digest*, offered the Bible ("the world's most reliable textbook on sex") as a guide to the perplexed. He quotes with approval Saint Paul's remonstrance to Christians in Corinth, "the sex capital of the ancient world":

Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit? He that commits fornication sinneth against his body."

Billy Graham's Christian accepts or tends to accept none but the timid, newly prescribed sexuality of the Judeo-Christian formula for marital sacrament. Fornication is defined in a Billy Graham glossary as "unnatural sex behavior." The Graham Christian seeks perfection in the purity of his heart and soul, yet is able to stand by at the mission of unspeakable obscenities as My Lai and support the vilest. Thus it was, perhaps, inevitable

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that Graham's crusade in Knoxville, Tennessee, in May, would provide a rare opportunity for Richard Nixon to appear to be unreservedly welcome on a college campus. That particular crusade was on the campus of the University of Tennessee, but it did not take a metaphysician to locate the soul of the audience. The students were elsewhere. Here were the aging sons and daughters of a people who called their crusade Manifest Destiny and swept westward to the Pacific, taking the Indian's land—righteous, fundamentalist border people, strong, hard and unyielding. They loved the Lord, hated the Indian, made war and stole land. It was God's plan for them to do so.

But there were some students there. Demonstrators. They brought a flush to the cheeks of Billy Graham as they combined anti-war slogans with chants like "Fuck Billy Graham." Rejecting innocence along with moral irresponsibility. Rejecting a religion that, as Reinhold Niebuhr said, "throws an aura of sanctity on contemporary public policy, whether morally inferior or outrageously unjust." Under a recently reactivated edict that prohibits interference with religious cere-

monies, these demonstrators were swiftly clapped into jail, to the evident pleasure of the crusaders.

Billy Graham's Christian is no threat to Caesar, and never has been. This is a good religion for greedy princes and for anybody who favors passive obedience, who prefers not to confront the reality of his own responsibility for this world and the next and the next and the next: disguising desire as submission.

"I'm not going to be saved because I'm good," Billy says in Shea Stadium, holding a large-print Bible aloft with his left hand. "I'm not going to be saved because I preach to many people. I'm going to be saved the same way you are. Because of Christ. What he did on the cross."

What does a boy do with the awful knowledge of his power when it comes upon him like an avalanche in the overheated spring of his life? Billy was 16. He had a great fear of hell and judgment. A sense of burden. At that Charlotte revival meeting, evangelist Mordecai Ham kept pointing the finger and somehow it kept finding young Billy, who knew himself to be a sinner. Billy kept ducking that finger, until finally the struggle ended with the choir singing *Almost Persuaded Now to Believe*, with Billy standing up



and coming forward to accept Christ, in what he called "this great surrender."

Before long he was lodged deep in Bible study, first at fundamentalist Bob Jones University and then at the Florida Bible Institute in Tampa. He became an ordained minister. Within five years, there were posters out on Billy at the York, Pennsylvania, Gospel Center: HERE IS YOUTH AFLAME FOR GOD! EVANGELIST BILLY GRAHAM, CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA, A GREAT GOSPEL PREACHER AT 21.

The summer of '36, he went on the road for the Fuller Brush Company and the field manager said he beat any salesman he had. Billy could have sold anything at all. But Mrs. Graham remembers that "he wanted to please God more than any man I'd ever met." Billy was burning. Handsome, virile, dynamic, with a boyish enthusiasm, which has never left him. But that "tremendous burden" weighed him down. He often walked alone at night. One evening in the spring of '38, he found himself on a golf course. "The trees were loaded with Spanish moss and in the moonlight it was like a fairyland," and with tears streaming down his cheeks, "I remember getting on my knees and saying, 'O God, if you want me to preach, I will do it.'"

God's will be done.

When he preaches, Billy Graham says, a great power comes over him. He is an instrument of the Lord and he quivers. His long arms gesticulate and pump. Pumped up with passion and the Message. The passion builds and the Message spurts, covering the people with divine refreshment. The power of the Lord speaking through him. In perfect submission is absolute power and presence, without fear, without guilt, without shame. Denying autonomy as a way of avoiding a confrontation with the knowledge of one's mortality. The derivation and the sustenance of the Judaeo-Christian system of values.

"Many times," Graham has told a *Newsweek* reporter, "I wish the Lord would take me, because I get weighted down with the sins of the world, for which I have a constant revulsion." It is possible to avoid confronting the one ineradicable fact of our existence only by disguising it as a blessing, in which death becomes nothing more than the portal to a better life. One cannot take the body along, but that is all right, the body has value only as "the temple of the Holy Spirit" and is in itself valueless, its multiform sensations and insights to be circumscribed, if not actually suppressed.

"With the devaluation of the body," Herbert Marcuse writes, "the life of the body is no longer the real life, and the negation of this life is the beginning rather than the end." But the relief from anxiety in the Christian way is, in Marcuse's phrase, "a premature cure," which turns all details of life and art in the

Western world into their sex-repressing and death-welcoming aspects. And all because nature and man conspired to make the world fearful.

"Time," says Paul Tillich, "runs from the beginning to the end, but our awareness of time goes in the opposite direction. It starts with the anxious anticipation of the end."

Those of us who grew up to be Abraham have, perhaps, forgotten that we also once were Isaac, that we once lay upon the altar with the sun in our eyes and sand on our flesh, thongs binding us, a salty taste in the mouth, knowing death to be near, forever and ever and ever alone, a faceless white-bearded Father haloed by the sun, looming above us, the sun glinting off the knife in his hand.

Billy Graham believes you can hide from that memory, can repress indefinitely the sure knowledge of that awful moment, and that is precisely the certitude he is offering as he issues the call and the chorus of 4000 begins singing *Blessed Assurance* and the first trickle of people comes forward. "*Blessed assurance, Jesus is mine! / Oh what a foretaste of glory divine!*" It is not easy to come forward in Shea Stadium, there are all those ramps to go down. "*This is my story, this is my song, / Praising my Savior all the day long.*" Sweet, tremulous voices, rinsed in goodness. The first few hundred people are reaching the field and following the marked paths into the infield. "*Perfect submission, perfect delight, / Visions of rapture now burst on my sight.*"

Billy Graham has been issuing the call now for almost three decades. In Los Angeles, in 1949, 350,000 people attended the crusade and 3000 came forward. William Randolph Hearst took an interest in him. So did Henry Luce. Since then, he has preached before more than 42,000,000 people and at least 1,200,000 have made a decision for Christ. The 1969 crusade budget was \$862,371. "*Angels descending, bring from above, / Echoes of mercy, whispers of love.*" Over the loud-speaker, a voice asks "you that are eleven years of age or under" to wait behind the platform for a counselor. There are special children's counselors, as well as "Latin-speaking counselors" and "counselors with a psychiatric orientation." Now the choir begins singing *I Have Decided to Follow Jesus*, and the crowd has grown considerably. Here are those who have known danger. Here are those who know themselves to be fragile and mortal. "*The world behind me, the cross before me, / No turning back, no turning back.*"

"Don't be discouraged if you fall and fail a few times," Graham counsels. "Keep going. God understands. He loves you. He'll help you."

Here nobody is in a great rush or a

heat of emotion, everybody is ambling toward salvation. The dominant tone is earnestness. Only one man is on his knees. The counselors are talking to the new Christians, males to males and females to females. Out behind the platform, adult counselors are bent at the waist to instruct the children who have decided for Christ. Many of the youngsters are Negroes: uniformly well dressed, spotless in jacket and tie, and either perspiring or blank with fear. A nice white lady is talking to Raymond and saying, "Raymond, if you do all these things, you know what's going to happen? You're going to grow and grow and grow and grow right to Jesus."

Over here the Reverend Kanaley is talking to a little black boy named Norwood, who is all dressed up—olive suit, black bow tie—five-six years old, his mother and two sisters standing close by. They brought him down here and they are all smiles, because Norwood will be with Jesus, but he is rigid and his eyes are large and round and unblinking. "Norwood, if the Lord says to you, 'Why should I let you into my heaven?' what are you going to say?" But Norwood is too frightened to say. He moves his mouth reflexively, like a ghetto perch in a crowded tank. The Reverend Kanaley is patient with him. "You're going to say, 'Because Jesus died for me.' And you know what God will say, Norwood?" Norwood's mouth moves, but no sound comes out. The Reverend Kanaley tells him, "God will say, 'Well, Norwood, come on in.'"

Rendering unto Caesar: July 3, 1970, in Washington, D. C., the day before Honor America Day, dawns bright and clear and by midafternoon has become hot and muggy. The city is decked with flags, clusters of them mounted on street signs and lampposts, red, white and blue, limp in the heat. Tourists throng the Washington Monument, while down on the Mall, at the end of 17th Street, they are pounding the last few nails into the stage for the Bob Hope show tomorrow evening. The show is being produced by the Walt Disney organization and the Disney-drawn façade of the proscenium presents us with a familiar patriotic emblem: an eagle clutching red-white-and-blue streamers and banners with his talons. He has an olive branch in his beak, but do not mistake him, he is combative, his brow beetling angrily over his beak and there is, oddly, a certain madness in his expression. There is comic lunacy in this Disney eagle. He will fight without necessarily knowing who or why he is fighting. He needs only crossed eyes to be transformed into the loony hero of a Disney strip—Merkin Eagle, who gets tangled in power lines, flies into the sides of barns, defoliates the countryside and so forth, in his endlessly repeated

attempts to catch and devour some cute little prey: *Oh, I do beweeave it's Mewkin fawg fawg high above me. I better*

There is an encampment of young people halfway up the slope toward the Washington Monument, near a shade tree. Hour by hour, the crowd there grows and, by nightfall, the slope is covered with people, sleeping bags and blankets and there is some smoking of the vile weed and assassin of youth, but not much, considering that this is the Marijuana Smoke-In that the sponsors of the Honor America Day festivities have been fearing. The smoke-in was announced several months before Billy Graham and Hobart Lewis, the editor of the *Reader's Digest*, had the idea of throwing an old-fashioned Fourth of July wingding in the nation's capital, not to support the Administration but only to honor the nation. No politics.

This is mostly a peaceable crowd, with a small boisterous element that goes into fits of obscene cheerleading, like at football games. *Gimme an eff. Eff. Gimme a yew. Yew. Gimme a sea. Sea. Gimme a kay. Kay. What does it spell? EFF-YEW-SEA-KAY.* (But not exactly like football games: *Slaughter a bastids. Hahad cuts it.*)

There is clapping and snake dancing and a considerable amount of disarray, but it is relatively peaceful until a skinny, loping kid in a hot sweat, bare-chested, long brown hair flying, a bull's-eye patch and Indian tail tied to his left forearm, screams down the hillside: "Hey listen we need some people up on the hill its the pigs the pigs are stealing a flag up there stealing our flag the pigs," and everybody is off and running. Over the crest of the hill. The cops are walking off with a Woodstock Nation flag.

Hey that's my flag.

Yeah well come around at the park police headquarters tomorrow and pick it up.

Gimme an eff. Mah, mah-ree-wanna. Smoooooooooke mah-ree-wanna. Off the pigs. Off the pigs. Power to the people!

"They've been drinking," a black cop says. "Alcohol is talking now."

The police are gathered around the monument, four mounties clapping in place, their horses shying and neighing, their nostrils (the mounties', not the horses') flaring. More cops appear. Motorcycles. Long sticks to hit people with. The kids hooting, circling and baiting the beleaguered cops. The thing has gotten out of hand, there will be no peaceful smoke-in here tonight. A cherry bomb comes out of the crowd and explodes beneath a cop's horse. The horse panics, the crowd cheers wildly. The mounties go charging into the crowd: the crowd scatters; some people fall, some scream. The cops have formed a picket line at the reserved seats down by the empty stage and now they are sweep-



"Why don't you ever do that for me anymore?"

ing up the slope toward the shade tree, picking up speed as they go, and it's scary to see. Maybe 40 of them, back-lit by strong searchlights, faceless dragoons, helmeted, meaning business. The entire area is being cleared and nobody is being allowed even to collect his private property and anybody objecting to the dispersal gets a sharp night-stick rap and a muscular shove.

In the darkness, the sound of breaking glass, the sound of anarchy: terrifying. The police are breaking bottles as they go, flailing at the grass. One tear-gas grenade has gone off, the white smoke settling in a hollow for a moment before drifting upslope.

All along, there has been a very large crowd nearby, calmly listening to the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folk Life. Now that ends. A man comes onstage and says, "There's been a small disturbance in the area. We've been asked to stop the music." The two crowds mingle, they are not really all that much apart from each other in some ways, and now the cops are pushing back this much larger throng and some of them don't seem to understand what's going on here. A young man has his arm around his girl's shoulder, not radical-looking at all, but they want to go over there, toward Constitution Avenue, while the cops want them to move to 14th Street. A sergeant tells them gruffly to keep moving in that direction: "If you don't move now," he says, "you'll be locked up." The boy looks incredulous. "Locked up?" he says. Without another

word, the sergeant raps him with his club, then holds it two-handed and shoves the kid about six feet and the kid is now bug-eyed. His girl can't believe her eyes.

This sergeant talks to people nicely, he has a sane and sensible manner with a good simulation of self-control, but he is burning. Every so often he goes ape-shit. I watch him for about 20 minutes. Without exception, he is roughest on guys who have chicks with them. If you didn't have a chick with you, you could even say a word or two to him. Force as a source of power and self-esteem, force as sexual bluster. Later this same policeman was at a squad car, speaking into a loud-speaker: "Those of you who are not associated with the rock or bottle throwers can assist the police by moving toward the Capitol peacefully."

Elsewhere, a cop has been hit on the head by a bottle. He is standing alongside an ambulance, his shirt bloody, his head bandaged. He is grinning and joking with his fellow officers. There are more than 100 cops around by now and only a few diehard demonstrators are left in the park. Several police lunge into a small knot of these and come out with one. One cop holds his arms. With a second cop, they move in the general direction of a paddy wagon. A third cop skips alongside, holding his club aloft and, steadying himself with one hand on a colleague's shoulder, he leans in over them all to give the boy three, four, five angry muscular whacks on the head. It is the sound of something hard going soft, and it makes you sick to your stomach to

hear it. When the cops release the boy, he is hunched forward, turning about this way and that, his arms outstretched pleadingly and there is a lot of something bubbling up in his mouth, blood or repentance. He is through for the revolution, softheaded, turning about, looking for somebody to plead his innocence to.

The following morning, at 11 or shortly thereafter, Billy Graham rises to speak to a crowd estimated at anywhere between 10,000 and 25,000. A pulpit has been erected about halfway up the Lincoln Memorial stairs. Just below it, a very large American flag rests on an incline, on a low-legged platform, and from it a red carpet extends through the middle of some reserved seats, which have been put out neatly, row by row, for specially invited guests. Behind the pulpit is a long row of chairs for the dignitaries: Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, Colonel Frank Borman, Kate Smith, Pat Boone, Miss Susan Huskisson, who was the runner-up in the 1967 Miss Teenage America Pageant and is now a student at the University of Tennessee, and several others, including a Negro minister and eagle scout Don Pickett, a 17-year-old Pawnee Indian from Tulsa, Oklahoma, who has been the recipient of a God and Country Award.

Behind the dignitaries is the band, the United States Army Band and Herald Trumpets, in gaudy braided uniform and, above it, the 500-voice chorus of the Southern Baptist Convention—the

Centurymen, directed by Buryl Red, all neatly attired in marbled-green tuxedos with black shawl collars over yellow turtlenecks. None of them appears bothered by the heat. Their bluff sober faces reflect their dry contentment at being anonymous and identical, and they sing *O God Our Help in Ages Past* and *Joyful, Joyful We Adore Thee* with gusto. Altogether, the band and chorus do about a dozen numbers and, except for a couple of Bach pieces, all have words like March, God, National Spirit and Freedom in the title.

All the dignitaries have something to do this day, even the Negro pastor, who introduces Don Pickett and Susan Huskisson. Pickett pledges allegiance to the flag. Miss Huskisson delivers a prize-winning essay titled, "I Speak for Democracy."

Her ancestors, Susan reminds us, left their blood at Lexington, Valley Forge, Fort Sumter, Gettysburg, in the Argonne Forest, at Salerno and Normandy and Okinawa, "and in the bare, bleak hills called Pork Chop and Old Baldy and Heartbreak Ridge," but not, apparently, in Vietnam, which is not being mentioned today. All the earlier wars are heroic and glorious, but Vietnam is political. In any case, America's wars are fought so that the rest of us might take pleasure "in the laughter of a small boy as he watches the antics of a circus clown, in the delicious coldness of the first bite of peppermint ice cream on the Fourth of July, in the little tenseness of a baseball crowd as the umpire calls

"Batter up!" and in the high school band's rendition of *Stars and Stripes Forever* in the Memorial Day parade."

"America," Miss Huskisson attests, has "offered freedom and opportunity such as no land before her has ever known," and is now a land where 200,000,000 people are "all glad, terribly glad, to be what they are," because they "have more roast beef and mashed potatoes, the yield of American labor and land, more telephones and Orlon sweaters, the fruits of American initiative and enterprise, more public schools and life-insurance policies, symbols of American security and faith in the future, more laughter and song than any other people on earth." Miss Huskisson ends with a periphrastic show of determination, which expresses a fixed and unshakable belief in the pre-eminence of Americans: "Show me a people more energetic, creative, progressive, bigger-hearted and happier than our people," she demands, "Not until then will I consider your way of life."

It is not immediately clear whose way of life Miss Huskisson is rejecting. The audience applauds her sentiments vigorously, however, and in that moment a number of people have slipped into the reflecting pool between the Memorial and the Washington Monument, all young, mostly boys, almost all white, carrying a large banner reading HOUR OF DECISION: GOD OR COUNTRY, and one would almost think they had materialized in response to Miss Huskisson's call, except that they have been here all weekend, being very energetic and creative and progressive and big-hearted, if not terribly happy. Miss Huskisson would not like to think of them as real Americans, but that is what they are, the sons and daughters of our other Manifest Destiny.

"Well, they're finally getting the bath they needed," says an onlooker. Other comments, not all equally churlish, attest to a gulf that no amount of Orlon sweaters and mashed potatoes and life-insurance policies can bridge, for these half-naked children are pale witnesses for an America in which telephones do not properly communicate what it is that must pass between people and, for that matter, neither do the public schools. The hippie-Yippie-crazies wade toward the ceremonial gathering slowly and quietly.

Now the nation's unofficial chaplain rises to speak. He strides briskly to the podium and shakes his cuffs and leans forward with energy. There is power in him as he starts his speech, which is Caesar-rendering without apologies. There is no shilly-shallying here, no false starts, no funny stories or embarrassments, as he quotes another of those fine-print clauses in the Christian contract:

"The Bible says in 1 Peter, 2:17: 'Honor all men. Fear God. Honor the



"Aw, I don't think there's too much violence on TV. . . ."

king.' The king referred to was the Roman emperor. Since our nation is a republic and not a monarchy," Graham reasons shrewdly, "this Scripture could read, 'Honor the nation.'"

Graham doesn't want to be associated in our mind with only this Administration and this is not a political gathering here, this is strictly nonpartisan. The evangelist had access to Eisenhower; he had access to Kennedy, whom he visited in Palm Beach; and Johnson even attended one of his crusades, though he didn't actually speak, as Nixon did in May at the East Tennessee Crusade. But Graham is often asked that question and he answers that he and Nixon have been friends for a very long time, he conducts services in the White House, and *Life* columnist Hugh Sidey says he "has certainly been assigned the care of the President's soul." Last year's skit of the Gridiron Club saw Graham this way:

*There's a church in the East Room
of the White House,
A lovely Establishment shrine.
I give briefings Sunday at the White
House.
They're on policy matters divine.
Oh come, come, come, come,
Come to the church in the White
House.
Come help us purge national sin.
No matter who's head of the White
House,
I'm the preacher who always is "in."*

He doesn't want to be considered any sort of ally of Nixon's, despite being a personal friend, and as far as the Vietnam war is concerned, he is against all war. But he won't speak out against Vietnam, because if he did so, he would be placed in the uncomfortable position of having to speak out against all wars.

Dick Cavett tells a story: Just after Cambodia-Kent, his people called the White House and asked a press aide there for "a high Administration official" to come on the show. The White House called back later and said that Billy Graham would be available.

In that same week, Bob Hope appeared on the Johnny Carson show. The Carson press people say that it is understood now that whenever Hope makes himself available, that means he is going to speak pro-Administration, so they always book somebody to balance him, and this time they had Gore Vidal. Hope spoke of 40,000 lives lost in Vietnam for an idea and Vidal said, "I wish Hope had gone on. I'd love to have heard what that idea was."

Now they are here this weekend to express that idea, superstars Billy and Bob teamed once again on behalf of the view that all men of good will can now



"It's no good, Marshall . . . I'm sick of you and your oral sex!"

rally to patriotism and love of the flag on this July 4, 1970, in a nonpolitical way.

The sun beats down hotly, the children squirm in their seats and their parents glare at them as Billy Graham speaks on: "Lately our institutions have been under attack, the Supreme Court, the Congress, the Presidency, the flag, the home, the educational system and even the church—but we are here to say with loud voices that in spite of their faults and failures, we believe in these institutions."

"Why," Graham asks, "should I, as a citizen of heaven and a Christian minister, join in honoring any secular state?" Because, Graham explains, "Jesus said, 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.' The Apostle Paul proudly boasted that he was a Roman citizen. The Bible says, 'Honor the nation.'"

I remember that as "Honor the king," but never mind. A weird sound in my ears turns my attention out beyond the thousands applauding vigorously for Billy Graham, each at his own speed, in personal testament, to an artificial version of the same sound, groupclap, ominous one, two, three, four, here comes Conspiracy, we don't want your fucking war, standing up neither for Jesus nor for Caesar.

Half-naked, tie hands around their temples, clapping in unison, beginning to ululate, the sound whipping around in the thorax, nothing less than an Indian war cry. Scorning the logic, not agreeing that America "has always stood for liberty, protection and opportunity." Through it all, 17-year-old-eagle-scout-with-a-chestful-of-merit-badges-Pawnee-Indian Don Pickett does not move a muscle. He is expressionless.

But what do they know about it, these Indians in the reflecting pool, they are not Indians, they are the sons and daughters of our public schools and each and every one is under the protection of somebody's life-insurance policy. They are approaching the front rim of the reflecting pool now, shouting obscenities and anti-war chants, and waiting for them are half a dozen mounted police, looking stern and knowing their duty. Some may even be observed to relish it. "Thirdly," Graham continues, "we honor America because she has never hidden her problems and faults." The demonstrators are beginning to climb out of the pool now, dripping wet, chanting, and the mounties go toward them. The television cameras swivel away from the podium to catch this commotion, but a number of men and boys lunge forward and wave American flags in front of the cameras, preventing them from taking the picture. The mounties are pressing the Indians back, along the grassy banks, into the pool. One of the bystanders, William Sampol, president of the National Silent Majority, is exultant. "These people are Commies," he says. An aide says, "Rephrase that." "OK," Sampol says. "Most of us here have gathered to honor the nation. The others came here to cause fighting, hoping the media would pick it up, but we prevented that. I guess today we proved these people are just a loud minority."

"Fifthly," Graham goes on, "we honor America because she has never sought to use her tremendous power to take over other nations."

There are almost no blacks here today, and no wonder. This is strictly a family affair and the members of the family hate one another. The blacks have nothing

to do with it: they are neither properly among those who own the land nor among those too guilty to want to take title. The Americans who are here shout back and forth at each other, skinny kids starving themselves and red-faced middle-aged men, one of whom lunges forward, in a frenzy, picks up a pair of shoes belonging to a Yippie and throws them into the pool. A short plump girl, in a tie-dyed T-shirt with her body wriggling around mysteriously inside it, struggles with a police sergeant who is carrying a crumpled-up Viet Cong flag in his clenched fist.

That's my flag.

You can get it back at park police headquarters.

Fuck you, you bastard.

What's your name?

Mary Americong.

This encounter over the flag: strictly a family affair. Larry Epstein and Terry Cross are not with the demonstrators but they are bare-chested and have medium-length hair. They are with Up With People, they go around singing with them. By no means radicals. They are passing through. Patrolman R. L. Ginn gestures to Epstein. "C'mere," he says. "C'mere, boy," Epstein walks over. Ginn spits on him.

The stern wardens and the savages. These children are their parents' suppressed desires in visible form, like pale phantoms in the Christian's night of terror. Graham's portfolio is particularly susceptible to the demonstration of the crazies, who embody total rejection of restraint, self-control and deferral of pleasure. Later in the day, a number of them, including several girls, will strip and swim naked in the reflecting pool, exhibitionistic nudity that doesn't necessarily exalt the body's beauty. Shouting, "I've got nothing to hide," pretending to be natural man, they enact a memory of the family past, when the savage was the American Christian's only enemy because he had a claim of his own to God's love, which had somehow to be invalidated and, after all, it was his land to begin with. "It was a clash," Frederick W. Turner III writes, in an introduction to Geronimo's autobiography, "between a culture that had a fear of nature until it could subdue it and a contempt for it once it had been subdued, and cultures that thought of themselves as participating with the natural world in a huge cycle of life."

"The new permissiveness," Graham assures us, "is nothing more than the old immorality brought up to date." So now, here they are, the savages, updating the old immorality with marijuana and nudity, and here are these stern wardens, muscular and righteous in the sunshine on muscular horses snorting and rearing in the heat, crossed moral purposes, and what lies between them is anarchy, because the truth is that they hate one

another, a cruel and smug culture confronting a dissent that is its mirror at every point.

I played a small role in the unfolding psychodrama. I was sitting on the steps along with maybe two dozen other reporters, enjoying Billy Graham's platform manner up close. A police lieutenant came along and said gruffly, "Get up on your feet."

About to comply reflexively, my muscles already beginning to function, I suddenly realized for the first time that long, hot day how much I wished I were in the reflecting pool. I surprised myself. Instead of rising, I said, "Why?"

The lieutenant drew back in disbelief. "I said get on your feet."

"I said Why?"

He looked at me as though I were mad. Here was no hippie-Yippie-crazy but a middle-aged journalist strung out weirdly between the cultures. "We were told to clear you off the stairs completely; the least you can do is go along with us." But I was not about to give up so quickly. "The least you can do is talk to people decently," I said.

The lieutenant was beginning to find the exchange unbearable. "You want me to go on my knees?" he exploded. Ostentatiously, he leaned forward and wrote down my number, 695, eagle and stars. Press Honor America Day, and I leaned forward ostentatiously and took down his name.

He went away and came back a moment later with a Very Important Man, who said, "Let me see your credentials." When I showed them to him, the Very Important Man looked disappointed. "Well," he said, "the officers are having a hard day."

"Let me put it this way," the lieutenant said, evading my eyes. "If I treated you discourteously, I apologize."

I didn't think fast enough and this had the sound of victory to it, so I said, "OK, fine," feeling pretty good, actually, and it was only many hours later that I realized what I had done. The cop hadn't apologized because he was wrong or because he was sorry he had been discourteous, but only because I had the proper credentials. I had proved to be stronger than him. I had the credentials and that meant I was part of the greater institution of power to which he gave his obedience. He went on his knee to me, and I could imagine how he felt about that. I shuddered to think what he would have done to me if I'd left my credentials home. And, knowing that, I also knew how much of myself I had sacrificed for the protection of those credentials, and I felt ashamed.

"Our youth are perishing in an orgy of quest," Graham was saying, "a quest for meaning and purpose in a world in which their elders have not always given

them answers to the ultimate questions of life. They are seeking reality; but apart from God, the only reality they experience is life without meaning, isolation, loneliness, frustration, alienation and a terrible burden of guilt. Our youth sense the hypocrisy in the older generation. They cry for us to tell it like it is and not to try to cover up."

All the educators and leaders and social scientists are warning us that the young think we are "hypocrites" and we should change our ways. They think there is some way we can "heed" these warnings before it is too late and win our children back by relinquishing our hypocrisy. But the sad truth is that everything we have, we owe to that hypocrisy. Our culture is founded on it and thrives on it. We are products of a culture that has been devoted to lies and obfuscations about two things that concern us most deeply: sex and death. "Our way of life," wrote Camus, "is a grand tour de force whose main purpose is to avoid responsibility and maintain at least the appearance of innocence." That is, sexual and moral innocence. Graham would not pass judgment on the Vietnam war, but he was quick to see the report of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (later repudiated by Nixon) as "one of the worst, most diabolical reports ever made by a Presidential Commission."

The three most admired men in the nation, according to a Gallup poll, are Richard Nixon, Billy Graham and Spiro Agnew, in that order. Father and son and holy spirit, the three most admired men in America, the Big Three, a Fabulous Trinity embodying the highest dreams and aspirations of the Christian West. No wonder the young are bemused. It is offensive to be accused of being immature, as they so often are accused, but to be accused of it by the aged carrying immaturity to the grave with them as a standard to rally round is nothing less than absurd.

"What our forefathers began, we must work to fulfill," Graham is saying. "Their goal must be our goal and we must pursue it. Their vision must be our vision and we must pursue it. It is the vision of one nation under God, where men can live as brothers in peace and freedom. I'm asking all Americans today, especially our young people, to pursue this vision under God, to work for peace and freedom, to labor relentlessly, to love passionately, to serve selflessly, to pray earnestly and to die nobly, if need be."

This is stirring stuff, entirely unobjectionable no matter in what national capital it is delivered, a politician's speech. That is, the sort of speech one can expect from a cynic or from the well-intentioned but simple-minded. I guess Billy Graham has to be the latter and he is simple-minded not because of any

inherent mental deficiency but out of choice. He is like some fixated teenager—boyish, enthusiastic, unquestioning—who has come to the decision that his dad is really OK. That his dad's business is neat. That he will work his way up to the vice-presidency of the firm. Well, Billy Graham has no doubts, his future is assured. He has had no doubts since 1949, when he was troubled by severe headaches, a "terrific pain at the base of my skull." The doctors were puzzled. But since then he has had no doubts, no doubts at all, though he did tell Dick Cavett, one night, that he knew very well what was buried inside his subconscious and he hoped and prayed never to have to confront himself down there. For all the exploration and conquest that has marked Western (Christian) culture, there has been—and continues to be—a reluctance to know the self that bursts into striking relief in this statement of Graham's. He is able, without any self-consciousness, to describe himself as a "citizen of heaven" and, without any discernible sense of loss, to describe his exile-unto-death from his own true native land, his self. This is futile game-playing under the blind eye of an indifferent universe.

The previous evening, one of the more patient cops was giving some boys a mild shove to get them out of the area. "Come

on, come on," he said, with exasperation. "We're not playing any games here." And one of the boys said, "I thought this was America."

The special significance of this weekend is that there is no particular issue involved. It is the whole thing being played out, the whole combat joined, old culture versus new, those who all their lives have been playing games and telling themselves they are mature, serious-minded people, and those who were told "this" was "America," and then went out and discovered otherwise.

Nobody is playing any games here, either. Among the monuments, in the shadow of majesty and power, under God's blue sky, we all know ourselves to be "in America" and we all know in our bones that the dissent we have seen here today is not the work of a few noisy madmen but the parable of a changing world. This same day that Billy Graham drew 10,000 or 25,000, there were more than 250,000 young people down at Byron, Georgia, listening to music, swimming nude, tripping, balling, goofing, and Lester Maddox called it "one of the worst blights that has ever struck our state." However, there it is. Historian Richard Hofstadter says of the young, "They feel they're living in a completely different world. And they are." Political and social dissent of this sort implies the

end of any currently useful definitions of law and order, and the end of the culture that values the methods we have employed to achieve it.

And that is why Billy Graham is such a credible symbol of the dying culture. He is dedicated to it unremittingly and without the slightest trace of doubt or reserve, and the passion for the policeman in his bosom is so luscious that he brings us to our feet with it as he ends his patriotic sermon:

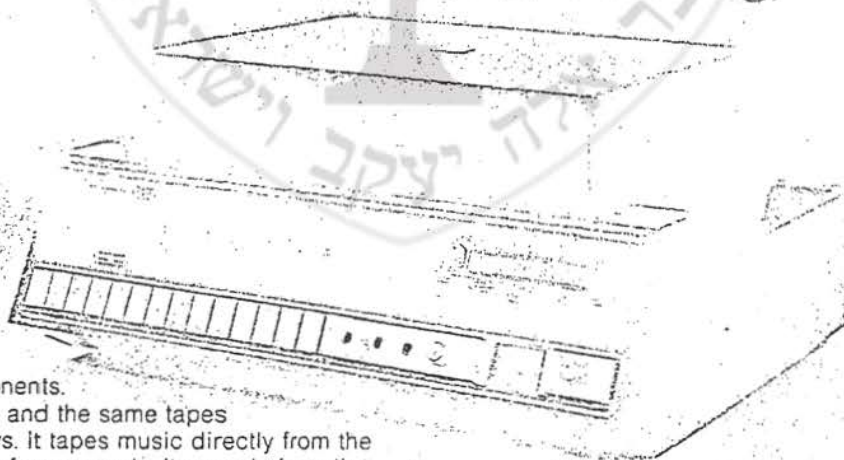
"I say to you today, pursue the vision, reach toward the goal, fulfill the dream—and as you move to do it, never give in. Never give in. Never, never, never, never!"

Thousands cheering, waving flags, gasping in awe when the thunder of fireworks comes, God's artillery from behind the Lincoln Memorial, a battery of mortars shaking the very earth beneath our feet. Some of the shells burst into patterns of red, white and blue, pin-wheel fragments exploding and burning themselves out, spouts and fountains, the earth shaking mightily from the weight of this metaphor for power. And some of the shells burst open and American flags come down by parachute. The sky, full of American flags.

You could almost believe there hadn't been any Indians there that day at all.



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FROM THE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, Plaza 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, May 25 ... The Rev. Dr. Billy Graham today called on "Christians everywhere to join in prayer" on behalf of Jews in the Soviet Union and "especially for Ruth Aleksandrovich, one of the youngest political prisoners in the world, who has been imprisoned and held incommunicado in Riga for nine months."

Miss Aleksandrovich, a 23-year-old nurse who went on trial yesterday (Monday, May 24), is accused of treason because she studied the Hebrew Bible and wanted to leave the Soviet Union and go to Israel.

Dr. Graham's statement was read this morning to a group of Christian leaders meeting at the offices of the American Jewish Committee, where Mrs. Rivka Aleksandrovich, the young woman's mother, appealed for a united Christian effort to secure the release of her daughter.

The meeting, whose chairman was Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national interreligious director of the American Jewish Committee, was attended by leaders from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, the National Council of Churches, major liberal and evangelical Protestant denominations, and editors of church publications.

Dr. Graham's full statement, which was released simultaneously in Minneapolis, where the evangelical movement that he heads maintains headquarters, reads:

"I am deeply concerned and disturbed about the plight of Soviet Jews, some of whom have been imprisoned, and held incommunicado. Apparently their only crime is that they are Jewish. I am asking Christians everywhere to join in prayer on their behalf. Especially should we pray for Ruth Aleksandrovich, one of the youngest political prisoners in the world, who has been imprisoned and held incommunicado in Riga for nine months."

Mrs. Aleksandrovich also read to the meeting the text of a cable she had sent to Pope Paul VI, asking for help for her daughter and other Jews held in Russian jails.

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, June 2...Billy Graham's expressed love for the people and the land of Israel has earned him warm appreciation in the Jewish community, a prominent rabbi has declared.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, speaking on radio station WINS, stated that Billy Graham regarded the rebirth of the city of Jerusalem "as the work of God acting in history in fulfillment of the Biblical prophecies."

The depth of Dr. Graham's conviction, Rabbi Tanenbaum said, "is reflected in the fact that under his spiritual influence, his own daughter and son-in-law have gone to Israel where they are now working on a kibbutz, helping to till the soil of the holy land as their way of serving God and humanity."

Rabbi Tanenbaum praised Dr. Graham's recently released film His Land, which, he said, "is perhaps the most beautiful, sympathetic portrayal of the people of Israel restored to their ancestral land that has been made by any Christian since the creation of the Jewish state."

(copy of statement follows)

The photograph of President Nixon in intimate conversation with the Rev. Billy Graham that appeared on the front page of The New York Times this past Friday is a visible symbol of the remarkable career of Mr. Graham, an aspect of which holds deep interest for the Jewish community.

While quite obviously Mr. Graham's evangelism and his theology pose at least as many problems for Judaism and the Jewish people as they do for Christians who do not share his outlook, there is a facet to his personality and his commitments to Judaism and the Jewish people that needs to be understood in any full appraisal of this impressive man.

Just about a year ago, this commentator, who is privileged to enjoy a warm friendship with Mr. Graham, arranged for him to speak to an informal gathering of Jewish leaders. Mr. Graham acknowledged at once the basic religious differences outstanding between Judaism and Christianity but then went on to make a moving statement of his profound appreciation as a Christian of Judaism and the Jewish people. "We owe to you the preservation of our Bible in the face of centuries of persecution and oppression, and we owe to you the founder of Christianity, the Jewish teacher from Nazareth," Billy Graham said.

In the same vein, he spoke with evident feeling of his love for the people and the land of Israel, and of the city of Jerusalem, whose rebirth today he regarded as the work of God acting in history in fulfillment of the Biblical prophecies. Just how real is this conviction is reflected in the fact that under his spiritual influence his own daughter and son-in-law have gone to Israel where they are now working on a kibbutz helping to till the soil of the holy land as their way of serving God and humanity.

The most dramatic evidence of his commitments to Jews and to Israel, however, is to be found in a magnificent, hour-long film that Billy Graham and his associates have just released, entitled, His Land. In this commentator's judgment, it is perhaps the most beautiful, sympathetic portrayal of the people of Israel restored to their ancestral land that has been made by any Christian since the creation of the Jewish state.

For all these acts of friendship toward the Jewish people at a time of turmoil which has not been altogether congenial to Jewish security, Billy Graham deserves better than a stereotyped, skeptical response from thoughtful Jews and many others, while not ignoring basic differences.

- - -

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

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GOD, COUNTRY, AND BILLY GRAHAM

America's most successful evangelist, who saves souls by the millions and now influences national politics, has mastered the art of moving his listeners without embarrassing or greatly disturbing them.

Billy Graham is speaking. He jabs with the right hand, while the left disappears into the pocket of his jacket. Then both hands come straight out, hanging there only a moment before they disappear behind his back. They stay that way long enough for someone to count to five, and suddenly they are in front of him again, clenched this time, knuckles white against the even tan. The right fist moves up and down; the left fist opens, and the fingers spread out in supplication. When Billy Graham is good, he is very good, and no one else in the room says a word. "We're moving through dangerous waters," he says, and it is much the same thing he has been saying since that time twenty years ago when he knocked them dead in Los Angeles, a bouncing young evangelist, newly discovered by the Hearst papers, not yet a confidant of Presidents, or the world's best-known Protestant preacher, but mostly a curiosity, soon to be called by people who did not like him "The Barrymore of the Bible" or "Gabriel in Gabardine," his draped suits like as not being white or maybe even a bright green.

Now, however, he is in Memphis, in a fine, dark-blue suit, speaking at a prayer breakfast to the people who run Holiday Inns all over America. There are radio and TV, of course, and behind Billy Graham are three plainclothesmen, one of whom has hard, slit eyes that he never for a moment takes off the audience. Minutes before Graham arrived in Memphis the Reverend Ralph David Abernathy left, the city gratefully surrendered its spiritual care from a black to a white Baptist, and the cops are worried that a militant, remembering this is where Martin Luther King was killed, will take a shot at Billy. No one does, and so Billy Graham speaks, moving his listeners without embarrassing them, preaching both the Gospel and those sensible virtues that appeal to both Holiday Innkeepers and Presidents of the United States. Moreover, he is nice. Warmth and good fellowship are very deep in the room, and even old Slit Eyes is smiling. Anita Bryant has appeared, courtesy of Coca-Cola, for which she travels to and fro, and has sung and given a testimony. Miss Bryant was fetching in a Pucci crea-

tion about three inches above the knee, and when she sang she held a red Bible. When she was at her best she was singing in the lower register, her Bible clutched to her bosom, her eyes closed, and this had led a lady in the audience who wore a mink jacket and a big bouffant to dab at her eyes.

When Billy Graham comes on he tells jokes—one about Winston Churchill and George Bernard Shaw, one about Churchill and a moustache he once decided to grow, and one about politics, which is really a throwaway line. Billy Graham needs a great many jokes because he speaks to a great many people, and when he finds one he can use he gets it down just right. He had told the stories the week before in New York, and then passed them on to his brother-in-law, who is also a fine preacher, and the brother-in-law had used them when he spoke before a large group of ministers the next day. No matter, the stories work very well, and when Billy Graham gets down to the serious business he is about in Memphis his audience is with him.

"There are singers of siren songs in our times," he says, and then he talks about the siren songs. The first is that the United Nations can bring peace. Jesus said there will be wars and rumors of wars, and it is no good to think that anyone or anything other than Jesus can bring peace. Then, he says, there is the siren song saying that the politics of confrontation will soon end. But don't you know, he says, there are people saying, "Let's go out and fight." So guerrilla warfare is now being planned by the anarchists." He mentions Berkeley and Columbia, and he says that Grayson Kirk, who was the president of Columbia during its late unpleasantness, was "one of the leading liberals on American campuses." Clearly, he is implying, liberalism is not enough. "The only thing that can save our country," he says, "is an awakening."

"The third siren song," he says, "is that democracy can survive without morality." He speaks of this for a while, and for the first time he is angry. It is startling. Garbo speaks, Graham rages. Sin has become a personal affront. He says that when his son visited him in New York he sought out the movie pages of the newspaper to find suitable entertainment for him, but found none, which was probably true, advertisements now being nearly unspeakable, and he asks why no one is making more things like *The Sound of Music*. An answer not forthcoming, he talks of the fourth siren song, this one the promise of an "economic Utopia." He says that the country has had the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier, and now, referring to Hubert Humphrey's acceptance speech at the

Democratic National Convention, the New Day. He says he is just back from Sweden, where they have sex grottoes, but there are unhappy faces on the street and a high suicide rate. The other night he was in Paris, where Sargent Shriver asked him to talk to some students. They were unhappy too. He says he has a friend, a movie star, whose son dropped out to become a hippie. He says he was invited to an island in the Caribbean by one of the world's richest men ("You all know his name") and the rich man said that a poor Baptist preacher on the island had everything, while he had nothing. He says he has a friend who will be the next Governor of Puerto Rico, and that the friend, although he was young and handsome and had a Ph.D. from Harvard, had nothing until he had Jesus.

Then Billy Graham crouches: his voice drops ever so slightly from jubilation to sadness, and he says very slowly and very quietly, "Is Jesus yours?" The innkeepers and their ladies suck in their breaths. So do I. Billy is so good and so certain and he knows so many famous people that we are all a little ashamed. "For I want to tell you something," he says, and now his eyes are *flashing*, "we're in trouble." Then it is over, and Billy is saying, "God bless you and thank you, and God bless the Holiday Inns."

How He Took Off

"Too much work done in the name of Christ is rundown, baggy-trousers stuff," says T. W. Wilson, Billy Graham's old friend and current traveling companion. "Billy believes in going first-class." Indeed, there is general agreement among the members of the Graham organization that class tells and that one reason for their success, aside from God, is their flair. When Billy Graham was ordained in Florida in 1939 evangelism had fallen on hard times, its practitioners being mostly itinerant Southerners who worked the sawdust trail out of canvas cathedrals or, at best, timber tabernacles. Billy—Billy Francis to his family—has had very little of this since his early days as a barnstormer with Youth for Christ, when he traveled to a different city every night aboard an old DC-3, and spread the Word with considerably more

John Corry, a contributing editor of "Harper's," wrote the book about "The Manchester Affair." Born an Episcopalian in Brooklyn, he went to a small Dutch Reformed college, Hope, in Michigan and, after Army service, worked on the national desk at The New York Times, 1957-68.

hints of fire and brimstone than he does now. His apprenticeship, however, had begun in the late 1930s when, as a student at Florida Bible College, he practiced sermons before the bullfrogs and squirrels, or so the legend goes, and later tried them while standing in the doorways of gin mills in Tampa. Once he so annoyed a bartender the man rushed out and dumped him.

That was only the briefest of setbacks, however, and in 1940, at the age of twenty-one, Billy Graham enrolled at Wheaton College in Illinois, where he won both a degree and a wife by 1943. Then he became the pastor of a small church in Western Springs, Illinois, appeared on a radio program in Chicago called "Songs in the Night," preached around the country, with a quick trip to Britain, and in 1947 became the president of Northwestern Schools in Minneapolis, this being the former Northwestern Bible Training Institute, a responsibility he relinquished in 1951. However, the move into the really big time did not come until Los Angeles in 1949, when he preached before 350,000 persons in eight weeks and 3,000 of them made inquiries, or decisions, for Christ. What was most helpful in all this, besides the blessing of Hearst, was that three of the inquirers were celebrities of a sort—a wiretapper for The Mob, an old Olympics miler, who had gone downhill ever since, and a cowboy radio star, who was also a boozier and a gambling man. They stepped forward when Billy gave the altar call and said that henceforth they were Jesus's men and not their own.

Making a decision for Christ means that you say you have made one, and while the appurtenances that surround decision-making in a Graham Crusade have changed over the years, the essentials have not. When Graham finished a sermon at a stadium in Pittsburgh not long ago, he looked at his audience and said, "You can meet Jesus tonight. Jesus is passing by in Pittsburgh. The busses will wait. It will take you only three or four minutes to walk here." Then, as his 2,000, or whatever, voice choir sang "Just as I am," thin lines of people drifted onto the stadium infield, where they were joined by counselors, the counselors choosing someone of the same sex and approximately the same age, color, and general station in life as their own. Then they all gathered around Graham's raised pulpit while he prayed over them, and then the counselors led their charges away, talked briefly with them, got their names, addresses, and phone numbers and promised to get in touch with them again. They had, in fact, just decided for Christ.

No one really knows how many will stay de-

cided, or why the folks decided in the first place, or if Los Angeles is a better place in 1969 because Billy Graham preached there in 1949. Nonetheless, it was after that Crusade that he took off, becoming the most successful evangelist of all time and one of the most widely admired Americans too. This is fitting because he is the most American of men, the grandson of two Confederate soldiers, both of whom were well shot up, and the son of a lady who is related to both President James K. Polk and a man named Ezra Alexander, who signed the Declaration of Independence. Moreover, Billy Graham is tall and fair and blue-eyed, and he looks as if he could be the basketball coach of a small Midwestern college, or a movie actor who never made it big because someone like Ronald Reagan or maybe Sonny Tufts got the role instead. The general impression is that you have seen him before, and you have if you recall those snapshots of themselves that soldiers sent home in World War II, the ones in which they wore khaki, put their arms at parade rest, and looked smilingly and invincibly into the sun. Still, Graham's is a good face, handsome without being pretty, and superbly suited to the business of evangelism, which, as his people will tell you instantly, has to do with selling a product.

Graham himself lives in Montreat, North Carolina, and although there are Billy Graham offices in, among other places, Paris, London, Frankfurt, Sydney, Buenos Aires, Atlanta, and Burbank, California, his true headquarters are in Minneapolis, which is the home of the Billy Graham Evangelical Association. This is the corporate part of the organization, where the money is kept, and where the actual, as opposed to the symbolic, selling is done. It is found in an old red-brick building, next to a faded hotel and across the street from a car dealer, and it is run by a man called George Wilson. Mr. Wilson is short, cheerful, and mildly plump, and if he were not associated with Billy Graham he would almost certainly be a captain of industry. "We believe the greatest message in the world should be spread by the most effective means and with the greatest haste," he says, and to these ends he has mustered about 450 people, a bank of computers, and a mailroom that works in three shifts.

When it all began, just after the Los Angeles triumph, Mr. Wilson operated with one girl and 600 square feet of office space. Now there are perhaps 160,000 square feet of space, and Mr. Wilson has just bought sixteen acres near the Minneapolis airport for more. (Statistics virtually leap out at you in the headquarters.) Furthermore, the computers use ten miles of eighteen-inch paper

every month, Billy Graham is heard on 900 radio stations each week, and the mailroom sends out eighty million pieces of mail a year (this being significant enough to have led pros from both the Republican and Democratic National Committees to Minneapolis to find out how God's mailing techniques can serve their Caesars).

Billy Graham, or at least the Billy Graham Evangelical Association, will also get nearly 50,000 letters a week, a good many of which will be sent by people who say they have problems and a good many of which will contain contributions. There are about forty kinds of problems, mostly dealing with matters of faith and morals, and they are assorted and answered accordingly. The average contribution is \$6, and talk about how much this might mean in round, annual figures tends to make the Graham people nervous, since it might appear that they are shaking the money tree too hard, and this could discourage further contributions.

For years, in fact, snoop reporters have tried to find evidence that someone in the Graham organization was stealing money, or at least making too much of it. No one found the evidence, and it is just as well to let the thought die. There is a great deal of money around, but there are a great many expenses, too. In a year the Billy Graham Evangelical Association will spend, say, \$1.5 million on radio time and more than \$3 million on television time. (When Graham appears on TV he is seen on more stations than anyone except the President, and even then only when the President is making a major address.) There is also *Decision*, Billy Graham's monthly magazine, which is tabloid size, about sixteen pages, and has a circulation of four million, including the editions in French, German, Spanish, and Japanese. The annual subscription price is \$2. There are also nearly three million sermons that are distributed each year at cost, and the movies that come out of the studios in Burbank. The first, done in 1950 for only \$25,000, was called *Mr. Texas*, and it was about a wiseacre cowpoke who made his decision while listening to Graham on the radio. ("All my life," he says at the denouement, "I've been riding on the wrong trail. I'm turning back. I'm going God's way. I think it's going to be a wonderful ride.")

Since then there have been many other movies, and their worth is measured not by what the critics say, since they generally say nothing about them at all, but by numbers. For example, it was recently noted on a sign in the Minneapolis office that *For Pete's Sake* had now been seen in 440 places by 1,284,025 persons, who made 52,478 decisions, while *The Restless Ones*, one of their

greatest hits, had been seen in 1,701 places by 4,022,035 persons, who made 305,022 decisions. "We're not trying to be the biggest, the greatest, or anything else," Mr. Wilson says, but it is the biggest and greatest evangelical outfit ever, and it got this way mostly because the rallies and Crusades that Mr. Graham has been conducting have been bigger and greater than anyone else's. From 1947, when they first began counting, through the end of last year, and with no figures included for the times the turnstiles and pocket counters didn't work, the Graham organization says its man has faced 39,525,522 persons and that 1,188,638 of them have come forth to make decisions for Christ.

What He Believes

The man who has stirred so many others is himself the most engaging of men. It is probable that there are those who have met Billy Graham and disliked him, but there is little record of it, and the people around him sometimes speak of him the way others speak of Him, only more affectionately. "There's one particular thing we feel," says George Wilson, "that God has given us through the ages a spokesman for His Church, Billy Sunday, Dwight Moody, the Wesley brothers, and now Billy Graham." "I really believe that deep down in his heart he loves his enemies," says T. W. Wilson. "And in airplane terminals he carries old ladies' suitcases and never tells who he is, and he never passes up the needy when he sees them on the street." "The thrilling thing is that he's still as humble as he was at Wheaton," says Walter Smyth, who has known and worked with Billy since about then. "I can't explain the humility. I've never known him to be jealous of any other human being. Such a sincere individual. He believes with every fiber of his being, and when he speaks he speaks with authority—of God."

Billy Graham, in fact, is a happy man, who knows what he knows, and for that matter knows who he knows. "I've never felt a moment of despair," he said not long ago, thereby contradicting the experience of most of his species. He was in New York, where he had taken Richard Nixon to church, visited Archbishop Terence Cooke, conferred with the editors of *Reader's Digest*, and had been put to bed with a virus. ("Billy said to me," T. W. recalled the next day, "T, can you think of anything that I've done in my life, anything at all, to deserve these sicknesses?") A visit by Billy Graham is a carefully orchestrated affair in which there is no room for a virus, and this one, just

before the November election, had begun with a press conference. He was asked about politics, as he always is, and he had spoken about the Crusade he will hold in New York in June. He also said that he considered New York a second home, although he was appalled by it, and he guessed that it "has had more social experimentation than any other city in the world." (Later, at a luncheon attended by businessmen he repeated this, and when he got to Memphis a few days later he said that he had just left a city that "has had more social experimentation than any other city in the world.")

Despite this, he said, there are "all kinds of muggings, robbery taking place, even in the churches." There is "culture against culture." There is "confusion and frustration." Mayor Lindsay had said that "nobody can instill affection in the hearts of others," meaning that legislation can go just so far, and Billy said he certainly agreed with him. He said New York was ripe for a Crusade, and that this one would use thousands and thousands of volunteers, 25,000 of whom would do follow-up work, checking on those who made inquiries during the Crusade and seeing to it that they found a home in a New York church. As always, he said, he would accept no money for the Crusade. The money for it, \$924,000, would be raised in New York, and at the end the books would be audited and the results released to the churches and the press.

In all this he was smooth without being oily, and he hardly ever stopped smiling, the smile having once been helped by cosmetic dental surgery, and although he saw ruination all about him, he found reasons to rejoice, too. For one thing, there were hippie boots, which hippies, he said, call "Jesus bcots." "Many psychologists," he insisted,

"say this reflects a longing for Jesus." For another thing, there were the young people who were concerned, involved, longing to get the country right again. "I don't have much sympathy for the tactics of civil disobedience and confrontation," he said, "but the people I'm talking about are that wonderful group of idealists." The reporters, however, wanted to talk about Mr. Nixon. Would he endorse him? He would not, really, although he allowed they had been friends twenty years, and that he had preached not long before at the funeral of Mr. Nixon's mother. The reporters, who had pretty much abandoned the Crusade by then, wanted to know where Billy Graham *really* stood on the issues. "My message is so intensely personal," he said, "that people miss the overwhelming social content." Did he think the people had lost confidence in their elected leaders? Well, maybe, he said. Vietnam? He just didn't know enough about it, but he was certain the United States wasn't over there murdering people the way the Nazis did. "People concerned about the Vietnam war don't seem as concerned about Biafra and the Arab-Israeli war," he said, and soon he was noting that his Pittsburgh Crusade had attracted a larger percentage of Negroes than any other Crusade. A little after that he thanked the reporters for coming, stayed around long enough for a camera crew to make a special tape, and then shook hands with old friends all the way to the door.

On the road, which is where he is most of the time, Billy Graham arises at precisely 6:45 (he is the most punctual of men), prays, eats breakfast, and reads newspapers. As he reads he clips out articles, most often ones that tell of national peril or moral decline, and later he stuffs them



"I'm handing in my resignation, Mr. Bedford, and nothing you can say can change my mind except, maybe, 'Vice President.'"

into the pocket of his suit jacket, which is a 43 Long, along with an old wallet full of credit cards and an honorary police badge. Since he is called on for written or spoken words nearly every day of his life, he must find many topics, or at least the semblance of them, and he finds them in the clippings and in the Bible, the verse quite often being John 3:16. Billy Graham spends a great deal of his time in hotel rooms, dining in his room most of the time, and all the rooms are checked out beforehand by an advance man. The underside of a celebrated evangelist's life is that he does not live like you or me, but, dealing as he does in goodness, must worry about fanatics, assassins, hysterics, drunks, Christian bores, pagan boors, and the great legion of enterprising women who would claim him as their own if they could and thereby win headlines, fleeting fame, and a part in a dirty French movie. It is a life like no one else's, other than a Presidential candidate's, and the evangelist does more of it than the candidate, his consolation being that while neither one is truly his own man, he at least has God, while the other has only Mammon.

Among His Ten Best Friends

"Just the loss of privacy is difficult," Graham was saying in one of the hotels. "People may not know who you are, but they're always whispering." He had just won over an audience of businessmen, and now he was sitting, absolutely at ease, in a big leather armchair. His friends say that Billy Graham has found his natural home in a pulpit, but it is possible that he is even better when he confronts just one other person. Artlessness envelops him, sincerity is palpable, and good humor is nearly a weapon.

"When fame first came," he said, "Time and Henry Luce began to promote me. That frightened me. I just wish I could pull back some of the things I said. I'm worried that I brought disrepute to the name of Christ." Those were the days when Billy Graham spoke more explicitly than he does now about things like the United Nations and the Supreme Court, wore hand-painted ties, and sometimes appeared with Roy Rogers' horse at children's services. "I had read about the big evangelists, and I knew they were famous only two years, and I thought I'd be famous only two years. But the Lord sent my key men to me. I've never had a disagreement with them, and if nothing else happened the fellowship would still make it worthwhile."

Oddly, for an old country boy, much of the fel-

lowship has been conducted in the council halls of the mighty, which includes that room in Miami Beach where Richard Nixon settled on Spiro T. Agnew. The question is why, and the answer may be that Billy Graham confirms for our kings and rulers what they believe to be the contours of their lives and the nation's. He does this, I think, without raising his voice, which is the voice of old country boys and Middle Americans everywhere, and without forcing our kings and rulers to any commitment other than to goodness, and goodness, of course, he passes on by osmosis. This makes them feel nice. "I've tried to limit my contact with Presidents to moral and spiritual questions," he said. "One President asked my advice on a political question—we were seated around a dinner table—and my wife kicked me under the table and said aloud, 'You keep your counsel.' I think the next President will face the greatest crisis of any President in history, greater than Lincoln's. [This, remember, was just before the election.] You have today the superweapons. You have this growing polarization with the New Left and the New Right. I foresee by 1972 four major political parties. The President will have to unify the country, and this will be at a time of rising crime, of the politics of confrontation, at a time of rising affluence. We're seeing the failure of many of our social experiments. We're seeing a major revolution. We may come out of it a stronger nation or a dictatorship. No, I don't know if the dictatorship would be from the right or the left."

The threat, however, would seem to be from the left. There is much in Billy Graham's preaching of the specter of Antichrist, the great antagonist who will conquer and be conquered, which will lead to the risen Christ. "Antichrist may be a person or a system," Billy Graham said. "If it is a person then it will be someone out of a Godless society. The coming of Christ is relatively near. We all thought Russia was changing, but it isn't. I was recently given a briefing in Washington, and it was frightening." I did not stop to ask him why he had been given a briefing, and he went on to talk of other things. "Some people in our society," he said, "have been promised more than the politicians can deliver and they're frustrated." It is a terrible time, he was saying, and our next President will need all the support we can give him.

Would he stand for public office? No. "People have always wanted me to lead a crusade against Communism," he said, "and there are pressures from the right and the left. I've been approached by both major parties, too. When? Oh, I forget

when, but the first time was when Willis Smith died and the North Carolina Democrats wanted to have me agree to have the Governor appoint me to the Senate. At least two Presidents have asked me about major jobs, but the Gospel is more important to me than anything else. NBC wanted me to appear opposite Arthur Godfrey at one time, at one million dollars a year, and I turned that down, too."

Through all this Billy Graham is smiling, not piercingly, like Mandrake the Magician, the way Bishop Sheehan did on television, and not a smarmy smirk, either. It is pleasant and manly. Billy Graham once wrote to a friend that "I have seen so many pictures of Jesus as a weakling that I am sick of it. He was no sissie and He was no weakling." He must have been, Graham concluded, "straight, strong, big, handsome, tender, gracious, courteous." It is a description of an athletic Eagle Scout, or of Graham himself, certainly not of a short, swarthy Semite, and it is absolutely no good knocking it. Billy knows what he knows. Jesus looked the way he did because "no sin and mar had come near His body," and Graham frets over his own ailments, wondering if a virus is not a visitation.

"I try to think of myself as an Ambassador for Christ," he was saying now, and this time he was walking through midtown Manhattan behind a pair of great dark glasses and under a deerstalker hat. "Some of the extreme fundamentalists are among my most vocal critics and extreme liberals think I'm too fundamentalist. But I think the vast majority of church people support me." He stopped at a crowded street corner, waiting for a light to change, and was jostled by some ladies with lumpy shopping bags. He smiled from behind his glasses at none of them in particular and looked pleased with himself. Midway across the intersection he said that he first met Hubert Humphrey in 1949 when they were skinny-dipping in the pool at the YMCA in Minneapolis, but that they have never had much to say to each other. "But Nixon, I guess, is one of my ten best friends," he said. "I first met him in the Senate cafeteria when I was having lunch with Clyde Hoey, the Senator from North Carolina. He was an old-fashioned man with long flowing hair, and he called Nixon over and said to me, 'I want you to meet him. He's an outstanding young man and he's going places.' Actually, I had met Nixon's parents before that because they had attended some evangelical conferences that I had, too."

A blind Negro stood motionless in the middle of the street, rattling a tin cup. Graham stepped over, dropped some coins in, and slipped his arm

around the man's shoulders. He whispered something, and as he drew away he said, "God bless you." Then he began talking about all the "confusion and frustration" in the city, which was what he had been talking about for the last few days, and he said that New Yorkers seemed to think they lived in the center of the universe. "But when I was in the Fijis," he said, "everyone there believed that was the center of the universe." There was a thought here, but it got lost on the crowded street.

Billy Graham is walking through bright, shining Kennedy Airport, carrying three newsmagazines and the *New York Post*, and resuming a conversation left over from the day before. "Niebuhr is an economic theologian," he says, "Tillich is more of a philosopher, and Barth, we need more men like him. The trend now is toward an evangelical theology. Too many ministers think they're social engineers. They even want to get into the business of deciding where highways should go. You must remember that the worst part of history was in the Dark Ages, when the Church ran everything." For himself, he says, he wants no part of it, and sometimes he thinks his wife has something when she says he should take it easy and just write. Still, he says, there are things to do. Last year he sent George Wilson over to the Cunard Line to buy the *Queen Mary*. Imagine! The *Queen Mary*! He wanted to hold conferences on it. There is also talk that he may found a university. He allows that he may.

When he gets on the plane, carefully taking a window seat, while posting T. W. Wilson on the aisle, no one recognizes him. Then he slips off the dark glasses and another passenger says, "For Christ's sake, Doc, that's Billy Graham." Graham never blinks. When we are aloft, the stewardesses, both of whom have champagne hair, approach him. One says her mother adores him. The other asks for his autograph. All during the flight he is in and out of the dark glasses, chewing gum, skimming through his magazines, and looking gracious every time someone stops by. When I order a bloody mary I hope he will think it is tomato juice. When it comes I say to hell with it and start toying with the swizzle stick. A moment later I stop and move the whole thing to a corner of the tray where he can't see it. Soon, T. W. corks off. The magazine in the seat pocket in front of Billy Graham is called *The American Way*. I stare at him. A lady with a beaded hat and a gold lorgnette stares at him. He stares out the window. There is nothing out there but clouds. I wonder if he knows something we don't.

Gay Talese

THE NEW YORK TIMES, PART II: Punch Sulzberger and the 1960s

When Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of The New York Times from 1935 until 1961, died at seventy-seven on December 11, 1968, his funeral in New York City was attended by many of the nation's political and business leaders, among them President-elect Richard M. Nixon. Sulzberger, a modest man, had been eminently successful in taking over The Times upon the death of his grandly patriarchal father-in-law, Adolph Ochs, a vigorous little man who in 1896 had come up from Chattanooga to purchase the declining Times and revive it. When ill health forced Sulzberger to retire in 1961, he was confident that his son-in-law, Orvil Dryfoos, would continue to lead The Times to even greater prosperity and growth through the 1970s. But in 1968, after a long and aggravating newspaper strike, Dryfoos, fifty years old, died suddenly of a heart attack; and within The Times building there followed weeks of intense guessing as to who the next publisher would be...

Arthur Hays Sulzberger, who was seventy-two and restricted to a wheelchair because of his heart condition, was not capable of resuming command even briefly. His only son, Arthur Ochs (Punch) Sulzberger, thirty-seven years old, had little executive experience. His background, insofar as it was known in the newsroom, had consisted of a poor scholastic record at several schools, two tours in the Marine Corps, two marriages, and various lower-echelon management jobs within The Times building. Since Dryfoos had appeared to be in good health until the New York newspaper strike, it was assumed by the Sulzbergers that Dryfoos would be the paper's chief executive through the 1970s, and there had meanwhile been no sense of urgency about developing a successor.

Now The Times was in the awkward position of having no family member of experience to step in as Dryfoos had stepped in for Sulzberger, or as Sulzberger had for Adolph Ochs. The selection of another son-in-law to replace Dryfoos was not possible:

Richard N. Cohen, the second husband of Dr. Judith Sulzberger Cohen, the youngest of the three Sulzberger girls, was a successful insurance man; and while he served on The Times' board of directors he had little interest in journalism as a career. The other son-in-law, Ben Hale Golden, husband of the Sulzbergers' second daughter, Ruth, did have newspaper experience—he was publisher of The Chattanooga Times; but their marriage was going badly, and there would later be a divorce. Mrs. Golden, however, was herself mentioned in the newsroom as a possibility in New York. She was an extremely intelligent woman who wrote gracefully and had an executive background with The Chattanooga Times. There was also talk of John Oakes' becoming the publisher, or of the publisher's duties being shared somehow by two individuals—a family member might serve as an overseer of the business side of The Times, while the news side would be under an editor with close personal ties to the family. An obvious choice would be James Reston, who was a particular favorite of Iphigene Sulzberger's.

Iphigene Sulzberger was now seventy-one, but she was as alert as ever. She was active on the board of directors—which included, in addition to the Sulzberger family, such non-family members as Amory Bradford, Eugene R. Black, former head of the World Bank, and Paul Van Anda, son of Carr Van Anda. But of the directors, Iphigene Sulzberger seemed undoubtedly the most influential, especially now that her husband was in such poor health. She controlled about two-thirds of the voting stock of The Times. Upon her death, her father's fortune would be divided within the family, but she was now very much alive, and while The Times' official statements would continue to be made in the name of Arthur Hays Sulzberger, the firm hand of Iphigene Sulzberger would be helping to form each word.

On June 20th, a little more than three weeks after Dryfoos' death, a statement from the office of Arthur Hays Sulzberger announced that his son, Arthur

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When the prisoners at Attica demanded amnesty for the fatal beating of a guard, Governor Rockefeller cut short the negotiations and allowed the troops to storm the prison. The police were ordered to "shoot anyone who resisted," although the prisoners were not known to have guns. The police were thus in effect granted amnesty in advance for any killing (Who will ever know who "resisted"?), while the inmates were effectively sentenced and executed for crimes they were never proven to have committed.

The police action, of course, was justified as necessary to preserve the lives of the hostages. But nine hostages were killed by the police, *not* the inmates. Those who ordered the police action, and those who carried it out, must be held criminally liable for their actions. They must prove that they used appropriate force and made humane decisions. Otherwise, the refusal of the inmates' demand is a sham, and amnesty becomes the privilege of power.

The Governor refused from the beginning—despite pleas from hostages, inmates, negotiators and prison officials—even to travel to Attica. (He was asked only to meet with the Observers Committee, not with the inmates.) His decision to cut off negotiations and allow police action was made from his estate at Pocantico Hills, based on information received by phone. From a distance of over 300 miles he made a decision that resulted in the deaths of 41 people and the injury of hundreds of others (mostly inmates). From that distance, *having never himself negotiated*, he decided that negotiations were hopeless and that the revolt must be put down with force of guns.

Throughout the negotiations some inmates insisted that they were all political prisoners and demanded passage to a country where they could live as free men. Probably few of the men had been jailed for their political beliefs, but all of them are the prisoners of our criminal neglect. Billions spent for napalm and anti-personnel weapons cannot be spent to make all our lives more fully human. Putting cars on the moon means that prisoners eat less and must live in jails built in the 19th century. The poor who fill our jails and ghettos are all political

prisoners, powerless people in forgotten communities.

When everything had been wrapped up at Attica, the families of the prisoners finally received official word of the death of their loved ones. (They waited four long days for that news—the guards' families heard immediately.) "Regret to inform you that your son died 9/13/71. His body at Strong Memorial Hospital, Rochester. If you wish to claim body, immediately notify Vincent R. Mancusi, Superintendent, Attica Correctional Facilities." Nelson Rockefeller's helicopter had never moved from his estate, and we were finally rid of a ragged intrusion into our September rush to get our lives back on schedule, disturbed only by reports of further beatings and intentional medical neglect. But now that we've got the country back in order, who wants to live here?

ROBERT A. HARSH

BILLY GRAHAM IN OAKLAND

THIS JOURNAL has always been critical of Billy Graham's message, and in recent years we have been especially troubled by his role as a kind of unofficial chaplain to Presidents. In his latest campaign in Oakland there were two emphases—his use of his belief in the Second Coming and his attack on politics—that make it seem a calamity that Billy Graham is the only person in the sphere of religion (and perhaps in any other sphere) who can draw 50,000 people.

We report this with sadness because Billy Graham has a strong personal appeal as a man of integrity and grace, with a remarkable openness of spirit. He is fair to his critics, ecumenical in outlook, and willing to cooperate more than his theology would seem to permit. In the early days of the civil rights movement he took important symbolic action in refusing to speak to segregated audiences, and in other ways began to give a good personal witness on issues of racial justice.

It was not news that Mr. Graham believes in the Second Coming in a literal form without a trace of demythologizing, for he comes from a tradition that takes this for granted. But in his final sermon to 51,000 people in Oakland, many of them young, he gave a central place to this doctrine. This was his final word. He elaborated it with great vividness, emphasizing the many recent earthquakes as signs that the coming of Jesus was probably near. California was a suitable place for this word!

In an earlier sermon he had suggested that when Jesus came He would set things right. This time he spoke at length of the converging of the many signs

In Our Next Issue

JULIAN TEPPER and DWIGHT SMITH will write about the recent uprising at Attica Prison. Mr. Tepper was a member of the Observers' Committee during the ordeal. Mr. Smith teaches at John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS

October 4, 1971

of Jesus' coming in Matthew 24 as a solid indication that this judgment and fulfillment were near.

By giving such a central place to this familiar emphasis, Graham not only presents Christianity as a faith too incredible to be believed by critical-minded persons, but also provides a means of escape from the task of relating Christian faith to the great corporate and structural problems of justice and power that plague the world.

Some months ago Billy Graham said that he had been studying Savonarola, and he spoke as though he expected to play the role of an American Savonarola. His eschatology enables him to chastise America without disturbing the particular *respectable* forms of power in our midst, especially those responsible for the use of power by our nation abroad. Graham does not have to have new directions of policy that would threaten them. Jesus will set things right on this level.

He can denounce war in general, corruption, the drug culture, the preoccupation with sex, racial discrimination, and all manifestations of greed, and yet what he says will not trouble the powers most responsible for these evils, who do not fear the Second Coming. He has a personal message that may

help many individuals to live free of private burdens of sin and guilt and aimlessness, but he lets down those who see themselves as the victims of institutionalized injustice and those who are outraged by many acts of their Government abroad.

It was significant that on one occasion Graham said there were more people killed in East Pakistan than in Viet Nam. Factually, this is an exaggeration, but he also failed to point out that it is we who are responsible for the killing in Viet Nam (and not least the Presidents with whom he has been closely associated).

The second of Graham's disturbing emphases was his treatment of politics. He urged the young people present (he claimed they were 80 percent of his audience) to give help to people in other countries, but not political help. Then he launched into an attack on politics. He assumed a role of being above politics and said that when people ask whom he supports, he answers "Jesus Christ."

All of this is strange talk from the man who has allowed himself to be used by two Presidents to give moral and religious sanction to their politics. He allowed President Nixon to use him for a not-too-hidden political purpose when he invited the President to speak at a meeting for students in Tennessee. When people claim to be above politics it is axiomatic that they in effect support the status quo. This is true when they do nothing, but it is far more true when they advertise their close relations with the powerful.

Would it be inaccurate to say that the two most publicized symbolic religious personalities in this country today are Billy Graham and Dan Berrigan? What different religious worlds those names suggest! They hardly seem to overlap. Dan Berrigan sees dimensions of contemporary personal and social experience and of Christian responsibility to which Billy Graham seems totally blind.

Graham wants to give leadership to the "Jesus people," to the "Jesus revolution." One of his sermons in Oakland was devoted to this movement. He claimed that more young people are turning to Jesus today than in any other period of American history. Whether or not he is statistically right about this, there is remarkable evidence in this movement of the perennial drawing power of Jesus Christ.

At the moment we should be thankful that the vision of Jesus that has been given to many young people today has delivered them from drug addiction and given their lives meaning and direction. It is a form of religious and theological snobbery to write off this movement because of the theological



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frame in which we often find it. But the real effect of this movement will only be seen as new influences and experiences give substance to what Jesus represents to the "Jesus people."

Young people do have new perceptions and new priorities that naturally take them far away from the blandness of Billy Graham's message. Will they in the next period find the Jesus who calls Dan Berrigan and many others to witness against the powers to which Billy Graham gives religious sanction?

JOHN C. BENNETT

our government

UNMASKING SELF-INTERESTS

ONE HEARS often today of a new "constituency of conscience." Wherever the word "conscience" is conjoined with politics, be on guard. Such, at least, is the lesson taught by Reinhold Niebuhr and by the political experience of the centuries.

The "constituency of conscience" is today supposed to consist of the ever-growing numbers of educated professionals. The fastest growing industry since World War II has been the education industry. Lawyers, doctors, engineers, experts, consultants, planners, publishers, researchers, chemists, social workers, managers, teachers, designers—millions today carry attaché cases, which symbolize conscience.

Why is a special "conscience" attributed to such persons? First of all, they are the ones who make the attribution.

Some observers argue (and even Michael Harrington unguardedly agrees in *Toward a New Democratic Left*) that the social status and economic security of the new professionals are well taken care of. They have emotional space and time to give to the basic needs of others.

Still, altruism in politics must be examined. Why would one class help another, especially in a massive way? Hypothesize, first, that the helpers have not a thing to lose. Their neighborhoods will not be disrupted, their jobs will not be threatened, the future of their children will not be in the least jeopardized. None of their own privileges or perquisites will have to be given up—not expense accounts, fringe benefits, travel expenses, and other tax-free goodies of professional life. Not even their summer homes will be disturbed.

And what do professionals have to gain from their allegiance with some other class? In the first place, power. Power in America is contested between two major power elites which intersect at various points, cooperate, tussle and in various ways diverge. These are, roughly, the industrial-military elite and the technological-social planning elite. A lot of the second, for example, who once ran major Federal agencies, are filling second-rate jobs right now, helplessly out of power, watching the years of their youth slip away in frustration. One meets them everywhere.

The "constituency of conscience" would dearly love to be in power. It just so happens that their only hope for power lies through an alliance with the poor in order to outnumber the ranks of their rival elite.

There is also, of course, a second gain for the constituency of conscience (C of C) from an alliance with the poor. Not only does it lose nothing and gain power, the C of C tastes a delicious emotion no money can buy: compassion. Professional Americans of the C of C re-create for themselves on every conceivable occasion opportunities to savor outrage at their rivals and sweet sentiments of pity for the "powerless." Both these emotions, as I say, come without cost. They coincide, even, with gains in one's power, livelihood and working conditions.

The constituency of conscience is in the most enviable position in the annals of politics: the position of acquiring wealth, status, security and power through the exercise of compassion. Not only that: they think of their position in history as saviors of the world from war, pollution, greed and aggression. Machiavelli would blush amateurishly.

I do not mean that members of the constituency of conscience are deliberately venal. Few people in politics are, since human mediocrity commonly prevents excessive venality. All I mean to point out is the amazing coincidence between fundamental interests and moral claims. When conscience coincides precisely with interests, there is reason to raise an eyebrow.

There is no class in the US quite so privileged as the experts, consultants, engineers, managers, professors. They rank in the top 15 per cent in level of income; among the most sophisticated in consumption; among the most flexible, free and highly subsidized (in tax-free ways) in their habits of travel, play, and in general in their ability to mix work with pleasure. Their status is higher than that of those few remaining businessmen who work for—how vulgar!—money. And they have the priceless luxury of unbroken feelings of moral superiority.

Naturally, most members of the C of C point to

under \$3940), at least 11 million are going hungry and perhaps 35 million more suffer hard from malnutrition.

Last week's bitter food battle between Congress and the Department of Agriculture, which tried to slash the school lunch program, testified to the inadequacy of current and proposed programs. The dispute on technical questions not likely to stir public passions - how much money the government would give the states to provide kids free or cheap lunches, what spending formulas it would use and how the states would define who is poor enough to qualify. If USDA had won, which it did not, as many as 1.5 million out of 7.3 million needy children would have been the losers.

The commodity-distribution program, which stems from legislation passed in 1935 and 1949, aims to absorb farm surplus and to keep food prices up. Coincidentally, it feeds the needy. Its 3.5 million beneficiaries go each month to local warehouses, some up to 100 miles away, to pick up an assortment of peanut butter, canned vegetables, flour, corn syrup, grits, chopped meat made from hogs' tongues, and whatever else farmers and food processors currently have in excess. Agriculture says it offers 24 different foods, supply in more than enough nutrients and almost enough calories to keep a person healthy. Investigators of the Senate Select committee on nutrition and Human Needs found, however, that the average recipient seldom gets more than half the needed calories and nutrients. Few counties distribute all the items, some stock only four, others don't order the food, or stocks run out. Cheese and canned foods rot in overheated warehouses. Some local welfare officials refuse to distribute food during the summer, so that the poor will be forced to find work or learn to grow their own food.

Families in the food stamp program, which operates in 2051 counties, purchase money coupons at banks and exchange them for groceries. A poor family of four gets \$108 worth of food a month. The food isn't free, except for the few families who earn under \$30 a month. Families in the "upper income levels, making \$360 a month, must shell out up to \$99 to receive \$108 in stamps - the kind of savings any family might get at a good discount grocery. The \$108 figure is based on a USDA December, 1970 estimate of the costs of an "economy plan" menu for four. If you follow the sample menus to the letter, you'll eat "large servings of breads and cereals, potatoes and dry beans" but only "limited quantities of meat, eggs, fruits and vegetables."

No American should starve and no child should be undernourished; that seems agreed. But there must be a better way of feeding the hungry than this. The logical and less demeaning way is for Congress to scrap the surplus and food stamp programs for outright cash grants - at least \$4320 for a family of

four. The administration's Family Assistance Plan, which Mr. Nixon and Congress have shelved for this year would scuttle the food stamp program and give families cash instead. But unless Congress revives the plan, it would be worse than what we have now. For FAP would keep the surplus distribution program intact (powerful agriculture interests want it) and guarantee families a maximum of only \$2400 in cash - far less than many families get today in combined welfare and food stamp benefits. The administration plan would not require states to chip in their own funds, so many families might never rise above what is defined as poverty - an income of less than \$4320. Perhaps, as one congressman says, "hunger no longer has the punch it once had."

The Nixon Watch

The Rev. Billy's Day

Along the route that Mr. Nixon and his companion in a White House limousine, the Reverend Billy Graham, took from the Charlotte, NC, airport to the Charlotte Coliseum, where Billy Graham Day was celebrated on October 15, there were several street-side signs that read as follows: "With the third highest crime rate in the nation, all we need is Liquor by the Drink to put us on top." It may be doubted that the President, busy waving at the crowds and suppressing his normal desire to get out of the car and shake hands, noticed the signs. If he had noticed them, he probably would not have grasped the rather sour joke on him and his friend Billy that a lot of people in Charlotte thought the signs represented. It appeared to these people, presumably including many of the 13,000 who packed the circular hall of the Coliseum, that the President and the Reverend Billy had been trapped into public association with the advocates of legalizing the bar sale of hard liquor in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. A local judge was to decide the following week whether the citizens of Charlotte and the surrounding county could vote on November 5, as the state legislature had said they could, for and against legalizing sale "by the drink." It was a hot issue in the city and county, the last battle between prohibitionists and the modernists, led by the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, who argued that the present restriction to package sales made it unduly difficult to attract conventions and otherwise denied the city and its environs full participation in the joys and amenities of the 20th century.

Dragging the liquor issue into the accounts of Billy Graham Day was discouraged in Charlotte. The inventor and principle sponsor of the occasion, President

Charles Crutchfield of the Chamber of Commerce, attributed the covert suspicion that it was a factor to the machinations of the prohibitionists and their leader, Charlotte attorney Allen A. Bailey. Mr. Bailey declined to discuss the matter for the record. But it was clear that he and his allies, who included many of Charlotte's Protestant pastors, believed and put it about that Mr. Nixon had been gulled. They also felt that the Reverend Billy had acted with something less than the righteous consistency to be expected of a Baptist preacher who was at once Charlotte's most famous native son and, as the President said in his speech, "the evangelist who has been heard by more people in more parts of the world than any in the history of the world." It was said that Billy Graham had been invited to endorse the opposition to bar sales and, from his mountain home across the state at Montreat, had sent word that it was a local issue in which he saw no need to involve himself.

The Chamber of Commerce president, Mr. Crutchfield, is also the president of the Jefferson Standard Broadcasting Company, which operates television and radio stations in Charlotte and elsewhere. As such, and as a friend of Harry Dent, the presidential political counsellor from South Carolina, Charlie Crutchfield is on a list of some 40 businessmen and communicators who get privileged treatment at the Nixon White House. They are invited from time to time to meet the President at unannounced sessions and to get from him and senior members of his staff briefings on major items of Nixon policy. Among such figures as the chairmen and presidents of General Electric, Westinghouse, Honeywell, US Steel and Atlantic Richfield, and distinguished academics like Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago and Howard Johnson of MIT, Mr. Crutchfield considers himself to be a little fellow. But he's there, he chats with the President, and at a briefing last June 22 he mentioned his plans to arrange a day in Charlotte in honor of his and Mr. Nixon's dear friend, Billy Graham. Mr. Nixon said he'd like to attend. At another briefing in late July, preceded by dinner with Mr. Nixon in the State Dining Room at the White House and climaxed with a private account from Henry Kissinger of his first trip to Peking, the President firmed up his acceptance of the invitation and instructed his staff to fix a date with Crutchfield that would be convenient for the Reverend Billy. Perhaps mindful of his recent refusal to join the fight against bar sales in Charlotte, Graham demurred at first but came around and agreed on October 15. One gathers that he relied upon his old friend from his Charlotte days, Charlie Crutchfield, to knock off any speculation to the effect that the whole thing was a ploy on behalf of loosening the local liquor law by demonstrating in the most public way that the friends of bar sales were also the friends of President Nixon and Billy Graham. Confronted with that speculation, Crutchfield said in private that he thought up Billy

Graham Day and had mentioned it to Mr. Nixon before anybody knew that the legislature would allow a referendum on the liquor question this year. Crutchfield prepared a formal statement that said as much, adding that gossip to the contrary "demeaned Dr. Graham," but never issued it.

The upshot was a thoroughly pleasant and invigorating day for all concerned, excepting the aggrieved opponents of bar sales. Billy Graham said that Mr. Nixon is a warm and likeable human being, a tough and courageous President who disdains expediency and compromise. In proof of the latter assertion, Graham raised his magnificent voice to its full organ tone and said: "I remember once I made a suggestion to him: He looked me in the eye and said, 'Billy, that wouldn't be moral.'" The Reverend Billy then said something that may tell a good deal about how he and Mr. Nixon regard each other. "At that moment," Graham said, "he was the preacher and I was the sinner." Mr. Nixon gazed straight ahead, without a visible quiver. The honoree evoking his boyhood on a dairy farm that is now a forest of stores and office buildings, with the house where he was born tucked in a surviving nook, recalled that in those days his kind of folks killed their own rats and didn't ask the federal government to do it. The remark drew a nod from Mr. Nixon and tremendous applause from the audience. I found myself connecting it, no doubt unfairly, with the smattering of long-haired youths who displayed antiwar signs and yelled derisively at the President and Reverend Billy on their way to and from the Coliseum. Nixon and Graham actually treated the few dissidents with a show of amused tolerance, at one point raising their fingers in the V-sign of peace and saluting a young man who was screaming "Murderer!"

During the 27 minutes that Mr. Nixon required for his speech, he seemed to be reaching for a way to say the right things about the Reverend Billy without offending the many people who variously are not Protestants, not fundamentalists, and not as responsive as the President is to the Graham gospel. In the course of getting to what the nation owes Billy Graham, the President rendered a fairly complete recital of what the nation owes Richard Nixon. His forthcoming trips to China and Moscow, his efforts to wind down the Vietnam war, his progress toward a generation of peace, and his endeavors to keep America from growing soft while it grows richer and richer, were favorably mentioned. What the nation owes the Reverend Billy, the President finally got around to saying, is the impact of his effort "to inspire in individuals that religious faith which means moral strength and character" — the quality, Mr. Nixon said, that a nation has to have and keep in order to be great and the quality too, that makes Billy Graham "one of the greatest leaders of our time."

Back at the airport, the President told group

group of farewell handshakers that he'd enjoyed the day enormously. When he asked the Reverend Billy what he thought of the day, Graham said that he accepted the honor for himself and gave the credit to the

Lord. Mr. Nixon beamed his approval and, with Secretary of the Treasury John Connally and several other politicians in tow, vanished into the airplane that used to be Air Force One and is now the Spirit of '76.

John Osborne

Beating Plowshares into Swords

The Wasteland

by William Haseltine and Arthur H. Westing

After spraying the forests and fields of Vietnam with herbicides, saturation bombing them from B-52s, and repeatedly shelling them with artillery, the US Army Corps of Engineers is now using giant bulldozers to level hundreds of thousands of acres. The Engineers are cutting through trees, abandoned farms and scrub, leaving the soil grey, bare and lifeless.

US commanders have always had a hard time finding the Vietcong before it found them. As US troops leave the countryside and retire to base camps and cities, the job becomes even harder, because the only way left to spot troop movements is from the air. The large-scale use of herbicides to improve visibility from above by defoliating trees did not live up to expectations. Though many of the sprayed trees died, they remained standing. The ground below became quickly overgrown by dense brush and dead trunks were soon covered by climbing vines, effectively obscuring the ground.

The Army and Air Force are satisfied by the new bulldozing project. As described by Kysu' (Spring 1971), the quarterly publication of the Engineer troops in Vietnam, "... landclearing is a double-edged weapon denying the enemy cover and concealment while increasing allied ground mobility and the more effective use of artillery and air support." When the plows have finished, nothing is left standing; visibility is excellent. The bulldozing is one part of the program to use air power to win security for US troops with a minimum of casualties.

The teams work from dawn to dusk clearing over 1000 acres of land a day, seven days a week. More than 750,000 acres have been scraped clean so far.

WILLIAM HASELTINE is a graduate student in biophysics at Harvard University; ARTHUR H. WESTING is professor of botany at Windham College in Putney, Vermont.

The majority of the areas flattened have long threatened US forces, areas such as the Iron Triangle north of Saigon or the Boiloi Woods in Tayhinh province near Cambodia.

Bulldozing began on a small scale in 1965 as a way of lessening the dangers of ambush by pushing back the jungle from the sides of all major roads and other lines of communication. This early program enlarged the roads in South Vietnam from narrow ribbons hemmed in by green jungle to broad swaths clear of trees and brush for 300 to 600 feet on either side. Military commanders are pleased with the road clearing program, for during the daytime single vehicles can now travel roads once too dangerous for convoys. No one travels at night, even on the four-lane superhighway between Saigon and US command headquarters in Bienhoa, because the Vietcong control the countryside.

By early 1968 most of the major roads in Vietnam had been cleared and extensive razing of forests was begun. Idle equipment was put to work. The program grew, as many do in Vietnam, apparently not because of deliberate foresight but rather like Topsy. The basic tool is the heavily armored D-7E caterpillar tractor fitted out with a Rome plow blade. The blade is sharpened and adjusted to cut off all vegetation just above the ground. The heavy lance at one end of the blade, called a stinger, is used to split the very large trees before they are cut down or pushed over. Recently, larger D-9 tractors, weighing over 80 tons, have been introduced because, according to one company commander, "large trees, five feet and over, took a lot out of the D-7, and some trees would have to be left standing." In clearing rubber plantations, two tractors have dragged a chain between them to knock down the neat rows of trees.

The tractors are organized into five companies, 30

ELBERT H. GARY: SPOKESMAN FOR STEEL

FEB 23 1973
Benjamin SEVITCH, Ph.D.
Indiana University, 1972

Born to stern, midwestern parents, Elbert H. Gary (1846-1927) grew up on a farm in Wheaton, Illinois. After brief and abortive stays in the army and in college, he began reading law in an uncle's office. Gary graduated from law school, became a successful attorney, took an active role in civic affairs, and twice was elected Judge in his home town. In the 1890's his law practice brought him in contact with the steel industry, and his legal services were frequently in demand for many of the industrial consolidations of that period. In 1898 J. Pierpont Morgan selected Gary to head his new Federal Steel Company and three years later, when the financier purchased the Carnegie interests to form the United States Steel Corporation, he again chose Gary to be the chief executive of the new firm. Gary held that position until his death, and he also served as the President of the American Iron and Steel Institute, which he founded.

Gary brought to business the austere Methodist moralism that permeated his entire career. Thrown in with executives contemptuous both of government and of public opinion, he began lecturing about the "Golden Rule" in business and "cooperation rather than competition" to colleagues and subordinates. As U. S. Steel, founded on "watered" securities, successfully became the industry policy-setter, Gary spoke frequently before audiences of businessmen and at many commemorative occasions. He also wrote twenty-three articles for periodicals.

Gary usually had friendly audiences. They approved of his topics, particularly the well-used theme of "optimism" that Gary employed during every possible economic circumstance. Although well received as a speaker, he never mastered the rhetorical foundations of effective communication. Capitalizing upon his high personal reputation, he consistently made ethical proofs the ultimate source of his arguments. Repetitive and prolix, his speeches also abounded in mixed imagery. He attempted to achieve eloquence by employing most of the stale shibboleths of his times. Gary seldom organized his speeches and frequently engaged in verbose digressions. His articles exhibited many of these stylistic characteristics.

While instituting many reforms in managing U. S. Steel, Gary maintained a doctrinaire labor policy of unyielding paternalism. He resisted efforts to abolish the twelve-hour day, although eventually he was forced to rescind that practice. Defiantly anti-union, Gary precipitated the futile Steel Strike of 1919 by refusing to meet with union leaders. Adverse public opinion prompted the Congress to investigate the strike, and Gary's testimony before the Senate Committee on Labor and Education represented the nadir of his speaking.

Although castigated in the press, Gary remained firm, and the industry continued to operate with "open shops." When the Supreme Court upheld a lower court's decision dismissing the Government's antitrust suit against U. S. Steel, Gary emerged as spokesman for the entire industry. He frequently was decorated by foreign nations and received eight honorary doctorates in this country. In the 1920's he maintained his greatest popularity and reached his largest audiences.

Order No. 72-30,447, 266 pages.

THE PUBLIC SPEAKING CAREER OF IDA M. TARBELL

Lillian P. TRUBEY, Ph.D.
The Florida State University, 1972

Major Professor: Wayne C. Minnick

Ida M. Tarbell usually rates at least one line in history books, where she is remembered as the "muckraker" author of *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, published in 1904. She was, however, a nationally known writer before publication of that book. Her autobiography suggests it was one of her lesser interests, and evidence accumulated in this study shows that she devoted much of her life to the promotion of ideas unrelated to abuses of the capitalistic system.

Miss Tarbell spent the latter part of her life (the years 1905 to 1941) speaking on a variety of topics. As early as 1905, she addressed large audiences, and continued to deliver speeches, lectures, and informal talks (as she called them) until within three years of her death in 1944. In 1916, at the age of fifty-eight, she joined a Chautauqua tour and from then on

until 1932 she gave many paid lectures, being classified by her bureau manager as a serious lecturer with a message for the public. She also gave many speeches to organizations which she felt needed her help.

Miss Tarbell talked in almost every state in the Union, returning to many towns frequently over a twenty-five year period. From the material in her personal papers at Allegheny College as well as references to her speaking in other sources, occasions of over two hundred speeches have been identified. Probably nearly a million people heard her.

Manuscripts of twenty-eight of her speeches are available and were examined to find the principal themes. On the lecture platform she spoke of industrial subjects, the place of women in our society, and Abraham Lincoln. Before colleges, clubs and Allegheny alumni audiences, she talked of her views on education and writing. During the war she was a member and spoke for the Woman's Committee of the National Defense Council, advocating complete support for the war and also calling for a method of eliminating war. She consistently urged a form of democratic industrialism for the country. Although she was opposed to woman suffrage, she argued that women should and could take their rightful place in modern society. She viewed Abraham Lincoln as the ideal of a truly democratic man. She believed in higher education but felt that it should lead to self-discipline, self-reliance, and a morality that came from the inner man rather than from books. Her emphasis in journalism and in biographical writing was on finding and writing the truth.

Her speeches provide examples of the skilled use of supporting material. She used all of the commonly designated forms of support, but was particularly devoted to the use of illustration and comparison. The forms of support in her speeches were identified and quantitatively measured by line count. Forty-seven per cent of the content of her speeches consisted of illustrations, testimony, statistics, and comparisons. The difficulty of using present-day lists of supporting materials as a basis for content analysis of speeches is discussed in the study.

While Miss Tarbell did not change the mind of America by her speaking alone, she was one of a group of progressive speakers who helped turn the American public's thinking toward a liberalized concept of industry working through democratic means. Certainly Miss Tarbell's reputation as a muckraker who helped awaken America to the faults of the early industrialism is a correct one, but if her contribution is pictured as consisting solely of muckraking, she is denied the place in history which she deserves. The totality of her work was much broader.

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BILLY GRAHAM: A RHETORICAL STUDY IN ADAPTATION

Billy Edward VAUGHN, Ph.D.
University of Kansas, 1972

Billy Graham, evangelist from Montreat, North Carolina, has preached to more people than any man in history. It is estimated that he has preached to more than 40,000,000 people in Crusade services held throughout the world. In addition to this ministry is his preaching via commercial and closed circuit television, radio and movies. For a speaker to be successful with such diverse audiences in diverse locales, it would seem a valid assumption that he must practice astute adaptation. The purpose of this study was to discover if, and in what dimension, this assumption might be true.

The major materials of the study were tape recordings of four services where Graham took the same sermon outline, with the same sermon text, to preach to audiences in New York City, 1957, London, England, 1966, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, 1967, and Knoxville, Tennessee, 1970. These four scenes were selected because of their diversity and obvious contrast. The agency of one sermon ("For God So Loved the World" based on the Biblical text, John 3:16) preached in four differing locales was chosen because it would clearly point up the strategies used for audience adaptation. When Graham took the same sermon text, the same sermon outline, and prepared to preach it in diverse scenes, the changes he made should be motivated by a desire to adapt to this particular audience. Had more than one sermon been chosen for the study, the items of adaptation could not be so clearly distinguished.

Chapter I, introductory in nature, establishes the importance of adaptation in the thinking of American ministers in their writings since 1717. The rhetorical theory of Kenneth Burke is set forth and his dramatic pentad and his clear-cut analysis of identification are adopted as the tools with which this study shall be made. The definition of "adaptation" is chosen:

The choosing of changing strategies of identification for changing environment. When a speaker uses one set of identification strategies in one setting and another set in another setting, these uses may be placed in juxtaposition and the contrast clearly seen. This, for this study, is adaptation. The "purpose" of Graham's preaching is also set down. In Chapter II, the "inner drives," "instincts," and "states of mind" of the "agent," Billy Graham are stated from his writings and biographies. In Chapter III, the Burkeian scope of "scene" and "act" is narrowed to the "rhetorical situation" as understood by Lloyd Bitzer. The "situations" existing in each locale and in each historical time where Graham preached the sermons of this study are described.

In Chapter IV, the strategies revealing Graham's adaptation outside the sermon are discussed. These are advertising, focusing on problems, the use of "properties," and the Conventional Form of the Invitation. In Chapter V, the strategies showing adaptation within the "agency," the sermon, are

set forth. These are: Speaking a Common Language, the use of Authority, focusing on problems, and Symbolic Intensity. With his rhetoric, Graham attempted to use idioms and examples which were "common" to his listeners in each setting. His reliance upon authority differed with each sermon. He articulated the particular problems of his specific audience and asserted that he had the answer to those problems in his offer of salvation. Both in word and illustration, he adapted to his audience by using material of "symbolic intensity" from their personal lives outside the Crusade. The strategies traced which revealed no adaptation are presented in Chapter VI. These are Unity, Organization, Mass Media, Participation, and Establishing a Relationship to Groups.

The conclusions of this study strongly indicate that Billy Graham, evangelist, strives for adaptation to diverse audiences in changing locales and times.

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BILLY GRAHAM SAYS HE DID NOT INTEND TO CRITICIZE ISRAEL

Chided By Jewish Group For Comparing N. Vietnam, Syrian Casualties

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22 (JTA)--The Rev. Dr. Billy Graham, the Protestant evangelist who is a close friend and spiritual advisor of President Nixon, says that he intended no criticism of Israel when he said in a recent newspaper interview that 500 civilians were killed in Israeli air raids on Syria. The claim, originally made by the Damascus government, has been branded a "lie" by Israel.

Dr. Graham told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency at the White House yesterday, after he participated in the inaugural worship service, that "What I meant was that all wars are bad. Innocents get killed wherever they take place--in Biafra, the Sudan, anywhere." He expressed surprise that his remarks to New York Times reporter Edward B. Fiske last Friday were interpreted as critical of Israel.

A statement issued yesterday by the Workmen's Circle in New York, assailed Dr. Graham for having repeated the unsubstantiated Syrian claim of civilian casualties and compared it to North Vietnam's claim of civilian casualties under U.S. bombing.

'Gratuitous Act Of Hostility'

Dr. Graham, who was asked by Fiske of his feelings toward the U.S. saturation bombing of the Hanoi-Haiphong area during Christmas week, said: "If I understand correctly from North Vietnam they had 300 or so civilian casualties, which is about one-half of what the Syrians say they had last week from Israeli bombs. It's all over the world, this business of civilians being killed." On Jan. 4, the North Vietnamese said that a preliminary survey had shown that 1318 civilians died and 1261 were wounded in Hanoi alone in the Dec. bombing.

The Workmen's Circle statement, issued by Harold Ostroff, president, and William Stern, executive secretary, called Dr. Graham's juxtaposition of Hanoi's and Damascus' civilian casualties claims "a gratuitous act of hostility and incitement against a country (Israel) which has a desire to live in peace with its neighbors" but "is forced to defend itself against unprovoked attacks against its people and its communities."

The statement continued, "It is time that the Rev. Graham and those who may share his distorted view in comparing Syrian casualties already repudiated by Israel with those claimed by North Vietnam were brought into focus with events as they are. For all of Dr. Graham's pious attacks on violence both at home and abroad, Syrian terror against the children of Israel and their elders, never seem to evoke his concern." Dr. Graham is understood here to be on cordial terms with Israeli leaders.

STUDENTS ASSAIL ANTI-ISRAEL ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN STUDENT NEWSPAPER

Israel Said To Emulate Nazi Methods

DETROIT, Jan. 22 (JTA)--Jewish and non-Jewish campus groups are up in arms over the publication of a series of strongly anti-Israel articles in "South End," the student daily at Wayne State University. The latest in the series written by Rev. John Nicholls Booth, interim minister at the First Unitarian-Universalist Church here, was embellished with a Star of David on which a swastika was superimposed to illustrate the writer's allegation that Israel was emulating Nazi methods in its treatment of Arabs, it was reported in the latest issue of The Jewish News of Detroit.

Protests have been lodged with Dr. George Gullen, university president, and his associates. Dr. Gullen expressed shock at the material appearing in the tax-supported student newspaper. But he explained to a group of Jewish professors who met with him on the matter last week that state law and arrangements with the Student-Faculty Council prevented him from assuming control over the paper. He said his own letters to it went unpublished, The Jewish News Reported.

Dr. Gullen said the university's Board of Governors would insert a full-page paid ad protesting the biased series. But campus groups such as Youth for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East which is led by non-Jews, the B'nai B'rith Hillel, Habonim and Hashomer Hatzair, contended that such a response would imply an abdication of the university's role as publisher of an organ assigned for editorship to students, according to The Jewish News. They pointed out that South End operates on a budget of \$72,000 a year provided by the university from tax funds allocated by the Michigan State Legislature.

Demand Newspaper Apologize

Kathy McComsey, local chairman of the Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East, said that her group and the other groups planned to write letters of protest to South End. If these are not printed, she said, they will make their case before the publication's Board. The campus groups have expressed hope that the need to take the matter before the State Legislature can be avoided. They demand that the newspaper apologize for what they call its "shocking demonstration of a revived Nazi ideology," The Jewish News reported.

South End has a history of publishing anti-Israel material in which many readers have detected anti-Semitic trends, it was reported. A series of articles on Soviet Jewry published last Nov. was said to have been tinged with anti-Jewish prejudices. The newspaper gave assurances at that time that it would alter its attitude in view of countervailing data presented to the editorial staff.

According to The Jewish News, the First Unitarian-Universalist Church had a friendly, pro-Israel attitude before Rev. Booth assumed the ministry. His lectures and writings on the Middle East have been one-sided and biased, and Zionist spokesmen are believed to have blundered up to now by ignoring him and failing to reply to his allegations, The Jewish News said.

West Germany will send six of its star athletes to the Hapoel games in Israel this spring marking Israel's 25th anniversary celebrations, it was announced in Bonn. Contacts have been made between Israeli officials and Bundestag sports experts. The costs of the athletes will be paid jointly by the German Interior Ministry and the Israeli government.

The Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry reported today that ticket agents at the Riga train station now check the internal passports of anyone buying tickets to Moscow. If the passport says "Yevrei" (Jew), the individual is sent to a supervisor to give an explanation for the trip, and must provide official documents to substantiate the reason. The SSSJ also reported that Boris Azernikov has been sent to a punishment cell for two months. The reason is unclear.

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In The Company Of The Converted: Characteristics of a Billy Graham Crusade Audience*

Donald A. Clelland and Thomas C. Hood

University of Tennessee, Knoxville

C. M. Lipsey

University of Tennessee, Nashville

Ronald Wimberley

North Carolina State University at Raleigh

AMERICAN JEWISH

This article is an examination of the social characteristics of a Billy Graham Crusade audience in Knoxville, Tennessee. Basic data sources are (1) a short questionnaire administered to persons in randomly selected seats, (2) a larger follow-up mail questionnaire, and (3) a comparison survey of area residents. Crusade attenders are more educated and of higher income and occupational prestige than area residents. They attend church more frequently and are more conservative on religious beliefs than comparable samples. The thesis of the middle-class respectability of the Graham movement is substantiated by these data. The persistence of revivalism is interpreted as a functional reaffirmation of a threatened life style.

In the face of competition during the past decade from the "death of God," "the new morality," Vatican II, post-conciliar rebellion, Jesus freaks, glossolalia, and mystic cults, it is perhaps understandable that sociological students of religion have continued to ignore certain undercurrents of mainstream religion. Fundamentalism (or evangelicalism), rather than dying the natural death often predicted for it, has remained a viable force among a solid minority of Protestants well above the level of disinheritance.¹ Despite this fact and despite Littell's (1962:19) cogent ar-

*Revision of a paper presented at the Association for the Sociology of Religion meetings, New York, August, 1973.

¹Although it is often useful to distinguish fundamentalism (as a specific religious movement originating about 1875, cf. Sandeen, 1970a:57) from evangelicalism or neo-evangelicalism, such distinctions serve no purpose here. The central doctrine in all cases is belief in personal salvation through acceptance of Christ as the savior who died for the sins of believers. (For slightly different perspectives on the beliefs of fundamentalists, see Sandeen, 1970a, 1970b; and Streiker and Strober, 1972:3). The idea that orthodox Christianity is a dying anachronism is one of the few points of agreement among Marx, Durkheim and Weber and is implicit in theories of secularization and in the sect-church typology. McLoughlin (1967) views neo-evangelicalism or fundamentalism as a futile reaction against the emerging consensus. Stark and Glock (1968:205 ff.) provide substantial evidence for the "dawn of a post-Christian era." We do not wish to dispute the evidence for secularization, but we believe that the near and medium-term future will be characterized by great religious diversity. For the present, fundamentalism is apparently holding up better than the establishment churches (cf. Sandeen, 1970a; Streiker and Strober, 1972; Poloma, 1973).

gument that mass evangelism is the "motif which, more than any other, has shaped modern American church life," a review of sociology of religion texts and journals reveals a paucity of empirical studies of fundamentalists and their characteristic mode of religious expression, the revival.

The leading spokesman for fundamentalism, Billy Graham, has not only retained his popularity among *hoi polloi*, but also has solidified his position among *hoi oligoi*, a fact which has given rise to a continuation of scholarly works (Streiker and Strober, 1972) and popular literature, *pro* (Pollock, 1966; Mitchell, 1966; Barker, 1970) and *con* (Corry, 1969; Wills, 1970). But these works reveal little about the characteristics of Graham's most ardent followers, crusade attenders. For empirical evidence on the social base of this modern revival movement, we are forced to rely on the Langs' (1960) participant observation account and on Whitam's (1965) unpublished dissertation which was based on a possibly unrepresentative sample of "decision-makers" (rather than attenders²). Both of these studies dealt with the 1957 crusade in New York, an atypical American city. The basic purpose of this paper is to provide a recent, more complete profile of a Billy Graham Crusade audience in a typical setting, Knoxville, Tennessee.³

Methods

Data were collected immediately prior to the beginning of a typical meeting (no special program emphasis), which was the fifth of ten meetings in the late spring of 1970. Since the event occurred in the University of Tennessee's football stadium, a seating chart was available as a basis for representative sampling. We were thus able to avoid the quota or haphazard sampling usually necessary in the study of crowds. Sample size approximated one percent of the seats. Sampling was proportionate per section with several minor exceptions.⁴

Within each section a number of six-seat clusters were chosen at random. One hundred eleven clusters containing 666 seats were assigned to

²The sharp difference in the age of decision-makers and crusade attenders (73% vs. 31% under twenty years old in the Knoxville Crusade) is discussed in Hood *et al.* (1971). Other accounts (Ferm, 1958:161; Mitchell, 1957:169; McLoughlin, 1960:182; Whitam, 1965:17) give figures which imply a less extreme but similar pattern in other cities.

³Although Knoxville is, in some ways, a very unusual Southern city (e.g., low percent Black; high percent Republican), it is quite typical in its religious patterns, the most salient characteristics for this study. Comparison of Knoxville and regional data will be discussed below. It should be recognized, of course, that inferences from the Knoxville data are more tentatively applied to non-Southern settings.

⁴Sections and parts of sections reserved for the choir and the deaf, as well as several hundred folding chairs on the field were omitted from the sampling. This excluded approximately 6,600 seats; selections were made from the 53,882 which remained. For a full description of sampling procedures see Hood, *et al.* 1971.

54 student and faculty data collectors,⁵ who handed our short questionnaire to 397 people who occupied the designated seats. Two hundred nine seats were empty, 60 seats could not be reached during the time allotted, 26 persons refused, and 3 forms were later discarded as unusable. The response rate of those contacted was 94 percent.

Several criteria guided the construction of the questionnaire: (a) acquiring basic descriptive data on attenders, (b) comparability of data with previous research, (c) the necessity for brief interviews. The result was a one-page questionnaire covering religious preference, religious affiliation, church attendance, family income, occupation, residence, age, sex, marital status, and education. Race was recorded by the data collector.

The final item on the questionnaire asked the respondent to indicate his or her name and address if he or she was willing to participate in a follow-up study. Two hundred twenty persons (56%) responded positively to this question. One hundred ten persons over 13 years of age who agreed to participate returned a questionnaire mailed to them approximately one year after the crusade ended (55% response rate). This questionnaire yielded information on political preference and activity and on religious beliefs and practices.

An additional survey of the Knoxville population was undertaken for comparative purposes. A simple random sampling of residences yielded 196 useable questionnaires out of 375 residential addresses drawn from the list in the 1972 Knoxville City Directory (52% rate of completion).⁶

Findings

The special appeal of the Graham Crusades to "the respectable middle-class," as opposed to the presumed lower-class base of earlier revivals,⁷ has been widely noted for some time (Weiner, 1957; Lang and Lang, 1960:418). The conventionalization of this wisdom has, no doubt, been enhanced by publicized ties between Billy Graham and Richard Nixon in the recent period of the latter's appeal to the "forgotten middle American." Our findings basically support this central theme, but the specificity of our data allow for the development of a number of interesting variations on the theme.

⁵Each collector was responsible for one to three clusters. His or her job was to distribute the one-page self-report questionnaire to the persons in a designated cluster and to explain the nature of the survey. These collectors were instructed verbally and through an instruction sheet. The collector, wearing an identification tag, was instructed to introduce him or herself by name and indicate that the Bureau of Social Research was doing the study.

⁶The major sources of sample mortality were "resident not at home" and interviewer failure rather than refusals. An interviewer delivered the questionnaire to a person at the address and picked up the questionnaire when it was completed.

⁷It should be noted that when the whole history of revival in America is considered, a solid case can be made for the argument that the respectable middle class is the typical social base.

TABLE I
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF BILLY GRAHAM
CRUSADE ATTENDERS COMPARED TO OTHER GROUPS

Characteristic	Stadium Sample	Follow-up Respondents	Knoxville SMSA 1970 ¹
A. Education (Based on persons 25 years old and over)			
Post-graduate	8%	9%	5%
College Graduate	11	12	7
Some College	17	18	11
High School Graduate	41	42	29
Some High School	9	8	17
8th Grade or less	13	12	32
Total	99%	101%	101%
Median Years	12.7	12.7	12.0
B. Gross Family Income			
\$25,000 or more	22%	7%	3%
\$15,000-24,999		13	11
\$12,000-14,999	24%	15	11
\$10,000-11,999		13	12
\$ 8,000-9,999	14	15	15
\$ 6,000-7,999	17	13	15
\$ 4,000-5,999	13	15	13
Less than \$4,000	11	9	20
Total	101%	100%	100%
Median Income	\$9,357	\$9,733	\$8,200
C. Occupation²			
Professional	—	22%	17%
Manager, Official	—		
Proprietor	—	23	11
Sales	—	10	8
Clerical	—	1	7
Craftsmen	—	20	23
Operatives	—	15	18
Service	—	8	8
Laborers	—	0	6
Farmers	—	1	1
Total	—	100%	99%

¹1970 Census data from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1970 General Social and Economic Characteristics*. Final Report PC(1)-C 44 Tennessee (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), Tables 86, 89, and 83.

²For Crusade Follow-up: male head of household; for Census data; males.

The Langs (1960:418) report that "while the [1957 New York] audience was clearly not 'lower class,' the majority reported less than high school achievement."⁸ It seems safe to conclude that the New York audience, admittedly "respectable," was lower-middle class. In contrast, the Knoxville audience was several notches up the ladder of respectability. As shown in

⁸The Langs distinguish between the "downstairs" organized audience and the "upstairs" unorganized audience but are not clear that this estimate is for the combined audiences.

Table 1, only 22 percent of the sample indicated that they had not graduated from high school. On the other hand, 36 percent of the sample reports at least some college. Clearly this audience was not drawn at random from Knoxville's⁹ educational spectrum (49% less than high school graduation; 23% some college or more). Even as a sample of "respectable" Knoxville (after elimination of the underclass or bottom 20%) the audience is apparently "over-educated." Note that the educational data in Table 1 are based only on persons at least twenty-five years old. Thus, the bias in our sample toward youth, partly a consequence of the university site of the rally, is controlled in this comparison. These data strongly suggest that Graham's type of fundamentalism will not disappear simply on the basis of rising educational levels.

Data on income and occupation (Table 1) support the thesis about the middle class social base, but less strongly than educational data. The sample's income distribution differs from the Knoxville SMSA only at the extremes—the poor are underrepresented and the well-to-do overrepresented. The same general pattern obtains for the occupational comparison.¹⁰ The managerial category is particularly large in the audience sample and laborers are completely absent. These bulges in the occupational distribution are just the reverse of those found among decision-makers in the New York Crusade (Whitam, 1965:27), evidence once again of the relatively higher status levels of the Knoxville audience. Overall, the combined blue collar occupations are underrepresented (43% versus 55% in the SMSA). Only two percent of the sample was non-white, in contrast to seven percent for the SMSA. In sum, the socio-economic data suggest that this southern Crusade was somewhat weak in its appeal to the deprived and rather strong in its attraction for the status elites. Somewhat unexpectedly, high education and high occupation are apparently better predictors of Crusade support than is high income. Thus, if Graham represents the "booboisie" (Mencken's phrase) it is surprisingly well-educated.

It has been said that early Christianity was a religion of slaves and women. If the Billy Graham brand of Christianity neglects the former, it has retained its traditional attraction for the latter. Sixty-four percent of our sample was female. But this roughly 2:1 sex ratio was considerably narrower than the estimate between 5:1 and 8:1 reported by the Langs (1960:418).¹¹ The rather large difference probably represents both a

⁹The Knoxville SMSA was chosen for purposes of a rough estimate of the areal base. Possibly as much as a quarter of the audience came from outside the SMSA (4% of the sample was from out of state). Use of Knoxville SMSA figures probably over-estimates the educational level of the area from which the Graham audience came.

¹⁰Judging from the similar response patterns of the stadium and follow-up samples on education and income, the availability of data on occupation only from the latter does not bias the findings (Table 1).

¹¹The proportion of males among decision-makers in the Knoxville campaign was decidedly above the range (35-41%) reported for other Crusades (McLoughlin, 1960:183; Whitam, 1965:17).

Knoxville SMSA 1970¹

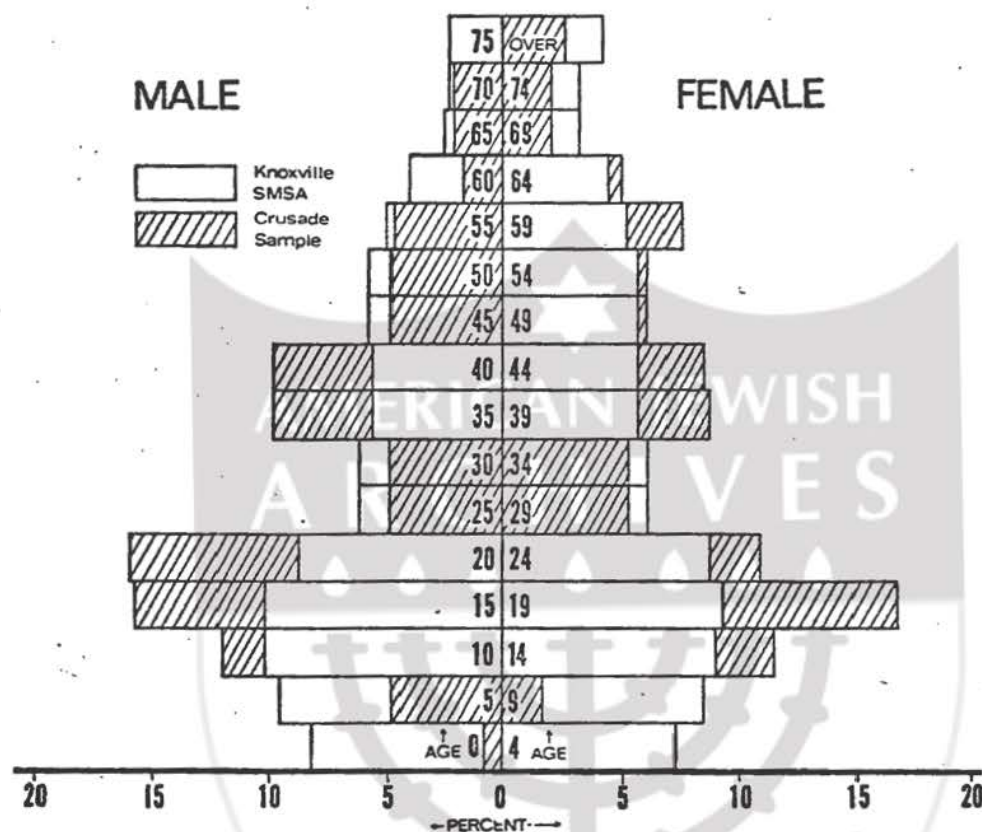
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growing respectability of the Crusades and, more significantly, the greater importance of family-based religion in the Bible-belt milieu. For example, 48% of the stadium sample came to the Crusade with a family member.

A related interpretation of the Crusades, discussed more fully in previous papers (Hood *et al.*, 1971; Hood *et al.*, 1973), that the Crusades function as rites of passage for youth raised in fundamentalist families, is suggested by the data shown in Figure 1. Females in the 10-24 age bracket and males from 15 to 24 were overrepresented. In addition, over one-half of the decision makers of both sexes were less than 16 years old.¹² Both males and females between the ages of 35 and 44 were strongly in evidence. We believe that these people were often in attendance to witness the "conversion" or reaffirmation rite of passage of their offspring in junior and senior high school.

The twin theses that the Graham Crusades find their social base in the respectable middle class and they perform the function of providing

¹²The university setting no doubt added many persons between 18 and 22 to the audience, but this category was slightly underrepresented among those who "went forward."

TABLE 2
DENOMINATIONAL PREFERENCE OF BILLY GRAHAM
CRUSADE ATTENDERS COMPARED TO OTHER GROUPS

Preference	Stadium Sample (n=368)	Follow-up Respondents (n=110)	Knoxville Random Sample (n=196)	Southern Appalachia ¹	South ²	U.S. ²
Baptist	60%	66%	47%	40%	45%	21%
Methodist	14	16	15	19	16	14
Presbyterian	9	6	11	8	6	6
Lutheran	2	0	—†	2	3	7
Other Protestant	7	7	18	19	14	18
Roman Catholic	1	0	4	3	11	26
Jewish	1	0	0	*	1	3
Other Religion	*	0	0	*	1	2
No Religion or Not Reported	5	4	5	9	3	4
Total	99%	99%	100%	100%	100%	101%

†Grouped with other Protestant

*Less than 0.5 percent

¹1958 data from Gordon F. DeJong and Thomas R. Ford, "Religious Fundamentalism and Denominational Preference in the Southern Appalachian Region," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 5 (October 1965) 27.

²1970 data from George Gallup, Jr. and John O. Davies, Editors, *Religion in America*, The Gallup Opinion Index, No. 70 (April 1971) 70-71.

an institutionalized conversion ceremony for fundamentalist churches can be further specified by our data. As indicated in Table 2, the Knoxville Crusade drew disproportionately from Southern Baptist churches at the expense of representation of low status sects (e.g., Pentecostal) and high status churches (e.g., Episcopal) (here combined under "other Protestant"). The last three columns in Table 2 demonstrate that Knoxville is representative of Southern and Appalachian denominational patterns but differs from the U. S. as a whole. Graham can hardly be faulted for failing to attract the non-religious, since so few Knoxvilleans, or Americans for that matter, are willing to classify themselves in this way.

But as Table 3 indicates, the Crusade did not attract the religiously marginal either. Fully 71 percent of the sample attended church weekly, a rate considerably above that found in any of the comparison samples. Seventy-eight percent of the respondents reported attending church the previous week as compared with 38 to 47 percent in comparative random samples. If this level of commitment typifies other Crusades, it is little wonder that previous research has demonstrated only a minimal impact on church attendance (McLaughlin, 1960:191). Finally, fully half of the respondents were officers in their church, twice the proportion in the gen-

TABLE 3
CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION OF BILLY GRAHAM
CRUSADE ATTENDERS COMPARED TO OTHER GROUPS

Activity	Stadium Sample	Follow-up Respondents	Knoxville Random Sample	South (Protestants)	U.S. Protestants
Church Member	93%	95%	83%	—	—
Church Officeholder	—	50%	24%	—	—
Attended Church during past week	—	78%	47%	44%*	38%*
Attended church during past year				(Southern Baptists)	
Never	3%	2%	16%	3%**	8%**
Several times	15%	6%	27	14	20
1-3 times/month	11	10	23	44	34
1 or more times per week	71	82	34	39	38
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*1970 data from George Gallup, Jr. and John O. Davies (eds.), *Religion in America*, The Gallup Opinion Index, No. 70 (April, 1971): 70-71.

**1964 NORC data from Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968): 86.

eral population. The Crusade audience was extremely "high" in participation in church.

As might be expected, this high participation sample is also high on religious orthodoxy and devotional practice (Stark and Glock, 1968:213). Responses to eight orthodoxy and two devotional items are shown in Table 4. In general, these data demonstrate that Knoxville provided a strongly conservative religious milieu for the Crusade. Knoxvilleans are more basically orthodox than the national pattern, but slightly less conservative than their fellow Southerners.¹³ Within this traditionalist context, the Crusaders consistently exceed the Knoxville sample in their adherence to the orthodox response, ranging from 11 to 21 percent. Even so, the audience did show greater variation in beliefs than that found in a sample of Southern Baptists in California. The high level of orthodoxy found in the audience demonstrates the unlikelihood of true turnabout conversions. Rather the emphasis must be on the ritual conversion (and rededication) of the previously socialized (cf. Whitam, 1965; Johnson, 1971).

Summary and Discussion

In summary, our investigation of the social background of a Billy Graham Crusade audience in a Southern city indicates that it is above average in socio-economic status, disproportionately young and female, and overwhelmingly active in the organized church and orthodox in its beliefs.

¹³Both city size and the elapse of over a decade between surveys may contribute to this intra-regional difference.

TABLE 4

ORTHODOX RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND DEVOTIONAL PRACTICE OF
BILLY GRAHAM CRUSADE ATTENDERS COMPARED TO OTHER GROUPS:
PERCENTAGE GIVING ORTHODOX RESPONSE

	Crusade Follow-up Respondents	Knoxville Random Sample	Southern ¹ Protestants	All ² Protestants	Southern ² Baptists
A. Belief					
There is no life beyond death					
	94%	78%	89%	89%*	97%*
The devil actually exists	91	71	86*	53	97
Some people will be punished in a physical hell	73	55	—	—	—
Jesus will never actually return to earth	81	60	81*	44*	94*
I know God exists and I have no doubts about it	86	72	—	71	99
I believe the miracles happened just as the Bible says they did	74	63	—	57	92
Jesus was God's son sent into the world to save sinful men	96	81	99*	69*	99*
The Bible is God's word and all it says is true	63	48	68 ³	—	—
B. Devotional Practice					
Pray privately at least several times a week					
	89	75	62**	75**	92**
Frequently ask self what God would want in daily life decisions	41	25	—	—	—

*Slight difference in wording **"Pray regularly"

¹John Shelton Reed. 1972. *The Enduring South: Subcultural Persistence in Mass Society*. Lexington Books: 60. Data from 1957 & 1959 studies by American Institute of Public Opinion.

²Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock. 1968. *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment*. Berkeley: University of California: 28, 33, 34, 36, 37, 112. Data from 1964 Northern California church member sample.

³Thomas R. Ford. 1961. "Religious Thought and Beliefs in the Southern Appalachians as Revealed by an Attitude Survey." *Review of Religious Research* 3: 2-21.

These characteristics differ only in degree from those suggested by previous research in other locations. The middle-class respectability of the Crusades is certainly substantiated by these data.

But is it possible to be more specific concerning the social base of the Graham movement? Normally, high status is associated with low levels of orthodoxy (Lenski, 1961; Ford, 1961; Nelsen, 1972). The fact that the relatively high status Crusade audience was high on orthodoxy suggests that Graham is drawing on a social base with a world view somewhat atypical of its prestige level. On this point, our data are compatible with a status group interpretation.¹⁴ Graham, we believe, is a spokesman for the old middle

¹⁴There are two somewhat distinct traditions in the analysis of status politics. The first stresses blocked status aspirations, individual frustration, and irrational response. The second stresses life style concern, status group basis, and rational response. In a rough sense, the first type of analysis is found in the work of Lipset (1955), the second in the work of Gusfield (1963). We are here applying the second usage. For an enlightened discussion of the concept, see Bramd Meyer and Denisoff, 1969.

class life style, an individualistic non-intellectual, pietistic, familistic life style, definitely at odds with the cosmopolitanism of corporate and intellectual elites (cf. Ladd, 1970:266-275; Bensman and Vidich, 1971: cc. 7, 8). This traditional, middle-class life style cuts across horizontal status levels. Although under extreme pressure toward change, it is now clear that this style of life will die only gradually and not gracefully. It has an autonomy of its own because it provides basic meaning for the lives of many, who can be expected to fight against its eclipse. This style of life is particularly strong in the South, an area of traditional Protestant cultural and political dominance. The Graham Crusades may be viewed as "symbolic crusades" (Gusfield, 1963) for "decency" in the tradition of the temperance movement. They serve as a rallying point for people who feel that their way of life is being threatened by real changes in society. The crusades provide moral support through reaffirmation of a world view and demonstration of numerical strength. As such, although symbolic, they are a rational response to stress. They may even persuade the participants that they are the establishment.

TABLE 5
NUMBER OF NON-RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS OF BILLY GRAHAM
CRUSADE ATTENDERS COMPARED TO OTHER GROUPS

	Crusade Follow-up Respondents	Knoxville Survey	National ¹ (1962)
None	48%	36%	57%
One	19	26	22
Two	15	21	11
Three or more	18	17	10
Total	100%	100%	100%

¹Herbert Hyman and Charles R. Wright. 1971. "Trends in Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults. Replication Based on Secondary Analysis of National Sample Surveys," *American Sociological Review* 36:195.

In the South, the Graham Crusades represent the dominant way of life, religiously, culturally and politically. In the Northeast this way of life is a minority life style, somewhat more embattled and more isolated. Our hypothesis is that the relative isolation of Graham supporters in the Northeast would be seen in lower rates of participation in voluntary organizations. Table 5 shows scant evidence of such social isolation in our Southern audience, and their crusade participation is not based on an addiction to "general associational activity."¹⁵

¹⁵Compare Goode's (1966) interpretation of church participation.

TABLE 6
POLITICAL OPINIONS OF BILLY GRAHAM
CRUSADE ATTENDERS COMPARED TO OTHER GROUPS

	Crusade Follow-up Respondents	2nd Cong. ¹ District	Border/ ² South ³
A. Candidate favored in 1968 election			(Border States)
Humphrey	14%	25%	39%
Nixon	71	55	41
Wallace	14	20	20
Other	2	—	—
Total	101%	100%	100%
B. Political position			(South)
Liberal	5%	—	19%
Moderate	43	—	29
Conservative	29	—	46
Uncertain or no response	24	—	6
Total	101%	—	100%

¹Source: Michael Barone, Grant Ujifuss and Douglas Matthews. 1972. *The Almanac of American Politics*. Boston: Gambit: 762.

²Republican National Committee, *The 1968 Elections* (April, 1969) mimeographed.

³*The Gallup Opinion Index*, No. 86 (July, 1972): 9.

Finally, we provide Table 6 as suggestive evidence of the strong overlap of religious and political ideologies within the Crusade audience. The homogeneity in voting preference is also striking. Support for Nixon in the 1968 election was even greater among Crusade participants than in this strongly Republican area as a whole. In addition, our respondents eschewed the "liberal" label (only 5% accepted this designation). In contrast to the South at large, the modal ideological self-identification of the Crusaders was "moderate" rather than "conservative." This response is compatible with the relatively weak support for Wallace. These findings suggest that the political ideology of the neo-fundamentalist core of the traditionalist middle class may not be an extreme right wing variety. But we do believe this ideology should be viewed as part of a reactive approach to politics, which is based on concern generated by changing styles of life. We plan further investigation of the connections between status politics and neo-fundamentalism.

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**BILLY GRAHAM VISITS WOUNDED FROM ZION SQUARE TERRORIST
BOMB ATTACK IN HADASSAH UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL**

Jerusalem...The Rev. Billy Graham, famous American Evangelist, recently visited patients wounded from the terrorist bomb attack on Zion Square in Jerusalem, who are still hospitalized, at the Hadassah-Hebrew University Medical Center.

"The wounded will be constantly in my thoughts and prayers," he said at the end of his visit, "and I will pray, too, for the people on the Hospital staff who serve the victims of the bomb outrage with such compassion and devotion."

In the Neurosurgery Department, he spent a long time with Baruch Stern, a young violinist from whose brain an inch-long piece of shrapnel had been extracted.

Dr. Moshe Feinsod, the neurosurgeon who headed the team, told Dr. Graham: "We succeeded in saving the full functioning of his left hand, despite the fact that the shrapnel penetrated into the right half of his brain, so he will be able to resume his violin playing. Baruch is certainly fortunate."

"God has been good to you, giving you a surgeon like this," Dr. Graham said to Baruch, who is now well, and up-and-about after his miraculous escape.

Next to Baruch, lay Yitzhak Ben-Harush, a blind newspaper seller, who had also required extensive neurosurgery. Yitzhak is still unconscious, although his condition has improved sufficiently for him to be moved from the recovery room, where he lay in a critical condition for several days.

- more -

2/Billy Graham Visits

While at the Medical Center, Dr. Graham visited the Hospital's synagogue and viewed the famous stained-glass windows of Marc Chagall, and spent a long time examining Chagall's vision of Jacob's blessings on his twelve sons.

He was accompanied by members of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, the Rev. Roy Gustafson; the Rev. Walter H. Smyth, International Vice-President, of Atlanta, Georgia; and the Rev. Grady Wilson.

Dr. Graham has visited Israel many times, and his daughter and son-in-law have spent a year studying at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association sends groups of more than 100 people to Israel on tour each month.

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Graham

11-28-77

Christianity Today to Shift to Illinois

By Janis Johnson

Washington Post Staff Writer

Christianity Today, the leading evangelical intellectual journal since its establishment 20 years ago under the leadership of evangelist Billy Graham, will move from Washington to suburban Chicago, in the heartland of conservative Protestantism.

A majority of the biweekly magazine's board of directors approved the proposal Tuesday despite objections by most of the staff. The directors cited as major advantages in relocation anticipated financial gains and accessibility to the nation's largest theological center.

However, several persons familiar with the magazine believe an equally important factor is the feeling of some board members that Washington is too "polluted" an atmosphere for a religious publication.

Harold Myra, publisher for 18 months, acknowledged that "a lot of speeches were made about the 'poisonous atmosphere' of Washington back in the Watergate days." But he insisted that position "is not a broad consensus of the board."

All but two members of the editorial staff opposed the move. Those two abstained. A principal argument against

moving was that the magazine's presence in Washington is important at a time of increasing involvement of evangelicals in social and political affairs.

Christianity Today, which has a circulation of 127,000, rents the 10th floor of the Washington Building, at 1435 G St. NW.

Myra said the move was prompted by high costs of office rental or building purchase in the Washington area. The directors ruled out relocating in Northern Virginia.

The magazine will purchase a 12,000-square-foot building in Carol Stream, Ill., a Chicago suburb, for \$400,000, and complete the move by summer, he said. "We need equity," Myra said.

About two years ago, Christianity Today had a deficit of nearly \$1 million, according to Graham. The financial crisis was exacerbated by a drastic reduction in contributions from speeches were made about the Glenn Meade Trust Controlled by the late Howard Pew of Philadelphia, former head of the Sun Oil Co. His money provided a major subsidy to the magazine for years.

Founded as a magazine for preachers, Christianity Today originally was distributed free. The subscription rate

is now \$15 a year, Myra said the goal is to be self-supporting by 1980.

Myra conceded that costs of living and business operations in Chicago are not greatly different from Washington. "But Chicago is better," he said, "about 10 per cent better. It will allow us a more efficient operation."

By going to Carol Stream, the magazine will be within a few miles of Wheaton, the Chicago suburb known as the "mecca" of independent evangelicalism in the United States. Such major organizations as the National Association of Evangelicals and Youth for Christ, and other small, evangelical denominations and mission societies have headquarters here.

The Graham center and archives, a major complex, is being developed at Wheaton College, Graham's alma mater.

Graham, a Southern Baptist, supported the magazine's inception with his father-in-law, the late Dr. Nelson Bell, a Presbyterian, as a voice of and to evangelicals in mainline denominations. Graham also backed the Washington location.

What bothers some persons associated with the evangelical movement is that the new location may mean the magazine will gradually become oriented toward independent evangelical denominations and organizations that are less influential in the nation's social and political affairs. This is particularly irksome to them at a time when evangelicals are experiencing a resurgence of power in the nation.

Graham did not attend the board meeting because of doctor's orders to slow down. He is suffering from phle-

bitis. He said he "would not know how to vote" under the circumstances. "But I think in the long view, they must take into account the financial situation," Graham said.

Graham heads a committee that is looking for a new editor-in-chief for Christianity Today, a decision many hold to be more significant than the location of the publication.

Harold Lindsell, the current editor, announced his retirement this year. He has abstained in discussions of publishing sites.

Graham said "about three or four" persons are under serious consideration. The preference is a theologian with an earned doctorate.

Graham Group Weighs Future

N.P. 3 11 4:29.77
Religious News Service

MINNEAPOLIS—What will happen to the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association when Billy Graham is no longer on the scene?

Dr. Victor B. Nelson, an association official, said it is generally conceded that Leighton Ford, Graham's associate evangelist and his brother-in-law, "will step into the central harness if Mr. Graham should close his ministry."

Ford, he noted, preaches as often as the famed evangelist on the association's "Hour of Decision" and has a similar style. Nelson emphasized that Graham "intends to keep going as long as his strength permits."

He said the effectiveness of any successor to Graham would depend on whether he has "God's blessing," as he said Graham has.

Billy Graham, he said, "still is well accepted," receiving about 5,000 requests to speak last year. He said the evangelist's message also is well accepted, attracting an increasingly young audience.

Decision magazine, issued by the association, has a circulation of about 4 million copies of its English edition published here, Nelson said.

The association is completing a building that will house crusade offices formerly located in Atlanta.

BILLY GRAHAM TO ADDRESS
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

By Religious News Service (9-7-77)

BUDAPEST (RNS) -- Evangelist Billy Graham will address a luncheon meeting of the American Jewish committee's National Executive Council in Atlanta Oct. 25.

Word of the event, which will mark the preacher's first public address to a Jewish organization, came from members of the Graham team who spoke to reporters covering the evangelist's visit to Hungary.

The Graham associates said the evangelist will report personally to President Carter on his Hungarian trip when he returns to the United States and that he will then prepare for his talk to the Jewish group.

Mr. Graham met privately with Jewish leaders in New York in 1975. In his talk to the Committee, he will discuss matters of common concern to evangelical Christians and Jews.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, national director of interreligious affairs of the Jewish Committee, extended the invitation to Mr. Graham. At the evangelist's request, he gave the Mr. Graham letters of introduction to Chief Rabbi Laszlo Salgo of Hungary and to Rabbi Alexander Scheiber, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary.

Why Hungary lets Billy Graham visit

9.5.77
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Vienna

The action of the Communist authorities in approving American evangelist Billy Graham's visit to Hungary was a deliberate gesture of goodwill toward the Hungarian Protestant churches.

Traditionally Hungary's population is considered to be 70 percent Roman Catholic with the remainder belonging to the Protestant churches — Baptist, Methodist, and Calvinist.

Relations between the Communist regime and the Vatican have improved markedly in the past two years since the retirement and then the passing of the bitterly anti-Communist Hungarian Primate, Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, which enabled Pope Paul VI to appoint a new head of the church in Hungary.

Government approval for Mr. Graham's visit — the first the evangelist has paid to an East bloc state — was clearly intended to assure the Protestant churches of their equal footing with the Roman Catholic Church in the matter of contacts with Western and other churches.

It also is part of an active and serious dialogue that has been going on for some time between church theologians and state ideologists in Hungary, and of the Kadar government's growing pursuit of wider world contacts notwithstanding the limits implied by its overall commitment to the East bloc.

By the end of his Sept. 4-9 visit, Mr. Graham will have addressed Baptist and other free church congregations in Budapest and several provincial centers, conferred with leading officials of the State

Office for Religious Affairs and met with leaders of other denominations.

To start his speaking round he went to a Baptist youth camp near Budapest. Some 5,000 young people — mostly Hungarian but including a number of Czechoslovaks — cheered and applauded his arrival and swarmed around him for handshakes and autographs at the close of the service.

His theme — translated into Hungarian by the head of the American Baptist Church, Dr. Alexander S. Haraszti — was an apolitical appeal for dedication to Christian teachings and brotherly love.

He spoke in quiet terms, refraining from his customarily forceful evangelical style, apart from a final call for a show of hands in symbolic response to his call. He had not, he said afterwards, expected so many hands to go up. "It was a very moving moment."

Billy Graham Invokes Colson, Johnny Cash

American Apostle to Hungarians

9.10.77

By Michael Getler

Washington Post Foreign Service

(1)

DEBRECEN, Hungary, Sept. 9. — In the remote flatlands of western Hungary, names like Johnny Cash and Charles Colson spill from a church pulpit like Martians out of a spaceship.

Who among the few thousand farmers, schoolchildren and elderly peasant women jammed into the tiny Baptist Church in this remote corner of Communist Eastern Europe has ever heard those names? What could they possibly mean to these people?

What they mean, evangelist preacher Billy Graham tells them, is that "Jesus Christ is alive today; he is a living Christ, a modern Christ; He is up-to-date."

The preaching links the old, traditional Gospel that these people want to hear and have heard all their lives with the idea that their religion still works.

So they learn that Johnny Cash turned his drug-ridden life over to Christ and is now an American superstar singer.

They hear that Charles Colson "was one of the worst men of all — the hatchet man — in the American political scandal known as Watergate," but now has been converted to belief in Christ and goes all over the world telling about it.

The Rev. Billy Graham's travels in Hungary this

week and his first sermons in a Communist country of the Soviet bloc also represent something of a conversion for both Graham and his hosts.

"Times are changing," says Graham, who spent many years warning about the evils of atheistic communism. Now, the 58-year-old churchman says he wants to spend the rest of his years "building bridges" between peoples as well as preaching to as many people as he can.

His government-approved trip at the invitation of the Hungarian Council of Free Churches has attracted attention in a White House occupied by a Baptist President and in Moscow, where Graham would like to go.

It is being viewed as a signal that Hungary wants better relations with the United States, or that Eastern Europe wants to polish its image before next month's Belgrade meeting to review compliance with the 1975 Helsinki agreements.

The political overtones of the visit seem to override its religious significance, and Graham himself may have inadvertently contributed to that. Or perhaps he believed that his performance here would be a big factor in determining whether he gets an invitation to Moscow.

See GRAHAM, A11, Col. 1

An Ecumenical Messenger

Billy Graham Builds a Bridge to Communist East Europe

GRAHAM, From A1

In the Central Baptist Church in Budapest Sunday, Graham gave his most important talk. His audience of 3,000 included the leading clergymen of Hungary and the top Soviet Baptist leader.

Graham described how his attitude toward preaching in a Communist country had changed and said he had learned that Hungarian Christians help solve the problems of their society.

"You have much to teach us about Christian responsibility and obedience in society," he said.

The clergymen who invited him loved it. Indeed, Graham's aides suggested that such remarks were to be expected as a courtesy to those who arranged the extraordinary invitation.

But to a young Pentecostal minister in the audience, the mixture of introductory remarks and sermon was disappointing.

"He is a first-rate evangelist and that is what the people — not the politicians — wanted to hear," the young man said. "There was not enough pure Gospel, not enough of the revelations of God through him that people want. There was too much politics. These people aren't used to hearing that in a church. It confuses them. They can read politics in the newspaper."

The minister added that among some clergymen there was also a feeling that in "lying down with the Communists," Graham had somehow compromised his beliefs. "Nobody expected him to chide the Communists, but maybe there was too much about how to get along with the state," he said.

Outside Budapest, however, such criticism did not seem to apply. Graham was the preacher of extraordinary skill and eloquence here in Debrecen, in Pecs far to the south, and at the Tahi youth camp in the woods outside the capital, where he drew nearly 10,000 people.

The Hungarian press gave little publicity to the visit. The crowds

came largely because of word passed through the grapevine and over great distances.

Graham's appearances were largely at out-of-the-way places. Even in Budapest, the church is on a back street.

This is the land of "goulash communism," a popular label describing the most liberal and Western-orientated Communist system in the Soviet bloc. But when Graham stopped at nearby Hortobagy to eat some "real goulash made by the shepherds," to don a cowboy hat and to pose on a horse for pictures, there was no one there to watch except a few Western newsmen and the rest of Graham's "team," as he called it.

Graham's travels through the countryside were a mixture of Bible Belt preaching, politicking and unabashed corn.

He warmed his audiences up by telling them he had come to Hungary to see if the Danube River is really blue and if the goulash tastes as good as it does in America. He said his home in North Carolina has two items from Hungary—a light bulb and the paprika in the kitchen.

His audiences seemed to respond to anything he said.

Graham wove the cause of ecumenism into the fabric of his sermons, and in so doing calmed the fears of other churches about the presence of such a powerful speaker.

He was raised a Presbyterian, the Baptist preacher said, and his wife remains Presbyterian. Five of his 12 grandchildren are Lutherans, he said.

He talked of Pope John XXIII and of the Jews, saying "tears came to my eyes" when he met with Jewish leaders in Budapest. "God has given me a great love for the Jewish people," he said.

Archie Dennis, a black singer of spirituals, accompanies Graham and stirs these audiences with a music sharply different from the choir singing they are used to.

Graham's humor has served him well. When a collective farm owner gave him a beautiful leather-covered wine flask, he said he would fill it

"with American Baptist wine, which is water."

When the proprietor of a restaurant kept bringing more courses to the table, Graham said he had to go but offered to leave two of his team behind to keep eating.

His wife, Ruth, never lost her smile. But the star of the Graham entourage, aside from Graham himself, has probably been Dr. Alexander Haraszti, a gynecologist from Atlanta, Ga., who left Hungary many years ago and who served as Graham's translator.

Vital as Graham's style is to his effectiveness, Haraszti displayed an enthusiasm in translation that seemed to propel him even further into the heavens than Graham.

His translation was instant. His hands flew about in the same gestures as Graham's and the words poured out in comparable numbers so as to match Graham's staccato style.

Graham talked frequently about America's problems and how hard it is to be a Christian in America today.

Perhaps some of this was designed to soothe his hosts. Yet it was clear to many people that this was an impressive man, and an American, and on balance it was the impression of him that dominated.

He admits that some of what he preaches is illogical. But I believe it," he says. "I accept it. On faith."

He tells the story of an English biochemist who said Graham's sermons were illogical but then, said Graham, "couldn't sleep at night because something was talking to his heart."

Graham, tall suntanned and handsome, leans over the pulpit and asks, "How many of you are not sure that Christ really lives in your heart? Raise your hands."

Several people slowly raise their hands. An old peasant woman with a classic, pinched, toothless face wrapped in a black shawl raises her hand. In it, there is a tape recorder microphone.

If she doesn't understand everything that she has heard on this unusual day in Debrecen, she can listen again at home.

BILLY GRAHAM REPORTS HE FOUND
RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN HUNGARY

By Religious News Service (9-15-77)

NEW YORK (RNS) -- Evangelist Billy Graham told reporters here that he found "a total separation of church and state in Hungary" during his recent visit to the East European country.

At a press conference, Mr. Graham commented that "during the 50s, as most of you know, I took a very strong stand on communism. But as I've grown older, I've quit preaching on political matters because I think the church can exist in any kind of society."

While giving his impressions of conditions in Hungary, the evangelist cautioned, "I am not a seven-day wonder that goes over to Hungary for seven days and comes back and says, 'I am an expert on Hungary.'"

Don Bailey, director of public relations for the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, gave the reporters copies of news stories Religious News Service carried on the Graham visit to Hungary as background information. Dr. Walter Smyth, vice-president for international ministries of the Association, said the RNS stories "very well cover the visit."

Alexander Haraszti, a native of Hungary who is now a physician in Atlanta, had served as Mr. Graham's interpreter on the trip. He told the reporters that the evangelist "has been accepted (in Hungary) in such a way that is beyond anybody's imagination and dreams."

According to Dr. Haraszti, Mr. Graham emphasized in his sermons that "the Gospel does not intend for any Christian to divest himself of his environment and social responsibilities where he lives."

Asked whether he could support a Communist government, the evangelist indicated that what he meant was that Christians could adjust to communism "just as the Jewish people adjusted to Rome" during the period of the Roman empire.

Mr. Graham reported that Hungarian religious leaders had told him "they have more freedom today than they have had in a long time." He said the adjustments that had to be made under the Communist rule posed problems for both church and state authorities. "I think the socialist government has also had to suffer, to some extent," the evangelist commented.

Asked about the situation of the Hungarian Jewish community, Mr. Graham said Jewish leaders had told them "they had a tremendous amount of freedom to do their work." He said he was told that Jews were free to emigrate but that many do not want to leave "because of their present position in Hungarian life."

(more)

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The evangelist commented that "the only condition, really, about my going (to Hungary) was that I had an opportunity to meet with the Jewish leadership."

Mr. Haraszti displayed for reporters a large painting entitled "The Miraculous Catch," painted by a Hungarian artist depicting the incident described in Luke 5:1-11. He described it as "a Hungarian national treasure," and said Mr. Graham "was moved to tears" when it was presented to him by the Rev. Sandor Palotay, head of the Council of Free Churches in Hungary.

Mr. Graham related that wherever he went in Hungary, people grabbed him and said, "I'm a believer." He concluded from this that "there are far more Christians, perhaps, than go to church."

The evangelist commented that Hungarian Christians "are free to buy Bibles. They are free to go to church." He added, "Now, whether there are penalties connected with that, I do not know."

While repeating that he found religious freedom in Hungary, Mr. Graham noted, "There's no doubt that it's a different type than we have in this country." He also pointed out that "the word 'freedom' is relative all over the world."

Although the evangelist said he had been briefed by the U.S. State Department before leaving for Hungary, he emphasized that his visit was not political in any way. He said Hungarian government officials made it clear to him "that they were not asking me to do anything for them."

Mr. Graham declared that "if we don't have a better understanding (between East and West), I think we're headed toward a world war which could destroy the human race." He suggested that exchange visits of religious leaders might be productive in reaching people "on a spiritual level" in ways that could not be done by political leaders.

Asked about the allegation that portions of his new book, How to be Born Again (published by Word), were taken from a 1965 Graham book entitled World Aflame (published by Doubleday), Mr. Graham said, "They are exactly right."

He pointed out that he holds the copyright to both books, and commented, "There's only one Gospel, and trying to present it in a hundred different ways is a problem."

Mr. Graham said the reason he switched to Word from Doubleday was that Word, as an affiliate of the American Broadcasting Company, has facilities for electronic duplication which Doubleday does not. He noted that Word is preparing a cassette study guide for his latest book, and that the company is developing television cassettes, on which he could preach sermons and deliver portions of his books.

At the same time, the evangelist said, "I've been pleased with Doubleday. I have no complaints about Doubleday."

Asked about the World Evangelism and Christian Education Fund connected with his organization, which had been described in some reports as a "secret fund," Mr. Graham noted that Religious News Service had mentioned it in a December 1971 story and that the Minneapolis Star also carried an article mentioning it at that time. "But very few newspapers carried it (at that time) because it was so dull," he commented.

The evangelist said that "some people are offering us property free in other parts of the country" after learning that one purpose of the fund was to build a lay training center in western North Carolina.

(In a Dec. 14, 1971, story, RNS reported on a visit Mr. Graham made to his world headquarters in Minneapolis. One paragraph of that story said, "A trust separate from the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association was set up to enlist estates and money to be used for evangelical work around the world, Mr. Graham revealed. Its income will be used to aid Christian education, small seminaries, Bible schools, and hospitals.")

OPINION AND COMMENTARY

Of Christians and communists

By Tracy Early

CSM (27) 9.19.77

Billy Graham's recent preaching mission to Hungary represented virtual completion of a revolution in attitudes of Christians and communists toward each other.

That does not mean either side has converted the other, or ceased to hope for the other's future decline. But each side has concluded that the other is going to be around for a while, and some means of practical accommodation has to be found.

The Russian Orthodox Church, which fought the new Soviet government for a while after the 1917 Revolution, made its peace under Stalin. In the dark days of World War II, the two sides came to a pragmatic understanding that the church would support the government and the government would stop trying to exterminate the church.

The Roman Catholic Church has taken a new approach toward communist governments since John XXIII modified the hard-line policies of Pius XII, and refused to let Vatican II become an occasion for condemning communism.

A lack of sympathy for polemics against communist governments has also characterized the World Council of Churches, particu-

larly since the Russian Orthodox and other Eastern European churches became members in 1961.

The only major sector of world Christianity continuing to maintain a posture of fervent anticommunism has been the conservative evangelical wing represented by Billy Graham. So it is especially significant that he has now conducted what his news release calls his first "official" mission to a communist country of Eastern Europe. (Graham's publicity uses the term "socialist," not "communist.")

His formal invitation came from the Hungarian Council of Free Churches, which includes Graham's fellow Baptists and other smaller groups in a country whose largest churches are Catholic and Reformed. But Graham went with open approval of the Hungarian Government, and in a spirit of building friendship between peoples.

Graham's advance man, Walter Smyth, who reported "no restriction" on his activity, met with the government minister for church affairs and came to a position that many other churchmen and communists had reached earlier:

"We had an open and frank discussion about

the ideological differences that exist between us, but we also recognized that in spite of these differences there may be cooperation between us to promote common goals."

Graham, in accepting the invitation, said he looked forward to "learning more about not only the churches of Hungary but the social structure of Hungary and the people of Hungary." This implied that he did not consider the "social structure" something that necessarily had to be attacked.

It is likewise significant that Graham's visit was to the country where the late Cardinal Josef Mindszenty so long personified the older pattern of hard-nosed, intransigent opposition to communist rule. While praising Mindszenty's courage, the Vatican found his approach led only to a dead end, so in 1971 it finally persuaded him to leave his refuge in the United States embassy in Budapest, and go into exile.

Meanwhile, other Hungarian religious leaders were already working along other lines. In church circles a story is told that Hungarian communist chief Janos Kadar once found a group of churchmen present at a reception to declare their support.

For any political leader, support obviously is something that it is impossible to get too much of. So Kadar, confronted with the ambiguity of support from his presumed antagonists, reportedly approached the group and said, "I don't know what to do about you. I know what to do about Mindszenty, but I don't know what to do about you."

Throughout the Soviet bloc, communist leaders have been forced to recognize that the churches are not disappearing. So if church leaders will accept the government, the government will tolerate them.

And though a few dissidents remain, the principal churches have learned to live with the apparently long-term reality of communist control by distinguishing "ideological differences" from "cooperation . . . to promote common goals." They have sometimes suffered attacks from critics in the West accusing them of compromise and sellout. But the validity of their approach apparently has been recognized by most Christian leaders, including now an important spokesman for conservative evangelicals.

Mr. Early is a free-lance writer on religious topics.

3 CHURCHMEN SAY THEY WERE MISQUOTED
IN DR. POLING RELEASE ON EVANGELIST

By Religious News Service (12-12-77)

NEW YORK (RNS) -- Three Christian leaders cited by Dr. David Poling as agreeing with a statement he released defending Billy Graham claim they were misquoted.

They say that although they do have confidence in the personal integrity of Mr. Graham, they do not have enough information about his evangelistic association and related operations to make any comments about them.

The statement had been issued by Dr. Poling, United Presbyterian minister and syndicated columnist, at a news conference in New York. He said he had contacted six others by phone and that they had agreed on a statement defending the evangelist's fiscal integrity.

Dr. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., pastor of The Riverside Church, New York; Union Theological Seminary professor Robert McAfee Brown; and attorney and lay theologian William Stringfellow expressed concern about the statement after reading the text that was released by Dr. Poling.

Dr. Brown said the statement that had been read to him by Dr. Poling over the telephone did not refer to Mr. Graham's enterprises but only related to the evangelist's personal integrity.

Father Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University, had also been listed by Dr. Poling in connection with the statement. He expressed a sentiment similar to that of Dr. Brown -- that he believed the statement would be only about Mr. Graham personally and not about his organization as well. Father Hesburgh said he did not see the final statement as released by Dr. Poling.

The statement, as released by Dr. Poling said, "Misleading and often false interpretations have been circulated concerning the finances of the Billy Graham organization. These published insinuations of wrong-doing or implied malfeasance cannot go unchallenged. We are familiar with the ministry of Billy Graham and join together to publicly affirm the financial integrity and accountability of Mr. Graham's enterprise."

Dr. Coffin also objected to some individual comments attributed to him that had been distributed by Dr. Poling at the press conference. Dr. Poling acknowledged that he had misquoted Dr. Coffin as having said, "Apparently some headline hunters have turned head hunters, with Billy now their prime target."

Asked how the misunderstandings could have come about, Dr. Poling said, "All of these were phone conversations; they weren't written out, which was my mistake."

Two other persons listed by Dr. Poling as joining in the statement but not immediately available for comment were former Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver, who now heads his own evangelistic organization, and Dr. David Hyatt, president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews who was out of the country.

BILLY GRAHAM TAKES EXCEPTION
TO STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED TO HIM

By Religious News Service (12-27-77)

MINNEAPOLIS (RNS) -- Evangelist Billy Graham has stressed his belief that "non-Christians are lost," contrary to an impression created by an article in McCall's magazine based on an interview with him.

The article in the January issue of the magazine quoted Mr. Graham as having said, "I used to believe that pagans in far-off countries were lost -- were going to hell -- if they did not have the Gospel of Jesus Christ preached to them. I no longer believe that."

In a statement issued from his association's headquarters here, Mr. Graham has now said, "Throughout my ministry as an evangelist, I have held without reservation the belief that Jesus Christ is the only way of salvation. I still hold firmly the conviction that 'God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life' (John 3:16)."

Referring to the article in McCall's, the evangelist commented, "On the whole, I am pleased with the accuracy of the interview. However, a few of the statements unfortunately convey meanings which I never intended to suggest in the original, unedited interview. This may be due to my own failure to make myself as plain as I should have."

Mr. Graham said that "the article correctly and clearly states what I intended when it says, 'Graham's essential message has not changed: He still preaches that all men are sinners and in need of conversion to Christ.' Contrary to what the article later suggests, I do believe that non-Christians are lost -- whether they live in far off countries, or in America."

The evangelist explained, "My statement that Jesus Christ is the only way of salvation pertains to the whole human race. I do not preach to Buddhists just because they are Buddhists, or to Jews just because they are Jews, or to atheists just because they are atheists. I preach to all men everywhere both the judgment of God and the love of God."

Mr. Graham also stressed that he does not "condemn or oppose legitimate missionary efforts to special groups, although I have always seen my own mission as broader than any one group. I have always opposed gimmickry of extreme groups. I have proclaimed the Gospel to all men across the world. I rejoice when anyone finds Christ, whatever that person's ethnic, national, or religious background."

The evangelist declared that "the Bible says all men have some light given by God, both in the Creation and in the human conscience. Whoever sees the footsteps of the Creator in nature can ask the God he does not fully know for help, and I believe God -- in ways we may not fully understand -- will give that person further light and bring him to a knowledge of the truth that is in Jesus Christ so he will be saved. He may use our preaching or He may use any other way He chooses, but ultimately it is God, not we, who saves men."

In conclusion, Mr. Graham said, "The lostness of the human race apart from Christ is a sobering truth for those who take the Bible seriously. My prayer is that Christians everywhere will rededicate themselves to the task of spreading the Gospel of Christ to every corner of the earth in this generation."

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Graham Has a Deficit; May Curb Radio and TV

Special to The New York Times

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MINNEAPOLIS, June 23—The Billy Graham Evangelistic Association and five affiliate organizations recorded a combined deficit of \$3.2 million last year, they disclosed today. As a result, associates of the evangelist at his world headquarters here are studying possible cutbacks in the operation.

One possibility being considered, said George M. Wilson, executive vice-president of the association, is to reduce the number of stations carrying Mr. Graham's "Hour of Decision" radio program and his televised crusade "Specials."

A major cause of the deficit, according to Mr. Wilson, was the expenditure last year of more than \$1 million for a special Christmas television program, which yielded few contributions until the new year. He said the bad winter in the Northeastern United States, which impeded mail service, also had hurt income.

Income at \$38.4 Million

The Graham association and five affiliates last year had income totaling \$38.4 million and expenditures of \$41.6 million, according to the first combined financial statement issued by the Graham Headquarters. (Finances covering the association only in 1976 were made public several months ago, the first time this had been done. Release of that information came after the State of Minnesota demanded the association's financial details in connection with registration of a Graham charitable annuity fund.)

Income of the Graham association last year totaled \$27.7 million, down \$1 million from 1976. Association expenditures totaled \$30.4 million in 1977, up \$2.7 million over 1976.

Comparative figures for the affiliate organizations were not available for the two years. The affiliates are World Wide Pictures, which produces and distributes evangelistic films; World Wide Publications (also known as Grayson), which sells religious books and related materials; the Blue Ridge Broadcast-

ing Corporation, which operates a religious radio station in Black Mountain, N.C.; the Christian Broadcasting Association, which operates a radio station in Honolulu and the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association of Canada.

Not included in the combined report were finances of the crusades, which Mr. Graham conducts around the world. These are handled by local corporations set up for the duration of the crusades.

Also not included, but covered elsewhere, is the World Evangelism and Christian Education Fund, which Mr. Graham started in 1970 to aid projects in missions, evangelism and Christian education. It had a balance of \$15.5 million at the end of 1977 after \$7.7 million was released during the past year for construction of the Graham Center at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill. Remaining money in the fund is for completion of the center, for development of a laymen's training center in North Carolina and for other projects.

Combined assets for the Graham association and the five affiliates were listed at \$17.3 million at the end of 1977.

Costs Are Up

Although its income was up for the first five months of 1978 over the same period last year, the Graham association is facing major increases in operating costs that could still necessitate cutbacks, Mr. Wilson said.

He said that the postal increase that went into effect May 29 and another increase in second- and third-class rates coming in July will cost the association \$505,000 more for mailing the same amount of material as it did last year. Most of it involves distribution of the association's magazine, Decision, which has a circulation of 5 million.

Mr. Wilson said the association and its affiliates take pride in the breakdown showing that they spent 89 percent of their funds last year for evangelism ministries. Of the balance, 5 percent went for fund-raising (direct mail and postage) and 6 percent for administrative costs and overhead.

Billy Graham lauds 10.21.78 new pope's election

By Olga Molina
NEWS WORLD STAFF

4A

Evangelist Billy Graham, who just returned from a trip to Poland, said yesterday Pope John Paul II. has a great opportunity to make a contribution to the new spiritual renaissance within the Roman Catholic Church.

Speaking at a news conference after his return from a two-month speaking tour which included stops in Norway, Sweden and Poland, Graham said he missed the response of the Polish people to the pope's election because he was in Paris at the time.

Graham, who was invited to Poland by the Polish Baptist Union and the Polish Ecumenical Council, said he preached 10 sermons to almost 25,000 people in six cities.

"It was a strenuous schedule, and I questioned whether my stamina could take it," he said. "I spent 1½ hours with the foreign minister, talked at length with the vice premier, and saw Catholic bishops. Poland is 90 percent Catholic, and as my tour gathered momentum the Catholic churches opened their arms to me."

"I had a different view before coming to that country. I was surprised that Christians have freedom to worship in Poland. The people came to hear me. I preached exactly the same sermon I preach in the United States."

"The government is beginning to see that Christians—good disciples of Jesus Christ—make good workers, good citizens, and are honest. I was told by one leading Catholic bishop that the situation was better now."

Graham conceded that 10 days in a country did not make him an expert. He said there may be restrictions in other areas. "Thirty-two years ago Warsaw was the most devastated city in the world, greater than Nagasaki and Hiroshima," he said.

"Nothing was left standing. The people said they wanted to rebuild the city and all cultural centers, theatres, and monuments were rebuilt upon the bones, debris, and rubble of destruction."

"After 1,000 years of war, you can understand why the Polish people want peace at any cost. During the war, Pope John Paul II went to school in the underground and became a priest during that time."

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**BILLY GRAHAM ON POLAND VISIT:
'CHRISTIANS HAVE ABSOLUTE FREEDOM'**

By Religious News Service (10-20-78)

NEW YORK (RNS) -- Evangelist Billy Graham told reporters here that before he went to Poland for his recent preaching campaign, "I thought the restrictions are far greater than they really are."

He declared that "Christians have absolute freedom of worship" in Poland, and stressed that "there certainly was no even hint as to what I was to say."

At the same time, however, Mr. Graham acknowledged that "I couldn't come back from a 10-or 11-day trip and be an expert on affairs in Poland."

Asked about the protests and disruptions he faced during his Scandinavian crusade just before his trip to Poland, the evangelist said, "Every time I have gone to Scandinavia I have received hostile reactions from the press. This time it was much less than before."

Referring to disruptions of his meeting in Oslo, Norway, by militant members of an atheist society, Mr. Graham related, "We knew the demonstration was going to take place and I asked the police publicly not to intervene. We didn't want any scenes of people being thrown out."

The evangelist said he knew of at least two incidents in which young women who were attempting to disrupt his meetings expressed surprise that they were not treated harshly by police who removed them.

Billy Graham, on the Devil in Mr. Jones

SINGAPORE—The tragedy in Guyana that has shocked the world is a complicated and painful reminder of the words of the great Jewish Prophet Jeremiah, who said, "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?" (Jeremiah 17:9). And it is a reminder of the warning of Jesus: "For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many" (Mark 13:6).

The Bible is full of warnings about false prophets and false messiahs. These satanically inspired people have appeared in almost every generation of history. The Old Testament bears eloquent testimony to practices in early cultures that were similar to what happened in Guyana, including human sacrifice.

On Oct. 12, my wife and I laid a wreath at the Auschwitz concentration camp where more than four million men, women and children were tormented and executed in the most horrible example of a kind of religious insanity. Auschwitz stands as a tragic reminder of the terrible potential man has for violence and inhumanity.

But we have seen Auschwitz repeated again and again though on a vastly different scale—from the Manson murders to the Munich Olympic massacre to the Guyana mass killings and suicides.

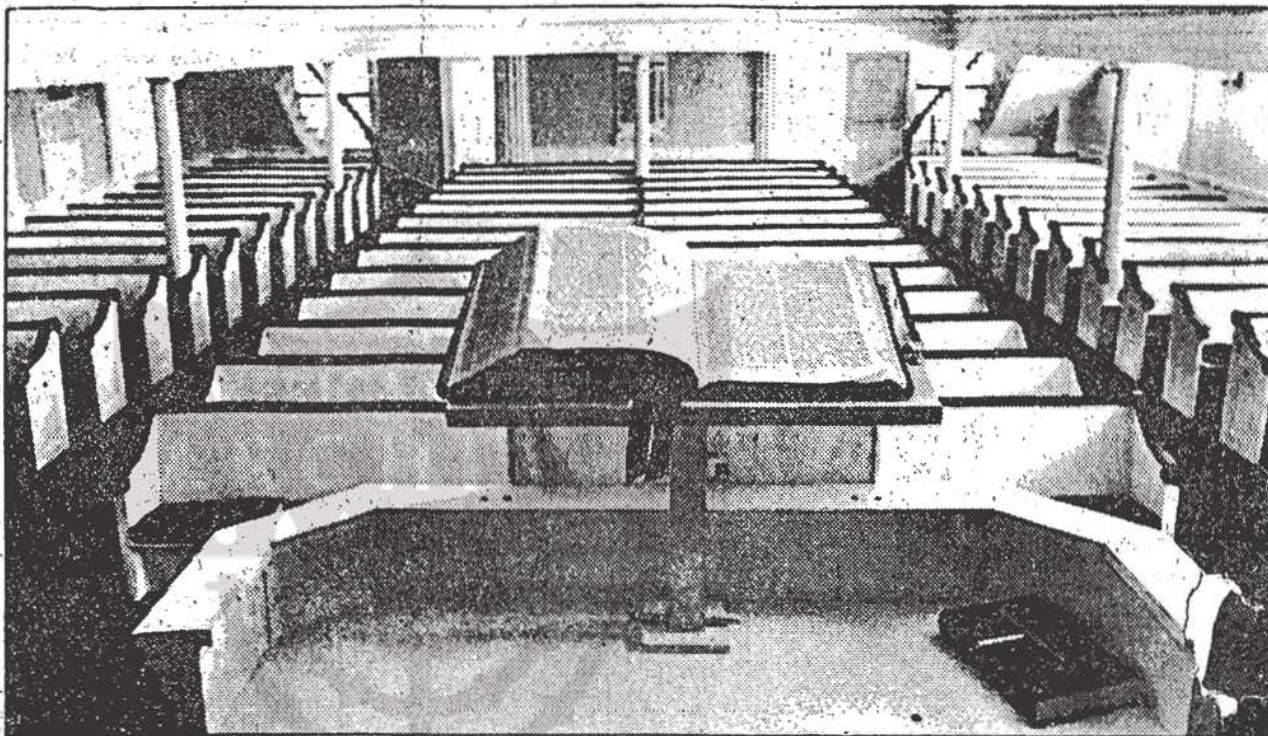
And I fear there may be more to come.

As I travel throughout the world I can feel the tremors of more diabolical earthquakes.

God is at work in the hearts of millions—but so is the devil. As an editorial in a Bangkok newspaper said last week, "Satan is not dead."

Unfortunately, as long as man's heart remains unchanged, this type of tragedy will continue to occur—whether in the cold-blooded murders that plague every American city, or the frightening terrorism that stalks so much of the world, or through the wholesale deception of false messiahs like Jim Jones.

As the nations of the world reach for



Alan S. Orling

new levels of affluence, social and economic prosperity, they are bewildered when these things do not bring personal peace or fulfillment. People are confused, but true inner peace never comes through possessions or "the better life." Perhaps this is why we are living in a time of such tremendous spiritual experimentation. Thousands are turning to gurus and cults of various sorts. Voodooism, satanism, witchcraft and other demonic forms have emerged from their closets to haunt us in our generation.

But only a transformation of the heart can give man a new sense of direction, a right purpose and meaning for living. This is why it is important for each of us to heed the words of the prophets and the disciples who continually warned people that they must repent of their sins and turn to God by faith—or suffer the consequences.

An individual's life can only be

transformed by a personal experience with God that gives to each one moral guidelines and a new value system.

Unfortunately in that search for God it is all too easy to blunder into the arms of Satan instead.

This is what happened in Guyana.

One may speak of the Jones situation as that of a cult, but it would be a sad mistake to identify it in any way with Christianity.

It is true that he came from a religious background but what he did and how he thought have no relationship to the views and teachings of any legitimate form of historic Christianity.

We have witnessed a false messiah who used the cloak of religion to cover a confused mind filled with a mixture of pseudo-religion, political ambition, sensual lust, financial dishonesty and, apparently, even murder. None of this has anything to do with true faith in God.

A news magazine has called Mr. Jones's movement "a culture of death." Whenever men leave God they commit spiritual suicide, which ultimately bears its fruit in the death of a culture, including social, economic and political suicide when carried to the ultimate.

Our hearts go out to those left behind that have been hurt and confused by this terrifying tragedy.

Apparently Mr. Jones was a slave of a diabolical supernatural power from which he refused to be set free.

He was like a drug addict or an alcoholic who refuses to admit his need or seek help from the only one who could have set him free—God!

Jesus said: "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

Billy Graham, the evangelist, is preaching in Singapore.

Other Religious Agencies Fail To Qualify

STANDARDS OF BETTER BUSINESS BUREAUS
NOT MET BY BILLY GRAHAM ORGANIZATION

By Religious News Service (1-15-79)

NEW YORK (RNS) -- Campus Crusade for Christ and World Vision International made it, but the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association and Youth for Christ International didn't.

"It" is the periodic listing issued by the Council of Better Business Bureaus of charitable organizations which meet its standards and those which do not. While some groups contend that the Council's standards are unrealistic, its listing is generally considered a reputable index of good accounting practices.

In its latest listing, which applies as of Nov. 1, 1978, the Council notes that omission from the list of charities which meet its standards should not be interpreted as either approval or disapproval. It applies the same caveat to organizations which do not appear on its list of groups which fail to meet its standards.

A number of organizations were cited as having failed to "disclose to any inquirer, upon request, current information about activities, finances, voting trusteeship and accomplishments." These included the Cathedral of Tomorrow/Rex Humbard Foundation, Children of God, Operation PUSH/People United to Save Humanity, the Oral Roberts Evangelistic Association, United Jewish Appeal, Universal Life Church, and The Way International.

Those which failed to "disclose upon request information about the decision-making structure" included the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, Christian Appalachian Project, Christian Broadcasting Network, Community Churches of America, and Unification Church.

Charities which were listed as having failed to "provide upon request an annual, externally audited financial statement and the auditor's report" included the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, Christian Broadcasting Network, International Society for Krishna Consciousness (Hare Krishna), Jesus to the Communist World/Christian Mission to the Communist World, Maryknoll Fathers/Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, and Unification Church.

Amnesty International was listed as having failed to "employ generally accepted accounting principles and reporting practices," and for failing to "spend a reasonable percentage of total income directly for program services," as distinct from fund raising and administration...."

The PTL Television Network did not "ensure that compensated board members do not exceed 20 per cent of those voting in any decision of the voting trusteeship" or "employ generally accepted accounting principles and reporting practices," according to the Council. The Synanon Foundation and Underground Evangelism were also cited for failing to meet the standard involving compensated board members.

(more)

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a. 2. 2. Youth for Christ International was listed as failing to "avoid business transactions in which board members, staff or their family have a financial interest," although the Council noted that "failure to meet this standard does not presume any abuse or illegality. It points out the existence of a situation in which the potential for a conflict of interest exists."

Organizations which met the Council's standards for charitable solicitations included the following:

American Bible Society, American Friends Service Committee, American Jewish Committee, American Leprosy Missions, American Near East Refugee Aid, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Campus Crusade for Christ, Christian Children's Fund, Christian Record Braille Foundation, Compassion, Inc., Economic Education Foundation for Clergy, Father Flanagan's Boys Home, Food for the Hungry.

Also, Holy Land Christian Mission, Institutes of Religion and Health, International Rescue Committee, Jewish Braille Institute, King's Garden/World Concern, Laymen's National Bible Committee, Missionhurst, Morality in Media, National Conference of Christians and Jews, National Council of Jewish Women, National Jewish Hospital and Research Center, Near East Foundation, Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, Inc.

Also, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Religion in American Life, St. Jude Children's Research Hospital, St. Labre Indian School, St. Stephan's Indian Mission, Salvation Army, World Literature Crusade, and World Vision International.

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Billy Graham Favors Law Requiring Church Finances to Be Made Public

By Marjorie Hyer

Washington Post Staff Writer

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Evangelist Billy Graham said yesterday that he favored a law under which "every church and religious organization would be required to make public its finances."

In 1977, Graham's Evangelistic Association made its first public accounting in 27 years, in the wake of widespread criticism that followed disclosure by the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer of an unreported \$23 million World Evangelism and Christian Education Fund.

In an oblique reference to that controversy Graham said Wednesday at the National Press Club that he has become "convinced" of the wisdom of full financial disclosure for institutions of religion, now exempt from such accounting.

Graham said that over the years, his expression of views on political issues has "greatly diminished." In recent years I've decided that I am a world-wide representative of the kingdom of God. When I say something, I have to think how that's going to affect Christians of Africa or Christians of the Far East.

Nevertheless, he did answer questions on a wide range of topics:

- On the Rev. Jim Jones: "I believe he was possessed by the devil."

- On woman's place: "I think God created woman to be the helpmeet with man. . . we (men and women) are to submit to one another."

- On ERA: "I haven't taken a direct stand because I am in favor of women having all the rights. . . You have to recognize that they are different physiologically and psychologically."

- On abortion: "I'm against abortion except in case of rape, incest or if the mother's life is in danger."

- On birth control: "I don't see any-



THE REV. BILLY GRAHAM

... in wake of 1977 disclosure

thing in the scriptures that says there's anything wrong with birth control."

- About his relationship with President Nixon: "... He had suffered a great deal and when one of your parishioners suffers, the pastors suffers, too."

Graham said he had last been in contact with the former president by telephone before Christmas. "He was very jovial; he was on top of the world," Graham said.

Graham, who drew a substantially larger crowd than last week's luncheon speaker, Playboy publisher Hugh Hefner, said he has seen President Carter "only twice" and spoken to him by telephone three times since he became president.

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BILLY GRAHAM TO BEGIN PUBLICIZING
CHARITIES TO OVERCOME CRITICISMS

By Religious News Service (3-15-79)

MILWAUKEE (RNS) -- To counter what he said were mounting accusations that he lacks social dimension, evangelist Billy Graham announced here that he and his Association would begin publicizing their many charitable projects.

He said at a press conference that in his 30-year ministry he did not feel it necessary to talk about what projects the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association financed and supported.

But, because of growing criticism from mostly mainline liberal Protestant and some Catholic clergy, Mr. Graham said that it's time to start making those projects publicly known.

He was here to meet with area clergy and to talk with local people who are involved in organizing a Graham crusade here Aug. 8-12.

Mr. Graham said that one project involves building an entire town in India where a flood had ravaged the landscape, and has already constructed 21 churches there, most of them Finnish Lutheran. In addition, his Association helped to send 12 planes of food and supplies to Guatemala after an earthquake devastated the country several years ago, and is helping the so-called "boat people," the refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia.

"We've raised millions for social causes throughout the world," he said.

The evangelist said that he and his Association were deeply involved in the fight for racial equality in the South. He cited examples of speaking in the early 1960s to integrated congregations in Tennessee and Alabama.

"Anyone would tell you that we changed the whole history of Birmingham, Alabama, the city that was on the verge of racial upheaval," Mr. Graham declared, adding:

"Martin Luther King, Jr., said that if it had not been for the ministry of Billy Graham, he could not have done the work that he did... I called him Little Mike -- his father was Big Mike and he was Little Mike. I told him 'I'm going to the stadiums and you go to the streets.' But, we both worked for the same goals -- racial integration...."

Mr. Graham also related, "I took black clergy to see President Nixon when he first became President. He said he would give us an hour. He gave us three."

The evangelist was asked about a 1975 news account that said he supported the ordination of homosexuals but was making no comment on the ordination of women.

"I have never, ever, even hinted any support for the ordination of homosexuals," Mr. Graham asserted. Asked why, he said he would have to write a long, detailed article to answer that question. He did, however, indicate "there were many sins listed in the Bible."

(more)

Mr. Graham also declined to make a comment about the ordination of women. "I don't get involved in particular things," he said. "Citizens ought to, but God has not called me to."

The evangelist, who flew directly here from Mexico where he had been speaking, said preaching the Gospel in general took too much time for him to take part in other crusades.

"In one town, they wanted me to speak against pornography," he said. "I refused on the grounds that my job was teaching Christ. I support Anita Bryant in her campaign against homosexuality, but I didn't march in her parade."

"There are too many sins that, if I were to preach against all of them I would have no time for anything else," the evangelist said. "I would rather preach about the promise of Christ, his forgiveness and redemption."

Mr. Graham repeated his belief that religious organizations ought to disclose their financial data, and announced that a new fiscal statement by his Association is to be issued in May.

In answer to a question about local crusade financing, he said: "I will not get a cent; I haven't taken an honorarium for speaking since 1951."

1-29-81

Graham Warns on Arms and 'Dangers' in TV Evangelism

By KENNETH A. BRIGGS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28 — The Rev. Billy Graham, in an appearance here before 2,500 evangelical Christians, spoke out tonight about the threat of a renewed arms race and warned about the "dangers" of television evangelism.

The silver-haired evangelist, who was inducted into the National Religious Broadcasters' Hall of Fame at the gathering, said there were many problems "which demand our attention as Christians," including the arms race.

"It is a complex issue, and I do not believe in unilateral disarmament," he declared at a banquet. "But how can we be indifferent to the millions and millions who live on the brink of starvation each year, while the nations of the world spend

\$550 billion each year on weapons?"

Although he hailed a revival in evangelism, Mr. Graham cited several "dangers" within the movement to spread the Gospel through television and radio. Among the pitfalls he listed were excessive pride, reliance on "worldly methods" to sustain broadcasts, infatuation with success and preoccupation with "perpetuating organization."

Forum for Broad Debate

"We dare not sit around patting ourselves on the back when the world's despair without Christ is becoming increasingly evident around us," Mr. Graham said.

Mr. Graham's message did not appear to be designed to gain popularity or to undergird the avowed purpose of the evangelicals' meeting, which was to display

unity in the aftermath of a recent upsurge of spiritual and political activity by Christian conservatives.

In counseling moderation and restraint, Mr. Graham joined a growing list of prominent evangelicals who oppose the new surge of political activism by fundamentalists. The meeting here this week of the National Religious Broadcasters and the National Association of Evangelicals, far from being a unity rally, became a forum for a broad debate over the meaning and purpose of evangelical Christianity.

Among the issues discussed were whether evangelicals should endorse a single set of positions on moral issues and whether "secular humanism" presents the main source of opposition to achievement of their Christian goals.

Though the television preachers have drawn the most attention within the 30-million-member evangelical movement, most evangelicals appear to be neither as theologically fundamentalist nor as politically conservative as those in the Moral Majority, a politically active group led by the Rev. Jerry Falwell.

In the past, fundamentalists tended to shy away from politics, but now the split centers on what kind of political action to take. Mr. Falwell has become the focal point of both supporters and opponents.

Many moderates appear to resent the perception that all evangelicals are in the conservative political mold. They are speaking out and making their presence felt.

While the programs led by the television preachers caused the most stir here, other perspectives were represented by Ron Sider, a professor at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, and other figures who conducted seminars on such matters as justice for the poor.

Sojourners Magazine, which espouses the views of many liberal and self-described radical evangelicals, published a strong assault on conservative activists whom the magazine's editor, James Wallis, called "evangelical nationalists."

'Will Not Go Unchallenged'

Urging evangelicals to fight for economic and racial justice, Mr. Wallis wrote: "The evangelical nationalists will not go unchallenged. The resistance will not simply be from 'godless secular humanists,' as they frequently described their opponents, but from their fellow evangelical Christians whose public dissent to their agenda is rooted firmly in the Gospel."

Those who came to the convention as members of the National Religious Broadcasters are strongly linked to the



Associated Press

The Rev. Billy Graham warned of "dangers" of television evangelism in speech to evangelical meeting.

drive for political activity among evangelicals. On the other hand, the constituency of the National Association of Evangelicals generally reflects a broader variety of theological and political views. Each organization attempted to get its own perspective across and agreed to strive for a common commitment to evangelism.

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Evangelist's Ministry Ran Deficit of Nearly \$1 Million Last Year

U.P.C. 9.21.77

MINNEAPOLIS (AP)—The Billy Graham evangelistic ministry collected revenues of \$39.9 million last year but had a deficit of \$871,600, according to the organization's annual report.

Revenues rose \$712,390 from the 1977 figure and the deficit was made up from reserve funds, said the report released this week through the headquarters of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.

It was the third consecutive year the association has made its financial operations public and the second year it has reported publicly on the finances of its affiliates.

The Graham organization first agreed to make public its annual report, for the year ending Dec. 31, 1976, after criticism for its apparent reluctance to disclose financial details.

The Better Business Bureau of Minneapolis complained it was unable to get a substantial response about the association's financial activities. The state securities division said the association had not complied since 1973 with a state law requiring registration and annual reports of annuity plans sold in Minnesota.

The combined statement for last year, audited by the firm of Ernst &

Ernst, included the finances of six affiliated organizations.

The association listed its net revenue in 1978 at \$30.5 million, or \$2.8 million higher than in 1977. Among other sources, World Wide Pictures brought in \$7.5 million and World Wide Publications, \$2.7 million.

Expenditures of the association totaled \$32.7 million, including \$11.2 million for radio, television and films. A reported \$11.2 million went for other evangelistic ministries, including \$2.4 million for the Graham Center being built at Wheaton (Ill.) College.

The report also showed these ex-

penses: \$3.6 million for Decision magazine and \$2.6 million for international ministries and world emergencies. Some of the latter included a development program for Vietnamese refugees and building homes for victims of cyclones in India.

Combined assets of the seven organizations was reported to be \$33.6 million. The combined fund balance after deductions for liabilities and deferred-giving programs was \$23.4 million. The World Evangelism and Christian Education Fund had \$6 million in marketable securities and \$1.3 million in receivables.

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Billy Graham, Defying Critics, Journeys to Soviet

58-87
By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 7 — Against the urgings of the Reagan Administration and in the face of strong opposition from some religious groups here, the Rev. Billy Graham arrived in the Soviet capital today to preach and to participate in a Kremlin-backed conference of religious leaders on nuclear arms control.

The kisses that Mr. Graham exchanged at Sheremetyevo Airport with Soviet officials symbolized a landmark in the career of the 63-year-old American evangelist, who came here as a tourist in 1959 but who has never previously included the Soviet Union among the dozens of nations to which he has carried his religious message.

With the warmth of the welcome in the V.I.P. lounge at the airport, the Soviet authorities seemed to signal that, for them, Mr. Graham was close to the ideal guest for the time. Before coming here, the evangelist turned aside appeals from Vice President Bush and other senior Administration officials who feared that he would be used for propaganda purposes at a time when the Administration has placed a chill on Soviet-American relations.

Mr. Graham's arrival was all the more welcome for the fact that he is to be the pre-eminent foreign figure at a conference that is part of a broad Soviet effort to foster Western opposition to nuclear weapons. The Kremlin has made this a priority concern, and while the conference that opens on Monday is under the nominal control of the Moscow patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church, it is expected to produce a communiqué that is strongly supportive of the "peace program" laid down by the Soviet leader, Leonid I. Brezhnev.

Concern of Religious Groups

If the arms issue was uppermost in the minds of Administration officials who opposed the visit, there was another concern among religious groups here and in the United States who urged Mr. Graham to call it off. Their worries centered on the continuing religious repression here and the credibility they feared Mr. Graham's presence might lend to official Soviet claims that religious freedom is honored.

Mr. Graham seemed keenly aware of



Associated Press

The Rev. Billy Graham being greeted by Metropolitan Filaret of the Russian Orthodox Church as he arrived at Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport. Mr. Graham will take part in conference of religious leaders on nuclear arms control.

the difficulties as he stepped off a flight from Paris to be greeted by one of the ranking figures in the Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk, who is chairman of the conference. The evangelist appeared somewhat uneasy as Soviet and American television crews filmed the exchange with the bearded metropolitan, who appeared for the occasion with a diamond-studded cross in his mitre.

The evangelist read from a prepared text and declined to take questions on the sensitive issues he faces, including a decision on whether to visit a group of six Siberian Pentecostals who took refuge in the American Embassy four years ago after being refused permission to emigrate to the United States. The Pentecostals issued a statement last month opposing the visit, but urging the evangelist to visit them if he came. Mr. Graham is understood to feel that he may be able to help the Pentecostals' cause by raising it privately with Soviet officials. A spokesman for Mr. Graham said that the evangelist was aware that communications between him and the embassy group might unsettle his Soviet hosts.

Mr. Graham seemed to address the Reagan Administration's opposition to the visit when he said that control of nuclear weapons was "not only a political but a moral and spiritual issue" that had concerned him increasingly in recent years. In the United States, Mr. Graham's stress on the need to cut and

eventually eliminate growing stockpiles of nuclear weapons has won him new respect among liberals and others who previously regarded him as a stalwart of the American right.

Responsibility to Human Race

Mr. Graham said that the world was passing through "one of the most critical and crucial times" in its history, and added: "Political leaders have been discussing ways of trying to save the human race from nuclear disaster from the very beginning of the nuclear era. While I applaud these efforts, I'm convinced that it is time also for religious leaders to meet and make whatever contribution we can to peace on our earth."

His remarks also included a more personal response to those who have suggested that it would have been better for him not to come. "I was born, reared and educated in America," he said, "and I am a loyal citizen of America. But I also consider myself a member of the world community, with responsibilities not only to one nation but to the whole human race."

The evangelist's text also seemed to steer a careful course between the desire to be gracious to his hosts and the

concern to show religious and other opponents of the Soviet regime that he is aware of their plight. With the 37th anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany due to be marked with nationwide celebrations on Sunday, he spoke of the suffering of Russians during the war. But he also emphasized his desire to learn about the "problems and opportunities" facing Soviet citizens, and pointedly noted that there were still many here who shun the official atheism.

"I understand that the majority of citizens here are atheistic," he said. "But I also know that there are many deeply committed believers who work together with nonbelievers in building the nation's future."

The high point of the evangelist's visit is likely to be on Sunday, when he is scheduled to preach at a small Baptist church and at the Orthodox cathedral. His visit will also include a speech at the nuclear weapons conference, a wreath-laying ceremony at the tomb of the unknown soldier under the Kremlin Wall, and meetings with a number of Soviet church leaders and officials of Government organizations that deal with religious matters.

Graham Preaches at Church in Moscow

By SERGE SCHMEMMANN

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 9 — The Rev. Billy Graham preached his message of disarmament and Christian rebirth at a tightly guarded Baptist church here today while outside 250 Christians sang hymns from behind police barriers.

The 1,000 ticket-holders who squeezed into the Moscow Church of Evangelical Christian Baptists, including a sizable number of foreigners, reporters and security officers, heard Mr. Graham inveigh against atomic weapons, which he said had put man "at the gate of hell," and give a spirited appeal for a recommitment to Christ.

But as he has since his arrival here Friday, Mr. Graham stayed clear of any references to religious freedom in this officially atheist nation or other topics potentially offensive to Soviet authorities. At one point in his sermon he said: "I gave man 'the power to be a worker, a loyal citizen.'"

His aides said the evangelist was being circumspect in the hope of returning to the Soviet Union someday. Mr. Graham, whose early preaching career was marked by strident anti-Communism, has been in the Soviet Union once before, in 1968, as a tourist.

Protest Banner Unfurled

After he finished his 30-minute sermon, which was translated into Russian by an interpreter who matched the American's impassioned delivery, a young woman unfurled a large banner from a side balcony in the church saying, "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the Gospel."

The reference was evidently to Baptists serving terms in labor camps for religious activities. After the service, the young woman was led by a plainclothesman into a side room, and her fate was not immediately known. Mr. Graham seemed not to notice the banner and told reporters later that he did not have a chance to read it.

The number of Baptists in the Soviet Union has been estimated at more than 500,000. More than half the Baptist congregations, including the one at whose church Mr. Graham preached, are registered with the officially sanctioned All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians Baptists. The rest have refused to register and have been subject to harassment and arrests.

Mr. Graham made no effort to approach the large knot of Christians outside the church, at one end of the sealed-off street 50 yards from the entrance. They began gathering early in the morning in the hope of at least catching a glimpse of the American preacher, who is immensely popular among Soviet Evangelical Christians.

Some of the Christians had come from distant regions of the Soviet Union, including Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, Estonia and Siberia after hearing of Mr. Graham's visit over Voice of America radio broadcasts. His arrival has gone unmentioned so far in the Soviet press.

Closely Watched by Policemen

The group was closely watched by clusters of uniformed policemen, plainclothesmen and members of Komsomol, the Young Communist League.

Shortly after Mr. Graham arrived at the church by limousine, those outside began to sing hymns, and they continued without interruption until he left 90 minutes later. Although public demonstrations of faith are rarely tolerated in the Soviet Union, the police made no serious effort to stop the singing.

After the Baptist service, Mr. Graham went to the Russian Orthodox Patriarchal Cathedral, where Patriarch Pimen, spiritual head of the Russian Church, officiated at a liturgy attended by many of the delegates to what is called the World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life From Nuclear Catastrophe, which Mr. Graham is here to attend.

In comments at the end of the service, Patriarch Pimen underscored Mr. Graham's status as the most prestigious participant at the conference, which is expected to endorse the Soviet

Government's position on nuclear arms control. He described the American as an "outstanding preacher."

In reply, Mr. Graham noted that the Soviet Union was marking the 37th anniversary of victory over Nazi Germa-

ny, and he said: "I want to remind you that the United States and the Soviet Union were allies at the time against a common enemy. We have another common enemy, the possibility of a nuclear war."



ATC Interfaith

Notes on People

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Billy Graham to Get \$200,000 Religion Prize

The Templeton Foundation Prize for Progress in Religion will go this year to Billy Graham, it was announced in New York yesterday.

Mr. Graham, the elder statesman of modern-day evangelists, will receive the \$200,000 prize, the largest in the world, in London on May 11.

Previous winners include Mother Teresa of Calcutta; Chiara Lubich, founder of the Focolare Movement in Italy; Nikkya-Niwano, founder of the World Conference on Religion and Peace in Japan, and Leo Joseph Cardinal Suenens, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Malines-Brussels.

At the United Nations Church Center yesterday, the 63-year-old Mr. Graham repeated a familiar call to "quietly trust in God now and always." He added, "I would like to send that message across the street," a reference to the United Nations.

He said he had no personal interest in the \$200,000 that comes with the prize, established by a Presbyterian layman, John M. Templeton. Mr. Templeton is an American financier who lives in the Bahamas.

"I can assure you I'll keep none of it," said Mr. Graham, indicating the money would go to world relief, the education of Third World seminary students and the evangelical movement in Britain.

Among those praising Mr. Graham at a luncheon in his honor was Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee, who referred to 30 years of work in the area of interreligious affairs. He paid tribute to Pope John XXIII, but reserved his highest praise for Mr. Graham, calling him "the greatest friend of the Jewish people in the entire Christian community in the 20th century."

Even before he'd accepted, Graham says he knew what he'd say to the Russians

By Religious News Service

MINNEAPOLIS (RNS) — The talks that Billy Graham will give in Moscow in May are already written.

While his acceptance of invitations to speak in the Soviet Union was announced only recently, the evangelist was fairly certain even then what he would do.

About four or five weeks ago, he got out of bed around midnight and wrote out the speech he will give to an anti-war conference of religious leaders being convened by Patriarch Pimen, primate of the Russian Orthodox Church.

"The Lord seemed to give me what I was to say," Mr. Graham said in a telephone interview from his home in Montreat, N.C. "I wrote it out."

He said he wouldn't divulge what he will talk about except that he will be "speaking from the Bible on the Christian's understanding of peace in a nuclear age."

While in Moscow, he will also preach twice on May 9 in Moscow's Russian Orthodox Cathedral about "the Cross" and at Moscow's Baptist Church on "the person of Christ."

Since he is not a consecrated priest, his message in the cathedral is being regarded as extended fraternal greetings rather than a sermon, he said. He thinks he may become the first person not an consecrated priest to speak from the cathedral pulpit.

Mr. Graham confirmed a report in Newsweek Magazine that Vice President George Bush had telephoned him while he was in London urging him not to go to the Moscow conference for fear the evangelist would be manipulated for propaganda purposes. He said he also had "a couple calls" from State Department people, who felt there might be a risk "but they did not tell me not to go."

He consulted friends in Europe and this country, including Senators Mark Hatfield of Oregon and Jesse Helms of North Carolina, and practically without exception he was urged to accept the invitation, Mr. Graham said.

When the invitation for the Soviet Union came recently, Mr. Graham went to Washington to discuss it with the Soviet ambassador to this country, Anatoly Dobrynin.

"He and I have become friends," Mr. Graham said. "He is a very open, easy person to talk to. I really like him as a person."

Mr. Graham said he had been on "quite a pilgrimage" in his thinking regarding nuclear weapons. Now he believes that "next to the problem of the human heart, which is sin, the greatest social and political problem facing the world is the nuclear arms race."

"If something isn't done at the negotiating table, the world could blow itself up, and I am not talking about 20 years hence. I am talking about now."

Mr. Graham said he had endorsed a congressional resolution calling for a freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear arms, but observed it could take several years to develop one.

"I would like to have all nuclear and biochemical weapons destroyed immediately, as well as the laser weapons now being developed," he said.

Mr. Graham said his concern about nuclear weapons started during the Nixon administration when he was given a briefing about weapons systems being developed and on the drawing board.

"The lord seemed to speak to me, telling me that somewhere along the line that as a Christian, I would have to speak out and I didn't know what I was to say."

Mr. Graham recalled "quite a discussion" about the problem at a meeting in Mexico in 1977 but said that it wasn't until he had been to Hungary in 1977 that the media began to take notice of his position.

CBS Evening News, in an interview with Mr. Graham in 1979, reported that it was on a crusade in Eastern Europe that the evangelist, "shaken by the horror of Auschwitz, compared it to a nuclear holocaust, and began to take a new view of arms in the world."

In that interview, Mr. Graham referred to the \$400 billion arms race as "insanity!" and "madness!"

In his latest statement, Mr. Graham said he feels the time has come to "move into the spiritual dimension" in relations with the Soviet Union.

"My purpose in going to the Soviet Union is spiritual, and it is not my intention to become involved in political or ideological issues," he said.

Mr. Graham's status at the anti-war conference will be as an observer. He will address it May 11 but will have to leave before it is over.

He will be going to London to prepare for events surrounding the presentation of the \$200,000 Templeton Foundation prize to him. He will have to speak several times at the events, including one major address.

Mr. Graham said he will give the prize money — a third for relief, a third for education

World students and a third for evangelism in England.

Before he goes to the Soviet Union, Mr. Graham will address a series of meetings in New England, including most of the major universities there. He will resume the meetings on his return.

Meanwhile, another prominent religious leader, Presiding Bishop David W. Preus of the American Lutheran Church, also expects to go to the conference in Moscow if his invitation comes through as he has been told it will.

Dr. Preus said he would not have been interested in going to the conference "If it appeared it was simply to be a ploy by the Soviet Union." But he has been assured that there will be press coverage and participants will have opportunity to express their views.

He sees the conference as a chance "to build bridges to the Christian people in the Soviet Union."

Graham Opens Antinuclear Crusade

By DUDLEY CLENDINEN

Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, April 15 — In the fieldhouse of a working-class university in downtown Boston, on the first truly brilliant spring day New England has seen this year, the Rev. Billy Graham began what aides say is the most ambitious crusade of his long career.

It is the first, apparently, to address what Mr. Graham regards as the mission of his remaining years: the danger of war from nuclear arms. It will carry the evangelist from Boston throughout New England this month, to Moscow for a peace conference in May and back to Boston for a series of rallies in a stadium the first week of June.

"We are living at this moment on the very edge of the annihilation of the human race," Mr. Graham said. "I do not believe that there could be a limited war with nuclear weapons."

"I plan to spend the rest of my life not only presenting the Gospel of Christ, but also working for peace among nations, because I believe I owe it to your generation," the 63-year-old evangelist told an audience of 800 or 900 students in the Northeastern University Arena.

The arena had been prepared for a crowd of 3,000 students, but some of them, as Mr. Graham acknowledged from the platform, may have chosen the radiance of the outdoors over the speaker's own celebrity.

Pale from a long, gray and snowy winter, the students listened as the lean and deeply tanned evangelist spoke for about 50 minutes. They interrupted him

with applause only once, when he called for "the destruction of all these weapons of destruction; let's end them all."

It is an appeal Mr. Graham has made for the last three or four years. And although the movement to freeze nuclear arsenals has grown nationally into a popular phenomenon in that time, Mr. Graham did not seem to advance his own position in his speech today.

Commitment to Christ Urged

His literature bills the subject of the crusade as "peace in a nuclear age," but Mr. Graham did not devote much time to the nuclear component. Abiding instead with the familiar ecumenical strains of his own evangelism, he quoted figures as seemingly disparate as Oscar Wilde, Dostoyevsky, Saint Augustine and Konrad Adenauer in enlisting his audience to a commitment to Christ.

"I think a lot of people are going to be disappointed that he spoke for about an hour, with only about four minutes on nuclear," Diane Derby, editor of the Northeastern student newspaper, said after Mr. Graham had finished to applause that only slowly became a standing ovation.

"I don't think they came to hear this," she said, and then made her observation to Mr. Graham.

"I don't think you can go much further than to call for the destruction of nuclear weapons," he told her. "I did that."

But he suggested that he might have more to say on the subject when he

speaks at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard next Tuesday.

While Mr. Graham was introduced by Northeastern's dean of students, Edward W. Robinson, as someone who has been on the Gallup Poll's annual list of "the 10 most admired men in the world since 1951," some students plainly felt that he did not live up to his program's billing of "peace in a nuclear age."

"He's hiding behind this," Tom Foster, a freshman and a Baptist, said afterward, tapping the crusade program. "I think that was wrong. He should have drawn the crowd by saying that he was going to be talking about religion."

Mr. Graham calls his proposal for the destruction of nuclear arms "SALT 10," after the series of negotiations on limiting strategic arms. As he explained: "It took us 10 years to get even up to SALT II, which I don't think is yet passed by the Senate. We may not have 10 years to get to a nuclear freeze."

"Because at least 15 nations either have the bomb now or are working feverishly on it, and we're told by the end of this decade, it will probably be 25 nations who will have it," he went on. "Who knows when some wild Hitler will come and push the button that starts the chain reaction, so that you can't make your plans for the future?"

"But there's one thing you can do," Mr. Graham told his young audience. "You can have the peace with God and the peace of God in your heart now, to meet whatever eventuality there is."

Graham B ends Preaching With Appeal for Peace

By KENNETH A. BRIGGS

Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, April 24—As the Rev. Billy Graham goes from one college rostrum to another in his current tour of New England, he often speaks of a personal "pilgrimage" that has led him to regard the ending of the arms race as "my No. 1 social concern."

This week he took his theme, "Peace in a Nuclear Age," to Yale, Harvard, Boston College and the University of Vermont, and struck a responsive chord for his blend of Gospel preaching and general allusions to the need for disarmament.

While the 63-year-old evangelist has been criticized by some listeners as giving too few specifics on the arms race, he has won wide approval from liberals and non-Christians who have been attracted by his stand.

The college tour is the first stage of a Billy Graham evangelistic crusade that will continue this spring. His involvement in the nuclear arms problem apparently has already aided the revival mission by enhancing Mr. Graham's standing among many liberal church leaders in the region.

Drifting From Puritan Roots

Organizers of the crusade regard New England as having drifted far enough from its Puritan roots to be considered a mission field. According to a survey conducted by the Evangelistic Association of New England, more than one-third of the region's citizens belong to no church. Of the 62 percent who do, the majority was found to be inactive.

Of the estimated 8,200 churches iden-

tified by the survey, 6,000 were Protestant parishes and 2,200 Roman Catholic. Many of the churches are struggling for survival. On any given Sunday, the study shows, only 32 percent of New Englanders are in church, 24 percent in Catholic churches and 8 percent in Protestant churches.

By choosing to speak out on the arms issue, Mr. Graham has found himself on unfamiliar ground. In the past, his worldwide reputation has been that of a powerful preacher who has rarely ventured an opinion on social or political issues. Now that has changed, in the view of many who agree or disagree with his new course.

To emphasize that his primary goal remains the same, Mr. Graham has wrapped his appeal for nuclear arms control in a strong spiritual message, complete with a call for conversion.

Audiences in Rapt Attention

"With all this talk about peace," he told a crowd of 800 people in the gymnasium of Boston College, "let's not leave out the first step — spiritual peace."

Following his customary fashion, he has repeatedly held audiences in rapt attention, imploring them to consider the option of Christianity. Many students say they have never had the Christian faith explained in such direct, persuasive fashion. After his address in Memorial Church at Harvard, about two dozen people signified their desire for spiritual counseling by quietly remaining in their seats.

But Mr. Graham has appeared less sure of himself as he moves into his new

role as an advocate of arms control. Although he has been warning of the perils of the nuclear arms race since 1979, when he spelled out his concern in an interview with *Sojourners*, a magazine published by evangelical social activists, he has been criticized on the ground that he has lacked consistency.

He frequently stresses that he does not pretend to have all the answers, and he says he is still learning. But his critics say he has created confusion by not thinking through the issue clearly.

A Shift on Nuclear Freeze

For example, he has appeared to shift his position somewhat on the matter of the need for a nuclear freeze. His name appeared among a list of those backing the recent resolution by Senators Mark O. Hatfield, Republican of Oregon, and Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, that favors an immediate bilateral freeze, but he appeared to equivocate on his support in an appearance at Harvard.

In an interview covering many aspects of his tour, Mr. Graham said he still supported the Hatfield-Kennedy proposal but also backed a resolution by Senators John W. Warner, Republican of Virginia, and Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, that defines a quite different approach.

"If the goal is ultimately to destroy all weapons, then I'm for all these things," he said. He refers to his own solution as "SALT 10," which he envisions as a verifiable agreement to do away with all nuclear and chemical weapons, and he says talks toward that end should begin immediately.

"Do we have time to go for a freeze?"

he asked. "Can we sit patiently and negotiate as events go on? I think we should go for broke now."

Proposal Called Too Grandiose

Some of those who have listened to his proposal complain that it is too grandiose and therefore sidesteps the issue of what concrete steps can be taken short of the ultimate goal.

"He hasn't been specific enough," said Dr. James Nash, executive director of the Massachusetts Council of Churches. "In the last two years, he has said absolutely nothing specific about nuclear weapons."

Others believe that Mr. Graham has adopted the right approach by raising the subject of arms control in a way that prompts people to think for themselves.

"He is challenging individuals to grapple with the issue simply by raising it," said Priscilla Filesley Whitehead, a student at Harvard Divinity School. "I don't really want to hear economic and political solutions from Billy Graham. I think he's struggling with how far to go himself."

Jim Wallis, the editor of *Sojourners* and a leading evangelical proponent of the nuclear freeze proposal, assessed Mr. Graham's role among evangelicals as that of "a barometer, not a leader" on the issue.

"He has not pursued a clear course, sometimes being stronger, other times seeming to backpedal," Mr. Wallis added. "His impulses, though, are very good."

Mr. Graham recently accepted an invitation to speak at an international peace conference in Moscow next



The Rev. Billy Graham at the University of Vermont at Burlington.

month despite objections from the Reagan Administration. He said in the interview that, before leaving for Moscow, he would consult with some people he considered experts on the nuclear

arms issue to become better informed. He also said he had no regrets about his new role because "I think God has led me in this direction and there is peace in my heart."

When Billy Graham goes to Moscow

By R. T. Davies

Evangelist Billy Graham has accepted the invitation of the Soviet religious leadership, which, fulfilling the Politburo's plan, will stage a "peace" conference in Moscow this month.

Can he do this without violating the law of the God whom he exalts in his crusades?

That is the issue starkly posed by Lyuba Vashchenko, one of the Siberian Christians who, on June 27, 1978, forced their way past the armed guards surrounding the American Embassy in Moscow.

In a telephone call April 23 to a convocation of Pentecostal pastors at the United Pentecostal Church in Billings, Montana, Lyuba Vashchenko read the text of a letter to Dr. Graham which had been delivered to his Minneapolis headquarters a week earlier by the secretary of the Society of Americans for Vashchenko Emigration (SAVE).

She strongly protested acceptance by Dr. Graham and other Western church dignitaries of invitations to a conference masterminded by those who flout the Helsinki Final Act and other charters of international human rights law. She urged Dr. Graham not to cooperate with the persecutors but, instead, "to ask the Soviets to honor the [Helsinki] agreement they have signed and never fulfilled."

"If you do decide to come here," she wrote, "would you please use the chance to ask the Soviets to allow us to leave the country before the conference? . . . If you come, we hope that you will meet with us."

According to a report in the Billings Gazette, the coordinator of Dr. Graham's Moscow trip said the evangelist was aware of the embassy group but would not cancel his visit. He said Dr. Graham could not arrange in advance "a sidetrip to the embassy," since the presence of the six Christians there had turned the situation into "a legal matter and . . . not a purely religious" one.

Dr. Graham is evidently prepared to incur the displeasure of the Soviets by visiting Jewish "refuseniks" in Moscow. And such visits by Western dignitaries are welcome and essential in maintaining pressure on the Soviet government for the release of the would-be emigrants.

But, despite the views of Lyuba Vashchenko, of the Reagan administration, of many evangelical Christians, and of human rights advocates, Dr. Graham refuses to schedule a visit to the Christians staying in the US Embassy.

Why?

Many "mainline Christians," including the National Council of Churches — not to mention the World Council of

Churches — only feel comfortable dealing with their Soviet counterparts, the leaders of the officially tolerated and manipulated churches in the USSR.

After all, it is dangerous to visit the "underground churches" and impossible to schedule meetings with "illegal Christians," who, like their predecessors in the catacombs of Rome, are not licensed to worship by the state. These people turn up most inconveniently at all hours at one's hotel room, just a step ahead of the secret police, or whisper frantic pleas for help from public telephone booths.

Mainline Christian leaders prefer to deal with the Moscow Patriarch, whom the Soviet authorities permit to wear the robes of a patriarch, or with the "legal Baptist" pastors, who have received from the Soviet state a nice church building for their meetings, together with KGB interpreters for the occasions when foreign Protestant ministers are allowed to preach.

So Dr. Graham will preach in the Baptist church in Moscow, where members of several officially registered Protestant sects are licensed to meet under the tight control of the KGB and of pastors who, broken by more or less terrible pressures, have made their compromises with the Soviet state.

As Lyuba Vashchenko points out, only Dr. Graham will not see or hear, or be seen or heard by, "those Christians who decay in prison cells because they choose to follow God's commandments rather than . . . compromise with the atheistic spirit" of the Soviet state. Few of these, or of their persecuted fellow-believers who struggle to maintain their faith outside the prisons, forced-labor camps, and psychiatric hospitals, will ever know that Billy Graham has visited the Soviet Union. Some of them already wonder why they are suddenly being subjected to increased persecution and tightened surveillance — measures designed to prevent "illegal Christians" from approaching the Western church hierarchs in Moscow.

Many in both East and West believe that no state has the right to divide Christians into "legal" and "illegal" sects or to "register" some to worship, while others are placed beyond the law, imprisoned, or subjected to the official kidnapping of their children simply because they insist upon bringing them up in the faith of their fathers.

Where does Dr. Graham stand?

R. T. Davies, a retired US diplomat who served in Moscow and Warsaw (where he was ambassador 1973-78), is a director of the Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies.

Rift Erupts at Moscow Church Talks

GRAHAM 5-12-FL

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 11 — A religious conference on nuclear weapons being held here broke into controversy today when two American clerics appealed from the rostrum for Soviet and third world delegates to abandon attempts to turn the meeting into a propaganda attack on the United States.

There was strong applause from a few dozen delegates from Britain, the United States and other Western countries when Bishop David W. Preus, a 59-year-old Lutheran from Minneapolis, opened his stint as the conference's presiding officer with a strongly worded warning that the gathering was "in danger of becoming a political forum heavily tilted against" the United States and other Western countries.

However, Bishop Preus appeared to speak for a minority of the 1,000 or more delegates who packed the Congress Hall in the new International Trade Center here. Many of the foreign delegates, including an unknown number who were brought here at Soviet expense, had applauded earlier when speakers attacked American policies on the Middle East and nuclear arms in terms that closely paralleled Soviet propaganda.

Bishop Preus said that he came to the

meeting believing that the delegates could rise above "national, ideological, political and religious differences" and unite behind a common appeal to all nations to halt the nuclear spiral. But, he added, after "basically theological statements" by hierarchs from the Russian Orthodox Church, organizer of the meeting, "we have been treated mainly to a series of political speeches better suited for the United Nations."

Did Not Hit Responsive Chord

"I therefore plead with you who will yet speak to do so out of religious conviction and to honour the principle of evenhandedness," he said.

Immediately afterward, Bishop Preus' appeal was taken up by Arie W. Brouwer, general secretary of the New York-based Reformed Church in America, a Protestant denomination. Rev. Brouwer said that although American clerics have concentrated their disarmament efforts on the United States Government, "we of course also lament the participation in the arms race by the Soviet Union and other countries."

If the conference failed to examine the roots of the problem in the policies of "many governments," he said, it would run the risk of "deepening and making more dangerous our divisions."

The two Americans appeared to strike few responsive chords among the sea of delegates from Africa, the Middle East and Asia, many of them garbed in the colorful robes of Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. There had been scarcely a murmur shortly before when a Sri Lanka delegate applauded a recent Soviet moratorium on the deployment of intermediate-range SS-20 rockets and demanded reciprocal measures from the United States, nor when a Syrian launched into a virulent attack of "the henchmen of imperialism and Zionism" for recent Israeli bombing attacks on Palestinian camps in Lebanon.

The Americans' intervention gave new life to questions about the propriety of Western religious figures attending what was designed essentially as a forum for bolstering Soviet foreign policy positions. The questions arose publicly when the Rev. Billy Graham accepted an invitation to attend the meeting as an observer against the urgings of the Reagan Administration.

In a long speech to the conference Mr. Graham avoided the controversy over the meeting's political bias, although he did say that "no nation, large or small, is exempt from blame for the present state of international affairs."

For the first time since he arrived here last Friday, the 63-year-old evangelist also called directly for religious freedom. Although he did not mention the Soviet Union, it seemed clear that he had the host Government in mind when he urged "all governments to respect the rights of religious leaders as outlined in the United Nations universal declaration of human rights."

There was no applause from other delegates when Mr. Graham quoted a section of the Helsinki agreement on security and cooperation in Europe, signed by 35 nations, including the Soviet Union, in 1975, in which governments are enjoined to respect freedom of religious and other beliefs.

Graham Visits Embassy

Later today, Mr. Graham took another action that invited Soviet displeasure when he visited the United States Embassy where, after a brief meeting with Ambassador Arthur A. Hartman, he visited two families of Soviet Pentecostals who have been living in the embassy basement since 1978. The six Pentecostals have become a thorny issue in relations between the two countries.

The Pentecostals told reporters later that they appreciated Mr. Graham's visit, but were disappointed. One of the six, Pyotr Vashchenko, said the evangelist had offered "no hope, only prayers."

Privately, other American clerics expressed satisfaction that Mr. Graham had taken what one described as "a more adventurous" approach to his trip with his call for religious freedom and his visit to the Pentecostals.

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Graham's USSR Trip Discouraged

NEW YORK (AP)—The Reagan administration is pressuring evangelist Billy Graham to turn down an invitation to preach at Moscow's Patriarchal Cathedral, Newsweek magazine reports.

Graham was invited by the head of the Russian Orthodox Church to preach in May, but the magazine said the administration fears the Soviets will use Graham for propaganda purposes.

His address is supposed to kick off the Soviet-sponsored conference on "the preservation of life from nuclear destruction."

Graham was said to be spending the weekend at his mountaintop home in North Carolina, deciding whether to accept the unprecedented invitation tendered by Patriarch Pimen. The magazine said the first draft of his Moscow sermon is written, however.

"If I go to Moscow, I will preach only the Gospel," Graham said.

The magazine reported that its sources said Graham wants to make the trip and visit religious leaders there. It said he may try to meet with Soviet Jews.

No worship bar in Soviet: Billy

Moscow (AP)—Evangelist Billy Graham winding up his six-day mission to Moscow, said yesterday that he had encountered no religious persecution in the Soviet Union and declared that the Kremlin and the White House were equally committed to the search for peace.

Speaking at a news conference, the 63-year-old Southern Baptist preacher also urged delegates to a Moscow peace conference to put aside ideological differences in a drive to avert nuclear war.

His assessment of the roles of East and West in seeking disarmament directly countered speeches by Soviet bloc conference delegates who blamed the arms race on the United States.



Billy Graham

"I THINK THEY are both searching for peace," Graham said. "I think that most of the countries of the world are searching for peace and I would be unable to put one above the other."

Graham said he had "a very friendly exchange" with Boris Ponomarev, a nonvoting member of the ruling Soviet Politburo. "I was able to tell him my religious faith and belief."

Asked if he thought religious freedom was allowed in the Soviet Union, Graham replied:

"That is a relative term, I think." "THERE ARE differences, of course, between religion as it is practiced here and let's say, in the United States. But that doesn't mean there is no religious freedom."

The activities of all religions in the Soviet Union are controlled strictly by the Council on Religious Affairs, which dissidents claim is directed by the KGB security police.

Members of Graham's delegation say privately they are convinced that many of the Soviet church officials they have met are KGB agents.

Graham said: "I have experienced total liberty of what I wanted to say. At the churches which are open, of which there are thousands, they seem to have liberty to have worship services."

He preached last Sunday at Moscow's only Baptist church, and as he concluded, two persons held up banners protesting persecution.

A woman who held up one reading: "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the Gospel," later was detained by a man in plainclothes inside the church.

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REACTION IS MIXED ON BILLY GRAHAM

Some Say He's Circumspect—
Others See Poor Judgment
in Comments in Soviet

By CHARLES AUSTIN

The feeling that the Rev. Billy Graham was being cautious and diplomatic in a news conference in Moscow yesterday appeared to soften reaction to his comments, but there were some angry statements.

A mild reaction came from Dr. Charles Page, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Charlotte, N.C., the evangelist's hometown.

Mr. Graham had referred to Charlotte when he said he had seen three Moscow churches packed for worship on Saturday night. "You would never get that in Charlotte," the evangelist said.

Dr. Page said the three Sunday services at his church are full.

Asked about his reaction to Mr. Graham's comments about religious freedom in the Soviet Union, Dr. Page said, "I find it hard to believe that they are not experiencing a great deal of suffering over there in order to worship."

Interest in Returning to Soviet

But the Charlotte minister's comments were typical of the opinions of those who respect Mr. Graham and believe that he was being circumspect.

The Baptist minister said he believed the evangelist was being diplomatic by not being critical of the Soviet Union.

"It has been circulated here that he wants the opportunity to go back to Moscow, and that he is trying to hold that possibility open," Dr. Page said in a telephone interview.

But criticism of Mr. Graham's remarks came from Olga Hruby, an editor of the magazine Religion in Communist-Dominated Areas. Mrs. Hruby called the evangelist's comments "an insult to all Soviet believers."

"We know many people who are being constantly harassed and persecuted," she said. "If a church is full, it does not signify that religion is free. That may be the only church allowed to remain open."

Mrs. Hruby said the Siberian Pentecostals who have taken refuge in the American Embassy in Moscow had written to Mr. Graham and asked him not to go to the Soviet conference of religious leaders.

Observance of Laws Assailed

Another critic of the evangelist's comments was Dr. Edmund Robb, a Methodist clergyman who heads the Institute on Religion and Democracy.

"I am more than a little perplexed," said Dr. Robb, who considers himself a friend of Mr. Graham. "His statement that he has not seen any evidence of religious persecution is just not believable. We all know of the plight of religious dissenters who are in prison this very day."

The Methodist minister was also disturbed about comments Mr. Graham made in a sermon in Moscow when he said Soviet believers should obey the laws of their Government.

"I think it is presumptuous for an American living in a free society to go to a totalitarian society and exhort the people to respect their government and obey the laws," Dr. Robb said.

He said the evangelist might have misinterpreted Chapter 13 of the Book of Romans in the New Testament, where Christians are told to obey secular authorities.

A spokesman for the Southern Baptist Convention, the nation's largest conservative denomination, said there had been little reaction about Mr. Graham's comments in Moscow.

"Usually if they have something bad to say, they let us know," W. C. Fields, the spokesman, said.

AN JEWISH
HIVES



But United States observers were shocked at what seemed to be Mr. Graham's willingness to praise religious conditions in the Soviet Union and to suggest that things are not as bad as they seem.

At the height of the controversy were remarks Mr. Graham made at a press conference in Moscow on May 12. He said that he had preached in packed churches in the city and commented that "it would seem to me that the churches that are open, of which there are thousands, seem to have liberty to have worship services."

The evangelist noted that "there are many differences in religion here and in the way it is practiced in the United States. But that does not mean there is no religious freedom." He stressed that "I have experienced total liberty in what I wanted to say."

The Rev. Georgi Vins, a Russian Baptist minister who was imprisoned before being exiled to the United States, was one of those who had begged Mr. Graham not to attend the Moscow peace conference. They warned him that the Soviets would attempt to use his presence for propaganda purposes.

In his address to the peace conference, Mr. Graham avoided laying the blame for the arms race directly on any one country. He declared that "no nation, large or small, is exempt from blame for the present state of international affairs."

He came the closest to criticizing the Soviet Union's policies on religion when he said, "We should urge all governments to respect the rights of religious believers as outlined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

On May 11, Mr. Graham spent more than an hour meeting with the two Soviet Pentecostal families who have been living in the United States embassy in Moscow since 1978 in an effort to emigrate. After the visit, the families expressed disappointment that the evangelist had offered them no hope that they would be able to leave the USSR.

In addition, the families were critical of restrictions demanded by Graham aides before the visit was approved. Curtains had to be drawn to prevent journalists outside the embassy from taking photos. The Pentecostals also said that Mr. Graham himself had asked them not to talk with reporters about the visit until he had returned to the United States.

Pyotr Vashchenko, one of the six people taking refuge in the embassy, said of the visit later, "It was nothing special. It was as if we were visited by an ordinary pastor."

Mr. Graham himself said of the meeting, "I came here as a pastor, and that's all I can say."

05-14-82

Graham praise of religion in the Soviet Union angers some in the United States

By Religious News Service

"Reverend Graham may have made a lot of friends in the Politburo, but he certainly lost a lot of friends in the United States."

That comment in Washington by Dr. Edward Lozansky, a professor at American University, summed up the reaction of many to comments attributed to evangelist Billy Graham during his visit to Moscow.

Mr. Graham was the star attraction at a gathering sponsored by the Russian Orthodox Church and officially known as the World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life.

Aides to the evangelist said he hoped to be able to return to the Soviet Union in the future to preach, and suggested that this may have been the reason for his apparent reluctance to criticize Soviet restrictions on religious freedom.

The evangelist's actions and words in Moscow came in for sharp criticism at a Washington gathering sponsored by Christian Solidarity International-USA, an organization that works to support persecuted Christians around the world. It was at that meeting that Dr. Lozansky of American University made his critical remarks.

Dr. Lozansky said his wife and daughter are still in Moscow and seeking permission to join him in the United States. He said the women began a hunger strike May 10 and had appealed to Mr. Graham to meet with them but that the evangelist had refused.

Dr. Franschick Blachnicki, a Polish priest who has been close to the Solidarity movement, accepted an award from the Christian Solidarity group on behalf of Lech Walesa, the arrested leader of Poland's labor movement.

Asked for his reaction to Mr. Graham's comments, the priest said that "we people who have lived under communist regimes for over 30 years, we cannot understand that someone can state an untruth, that there is no persecution of religion in the Soviet Union."

Dr. Blachnicki added that the position taken by Mr. Graham "proves the talent the Soviets have in lying to and misleading people. There is no other way to understand how it could happen, that a man of his caliber could say such things."

The gathering of more than 100 people responded to the priest's comments with applause and shouts of "Down with Graham!"

In New York, Mr. Graham's comments were denounced as "an insult to all Soviet believers" by Olga Hruby, an editor of the magazine Religion in Communist Dominated Areas.

"We know many people who are being constantly harassed and persecuted," she said. "If a church is full, it does not signify that religion is free. That may be the only church allowed to remain open."

The Rev. Edmund Robb, head of the Washington-based Institute on Religion and Democracy, charged that Mr. Graham was "manipulated to give legitimacy to a conference controlled by the Soviet government."

He said the evangelist's "statement that he has not seen any evidence of religious persecution is just not believable. We all know of the plight of religious dissenters who are in prison this very day."

One person who seemed more sad than angry at Mr. Graham's comments was Dee Jepsen, wife of Sen. Roger Jepsen (R-Iowa), who accepted an award on behalf of her husband at the Christian Solidarity gathering. While saying she was "disheartened" at the things the evangelist said, she added that "none of us is without times of being misunderstood and times of error."



For Moscow's Guests, Life in a Luxurious Cocoon

5.15.72

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 14 — If there is any consolation for the Rev. Billy Graham amid the furor caused by his remarks here this week about Soviet tolerance of religion, it must lie in the fact that he is a long tradition of visitors who have come away with rosy views of the Soviet system.

Ever since 1917 there have been examples of public figures, lawyers, diplomats and journalists who sojourned here and left with favorable impressions, only to be ridiculed for their credulity by those familiar with the less palatable aspects of life under Communist rule.

The reasons are many. Some came here with an ideological commitment, ignoring or rationalizing away whatever did not accord with their positive views. But many more were the victims of Soviet duping, or of their own naiveté. Some had the honesty to acknowledge their gullibility later, while others went to their graves insisting that they, and not their detractors, had grasped the essence of the system.

Most visitors who arrive here on an Intourist charter, speaking no Russian, depend throughout their visits on official interpreters and officially arranged interlocutors. This means they have no readily available means of communicating with Russians outside of their official schedule without making special arrangements, which most are ill equipped to do.

Only the Resourceful Prevail

With all visitors, and especially with important ones, the Russians do their utmost to discourage venturing outside the officially approved schedule of visits and discussions. Days and nights are packed with events, so that only the determined find the time to break away and counter Soviet realities for themselves. Those who do launch out on their own encounter obstacles, such as the absence of or impossibility of finding good city maps, telephone directories and taxis, and the arguments of vigilant hotel doormen, taxi drivers and others against do-it-yourself tourism.

The problem is as old as Western contacts with Russia, dating from long before the Bolsheviks seized power. Many Westerners who live here now assuage their frustrations at the impediments to discovery by re-reading the account of the French traveler the Marquis de Custine, who visited Czarist Russia in the 1840's and wrote a penetrating account of his experiences in his book "The Empire of the Czar."

A Chamberlain in the Way

"Russian hospitality," he wrote, "is so hedged around with formalities as to render life unpleasant to the most favored stranger. It is a civil pretext for restraining the movements of the traveler, and for limiting the freedom of his observations. The observer can inspect nothing without a guide; never being



United Press International

On his visit to Moscow this week, the Rev. Billy Graham toured the Kremlin with the Rev. Ilya Orlov, right, a Soviet Baptist official. With all visitors, the Russians try to discourage venturing beyond officially approved schedules.

alone, he has the greater difficulty in forming his judgment upon his own spontaneous impressions."

He went on: "Would you see the curiosities of a palace, they give you a chamberlain, with whom you are obliged to view everything, and, indiscriminately, to admire all that he admires; a camp — an officer, sometimes a general officer, accompanies you. A school, or any other public institution, the director or the inspector must be previously apprised of your visit, and you find him, under arms, prepared to brave your examination; if an edifice, the architect himself leads you over the whole building, and explains to you all that you do not care to know in order to avoid informing you on points which you would take interest in knowing."

"In this manner," he concluded, "they tyrannize over us in pretending to do us honor."

The tendency to take the host's claims at face value has led many prominent Americans astray. Among the more hapless casualties was President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Ambassador to Moscow in 1938, Joseph Davies, who reported to the State Department at the height of Stalin's purges that there was "proof beyond reasonable doubt" that two of the dictator's mar-

camps, though he did not guess it — as "big husky young men who came out to the Far East from European Russia" and as "pioneers of the machine age, builders of cities." Stalin's camp overlord was depicted as a man who "gambled about enjoying the air immensely."

Like Mr. Wallace, Mr. Graham was treated to the luxurious cocoon that the Kremlin likes to throw around influential visitors. Although caviar is a rarity beyond the reach of most Soviet citizens, the evangelist spoke enthusiastically about having had "caviar with almost every meal." While Russians have to pay a black market price of anything up to \$15,000 for a small, Soviet-built car, Mr. Graham was chauffeured around in a huge Chaika limousine. While the evangelist relaxed, religious hierarchs from the Soviet-dominated countries of Eastern Europe motored around in a Hungarian-built bus.

The Disillusionment of Gide

The French novelist André Gide, an early admirer of the Soviet Union who was disillusioned after visiting the country in 1936, wrote years later of the efforts that his hosts had made to suborn his objectivity with flattery and comfort.

"I had the most comfortable cars everywhere, a private coach on the train, the best rooms and meals in all the hotels," he recalled. "I was acclaimed and feted. Nothing was considered too good for me. I could not fail to carry away with me a most wonderful memory of the welcome I had received."

But the efforts induced in the novelist the opposite of what his hosts had intended: "The immense privileges I was offered amazed and terrified me and I was afraid of being seduced and corrupted."

If privilege has been used as an opiate, so has the prospect of reward. Except in the most cynical cases, the promise has not been of money or other material compensation, but of something of overriding personal or political importance to the visitor.

Critics of Henry A. Kissinger have said that he was seduced in his contacts with the Soviet leaders by the hope that détente would lure them into a less aggressive pattern of behavior. Mr. Graham told diplomats that he felt he had the "promise" of a preaching tour "from Siberia to the Black Sea," as he put it later to reporters. No such tour has been granted since the Revolution.

Mission in Moscow

Billy Graham Irks Freedom Monitors

By CHARLES AUSTIN

The Rev. Billy Graham's comments on religious freedom in Moscow have aroused considerable discussion, largely because they seemed to place the conservative evangelist in the same camp with liberal church leaders in dealing with the issue of religion in Communist countries.

Analysis "It would seem to me that in the churches I visited in the Soviet Union, there are thousands of them, servants are allowed to go on freely," Mr. Graham said near the end of his visit to the Soviet Union.

However, he acknowledged that religious liberty was a "relative" concept agreed that his freedom to preach his first official visit did not mean that the country was totally free from religious repression. In one address, he urged "all governments to respect the rights of religious believers."

Mr. Graham's comment implying that Russians could worship freely angry reactions, especially from organizations that have monitored repression in the Soviet Union.

In an interview from London on the ABC News program "This Week With David Brinkley," Mr. Graham stood by of his remarks, but tried to convince his critics that his words were nuanced than they had seemed. He of "some measure" of religious freedom in the Soviet Union, and said it was "more than some Americans think."

Conservatives Have Been Critical

For decades, conservative preachers as Mr. Graham have denounced the Soviet Union and its satellites for denying believers the right to practice religion freely. Moderate church leaders have been more soft-spoken in criticizing oppression in Eastern Europe.

Mr. Graham indicated that he may have consciously pulled his punches. "In a host country like this," he told a reporter in Moscow, "it's been my practice through the years never to take political sides."

What that may be perceived by some as naïve and by others as wrong-headed, it is consistent with the evangelist's view that the best he has to offer anywhere is simple preaching about sin, forgiveness and the gospel of Jesus. Mr. Graham's comments about the need for disarmament attracted greater attention in part because they appeared to be political statements.

But in those comments and in his Moscow addresses, the evangelist was careful to relate his concerns to biblical texts. This, too, has proven troublesome, as critics have charged that by telling a Moscow congregation to honor secular authorities he was misusing his from the 13th chapter of Romans. But his interpretation is consistent with his literal reading of Scripture.

Yesterday, Dr. Graham admitted it might have been better to skip portion of his sermon in Moscow.

He also defended his role as a spiritual leader. He said he barred reporters from his meeting with Siberian demonstrators in the American Embassy because it was a pastoral meeting.

While many church leaders active on the international scene would take issue with Mr. Graham's theology, they are likely to applaud his growing awareness of the Realpolitik governing churchly relations around the world.

Western church leaders do not contrast believers in Communist-controlled countries have the religious freedom guaranteed in the United States. But regulation of churches is not abhorrent to Europeans, many of whom are accustomed to a system of state churches where the government collects a church tax and considers members of the clergy civil servants.

In the years since World War II, churches in Western Europe have taken pains to maintain contact with Chris-



United Press International
The Rev. Billy Graham at news conference last week in Moscow.

tians in Communist countries. They have sometimes softened their criticism of Communism in order to keep channels of communication open. It is widely believed that Mr. Graham wants very much to return to the Soviet Union and preach.

His comments also set the evangelist apart from conservative Christians in the United States who say that Christians from Eastern Europe compromise their faith by accepting the limitations imposed on them. Liberal Christians, particularly those involved in international religious organizations, are less willing to cast aspersions on the faith of believers in Communist countries. If they do not publicly condemn religious oppression, it is often in deference to fellow church leaders from Communist countries who are allowed to join such international forums as the World Council of Churches.

"To some extent, we are dependent upon the Christians there to make their own judgments and plan their own strategies," Dr. Keith Bridston, general secretary of the United States office of the World Council, said of Christians in Communist countries.

Another church executive said that the churches in Communist lands make protests to their governments, but shy from making those objections public.

Even conservative Christians admit that the degree of religious freedom varies from country to country. Churches are tightly controlled in the Soviet Union, where the Russian Orthodox Church is the dominant religion.

In East Germany, controls exist but the state seems to tolerate modest criticism from Protestant bishops.

In Poland, the Roman Catholic Church has shown itself to be a political and social force as powerful as the Communist Party. Even the military government could not rule without vary détente with the clergy.

A Choice of Strategies

The question then becomes which strategy will best serve the cause of Christians in totalitarian countries.

Others feel he should have decried the restrictions on believers. "Christians there want visitors from the West to call attention to their plight," said Dr. Olin Robison, a Baptist minister who is president of Middlebury College in Vermont.

"I think Dr. Graham could have expressed appreciation for the hospitality," he continued, "without saying things that could be used by the Soviets to justify continued repression."

Another participant in the Moscow meeting said he was aware of dangers inherent in the conference. But the topic, world peace, made the trip necessary, said Dr. David Preus, the president of the American Lutheran Church, before leaving for Moscow. "We should be there," he said. "We will speak out. It's worth the risk."

"I know I may be used for propaganda," Mr. Graham said of his visit, "but I believe my propaganda — the gospel of Christ — is stronger."

ESSAY

All Things To All Men

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, May 16 — In preaching the Gospel two millennia ago, did the Apostle Paul challenge the dictatorship of the Caesars? The Rev. Billy Graham told ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" today that the answer was no: the first evangelist "never lifted a finger against Rome."

Focus on the central moral dilemma of the man who must operate in this world to preach of other worlds: to what extent should he abandon principle to teach principle?

The Apostle Paul dealt with that dilemma directly. Despite Christianity's substitution of baptism for circumcision, he ordered the circumcision of Timothy to recommend his ministry to the Jews, explaining (I Corinthians 9:22) "To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak; I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."

In the same way, the evangelist of today who obviously identifies with the first evangelist is trying to ingratiate himself to the leaders of the Soviet Union.

While in Moscow, Dr. Graham only reluctantly agreed to meet with the half-dozen Pentecostal Christians who have been holed up in the basement of the U.S. Embassy while seeking to migrate. No pictures, he stipulated, not even a Polaroid for their album; although Dr. Graham explains that his restriction was intended to avert a "media event," it is logical to assume that he wanted to avoid publicity primarily because it would anger his Communist hosts.

Despite a request from Vice President Bush, who called at the direct behest of the President, Billy Graham lent his prestige to the propaganda festival; he insisted again today that "there is more freedom than some Americans might think" in the U.S.S.R.

Dr. Graham is willing to alienate many of his own followers, and to dismay his many admirers by kowtowing to this Kremlin. Why? Let's assume that he is not suddenly gone so soft-headed as to buy the Soviet peace-propaganda line. What other reason can he have for jeopardizing his ministry at home?

His motive is to induce Moscow to allow him to carry his crusade to the Soviet peoples. If he can persuade the Kremlin that he will not encourage any

dissenters who challenge its authority, Dr. Graham evidently believes the Soviet leaders will permit him to carry his crusade to Luzhniki Stadium in Moscow where he can then enkindle religious fervor in tens of thousands.

A noble motive. Why cannot a master preacher — who must reach vast audiences to carry out his life's mission — make a few practical compromises with secular authority to make possible his evangelism?

After all, he would not be the first religious leader to work out such a truce with Caesar. In Israel today, orthodoxy winks at Sabbath football. Throughout the ages, religions have worked with cruel secular regimes, muting militancy to endure; in Poland today, the Catholic Church must walk a tightrope between the Government and Solidarity. What is wrong, then, in Billy Graham's turning a blind eye to religious repression in Russia if — by so doing — he is able to win approval to encourage religion there?

That ancient dilemma cannot be answered with a platitude like "the ends never justify the means." Sometimes the ends do justify that: an ethical man might sacrifice one innocent life to save a thousand. But the argument that the ends justify the means is made all too often by political powers; the necessary counterargument — that evil means usually determine ends — must be made by the keepers of the moral flame.

That is where Billy Graham, in his zeal to make a deal to spread the Word, spreads the wrong word. The person who purports to represent Truth with a capital T has a special responsibility to bear the embarrassing burden of truth and to turn no blind eye to the reality and extent of a religious persecution. He does not have to go out of his way to offend the authorities in a dictatorship, but he must not offend or undermine the martyrs in that land.

God's word is remembered in Russia today thanks to the example set by religious dissidents. Seventh-day Adventists and Pentecostals ennoble their beliefs by paying for them dearly; in gulags, members of Jehovah's Witnesses secretly disseminate the texts of "The Watchtower" from forbidden broadcasts.

If an evangelist from abroad wants to "preach the Gospel of Christ in atheistic Russia," he may decide that Pauline expediency permits him to bypass and thereby supplement their work. But he cannot know of their suffering and deny or denigrate it by professing to see freedom; that would bear false witness.

Dr. Graham should read Michael Novak's "The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism." Religious freedom can no longer be separated from economic and political freedom. The evangelist can no longer righteously be "all things to all men" to save their souls; he must recognize the martyrdom of those of his and other faiths who dare to "lift a finger against Rome."

Graham tells interviewers he 'was not taken in' by Soviet Union propaganda

By Religious News Service

WASHINGTON (RNS) — Evangelist Billy Graham has asserted that he "was not taken in" by Soviet propaganda and that he was quoted out of context during his recent visit to Moscow.

The famed preacher was criticized by Soviet dissidents and some evangelical Christians in the United States based on media reports of comments he had made while in Moscow to attend a peace conference sponsored by the Russian Orthodox Church.

Among other things, he had said there was more religious freedom in the USSR than Americans believed, and that the Russian Orthodox Church was a "free church" and not a state church.

On May 16, Mr. Graham faced questions during a live satellite hookup from London, where he went to receive the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion following his stay in Moscow.

Interviewed on ABC-TV's "This Week With David Brinkley," the evangelist said, "I was not taken in. I think you know after all my experience and years of travel, I'm not taken in. But it is true they gave me a limousine."

Mr. Graham related that "there wasn't a single person I talked to, whether in government or in the church, that I didn't present my beliefs in the Bible as the word of God and Jesus Christ as my personal savior. I made that a point."

Responding to the allegation that the Soviet government used his visit for propaganda purposes, the evangelist said, "I know they were using me and they're probably going to continue to use me. I'm hoping that they might use me in the context of peace, because I did go there to give a speech on peace."

Before Mr. Graham went to Moscow, there were reports that the White House had urged him to reconsider. "President Reagan never asked me not to go," the evangelist said, "I would have been delighted not to go if he had called me on the phone and asked me."

One of the people on the television program who challenged the evangelist's visit and attitude was the Rev. Edmund Robb, chairman of the Institute on Religion and Democracy. "I'm convinced you made a serious mistake and if some of the things you've been quoted as saying are true, you've certainly been compromised in the evangelical community," Mr. Robb, a United Methodist evangelist, told the Southern Baptist preacher.

Mr. Graham asserted that "some of the quotes were erroneous, some of the quotes were taken out of context." He said one accurate report was an article in the Paris Herald Tribune headlined, "Russia Offers Some Measure of Church Freedom."

The evangelist confirmed that "I said there was more freedom in the Soviet Union than some Americans might think."

Meanwhile, other U.S. religious leaders cautioned against trying to "second-guess" Mr. Graham in the circumstances he faced in Moscow.

"I don't think he had any wrong intentions whatever," said the Rev. Jerry Falwell, head of the Moral Majority. "I think the Soviets had all the wrong intentions."

The Rev. Keith Bridston, head of the U.S. Conference of the World Council of Churches, said of Mr. Graham, "Perhaps he could have been more candid and critical, but you can't stand off afar and judge someone in a difficult situation."

Russell Shaw, public-affairs director for the U.S. Catholic Conference, commented that "it's very easy to second-guess somebody in a difficult situation. Someone else might have done it differently, but I don't see any good in second-guessing Dr. Graham on it. He's no babe in the woods."

Graham Cites Trip 'Misquotes'

LONDON, May 17 (AP)—The Rev. Billy Graham, criticized for his comments about freedom of religion in the Soviet Union, said today that reports of his trip contained "apparent distortion and actual misquotes."

Graham accepted an invitation from the state-authorized Russian Orthodox Church to attend a Moscow conference last week on peace and the threat of nuclear war. He was criticized in some American religious circles for saying he found a measure of religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

In a statement released today, he said freedom is relative and that there are restrictions on prayer and Bible use in United States public schools.

But the United States has a "great degree of freedom, for which I am grateful," he said. In China "there are many restrictions and yet leaders in the United States seem to be applauded for going there. Perhaps less than 200 churches are open in a population of about 1 billion," Graham's statement said.

Graham said he issued the statement to "clarify" unspecified reports, which he said contained "apparent distortion and actual misquotes of what I said concerning religious freedom in the Soviet Union."

The 63-year-old evangelist from North Carolina told a London news conference earlier today that he had expected controversy.

"Looking back, I would not have done anything different," he said. "I was able to preach the Gospel, and if there had been any restriction on what I wanted to say I would not have gone."

Graham's statement called the Soviet Union "an atheistic society which does not encourage religion," but where the churches "have some measure of freedom to hold public worship services on church properties" and "families are free to teach their children the Bible and to have prayer in their homes."

Graham told reporters he went to Moscow because he thinks the "more contact we have the better."

He said that in private talks with Soviet officials and religious leaders, he raised a number of problems about religious freedom, including the six Siberian Pentecostals who want to leave the country and who took refuge in the United States Embassy in Moscow in 1978. He met the six.

Yesterday, Graham said on ABC-TV's "This Week With David Brinkley" that he visited the Soviet Union because "Jesus said, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel.' He didn't say, 'Go into the capitalist countries only.'"

Graham Offers Positive View of Religion in Soviet

Continued From Page A1

you I don't know all about it. I have been only in Moscow and I have been in all these meetings and I haven't had a chance, but Saturday night I went to three Orthodox churches that were jammed to capacity. You would never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina."

Referring to two other visits the following day, to the Baptist church and the Russian Orthodox cathedral, where he preached, Mr. Graham added:

"And on Sunday morning the same was true. And it would seem to me that the churches that are open, of which

there are thousands, seem to have liberty to have worship services."

The remarks fell into a pattern set since his arrival here. Although his crusades in the 1950's contained a strong element of anti-Communism, he has seemed at pains not to offend Soviet sensibilities and has stuck closely to an official schedule.

As a result, he has had only one encounter with members of a religious group operating outside official approval, a prayer session on Tuesday with a group of Siberian Pentecostals who have found refuge in the basement of the United States Embassy here.

Mr. Graham's aides have said that he is keen not to upset his chances of returning for a full preaching tour, possibly using stadiums. On the Soviet side, he has been treated as a dignitary.

The evangelist alluded to this treatment at the news conference in replying to a question about changes he had noted since his last visit, as a tourist in 1959. He said people were better clothed and Moscow had impressive new high-rise suburbs. Then he spoke of the food.

"The meals I have had are among the finest I have ever eaten," he said. "In the United States you have to be a millionaire to have caviar, but I have had

caviar with almost every meal."

Western reporters' questions about religious freedom and American responsibility for the nuclear confrontation dominated the news conference, at which Mr. Graham occupied a podium with Soviet religious leaders, including Patriarch Pimen, head of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Mr. Graham, who came to the session from a meeting with Boris N. Ponomarev, a member of the Soviet leadership, said that it had been an "enlightening experience" for him to come to Moscow and exchange views.

The first questioner at the news conference, citing the Indian cleric's praise of the Soviet Union's leadership in the search for peace, asked Mr. Graham how he would rate the contributions of

the United States and the Soviet Union.

"I think they are both searching for peace," he said, declining to say which nation was doing more. "I think that all of the countries of the world are searching for peace, and I would not want to put one above the other."

When a reporter asked for the first time whether he agreed with the Indian metropolitan's assessment that religious freedom existed in the Soviet Union, Mr. Graham said:

"That is a relative term, I think, because in the various countries I have been to in the world — and I have gone to over 50 — there are various kinds of restrictions, various kinds of laws and formulas. It would be impossible for me to come to Moscow and in six days make a personal evaluation."

Although the Soviet Constitution guarantees freedom of religion, the Soviet authorities tolerate only those religious denominations that are officially registered. Registration has been denied a number of faiths, mainly Protestant fundamentalists, on the ground that their activities come into conflict with Soviet practices and policies, such as compulsory military service and a ban against proselytizing among those under 18 years of age.

Members of fundamentalist groups have been subjected to harassment, including imprisonment. The number of people serving terms in labor camp or exile for religion-related offenses is unofficially estimated in the hundreds.

GIVE TO THE FRESH AIR FUND

Graham Offers Positive View of Religion in Soviet

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 12 — The Rev. Billy Graham said here today, at the end of a visit to the Soviet Union, that he had seen no evidence of religious repression and that the churches he had visited were at least as full as those in his hometown, Charlotte, N.C.

At a news conference, he also seemed to play down the arrest of a young woman who had unfurled a protest banner during an officially sanctioned Baptist service that he attended on Sunday.

DEAR PIR HAPPY BIRTHDAY I STILL LOVE YOU. I ALWAYS WILL LOVE A — ADVT.

The banner said there were people in the Soviet Union who were being imprisoned for evangelistic activity.

When asked by an American reporter whether he was making inquiries about the woman, the 63-year-old evangelist said he had only the reporter's word about the case, and added:

"Some people can be detained for all kinds of reasons. We detain people in the United States if we catch them doing something wrong. I have had people coming to my services in the United States and causing disturbances and

HAPPY 46TH BIRTHDAY DAVID STOUT I LOVE YOU RUTH — AGA

they have been taken out by the police."

Mr. Graham came here to attend a Soviet-sponsored conference of religious leaders on nuclear weapons. Earlier at the news conference, another participant, Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios of the Orthodox Church of India, said the conference had been "very significant in dispelling the false notion that there is no religious freedom in this country."

When a Charlotte television reporter asked Mr. Graham whether he agreed, the evangelist replied:

"Not necessarily. I am just telling

Continued on Page A8, Column 1

FORMER SOVIET DISSIDENT SCORES
GRAHAM FOR HIS VIEWS ON THE USSR
By Judith Kohn

NEW YORK, May 19 (JTA) ^{SN}—A former Jewish dissident who emigrated from the Soviet Union five years ago has criticized the Rev. Billy Graham for his conduct during and following a controversial trip to the USSR last week.

The former dissident, Mark Azbel, confronted Graham during a panel discussion last Sunday on ABC-TV's "This Week with David Brinkley," following an interview with the minister that was televised by satellite from London. Azbel's appearance was broadcast from ABC-TV's studio in Washington, D.C.

Graham, whose trip to the Soviet Union has been denounced by critics as a propaganda triumph for the Soviet government, had been invited there to attend a Soviet-sponsored world gathering of religious leaders opposed to nuclear war.

The minister was feted by Soviet officials and at Christian churches, where he preached the Gospel of Jesus. Traditionally an outspoken critic of the Soviet Union, Graham suggested to the press in Moscow that some religious freedoms are enjoyed in the USSR, pointing to what he said were the large numbers of people who attend church services there.

A Bitter Exchange

In a bitter interchange with Graham, the former Soviet dissident challenged the minister's authority "to tell what goes on with freedom of religion in Russia..."

Repeatedly interrupting attempts by Graham to respond, Azbel attacked the minister's suggestion that his meetings with "the Jewish leadership" in Moscow and with the city's chief rabbi was anything more than a sham. "The Jewish leadership does not want to talk about—has nothing to do with Jews in Moscow or anywhere," he told Graham. "The chief rabbi in Russia is not even qualified to be a rabbi. You don't know that."

Azbel, whose emigration from the Soviet Union was permitted only after a five-year battle with the authorities, was a founding member of the Moscow Sunday Seminar, established for scientists whose positions had been revoked by the government upon their application for emigration visas, as a way of updating one another on developments in their fields.

Asks Graham To Put 'It Straight'

Azbel pressed Graham to acknowledge that his trip to the USSR did not provide him with authoritative information on the state of religion and religious practices in the Soviet Union. In a lengthy emotional statement, Azbel said:

"Would you mind putting it straight? You met leaders. You bring the message from leaders who are opposed to the people, and this is the only thing you know of. You do not know the opinion of the people in Russia. Have you met 10 common Jews who pray, 10 common persons who pray? Have you met people who are in prison? Do you have any knowledge but the knowledge of the official who approached you? And if not, can you speak in the name of the people who are desperate in Russia without you undermining their plight?"

The minister, interrupted at every pause, insisted that "there are millions of people in the

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Graham insists Moscow allows worship freedom

J. 20 82

N.Y. News 5

By JAMES DUDDY and CHARLES W. BELL

Although he backtracked a bit on statements he made last week in Moscow, evangelist Billy Graham insisted yesterday that there is freedom of worship in the Soviet Union. However, he said, this does not mean Russians enjoy religious freedom.

"I'm told that anyone who can find and get into a house of worship is free to worship," Graham said at a press conference here. "There is a bit more freedom in the Soviet Union than I had anticipated. There is freedom of worship, but not of religion."

And, he added, "There is religious persecution in the Soviet Union, but I did not see it."

The Soviet Union, Graham said, is an atheistic society that does not encourage religion but closely regulates it, along with all other organizations.

Last week, when he left Moscow, Graham said that he saw no signs of religious repression during his visit. He also created an uproar by saying the churches in the Soviet Union were free—unlike the Church of England.

At the press conference, at the New York Hilton, the evangelist also said he regretted citing a Biblical call for obedience to authority in a sermon he delivered in Moscow. "If I had it to do over," he said, "I wouldn't make that statement. The implication of it never occurred to me."

IN PROTEST against Graham's statements in Moscow, Meir Golovitz, national director of the militant Jewish Defense League and 15 JDL members occupied a 10th-floor office of the National Council of Churches on Riverside Drive. They were arrested by police about two hours later during a scuffle that slightly injured six cops and six demonstrators.

Golovitz challenged Graham to persuade Soviet authorities to allow two



HARRY HAMBURG DAILY NEWS

Evangelist Billy Graham yesterday.

Jewish dissidents to leave the Soviet Union, "in his name and in good faith."

Various charges, including obstruction of justice, felonious assault, criminal trespass and burglary, were filed against the 16.

At the press conference, Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the American Jewish Committee said that while Graham made some "unfortunate" remarks in Moscow, he considered Graham a long-standing friend of the Jewish community.

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Billy Graham, Back Home, Defends Remarks

By KENNETH A. BRIGGS

The Rev. Billy Graham, returning to the United States yesterday from a trip to the Soviet Union, denied suggestions that he had softened his criticism of Soviet treatment of religious believers to improve his chances of returning to hold evangelistic rallies.

During his six-day visit to Moscow, where he preached to church gatherings and spoke at a disarmament conference, Mr. Graham stirred debate by saying he had seen no evidence of religious persecution and observing that religious freedom was somewhat greater than he had expected.

Critics attacked these comments as misguided and linked them to what they said were efforts by Mr. Graham to win the Russians' favor so he could to preach in the Soviet Union in the future.

At a news conference in New York, Mr. Graham called such speculation "totally untrue" and said that, in private meetings with Soviet officials, he had pressed the issue of human and religious rights, including the case of the six Siberian Pentecostals who have found refuge in the American Embassy in Moscow.

Mr. Graham said he had not received an invitation to return to the Soviet

Union as an evangelist, and he denied that his comments on the state of religion had been designed to improve his chances of returning to preach.

The 63-year-old evangelist, who received the \$200,000 Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion from Prince Philip at Buckingham Palace after his Moscow visit, also sought to clarify his position on religion in Russia.

Mr. Graham said he believed that there was persecution of believers but that he had not personally observed any. He contrasted "freedom of worship," which he said was honored by the Government with the restrictions

placed on "freedom of religion."

"It is well known," Mr. Graham said in a prepared statement, "that the Soviet Union closely regulates all organizations and movements, including religion. There are certainly many who by the standards of our society do not have full freedom to express their criticisms of Soviet policy, and are considered lawbreakers if they do."

"I am well aware that there are prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union, including some who have said they have chosen to resist the law because of religious reasons."

Mr. Graham said the controversy over religious rights had been caused by a misunderstanding of his original comments. He traced the problem to his response to a reporter who asked

whether he had personally witnessed any religious persecution. Mr. Graham said he had replied that he had not. Elaborating yesterday, he said he had not meant to imply that the Soviet Union was free of such oppression.

On the Pentecostals, Mr. Graham said he had decided to visit them privately rather than in the company of reporters as the best means of achieving "positive results."

Mr. Graham also responded to charges that he had been duped by Soviet officials and used for propaganda purposes. He said he had been aware of such risks but had decided to go ahead. Reagan Administration officials, including Vice President Bush, had been among those who objected to the trip.

The furor caused by Mr. Graham's

remarks underscored the difficulties he has encountered as he has expanded his role to include limited involvement in political issues, particularly the cause of disarmament.

Billy Graham: 'I Am Not a Communist'

By Joyce Wadler
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, May 19—In the time-honored tradition of Christians going bravely before the lions, evangelist Billy Graham faced a crowd of snarling reporters here today in his first public appearance in this country since remarking in Moscow that he had seen no evidence of religious repression in the Soviet Union.

Clearly concerned about the furor his remarks had created, Graham, mildly incandescent in a dark suit with the most delicate threading of silver, and with a tan one does not usually see on a returnee from Moscow, seemed to spend much of his news conference repenting.

He prefaced his remarks to the press by saying that he'd only been in Russia a short time and "in 5½ days I certainly became no expert on the Soviet Union."

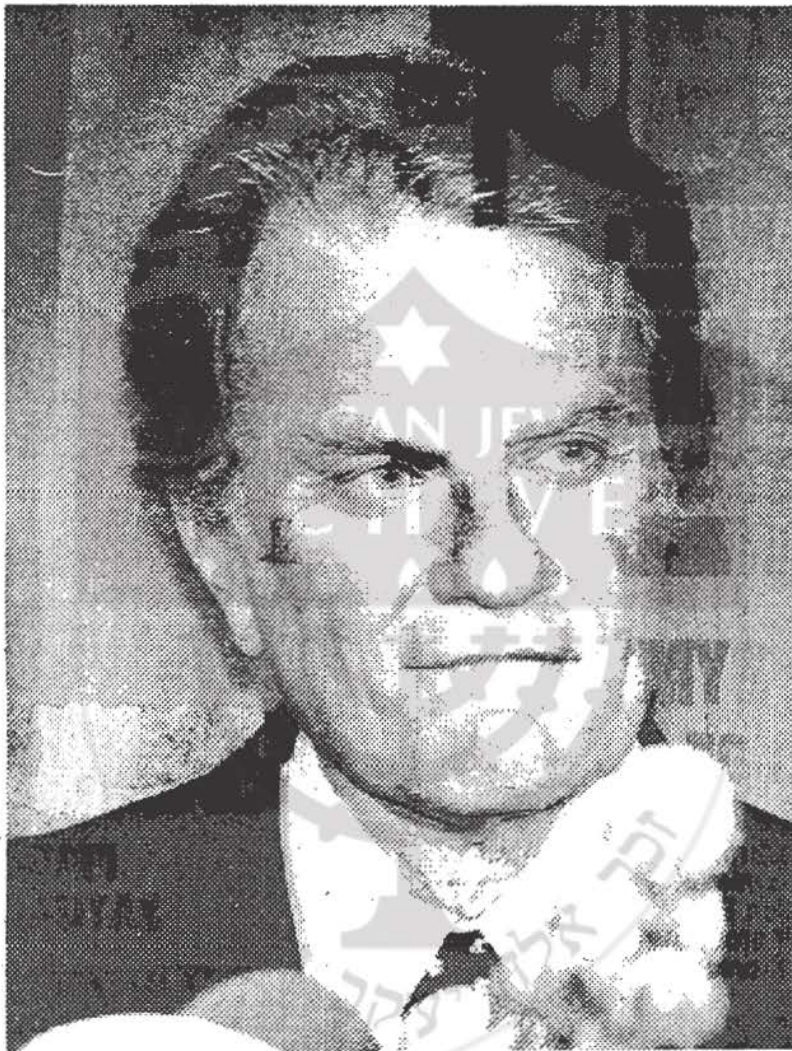
He said that, in answer to the signs he'd seen coming in from the airport, "I am not a communist and have not joined the Communist Party and was never asked to join the Communist Party."

He said he "did not see but one negative article" about his Russian statements while in Europe, and that was in an American paper. "Here in the States something must have been misinterpreted or misunderstood or I used the wrong phraseology."

Those who might have expected him to recant, however, were disappointed.

Did Graham stand by his comments that he had seen no repression in the Soviet Union and that there were more devout churchgoers in Russia than there were back home, the reporters asked.

"Yes and no," said Graham. "You asked me what I saw. I saw three



Graham on the furor over his remarks: "Something must have been misinterpreted."

churches Saturday midnight packed with people preparing their hearts for worship on Sunday. I said they wouldn't do that in Charlotte. But it sounded like more people went to church [in Russia] on Sunday than go to church at home on Sunday, which I didn't mean . . ."

"You have to distinguish between freedom of worship and freedom of religion," said Graham. "You can go to worship, but you do not have Sun-

day schools, evangelical campaigns, other types of organizations that we have here . . ." Later he added, "I think there's only one Baptist Church and one synagogue in Moscow but I believe anyone, if he could get in, could go."

Pressed on the issue of religious freedom, he said that freedom in this country was "tremendous here compared to the Soviet Union" and that freedom in the Soviet Union was "a

bit more than I might have anticipated."

He also denied the suggestion that his desire to be allowed to conduct a crusade in Russia in the future made him an extremely cautious guest.

"I made no deals with anybody," he said.

Other issues he dealt with obliquely.

Asked if he might have been used for propaganda, Graham said, essentially, that it was too early to tell.

"I don't know," he said, "I've only just gotten here."

Asked about his comments in 1954 that "either communists must die or Christianity must die," and whether his opinions had since changed, he said they had varied only in that he knew "the ultimate triumph is going to be to the Kingdom of God."

Nor did suggestions of "selling-out" rankle him. TV commentator Bill Moyers had remarked that it "was not easy to sup with power and get up without spots," a CBS reporter told Graham. Hadn't he, perhaps, to put it bluntly, been selling out?

"That certainly never occurred to me," said Graham, "but Bill would certainly know about that . . . He's supped with power quite a lot . . . quit the ministry to become a political correspondent . . ."

Likewise, he was as smooth as his tailoring when told that there were reports KGB agents were among the Jewish leaders with whom he talked.

"That's the first I've heard of it," he said, his eyes wide and sincere. "I hope, though, that if there were KGB they were in the Moscow Baptist Church Sunday when I talked because I really gave them the gospel and those are the kind of people I really want to reach . . ."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

5-21-82 *Billy Graham Goes to Moscow* W.F. 20

Billy Graham's trip to the Soviet Union reminds me of Jane Fonda's infamous support of North Vietnam in the early '70s. The word that immediately comes to my mind to describe both situations is "duped."

Why the Soviets expect us to believe Billy Graham's whitewashed account of the state of religious freedom in the Soviet Union rather than the first-hand experiences of such persons as Alexander Solzhenitsyn is beyond me. Sadly, for many Americans this may be the case, and Soviet propaganda will have been well served.

RUTH E. FISCHER

Burke, Va.

George Will's column "Let Us Pray for a Little Skepticism" [op-ed, May 13] denounces the Rev. Billy Graham's trip to the Soviet Union as "acting as though pious intentions are substitutes for intelligence, and excuses for irresponsibility."

Now, I am not an actual follower of Billy Graham. But anyone who realizes the potential destruction of nuclear war and then actually tries to do something about it doesn't deserve the antagonism of a sophistic journalist. What is Rev. Graham supposed to do? Convert the Politburo into born-again Christians? Find the perfect political

solution to the arms race single-handedly? Or maybe he should charm the Soviets into capitulating and place themselves at the mercy of our ever-loving President Reagan.

Yes, Mr. Will, I'll be skeptical of any major breakthroughs coming from Rev. Graham's Soviet excursion, and I will view with objectivity any statements released by the Soviets or Rev. Graham regarding the results of his missionary trip. But I feel it is an injustice to humanity to think that matters of the heart have nothing to do with the survival of the biosphere, and I am really sick of hearing the calculated reasons why we can't have world peace. If Rev. Graham has the guts and the integrity to approach our "enemy" face to face and talk about peace, I submit he is being far more responsible than those who say, "We can't talk to them until they learn to behave themselves."

FORREST BITTNER

Youth Facilitator,
World Federalists Association

Arlington

Regarding the statement by Billy Graham, "But that does not mean there is no religious freedom in the Soviet Union. . . . I have experienced total liberty in what I wanted to say," presumably this liberty was implied in

his invitation from the patriarchy to participate in the Moscow Conference on Protecting Life from Nuclear Catastrophe, all expenses paid. Others in the Soviet Union are not so fortunate.

Keston College, a research college in England that monitors information from the Soviet Union, reports:

April 4th: Twelve members of the Orthodox Church were arrested. They had been engaged in translating Western religious writings—such as those of G. K. Chesterton—into Russian.

At least 50 homes were searched; Bibles, icons and religious books were confiscated in the search.

KGB officials made a thorough search of one of the few operating monasteries, the "Pochayev Lavra."

At Easter, police set up barricades around most of the 40 Orthodox churches in Moscow to prevent young people from attending the services.

On the same day, working people were ordered to perform a day of "voluntary" labor in recognition of Lenin's birthday. Food for the traditional Easter dishes was virtually unobtainable in the stores.

The Rev. Georgi Vins, who attended the president's luncheon for Soviet dissidents on May 11, has reported that six middle-aged women of the unregistered Evangelical Christians and Baptists were arrested for their participation in a committee for the families of persecuted Christians.

These, and other numerous examples, are hardly news of religious liberty.

ERNEST GORDON

President, Christian Rescue Effort
For the Emancipation of Dissidents

Alexandria

When the Rev. Billy Graham preaches in Moscow, the church is full: foreign visitors—one third; security agents—one third; local believers—one third.

"You would never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina," says Billy Graham, according to The Post. That is true—you would never get that in Charlotte, N.C.

But just as it is not true that "you have to be a millionaire to have caviar" in the United States, it is equally not true that there is religious freedom in the Soviet Union. The Soviets know it, the West knows it and the Rev. Billy Graham knows it.

When he says the contrary, however, the damage is incalculable. When a respected American theologian makes a statement the Soviets in their wildest dreams could not hope for, then everyone suffering inside the Soviet Union—be he a Soviet Jew or Christian—has even less of a chance ever to gain religious freedom.

ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN

Associate National Director,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

New York

Slap Over Moscow Trip Fails to Shake Faith of Billy Graham's Believers

By Art Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

MONTREAT, N.C., May 21—Above the fray in this Smoky Mountain religious retreat, the reputation of Billy Graham soars higher than the tallest peaks, his stature as America's premier evangelist undiminished among true believers like Lewis Reeder, 42.

A charismatic preacher from Mount Solon, Va., Reeder and others who make up the backbone of his following say they believe that if Graham misspoke in Moscow, where he said he found no evidence of religious persecution, the devil made him do it.

"This is the kind of incident we'd say Satan is involved in, to get people arguing at one another," says Reeder. "If he did say something wrong, it would be the first time in 30 years."

Graham's flock has been far more forgiving than the shepherds. Down in the valley, rival preachers have accused Graham of the worst sort of heresy—going soft on communism—projecting grave damage to his sway over millions of followers already eroded by TV tent preachers like Rev. Jerry Falwell.

Now 63, Graham bounced back after his close friendship with Richard M. Nixon tarnished his halo, but his Moscow gaffes have sparked the worst furor of his career, putting Graham's power and popularity to a supreme test.

Yet the message from the mountaintop, where he takes refuge between crusades in a modest log cabin nestled beneath hardwoods and pines, is loud and clear: Billy, you can come home again. All has been forgiven.

Even though many believers recoil at communism as sin incarnate—Graham once called communists "sons of the devil"—many Southern Baptists still praise the Lord and a beleaguered Billy Graham in the same breath.

Few worshipers hold it against Graham that he ate caviar at almost every meal in Moscow, or praised Russian Orthodox churches for drawing Saturday night crowds that put Charlotte, N.C., to shame. He was minding his manners as a southern gentleman, they say. He didn't want to offend his hosts.

"We have complete confidence in his integrity, whether we agree with his statements or not," says Mayor John Anderson, 66, who also suspects that there was more than met Graham's eye as he was whisked about Moscow in official black Chaika limousines, later to report that he saw little evidence of religious persecution.

"I don't know why he didn't see the persecution," sighed Linda Fross, 19, a perplexed student at idyllic Montreat-Anderson College, as she sat on the floor of her dormitory and groped to understand how her folk hero had faltered. Suddenly, she brightened. "But he's human," she said, falling back on her faith. "He's as human as I am."

To err is human, to forgive divine. And as far as his flock is concerned, all Moscow blunders have been washed clean.

A North Carolina farm boy who

has served as unofficial chaplain to six presidents, Graham has preached to more perceived sinners than has any other religious figure in history. He presides over an evangelistic empire with a \$40 million annual budget, a movie studio, a monthly magazine that counts 5 million readers, a newspaper column, broadcasts beamed to more than 900 stations and of course, his crusades.

He has spread the word to almost every corner of the earth except the Soviet Union, where "he set himself up because he was looking for future entree" to return with a crusade, said Ross Rhoads, the saddened Graham family minister. "Russia was like the moon for Billy. He wanted to plant his flag there."

He has never been one to make waves. "When in Rome, he does as the Romans do," Rhoads said. "His style is to be polite. He's never been a blaster. He works for conciliation. He's a mender of fences. But he has never compromised his message."

For 30 years, he has preached the gospel as a man who embodied "American innocence itself, that plain, cheerful, rigorous, ferociously wholesome earnestness," wrote Graham's biographer, Marshall Frady. Or, as one fellow minister put it, "People believe he's as pure as Ivory soap."

As he has tackled social issues in recent years, he has lost fundamentalist support, but some former critics have joined his camp. The Moral Majority has courted followers by taking a strong stand on national defense, while Graham preaches nuclear disarmament. Harvard theologian Harvey Cox praises his "internal integrity" for going to the Soviet Union in spite of White House pressure to stay away.

And while the Rev. Gene Owens, the liberal pastor of Charlotte's Myers Park Baptist Church, labels him a "kept person" for preaching to kings and presidents as a "house chaplain," he plans to organize a big welcome home for Graham over his strong anti-nuke stand.

Still, he views Graham as naive. "He really thinks all you've got to do



BILLY GRAHAM

... "he's as human as I am," one says

is have a prayer and you are on the road to glory," he said. "He may have outlived his time. You know, he's sailed so high for so long and now, to fall on his face, well, that makes me feel closer to him."

While theologians debate Graham's fall from grace, they watch what is expected to be an earthly showdown at the Superdome June 13, when Graham is scheduled to address 75,000 Baptist ministers in New Orleans.

He will share the podium with the Rev. Bailey Smith, president of the Southern Baptist Convention. They are said to disagree about religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain.

On a recent trip to the Soviet Union, Smith had his Bibles confiscated at the Moscow airport.

W.P.K.2
5.23.82

The Duping of Billy Graham

Why is there surprise that Billy Graham was snookered by the Soviets?

On his recent trip to Moscow, the Reds laid out the red carpet: caviar at his meals and limousines at his disposal. The stroked Rev. Billy, who had come to talk of world peace, returned the favors. He selectively quoted St. Paul on the importance of obedience to authority,

Colman McCarthy

which may induce Soviet jailers to carve that inscription over the gates of their gulags. Then Graham, the caviar going to his head as though it were vodka, announced that Russia had a fair amount of religious freedom.

The duping of Graham in Moscow is nothing new. Take away his exhalings about Jesus and his fundamentalist forensics about sin and what is left is a man of weak analytic power eager to do the bidding of his political and financial betters.

Richard Nixon, after installing Graham as a regular at White House prayer services, brought the court chaplain along for vacations at Key Biscayne and San Clemente. In the 1972 campaign, when George McGovern warned an unlistening nation of Nixon's corruption, Graham, saying that the senator "is desperate," sprung to Nixon's defense like John the Baptist announcing the coming of the Lord: He is "a man with a deep religious commitment . . . I know the president as well as anyone outside his immediate family. I have known him since 1950, and I have great confidence in his personal honesty. I voted for him because I know what he's made of."

Graham has been a babe in numerous other political woods. Dwight Eisenhower regularly dined and golfed with him. Graham's proximity to power so turned his head that he once likened an Eisenhower foreign policy speech to the Sermon on the Mount.

In 1960, President-elect Kennedy invited Graham to Palm Beach for a day of golf, and thereafter Graham sang hosannas to Kennedy. Lyndon Johnson needed only one dinner with Graham to have the awed Billy announce to the world that LBJ was "the best qualified man we've ever had in the White House." When on the premises, Graham was edified by Johnson's willingness to repent: The

president "might have said hell or damn a couple of times, but he'd look at me right away and say, 'Pardon me, preacher.'"

When not deep in the pockets of presidents, Graham couldn't do enough to praise the power and glory of business leaders, from Henry Luce to Texas oilman Sid Richardson. Like the communists in Moscow the other day, the capitalists understood the art of stroking.

Graham's newfound regard for the Soviet system alarms the American right less because its most famous pastor continues to mouth simplicities than because the latest ones deviate so wildly from those of the past.

In the 1950s, he said of the communists that "the Devil is their God" and that Karl Marx was "a subtle, clever, degenerate materialist . . . who spewed this filthy, corrupt, ungodly, unholy doctrine of world socialism over the gullible people of a degenerate Europe." Communism, railed Billy, is "Satan's version of religion." To counter it, we need some "old-fashioned Americanism." And to defend it, naturally, "we must maintain the strongest military establishment on earth."

Of late, Graham, if not exactly recanting this earlier bombast, has made his way to the front of the tent to speak in the new tongues of nuclear disarmament. He is going to the campuses to cheer nuclear restraint and call for not merely SALT II but SALT Ten.

Parts of the antinuclear left have welcomed the well-meaning Graham to their ranks, despite his being an 11th-hour convert. But the conversion seems to have affected his heart more than his intellect. He was right to go to Moscow and exchange ideas and fellowship with Russian religious leaders. Any easing of the American phobia of things Russian, Marxist or Soviet is welcome. But Graham wasn't content with this modest contribution. He had to blab indiscriminately about religious freedom, obedience to the state and the caviar.

It was as if he'd just come out of the Nixon White House, or the Sid Richardson boardroom, and couldn't wait to gush the praises of his latest icon. In Moscow, as everywhere else, the pattern of Graham's career was on display: talking too much and thinking too little.

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06-03-82

Graham aide says mail strongly supports his recent trip to Moscow

By Wilmar Thorkelson
Religious News Service Correspondent

MINNEAPOLIS (RNS) — The mail coming to the world headquarters of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association here strongly supports the evangelist's recent trip to Moscow.

By a three-to-one margin, writers say, in effect, "we are glad you went," according to George M. Wilson, the association's executive vice-president, who also disclosed finances for Graham organizations in 1981.

The association has been busy mailing out copies of press statement Mr. Graham made in New York May 19 on his return from Moscow to counteract critical television interviews and newspaper columns.

Some of the criticism had to do with comments Mr. Graham allegedly made regarding religious freedom in the Soviet Union while he was in Moscow to attend a conference of religious leaders on the danger of nuclear war.

In his statement, Mr. Graham said that the Soviet Union has an estimated 20,000 places of worship of various religions open and that each year hundreds of permits are granted for new churches.

"Most authorities in the field say there are more practicing Christians than Marxists," the evangelist said. "However, there are clearly restrictions . . . At present, churches have some measure of freedom to hold public worship services on church properties if they agree to abide by government regulations. Families are free to teach their children the Bible and to have prayer in their homes."

Meanwhile, it was learned from Mr. Wilson that the Billy Graham Association had income of \$43.2 million and expenses of about \$40 million in 1981, giving it a fund balance of some \$3 million.

Income was up \$9 million over the previous year and expenses up \$8.5 million, according to the association's annual audited statement.

The average gift to the association last year totaled \$15.50, up nearly \$2 over the previous year.

Besides the Graham association, affiliate organizations supporting the evangelist's ministry include Worldwide Pictures, Worldwide Publications, two Christian radio stations and foreign offices.

Taken together, the association and affiliates had total income of \$62 million and expenses of \$57.6 million last year. Income was up \$12 million and expenses up \$10.5 million over the previous year.

Mr. Wilson takes pride in the fact that administrative costs in 1981 totaled only 5 percent, and fund-raising costs were only 7 percent. The combined total was

nearly 2 percent less than in 1980, he said.

It is too early to tell whether criticism aimed at Mr. Graham for his Moscow trip will hurt giving to his organizations. As Mr. Wilson noted, he has weathered other storms and "come out on top."

After returning from Moscow and London, where he stopped to receive the \$200,000 Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion, Mr. Graham resumed his crusade in New England, which has included visits to eight major universities, including Harvard and Yale. The proportion of audience members making "decisions for Christ" has run 12 to 15 percent, nearly double normal, Mr. Wilson said.

Jack Anderson W.P.C. 7

A Letter to Billy Graham

6.6.82

There was more than the public has been told to Rev. Billy Graham's controversial trip to Moscow. The story is contained in internal State Department documents intended for official eyes only.

It's a story of behind-the-scenes efforts by Washington officials to dissuade the widely respected evangelist from making the trip that proved such an embarrassment to him.

The U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which monitors the Helsinki human rights accords, sent Graham a packet of information on religious repression in the Soviet Union, hoping it would persuade him not to go to Moscow for a clergy-sponsored conference on disarmament. But Graham didn't receive the communication in time.

Whether Graham would have been dissuaded from making the trip if he had seen the commission's material is of course impossible to say. White House and State Department officials told my associate, Lucette Lagnado, that they

had tried without success to get Graham to call off his trip.

One document Graham did know about before he reached Moscow was a letter from the family of Siberian Pentecostal Christians who found refuge in the American Embassy in Moscow four years ago. Written by Liupov Vashchenko "for the family," the letter begged Graham not to come to the Moscow conference.

"We believe that the Soviets will use your coming to the conference for propaganda," Vashchenko wrote. "We would like to express our opinion that it is not a good idea for you and other Western religious leaders to come to the conference. We want to ask you urgently to boycott the conference and to ask the Soviets to honor the agreements they have signed and never fulfilled."

The Vashchenkos, who have been trying in vain to emigrate to the United States for 22 years, warned Graham that Soviet authorities would not let him accomplish his aim of reach-

ing out to the Russian people. The Vashchenkos then added a personal appeal for Graham's assistance: "If you do decide to come here, would you please use the chance to ask the Soviets to allow us to leave this country before the conference . . . ?" Otherwise, "all the people in the West who have supported us will consider the conference as a farce."

And finally, the Vashchenkos asked Graham to visit them if he did come, and quoted Isaiah to the evangelist: "I was sick, and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to me. . . ."

The Vashchenko letter was written to Graham on April 12. Exactly how it was mailed is not clear. But sources say it was somehow smuggled out of the Moscow embassy and mailed without official knowledge.

Embassy officials later found out about the letter and cabled its contents to the State Department. The covering message to Washington urged that the department make sure Graham got a copy of the letter.

Graham's assistant said he first learned of the Vashchenko letter from a source in London a few days before Graham was to go to Moscow. He said copies of the letter had apparently been sent to various religious groups, and had been fairly widely circulated.

The assistant said he wasn't sure exactly how or when Graham himself learned of the letter, but said the evangelist was aware of its contents before he arrived in Moscow. Even had he wanted to, Graham couldn't have called off the trip by then, the aide said, adding that the Vashchenko letter contained "nothing we weren't already aware of."

At any rate, though Graham did not heed the Vashchenkos' appeal to boycott the conference, he did respond to their request that he visit them in their basement quarters in the embassy while he was in Moscow, and made representations in their behalf in private meetings with high-level Soviet officials.

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Original documents
faded and/or illegible



Questionable Mission to Moscow

At a conference, Billy Graham glosses over Soviet persecution

When the Rev. Billy Graham first saw the light, he also spied the devil. Satan, he asserted years ago, is the god of Communism. "Either Communism must die, or Christianity must die," he wrote in 1954, "because it is actually a battle between Christ and the anti-Christ." But in 1979 Graham seemed to view the situation in a different light. A vision of the world destroyed by a nuclear Armageddon replaced Communism as the greatest evil. And it was this revelation that was

As the week's events unfolded, their worst fears seemed to be realized. Speeding from appointment to appointment through Moscow's wide streets in a black, chauffeur-driven Chaika limousine, Graham saw only what his hosts wanted him to see. Moreover, he seemed to say only what his hosts wanted him to say. At the end of a hectic schedule, which included a sermon at the only Baptist church in Moscow, a homily at the opulent Yelokhovsky Orthodox Cathedral, a speech at



Flanked by his dark-suited translator, Graham preaches at Moscow's Yelokhovsky Cathedral

Could "a man of his sophistication be unaware of the Soviet record on religious groups?"

on display during Graham's appearance last week at a Kremlin-approved anti-nuclear conference in Moscow—a series of sermons, meetings and dinners that seemed to dazzle and delude the globe-trotting evangelist. "In the U.S., only a millionaire could afford caviar," Graham noted, "and here I have had caviar with every meal."

The World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe, sponsored by the Russian Orthodox Church, invited Graham, as well as some 600 other distinguished clergy from around the world. Even Pope John Paul II sent two observers from the Vatican's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. Despite the impressive invitation list, Reagan Administration officials had urged Graham not to accept, insisting that the conference was a forum for endorsing Soviet foreign policy and a not so subtle public relations ploy designed to demonstrate religious tolerance in the U.S.S.R. Graham, they feared, would become an unwitting prophet of Soviet propaganda.

the conference (held in Moscow's World Trade Center) and a meeting with the six Pentecostals taking refuge at the U.S. embassy. Graham earnestly commented that he had seen no evidence of religious repression. Questioned on the point at a Moscow press conference, he said: "There are differences, of course, in religion as it is practiced here and, let's say, in the U.S. But that doesn't mean there is no religious freedom." He later added that "in Great Britain, they have a state church. Here the church is not a state church. It is a free church."

During his sermon at the Baptist church, Graham told a well-dressed congregation that the Bible calls on citizens "to obey the authorities," and that Jesus gave "man the power to be a better worker, a loyal citizen." One woman in the congregation disobeyed; she draped a banner over the balcony that read, "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the gospel." She was quietly escorted out of the church by several men in plain clothes and was presumably detained for questioning. Asked his opinion

of the incident later, Graham replied: "We detain people in the United States if we catch them doing things wrong."

By midweek, however, Graham may have begun to sense that he was treading on dangerous territory. When delegates began accusing the U.S. of escalating the arms race, he removed his earphones. He listened intently when Lutheran Bishop David Preus from Minneapolis objected to the anti-U.S. bias of the conference. Thus when it came time for Graham, the conference's star attraction, to deliver his speech, he made some attempt to modify his stance. Graham inserted into his prepared text an appeal for freedom of religious belief: "I urge all governments to respect the rights of religious believers as outlined in the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights." A relieved Bishop Preus called the speech "very fine," and other U.S. delegates seemed to share his approval.

Yet, throughout the week, Graham seemed oblivious to the precarious role of religion in a country that endorses scientific atheism and outlaws public evangelism. It is a country where only the officially sanctioned Russian Orthodox Church is permitted to exist in relative peace, where Protestant groups are tolerated only if they accept government restrictions and are harassed if they do not. The Baptists who heard Graham's gospel can hold worship services, but they cannot preach the word of God in public or bring up their children with religious instruction. As a result of Graham's confusion, or perhaps ignorance, about the reality of Soviet religious persecution, his otherwise laudable and certainly sincere concern over the nuclear arms race got lost in the din of criticism that followed.

Middlebury College President Olin Robison, an ordained Baptist minister who has visited the Soviet Union more than 20 times, noted that "a man of his sophistication cannot possibly be unaware of the Soviet record on religious groups and individuals." The Rev. Carl F.H. Henry, a leading U.S. Baptist theologian, suggested that Graham's behavior could be explained by his desire not to embarrass the Russian Orthodox Church, which might extend him an invitation to return. "Billy Graham has a legitimate desire to preach the gospel to the nations of the world," affirms Henry. "But I wonder about the high priority he has given to returning to the Soviet Union on a broad-based evangelical crusade." Graham has confirmed his desire to return: "I would like to go from Siberia to the Black Sea on a crusade." Will he get his wish? "Oh, they will invite him back," says Robison, "but it will be on their own terms." On last week's evidence, it seemed that Graham might well be willing to accept those terms.

—By Richard Stengel, Reported by Erik Anzures/Moscow

JUN 16 '89

American
Committee

Reagan's START—Is It Better Than SALT?

Ronald Reagan is trying to sell his proposed strategic-arms-reduction talks (START) to Congress and the Kremlin—while fighting off persistent suggestions that Jimmy Carter's SALT II treaty be revived.

In a May 13 news conference, the President expressed hope that Russia's Leonid Brezhnev would agree to open START discussions by late June.

While Reagan awaited Brezhnev's response, critics urged ratification of the SALT II treaty signed by Carter and Brezhnev in 1979 but never approved by the Senate—a pact that would put a ceiling on strategic weapons of the two superpowers.

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger noted that both the U.S. and Russia are abiding by SALT anyway and added: "I have a great difficulty understanding why it is safe to adhere to a nonratified agreement while it is unsafe formally to ratify what one is already observing."

Asked former Secretary of State Edmund Muskie: "How do we get from where we are now to where we all want to go without keeping in place what we have?"

When Secretary of State Alexander Haig went before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 11 to push for START, this warning was sounded by Senator John Glenn (D-Ohio), once a critic of SALT: "Unless we proceed, and soon, to ratify the SALT II treaty... we face the very real prospect of a breakdown in the arms-control process and another round of superfluous strategic-weapons purchases."

Haig insisted, however, that "fatal flaws" plagued the old treaty and gave Russia too many advantages. "We consider SALT II to be dead and have so informed the Soviet Union."

Instead, Haig urged speedy agreement on START to cut by a third the nuclear warheads on land-based and sea-based missiles. Reagan's plan then calls for the two countries to try to reduce their missile-delivery power.

Essential in any new pact, Haig said, are effective verification, equality in forces, substantial reduction in warheads, public acceptance and support of the allies. In addition, he said that the U.S. must reduce the vulnerability of its land-based forces and develop the capability to deter a Soviet attack.



As an inducement to the Russians, Reagan offered to put all nuclear weapons on the bargaining table—a move that eventually could neutralize the U.S. edge in strategic bombers and long-flying cruise missiles. Said Reagan: "Nothing is excluded."

The Tass news agency in Moscow branded Reagan's plan a public-relations ploy, but diplomats offered another view: The two sides probably will sit down this summer to begin what could be years of tough negotiations.

The Russia That Billy Graham Saw

MOSCOW

The Rev. Billy Graham touched off a storm of controversy on his six-day trip to the Soviet Union in mid-May.

At a Moscow conference against nuclear weapons, the Baptist evangelist:

■ Said, "There is a lot more freedom here than has been given the impression in the States, because hundreds, thousands of churches are open. In Great Britain, they have a state church. Here... the church is a free church."

■ Remarkd on detention of a woman with a banner protesting imprisonment of Russian believers: "We detain people in the United States if we catch people doing things that are wrong."

■ Observed that Moscow's churches were packed for worship. "You would never see that in Charlotte," he said of his North Carolina hometown.

Graham made clear that he was being uncritical in hopes that he would be allowed to conduct a religious crusade across the Soviet Union—a prospect that American experts here called highly unlikely in a land where practice of religion is officially discouraged.

Officials of the Reagan administration said the evangelist had been lured into drawing news-media attention to a conference arranged by the Kremlin as a propaganda vehicle to blame Western nations for the nuclear-arms race.

In New York City, director Jerry Goodman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry called Graham's remarks "well-intentioned, but perhaps naïve" and "a disservice to Jews and Christians who are being persecuted in the Soviet Union."

In Charlotte, the Rev. Charles Page of the First Baptist Church said of Graham's comment about religious freedom in Russia: "I find it hard to believe that they are not experiencing a great deal of suffering in order to worship." □

Graham delivers greetings from the U.S.



How U.S. Once Wooed Galtieri

The leader of Argentina's junta may be sour toward the U.S. today, but he has memories of how sweet it can be when Washington comes courting.

Lt. Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri, who became President in December, enjoyed a VIP tour of the U.S. at the expense of American taxpayers last August.

Pentagon records show that the tour by Galtieri, his wife and three aides included Disneyland, a Hollywood movie studio and the Broadway hit "42nd Street"; stays at New York's Waldorf-Astoria and Washington's Watergate hotels, and restaurant dinners costing hundreds of dollars.

Galtieri, commander of Argentina's Army, was briefed at the Pentagon and saw sophisticated weapons displays at Fort Lewis, Wash., and Fort Campbell, Ky.

Cost to taxpayers: \$27,470, including \$20,028 for a private jet.

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JUN 29 82

Graham's Mission to Moscow

BILLY GRAHAM

He offers a plan for nuclear disarmament and world peace fashioned by the Prince of Peace.

Following is the text of Billy Graham's address, "The Christian Faith and Peace in a Nuclear Age," which he gave in Moscow on May 11, at the world conference, "Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe."

YOUR HOLINESS Patriarch Pimen, Your Eminence Metropolitan Filaret, honorable representatives of the government of the USSR, esteemed delegates, observers, guests, and friends.

I am deeply honored and humbled by the gracious invitation of His Holiness Pimen, patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, and of the International Preparatory Committee and its chairman, His Eminence Metropolitan Filaret, to give this summary address on "The Christian Faith and Peace in a Nuclear Age" to this important world gathering of religious workers, following the panel discussion this morning on "The Responsibility of Religious Workers in preventing Nuclear Catastrophe."

I recognize that we come to this conference from many different backgrounds—culturally, politically, and religiously. But in spite of many fundamental differences between us, we come together in an atmosphere of mutual respect and concern because we share at least two things in common.

First, regardless of our background, we are all members of the human race, and the problem we are dealing with is one that affects every human on this planet, no matter what his cultural or political or religious views may be.

Second, although we have various religious differences, we share a basic conviction about the sacredness of human life and the need for spiritual answers to the problems that confront humanity.

I speak to you today as a follower of Jesus Christ. I shall never forget when Mr. U Thant of Burma departed as

secretary general of the United Nations and a banquet was given in his honor. When the time came for him to speak, he stood and said simply, "Everything I have ever been, or am, or ever hope to be, I owe to Buddha." Not very many of those at the banquet shared his religious beliefs, but they all understood and accepted his commitment. They admired his humble and bold dedication to his religious faith.

I would make a similar statement to you as a Christian, declaring that everything I have ever been, or am, or ever hope to be in this life or the future life, I owe to Jesus Christ. I am sure my fellow Christians at this gathering would say the same. In these few minutes, therefore, I would like to present what I believe to be the Christian's responsibility for peace in a nuclear age as it is found in the Bible.

There is a farm in the central part of the United States. On that farm is a monument marking the exact point of the geographical center of the nation. It is a fixed reference point from which, I understand, all other geographical points in the nation can be measured. Each of us has his reference point, and as a Christian, the reference point by which I measure my life and thought is the Bible, the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

There is no doubt that the world is facing the most critical moment since the beginning of human history. We live in a time that is without parallel, because never before has humanity held in its hands such awesome weapons of mass destruction—weapons that could destroy life on this planet within a matter of hours. The quantum leap in technology has resulted in a quantum leap in our ability to destroy our entire planet. Every thinking man knows that the world is like a powder keg, and if we cannot soon find a way to eliminate this danger of a nuclear catastrophe then we may be writing the obituary of much of humanity. The whole human race sits

under a nuclear Sword of Damocles, not knowing when someone will push the button or give the order that will destroy much of the planet.

The possibility of nuclear war, therefore, is not merely a political issue. We must understand, of course, that there are underlying causes and problems that must be removed before the nuclear arms issue will be completely solved, and these issues must be addressed also. These underlying causes have brought about serious political conflicts between nations, and this is not God's intention.

THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE is primarily a moral and spiritual issue that must concern us all. I am convinced that political answers alone will not suffice, but that it is now time for us to urge the world to turn to spiritual solutions as well. We need a new breakthrough in how the problem of the nuclear arms race is approached. The vicious cycle of propaganda and counterpropaganda, charge and countercharge, mistrust and more mistrust among nations must somehow be broken. The unending and escalating cycle of relying on deterrents, greater deterrents, and supposedly ultimate deterrents should also be defused. Policies which constantly take nations to the brink of nuclear war must be rejected. We need to turn from our political and ideological conflicts on all sides and moderate them for the sake of the sanctity of human life.

I agree with Albert Einstein, who said, "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our way of thinking. We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive." Perhaps a conference like this, stressing the spiritual nature of man and the need for spiritual answers to the problems we face, can help bring about that new way of thinking.

Pope John Paul II has stated: "Our future on this planet, exposed as it is to nuclear annihilation, depends on one single factor: humanity must make a moral about-face." But the question that confronts us is, How can this happen? Technologically, man has far exceeded his moral ability to control the results of his technology. Man himself must be changed. The Bible teaches that this is possible through spiritual renewal. Jesus Christ taught that man can and must have a spiritual rebirth.

THIS LEADS ME TO some specific comments about a Christian understanding of peace in a nuclear age.

First, the Christian begins with the Bible's affirmation that life is sacred. "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," the Bible declares (Gen. 1:1). The world is not here by chance, nor is human life a biological accident. God brought it all into existence. Furthermore, man occupied a very special place in God's creation, because man alone was created in the image of God. He had within him the character of God himself, and one reason for this was so man and God could have fellowship with each other. Human life is sacred not only because God created it, but because he loves us and desires to have a personal relationship with us. Life is a sacred gift of God, and the taking of human life is an offense to God's original design of his creation. The individual person has dignity before God, and this is a fundamental fact that stresses his uniqueness and underlines his value within society.

Second, the Bible also teaches, however, that man, the creature, has turned his back on God, the Creator. Our first parents deliberately chose to rebel against God, and this has caused chaos in God's world ever since. This rebellion against God is what the Bible calls sin. It cuts man off from God, but it also cuts man off from other men and even brings disorder into his own individual life. Hate takes the place of love; greed takes the place of sharing; the lust for power and domination over others takes the place of service and humility. Instead of peace there is war. The first son of Adam and Eve committed the first act of violence by killing his brother.

We live in a world, therefore, that is distorted and warped by sin. We may not fully understand why God—who is

all-powerful and loving—permits evil in this world. But whatever else we might say, it must be stressed that man, not God, is guilty of the evil in the world. It is man who bears the responsibility, because man was given the ability to make free moral choices, and he chose deliberately to disobey God. The world as it now exists is not the way God intended it to be.

From a biblical perspective, therefore, I am convinced that the basic issue that faces us today is not merely political, social, economic, or even moral, or humanitarian in nature. The deepest problems of the human race are spiritual in nature. They are rooted in man's refusal to seek God's way for his life. The problem is the human heart, which God alone can change.

During World War II, Prof. Albert Einstein helped bring a German photographer to the United States. They became friends and the photographer took a number of pictures of Einstein. Einstein never liked photographers, and he never liked any picture of himself. But one day he looked into the camera and started talking. He spoke about his despair that his formula, $E=mc^2$, and his letter to President Roosevelt had made the atomic bomb possible, and his scientific research had resulted in the death of so many human beings. He grew silent. His eyes had a look of immense sadness. There was a question and a reproach in them.

At that very moment the cameraman released the shutter. Einstein looked up and the cameraman asked him: "So you don't believe that there will ever be peace?"

"No," he answered. "As long as there will be man, there will be wars."

The Bible says, "What causes fights and quarrels among you? Don't they come from your desires that battle within you? You want something but don't get it. You kill and covet, but you cannot have what you want. You quarrel and fight" (James 4:1-2, NIV). Jesus declared, "For from within, out of men's hearts, come evil thoughts, murder, greed, malice, deceit, arrogance and folly" (Mark 7:21-22).

I am convinced one of the most vivid and tragic signs of man's rebellion against God's order in our present generation is the possibility of a nuclear war. I include here the whole scope of modern weapons that are able to destroy life—conventional, biochemical, and nuclear weapons. I know that the issue of legitimate national defense is complex. I am not a pacifist, nor am

I for unilateral disarmament. Police and military forces are unfortunately necessary as long as man's nature is the way it is. But the unchecked production of weapons of mass destruction by the nations of the world is a mindless fever which threatens to consume much of our world and destroy the sacred gift of life.

FROM A CHRISTIAN perspective, therefore, the possibility of a nuclear war originates in the greed and covetousness of the human heart. The tendency toward sin is passed on from generation to generation. Therefore, Jesus predicted that there would be wars and rumors of wars till the end of the age. The psalmist said, "In sin did my mother conceive me." Thus, there is a tragic and terrible flaw in human nature that must be recognized and dealt with. That is why I have come to see that the nuclear arms race is not God's will, and that as a Christian I have a responsibility to do whatever I can to work for peace and against nuclear war.

I have said that life is sacred because God has made it that way, and that man has perverted the gift of life by rebelling against God's will. But does that mean peace is not possible? No! Peace could be possible if we would humble ourselves and learn again God's way of peace.

That brings me to a third point: the word "peace" is used in the Bible in three main ways—much different from the way peace is used in some places.

First, there is spiritual peace. This is peace between man and God.

Second, there is psychological peace, or peace within ourselves.

Third, there is relational peace, or peace among men.

Sin, the Bible says, has destroyed or seriously affected all three of these dimensions of peace. When man was created he was at peace with God, with himself, and with his fellow human. But when he rebelled against God, his fellowship with God was broken. He was no longer at peace within himself. And he was no longer at peace with others.

Can these dimensions of peace ever be restored? The Bible says "Yes." It tells us man alone cannot do what is necessary to heal the brokenness in his relationships—but God can, and has.

The Bible teaches that Jesus Christ was God's unique Son, sent into the world to take away our sins by his death on the cross, therefore making it

possible for us to be at peace—at peace with God, at peace within ourselves, and at peace with each other. That is why Jesus Christ is central to the Christian faith. By his resurrection from the dead, Christ showed once for all that God is for life, not death. The Orthodox tradition and its Divine Liturgy especially make central this jubilant and glorious event. The Bible states, "For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord" (Rom. 6:23). The ultimate sign of man's alienation is death; the ultimate sign of God's reconciling love is life.

Throughout all Christendom you will notice there is one symbol common to all believers—the cross. We believe that it was on the cross that the possibility of lasting peace in all of its dimensions has been made. The Bible says about Christ that "God was pleased to have all his fullness dwell in him, and through him to reconcile to himself all things . . . by making peace through his blood, shed on the cross" (Col. 1:19-20). The Bible again says, "For he himself is our peace, who has made the two one and has destroyed the barrier, the dividing wall of hostility. . . . He came and preached peace to you who were far away and peace to those who were near" (Eph. 2:14, 17).

The Christian looks forward to the time when peace will reign over all creation. Christians all over the world pray the prayer Jesus taught his disciples: "Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven" (Matt. 6:10). Only then will the spiritual problem of the human race be fully solved. Both the Bible and the Christian creeds teach that there will be a universal judgment. Christ will come again, in the words of the ancient Apostles' Creed, "to judge the quick and the dead." But then the kingdom of God will be established, and God will intervene to make all things new. That is our great hope for the future.

Several weeks ago I was at the headquarters of the United Nations. On exhibit there is a magnificent and spectacular statue, which was a gift to the United Nations from the Soviet Union. It shows a man with a hammer, forging a plowshare from a sword, and it is an illustration of the biblical hope found in the words of the prophet Isaiah: "They will beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war anymore"

(Isa. 2:4). This ringing hope was also the basis of Patriarch Pimen's July 1981 appeal on nuclear disarmament, which led to this conference.

BUT IN THE MEANTIME, God is already at work. The kingdom of God is not only a future hope but a present reality. Wherever men and women turn to God in repentance and faith, and then seek to do his will on earth as it is done in heaven, there the kingdom of God is seen. And it is in obedience to Jesus Christ, who is called in the Bible the Prince of Peace, that Christians are to cooperate with all who honestly work for peace in our world.

When Christ was born, the Bible tells us, the angels sang, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men" (Luke 2:14). Jesus declared, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called the sons of God" (Matt. 5:9). The New Testament urges Christians, "Live in harmony with one another. . . . If it is possible, as far as it depends on you, live at peace with everyone. Do not take revenge" (Rom. 12:16, 18-19). We are to pray for peace, and we—both individually and collectively—are to work for peace in whatever ways God would open up for each of us. Christ came to bring peace, and we are to proclaim the possibility of peace, which the Christian believes is found in Christ.

But some people ask pessimistically, "Can anything really be done for international peace? Is it not already too late?" I would suggest that our responsibility in the world is clear no matter what conditions might be or how late the hour might seem. We must not join with those who stand by and wring their hands, saying all is hopeless. I believe that in spite of the chaos threatening our world there can be hope for our generation and generations to come. We must be realists, but we must also be optimists. When ancient Nineveh was on the verge of destruction, it was saved when the people repented and turned to God.

As a Christian, I have hope for several reasons. For one thing, as a Christian I believe that God is the Lord of all history. He is sovereign and he is able to intervene in human affairs to accomplish his saving and reconciling purposes, no matter how difficult things may seem. We do not live in a world of blind chance. My confidence is in the living God who remains faithful to his purposes and will ultimately

accomplish his will for this world which he has created.

I also have hope, however, because I believe it is still possible for us to turn to God and grapple with many of our problems and begin to solve them—as long as there are responsible leaders in the international arena from every area of life who have the dedication and the vision to provide moral and spiritual leadership for our generation. Yes, man often fails, and agreements that are solemnly made in one generation are often broken in the next generation. But that must not lead us to despair.

One of the horrors of World War I was the development and use of deadly poisonous gases that killed and maimed vast numbers of people. Afterward, the nations of the world agreed to ban such weapons, and during World War II the warring parties refrained from using those weapons of mass destruction on the battlefield. Thus it is possible to reach international understandings. And I believe it is the special responsibility of religious leaders who see life as sacred to work toward an international negotiated treaty to vastly reduce or ban today's weapons of mass destruction.

But what specifically can we do? What are the steps people who consider life as sacred can take to be peacemakers in our world, especially those of us who are gathered here today?

It is not my intention today to present a comprehensive plan or procedure for disarmament, for I do not consider myself competent to deal with such a highly technical matter. I also know that any specific remarks on this which I or anyone else here might make could easily be misinterpreted as being biased or political in nature. Our purpose is to rise above narrow national interests and give all of humanity a spiritual vision of the way to peace. All too often religious leaders have accepted war without question as a fact of life by which international disputes are too often settled. In the present nuclear age, however, we must not fall into this psychological trap.

With this in mind, let me suggest five steps that I believe we can and must take if we are to do our part in saving the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe.

1. *Let us call the nations and leaders of our world to repentance.* In addition to personal repentance, which we all need if we are to be accepted by God, we need to repent as nations and peoples over our past

failures—the failure to accept each other, the failure to be concerned about the needs of the poor and starving of the world, the failure to place top priority on peace instead of war, the failure to restrain the international arms race. No nation, large or small, is exempt from blame for the present state of international affairs.

2. *Let us call the nations and leaders of our world to a new and determined commitment to peace and justice.* For the last several decades the world has witnessed an unprecedented arms race. Would it not be wonderful to have a new race among the nations of the world—a disarmament race—one which is equal on both sides, verifiable, and leads to at least a few generations of peace.

As a Christian, I believe that lasting peace will only come when the kingdom of God prevails. However, let the leaders of our world face the fact that the overwhelming desire of the peoples of the earth is for peace, not war. If a poll were taken of the peoples of the world today you would find, I am convinced, that over 95 percent of the peoples of the world would vote for peace in a nuclear age. Let us urge the leaders of the world to act in accordance with the wishes of the peoples of the world and set nuclear disarmament as the top priority for the rest of this century.

3. *Let us call the nations and the leaders of the nations to take specific steps that will lead toward peace.* Talk about peace must never become a substitute for actions that will lead to peace. In this connection I would urge three things.

First, I would urge the leaders of the nations, especially the major powers, to declare a moratorium on hostile rhetoric. Peace does not grow in a climate of mistrust in which each side to a greater and greater degree is constantly accusing the other of false motives and hidden actions. Yes, there are fundamental differences of ideology separating our world, and it is unrealistic to assume that these ideologies will be surrendered anytime soon by those who hold them. But the cause of peace is not served when nations refuse to listen to each other's views and to take seriously what is being expressed by the other side. I am encouraged that recently there has been some hint of a lessening in that rhetoric that can only lead to greater suspicion and heightened tensions.

Second, I would urge the leaders of the world to take specific steps

to increase trust and understanding among nations and peoples. Often we are suspicious of each other because we do not know each other. Expanded cultural exchanges, student exchanges, educational exchanges, trade relations, tourist travel—all of these can help us get to know one another as people and lead over the years to greater understanding and trust. I include, as a major part of this, opportunities for religious contacts such as we are sharing in the conference. I also think we need to reaffirm our commitment to mutual respect among religions, such as we are practicing here.

In connection with this, we should urge all governments to respect the rights of religious believers as outlined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We must hope that some day all nations (as all those who signed the Final Act of Helsinki declared) "will recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion or belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience" (Final Act of Helsinki, section VII).

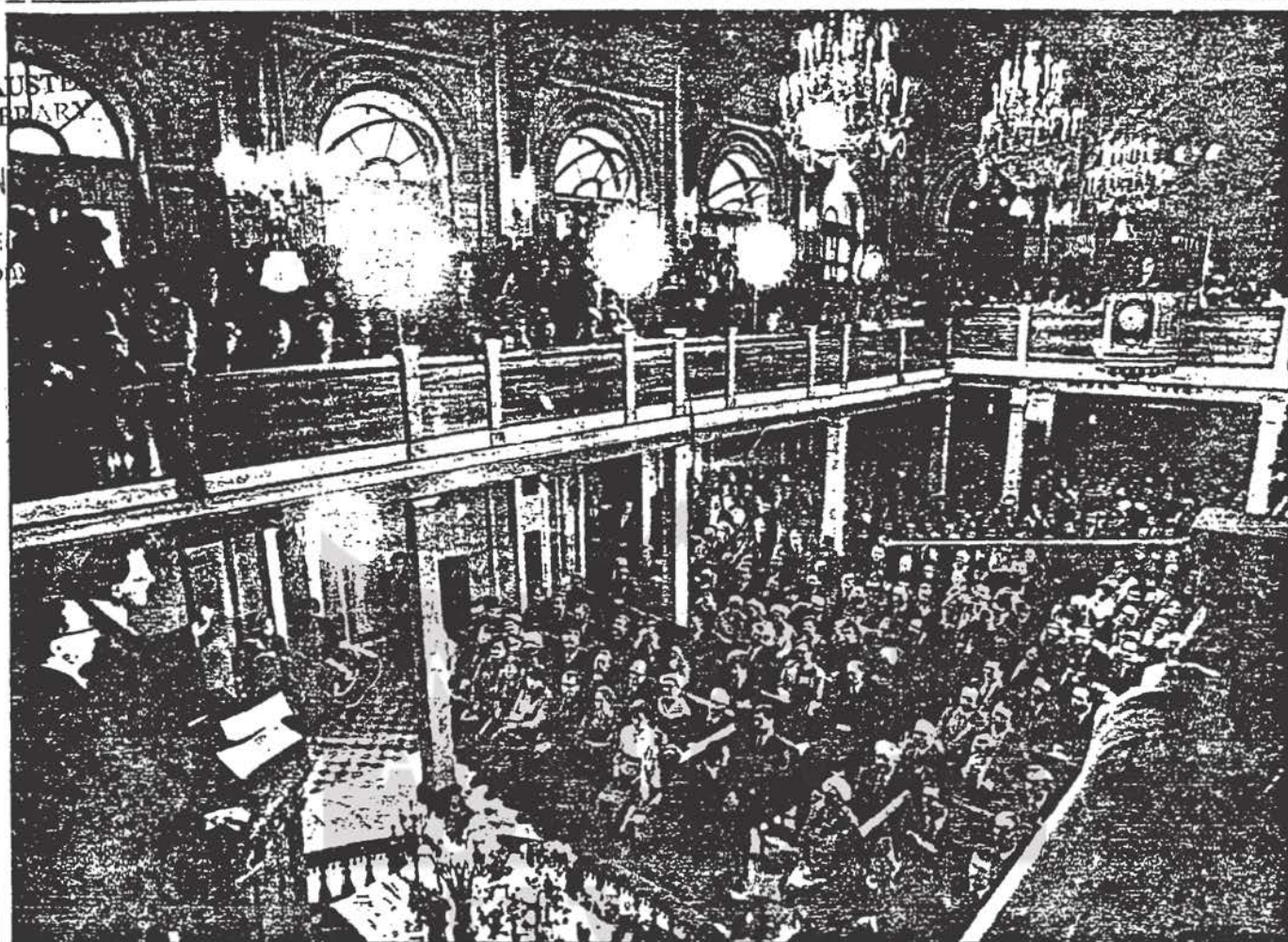
I also feel it is important for the leaders of the world to get to know one another personally through personal contact. Is it too much to hope for a summit meeting in which the leaders of the major powers do not come together just to sign a prepared document, but simply to get to know one another as human beings?

THIRD, I WOULD URGE the leaders of the world to take specific steps for meaningful negotiations leading to major arms reductions. We should pray for the success of every effort that is made in this direction. We should encourage every initiative that honestly seeks mutual, balanced, verifiable arms reductions among nations. But more than that, we should set before the world the ultimate goal of eliminating all nuclear and biochemical weapons of mass destruction. Several years ago, when I saw the apparent futility of so many negotiations and conferences about disarmament, I came out for what I have called SALT 10—the complete destruction by all nations of the world of all atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, biochemical weapons, laser weapons, and all other weapons of mass destruction. I know this may be impossible to achieve, but it can be our ultimate goal.

4. *Let us call the peoples of the world to prayer.* If the peoples of the world would turn to God and seek his will in prayer, it would have a tremendous impact on the issues that face us. As God promised through the prophet Jeremiah, "Call unto me, and I will answer thee, and shew thee great and mighty things, which thou knowest not" (Jer. 33:3).

5. *Finally, let us who are assembled here today rededicate ourselves personally to the task of being peacemakers in God's world.* As we call upon others to a determined commitment to peace, let us also rededicate ourselves to that same commitment. As we call upon others to take specific steps to work for peace, let us also decide what we can do within our own nations to work for peace. As we call upon others to pray, let us also pray. Let the leaders of our own nations, and the peoples of our own nations, hear our voices as we speak for peace in our world.

I would like to close with this observation. Last Sunday morning His Holiness Patriarch Pimen graciously invited me to attend the Divine Liturgy in the Orthodox Cathedral and say words of fraternal greeting to the congregation and proclaim the gospel. I could not help but recall in my remarks that the date was May 9, the thirty-seventh anniversary of the unconditional surrender in Berlin of the forces of nazism to the Soviet Union and its allies, bringing World War II to an end. I recalled the Soviet Union, more than any other nation in that terrible conflict, experienced death and incredible devastation as a result of that horrible war. I also noted that during the war the great peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States of America were allies, fighting side by side against the common enemy of nazism. We did not agree at that time in our basic ideology, but we united as allies because we faced a common enemy—an enemy so great that our differences faded. Today, I would suggest we not only the two great superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, but every nation on earth—again face a common enemy. Our common enemy today is the threat of impending nuclear destruction. Is it too much to hope and pray that we can unite in a dedicated alliance against this enemy which threatens to destroy us? May all of us, whether we are from large nations or small nations, do all we can to remove this deadly blight from our midst and save the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe. □



Billy Graham preaching at the Moscow Baptist Church, with his interpreter, Michael Zhidkov.

Graham in the Soviet Union

He takes it on the chin from the press. Is religious freedom relative?

Not in 30 years of public ministry has Billy Graham been the center of as much controversy as he was during his six-day visit to the Soviet Union last month. Graham was invited to Moscow to address a Kremlin-approved peace conference (see accompanying story), to speak at a Russian Orthodox church service, and to preach a sermon in Moscow's only Baptist church.

From a religious point of view, the visit had genuine significance. It brought Russian Orthodox and Evangelical Christian-Baptist leaders together on a spiritual basis, and both sides learned they had much in common. Because of the evangelist's close contacts with Orthodox leaders, they "accept him as a real servant of Christ," observed Alexei Bychkov, general secretary of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists.

This is highly significant in light of any future visit of Graham to the Soviet Union, he explained. Already, a number of Orthodox leaders have invited Graham to preach in their churches if he is able to return for an extended preaching tour. He touched spiritually responsive chords among them. (No official figures are available, but Orthodox strength is estimated in the tens of millions, with about 7,000 churches still open.)

As for the Baptists, Graham's preaching visit on Sunday, May 9, was "a great event in the history of our church," commented Bychkov. Many Christians were inspired to witness more boldly for Christ, he added.

Such developments are notable in light of the government's published policies of the past in which increased zeal among believers and spread of the

faith are frowned on.

For years, Soviet Baptist leaders kept bumping into Graham at Baptist World Alliance and other meetings, where they expressed hope he could some day come and preach in their homeland. (He had visited the Moscow Baptist Church in 1959, but his tourist visa restricted him from speaking in a public meeting.)

After more than a year of negotiation and preparation, that day finally arrived May 9, a glorious Russian spring day. Graham was originally scheduled to speak at the 6 P.M. Sunday service, but for crowd-control reasons, he was shifted at almost the last minute to a special service at 8 A.M., when there is relatively little public transportation available. Attendance was only by pass, and the normally full overflow rooms at the church were

closed. (Graham's visit was unannounced in Moscow, but the news was carried into the country by a Voice of America broadcast.)

In all, nearly 1,000 people, many of them standing, were already in place when the evangelist entered the building, the only Baptist church in the city of 8 million. Church sources said about one-third of the people, including the choir members, were from the church, one-third were from out of town or news reporters and visiting foreigners from the conference on nuclear disarmament, and one-third were outsiders, including a number of security personnel. Western news people reported that officials were nervous over the possibility of disruptions by dissidents.

As the two-hour service wore on, hundreds of additional worshippers arrived, but they were kept behind barriers a block away, where they broke into hymns. Many had traveled hundreds of miles to hear Graham. Among them were ten teen-agers who had come by train from Tula, 100 miles south of Moscow. A 16-year-old told reporters they had come to hear Graham because "God speaks through his mouth."

Inside the church, Alexei Bychkov introduced the evangelist. He asked how many had read Graham's book *Peace With God*, and nearly half the hands in the auditorium shot up. (Some books are brought in from outside the country; others are hand copied or duplicated by other means. Through such methods, Graham's writings are fairly well known among the estimated four million Protestants in the Soviet Union.)

Graham preached for nearly an hour on the healing of the paralytic man in John 5, likening it to conversion. He asked those who wanted to recommit their lives to Christ or receive him as Savior to raise their hands. Scores responded, prompting ripples of praise throughout the congregation.

As the evangelist headed for the door, late for his appearance at the Orthodox Cathedral of the Epiphany, the congregation sang "God Be with You till We Meet Again," waving handkerchiefs at him. Some wept.

Well over 1,000 persons, including a number of young people, were on hand at the cathedral for a colorful two-hour service of liturgy and music centering on the Eucharist. Shifts of priests clad in golden robes and colorful headdresses moved about the platform, and from the balconies three



The crowd being kept well away from the Baptist church.

choirs sang antiphonally. Then came nearly an hour of sermons and greetings. Graham delivered a condensed version of his John 5 sermon. Whenever his Orthodox interpreter slacked off, hundreds at the rear of the church

cried, "Louder! Louder!"

Clearly, to Graham and his retinue, the trip was a success. But reports from Western newsmen covering his visit were painting a much different

Continued on page 48

American Churchmen Rewrite Some Soviet Propaganda

The peace conference wasn't so peaceful.

One of the roles the Soviet government has assigned churches in the USSR is the propagation of Soviet views of peace. So it is no surprise when Soviet religious leaders announce the convening of peace conferences like the recent "World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe" in Moscow. But it is a surprise when things

don't go according to the script. The script, in fact, was rewritten at the Moscow conference, thanks to the efforts of a trio of strong-willed American denominational leaders. The Soviet press suddenly fell strangely silent.

Some American participants privately described the alterations as a major defeat for the Soviet propaganda mill, and there is some concern among

U.S. church leaders huddle at the Moscow peace conference. From left: Avery Post, president of the United Church of Christ; William P. Thompson, stated clerk of the United Presbyterian Church; Arie Brouwer, general secretary of the Reformed Church in America; and David Preus, presiding bishop of the American Lutheran Church.



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There has been a cross-fertilization of ideas among Whitehead and Francis and Franky Schaeffer, and it is evident in the books by the three of them. Francis Schaeffer's *Christian Manifesto*, published seven months before Whitehead's book, contains several references to it, and Francis Schaeffer helped to refine Whitehead's manuscript. Whitehead footnotes the *Manifesto* at several points in his book. Franky Schaeffer's company financed Whitehead's research, and the younger Schaeffer worked as Whitehead's agent in securing the publisher. He has produced a film based on the book, which will be released in the fall. Franky Schaeffer, in turn, quotes Whitehead in his own book.

Evangelicalism has been pressed from the Right by the militancy of the fundamentalists, and from the Left by social activists. Francis Schaeffer's influence, now being pumped through a second generation of writers, challenges the evangelical movement right from its heart (although Whitehead does not use the term evangelical to describe himself), and it may well prove a potent impact on evangelicalism in the 1980s.

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Graham continued from page 43

picture. Their accounts were sharply critical and noted that Graham was trying especially hard to avoid embarrassing his Soviet hosts by not criticizing the nation's oppressive religious restrictions. News stories in U.S. papers suggested Graham was keeping silent in order to win permission to return to Russia with a full-scale crusade.

If that wasn't bad enough, according to the press reports, Graham seemed to be going out of his way to provide grist for the Soviet propaganda mill. He was said to have told reporters at one press conference that he had seen no religious persecution in the Soviet Union, thereby implying that it wasn't a severe problem. He was reported to have suggested that the Soviet churches are freer than the Anglican church, because the latter is a state church headed by the monarchy, whereas Soviet churches are "free."

He was reported to have preached in the Baptist church that believers should obey authorities, according to Romans 13, thereby implying that Christians should not kick against religious intolerance. He was taken to task for preaching in a Baptist church

full of KGB agents and other officially approved ticket holders, while the crowd of genuine believers could not get in.

The press implied that Graham had done wrong by not protesting when a young woman in the Baptist church was led off by police for opening a small banner that read "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the gospel."

Graham's activities, based on the news accounts, caused confusion and disappointment among some conservative churchmen. Edmund Robb, a United Methodist who heads the Washington, D.C.-based Institute on Religion and Democracy, said Graham had been "manipulated to give legitimacy to a conference controlled by the Soviet government." Lynn Buzzard of the Christian Legal Society described the reported statements as "tragic" or at best "incredibly naïve." Buzzard has been to Moscow twice recently in efforts to free the Siberian Six. "There's something wrong when in order to preach the gospel you turn your back on those who live the gospel," Buzzard said. Mark Azbel, a Soviet dissident who appeared with Robb on David Brinkley's ABC television program, charged that Graham had betrayed religious people in Russia.

There were also some indications, however, that the hot reaction was deliberately one-sided. Moral Majority spokesman Cal Thomas was phoned by NBC radio and asked for a comment on Graham's statements. When Thomas told the reporter he would be glad to speak but would not be critical of Graham, he was not interviewed. Theologian Carl Henry was contacted by an NBC newsmen in New York and told that he could be on national news if he would criticize Graham. Henry declined to do so, even though he was troubled by Graham's participation in the peace conference. Charles Colson, canny about press reports from his days in the Nixon administration, gave Graham the benefit of the doubt. "I admire a guy who takes risks. . . . I don't think the jury is in yet," he said. Colson added that he doesn't put much faith in "fragmented reports from secular reporters."

When Graham was on the Brinkley show, he was interviewed live by satellite relay from England, where he had just arrived from the Soviet Union, and he was largely unaware of the reaction against him building in the West. He wasn't told ahead of time that Robb, Azbel, and others would be on the

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show to ambush him, and he was taken aback at the stridency of the remarks—without time to prepare a defense. This interview was picked up widely by U.S. newspapers, and it fanned the flames.

Graham and the people who accompanied him to Moscow were surprised at the reaction, since European newspapers were generally friendly. Their reports centered on Graham's peace conference speech (see page 20), in which Graham said, "We should urge all governments to respect the rights of religious believers as outlined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

The statement that caused Graham the greatest problem when filtered through the news media reports was his reference to the status of religious freedom in Russia. He made this statement at a press conference and was responding to a question from television reporter Bruce Bowers of WSOC-TV, Charlotte, North Carolina, who was in Moscow. Bowers asked, "Before you arrived, Metropolitan Gregorius [of India] said that this conference dispels the myth that there is no religious freedom in the Soviet Union. Have you reached any conclusion on that subject?"

Here is Graham's response, based on a tape recording of his remarks:

"That [religious freedom] is a relative term, I think, because in the various countries I go to around the world—some 50 in all—there are various kinds of restrictions or various kinds of laws and formulas. Here in the Soviet Union, you have many religions. You have Muslims, Buddhists, various branches of denominations, I think some 40 denominations here in various parts of the country. The country is so huge that it would be impossible for me to come to Moscow and in six days make any personal evaluation.

"There are differences, of course, between religion as it's practiced here and, let's say, in the United States, but that doesn't mean there is no religious freedom. Because, just from my own point of view, not one single person has ever suggested what I put in the address I gave to the congress or the sermons I preached here, and I took the liberty, and maybe sometimes the presumption, of presenting the gospel as I know it to everybody I was with. I didn't want to have one single person without having presented what I believe to be the gospel of Jesus Christ, and I have not had anyone say 'no,' or 'don't tell me,' or 'say this,' or 'say

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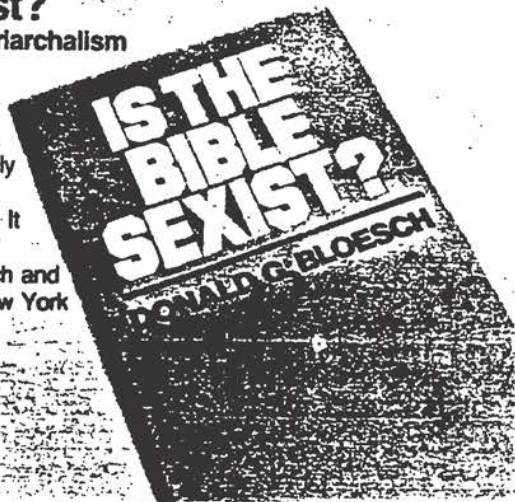
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that.' So I have experienced total liberty in what I wanted to say. So, from my personal experience, I have had liberty."

Bowers then asked, "Are you saying that you agree in effect with Metropolitan Gregorius?"

Graham replied, "Not necessarily. I'm just telling you that I don't know all about it. I've only been to Moscow and I've had all these meetings, and I haven't had a chance [to see everything]. But Saturday night, I went to three Orthodox churches. They were jammed to capacity on a Saturday night. You'd never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina [laugh]. On Sunday morning the same was true of the churches I went to, and it seemed to me that the churches that are open, of which there are thousands, seem to have liberty of worship services."

Graham was also chastized for saying that Russian churches are freer than the Church of England. Here is his full response: "Thousands of churches [in the Soviet Union] are open. Now they may have different relationships [with the state] than, say, they have in Canada or Great Britain. And in Great Britain you have a state church and in other countries you have state churches. Here the church is not a state church. It is a 'free' church in the sense that it is not directly headed, as the church in England is headed, by the queen."

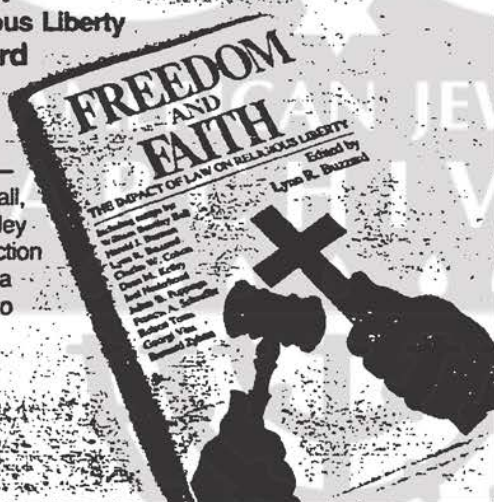
Upon his return to the United States, Graham held a press conference in New York City to defend his statements, and then he was interviewed by CHRISTIANITY TODAY editors. Commenting in the interview on the news stories implying that Graham believed there was more church freedom in the Soviet Union than in Britain, he said, "Never in a million years have I said that." He said he was using the "free church" term in its ecclesiastical sense (as in, for example, the Evangelical Free Church denomination), not its political sense. "That got so out of proportion I couldn't believe it," Graham said. "Of course, today, in an unofficial way, the [Soviet Union] has a great deal to say about the church and, I'm sure, about certain leaders in the church."

In his New York press conference, Graham was asked about the value of preaching at the Baptist church, since there were so many security agents present. Graham replied that he hoped there were plenty of KGB agents present: "Those are the kinds of people I've been trying to reach for a long time"

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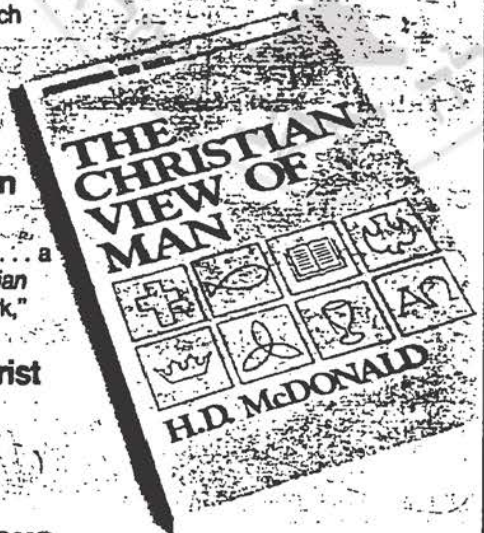
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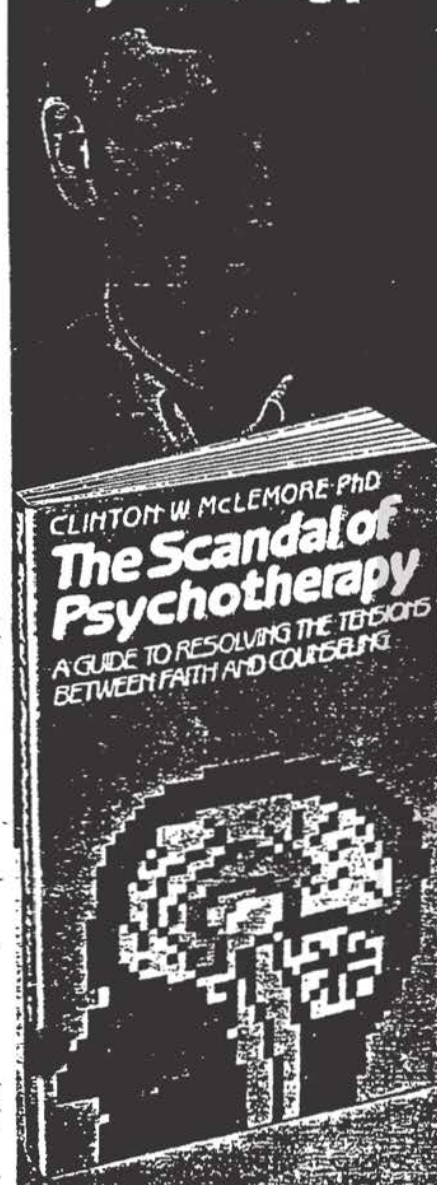
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with the salvation message.

In the interview, Graham flatly denied what was most widely attributed as his main motive—a determination to say nothing that would harm his chances for a full-scale crusade in the Soviet Union.

Graham said that was not the reason he refused to speak strongly in public about Soviet religious persecution. He said he was there to spread the gospel of Christ wherever he could. He said he knew he might be used for propaganda purposes, but he said, "My propaganda is greater than their propaganda." Graham said he met more top Soviet officials than he ever thought he would get to meet, and he said many of them had never before met a Western churchman, let alone an evangelical. To every one, he said he gave a witness of his faith. To only two officials, he said, did he even mention the possibility of conducting a crusade, since he believed it would be out of place to press for it. He estimates his chances of returning as only fifty-fifty.

Regarding the Baptist church service in which the woman was led away for holding up the banner, Graham said he couldn't read the sign, and he didn't understand fully what happened when the reporters accosted him about it. In his New York interview, he said, "What she didn't know (or the press either, apparently) was that I had the names and addresses [of the 150 Christian prisoners] with me, and their pictures, too, and I gave them to the proper person [in the Soviet bureaucracy]." He acknowledged that his list might have been different from hers, because his had only 147 names on it. Graham said that if he had "shouted and screamed" in public and made his trip a big media event, he would have been able to accomplish very little, and certainly would not have been able to see the people whom he did see. He said that experts on Soviet affairs told him this was a proper course to take.

In the interview, Graham also responded to the reports about his preaching on Romans 13 and saying that Soviet Christians should obey their government. He said he was not preaching on Romans, but on John 5 in which Jesus is accused of breaking Jewish law by healing on the Sabbath. The sermon, Graham said, contains a reference to Romans 13, and he said he has preached that same sermon about five times before, during his New England crusade. The Romans 13 passage is such a natural part of the sermon



Rabbi Joshua Haberman (front, left) of the Washington (D.C.) Hebrew congregation and evangelical theologian Carl Henry (front, right) are escorted out of the Soviet embassy in Washington shortly before Graham's visit to Moscow. They delivered a petition expressing grief over Soviet religious intolerance. They spoke with embassy personnel for 40 minutes in what Haberman described as "a verbal minuet danced out in measured time, in which the partners remained completely out of step."

that he used it in Moscow, but he said he believes he did not apply the Romans passage to Soviet Christians. Had he suspected that anyone would apply the Romans reference to the plight of Soviet believers, he never would have used it, he stated.

In the interview, Graham expanded on his relationship to the press and the pressures of being a public figure:

"There is something I have to think about, and all of us do. It's that the time is drawing closer to when I cannot engage in this type of schedule, and all the pressures of being a public figure [Graham is 63]. I was talking to a newsman about it. He was saying, 'The Pope is never exposed to what you're exposed to. You stand naked before the press in every city.' He said there's no other public religious figure who has to face this all the time." Later Graham added, "I'm so different from the rest of them. I'm not sheltered by a big denomination."

He also said in the interview, "I feel that I'm not intellectually, spiritually, or physically capable of carrying this

[responsibility] out to perfection. I walk scared all the time that I'll do something that will bring disrepute to the Lord. It's been many years that I've been doing this, and when issues like this come, I just keep asking the Lord to just "keep me in your will," and I find myself praying almost full-time."

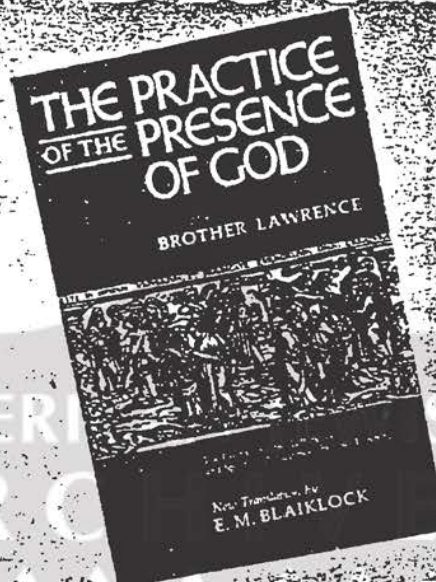
Graham said that in spite of all the ruckus over his Moscow trip, he has a feeling of serenity about it: "I determined that if I did not preach the gospel, that God might remove his hand from me. Now I know that all of this that has come is from the Lord, because I have the greatest sense of peace that I was in the will of the Lord. . . . There might have been one or two little things I would have changed, like that verse of Scripture . . . but I believe the whole thing was of God. Now, I do not see all of that at this moment, but I'll see it in six months, or a year later, or maybe never in this life. But I believe I went in the will of God, and I feel it more strongly now than when I left here."

Although Graham was roundly criticized for saying there was more religious freedom in the Soviet Union than he thought, he is not the only one expressing similar views. A *New York Times* article written from Moscow during Graham's trip noted that the Soviet press frequently mentions the increasing numbers of young Russians who are turning up in churches.

Roy Bell, a Canadian member of the American Baptist church, and a vice president of the Baptist World Alliance, also visited the Soviet Union within recent weeks. He reported seeing "a large measure of freedom in which many Christians operate," and he said the freedom depends on the strength of the local government bureaucracy. He said that conversions to Christianity, as well as baptisms, are taking place, at least in the registered Baptist churches he visited in Moscow, and in Tashkent in Soviet central Asia. The registered churches are those that cooperate with the government's strict laws limiting the practice of religion in the Soviet Union. It is the unregistered congregations, which do not recognize the government's control over religion, that find themselves in trouble.

Graham's serenity in feeling he had done and said in Russia what he felt led to do and say seemed to be matched at home by the public response that began surfacing after initial press reports subsided. As he resumed the New England crusade, which he interrupted to make the Soviet trip (CT,

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May 21, p. 28), the crowds were once again large and responsive, and the mail coming into his Minneapolis headquarters was running in his favor.

TOM MINNERY

Moon Held Guilty of Tax Fraud

Sun Myung Moon, the leader of some 30,000 American Moonies, was convicted of income tax fraud in New York last month. Far from being crushed by the conviction, Moon's followers expect their number to "multiply three times this year."

Moon was convicted of conspiracy to defraud the federal government and filing false income tax returns. Convicted with him was Takeru Kamiyama, one of Moon's top aides. Moon could face up to five years in prison for conspiracy and three years each for three tax counts. (The cult leader lives in the U.S. on a permanent visa, which could be revoked if the conviction stands.) Sentencing is scheduled for July 14, and Moon's attorneys are already planning an appeal.

The main issue at the trial was whether the bank accounts and stock held in Moon's name belonged to him personally or to the Unification Church, which he founded. Specifically, Moon was charged with failure to report \$112,000 in interest earned for \$1.6 million on deposit at the Chase Manhattan Bank, and for receiving \$50,000 worth of corporate shares without declaring them as taxable.

The jury of ten men and two women was instructed to determine if the income belonged personally to Moon and, if so, whether or not Moon had "willfully" failed to report it on his tax returns. Key evidence included documents dealing with loans and finances in the Unification Church's records. The prosecution contended some documents were created long after the transactions they were purported to record, and that the documents had been backdated.

The jury found Moon guilty on its fifth day of deliberation. Mose Durst, president of the Unification Church in the United States, immediately released a statement declaring Moon innocent. He announced the intention of Moon's attorneys to appeal the case and said, "We have the utmost faith that through the court system in America, justice will be done and our spiritual leader fully vindicated." Durst called Moon the "most abused and misunderstood

religious leader of the twentieth century."

Officials of the Unification Church were quick to insist the conviction will not cripple the controversial movement. "Membership will multiply three times this year," said Joy Irvine, director of public affairs. Moonies will not give up because "Rev. Moon has taught us the highest standards of integrity and faith." She added that the Moonie leader has been "unfairly treated many times" and the tax fraud conviction is "no big deal."

Irvine denied that Moon had lied. The damaging documents were back-

dated "out of ignorance," she said. They were old documents from the cult's early days in America, when the persons handling church records were not trained accountants. Any backdating was not intended to be fraudulent she contended, and Moon certainly had no knowledge of any of it. The church has grown since it was incorporated in America in 1961, she said, and it now has professional accountants to train its members in bookkeeping. (Ironically, one of the accounting seminars was being conducted at the church's New York headquarters the very week Moon was convicted.) □

SEPTEMBER 28-OCTOBER 1
Middle East Mosaic: Today's Christians in a Muslim World. Norman A. Horner, Associate Director, OMSC.

OCTOBER 5-8
Jeremiah and Social Upheaval: A Biblical Study for Mission Today. Joseph T. Bayly, Vice President, David C. Cook Publishing Co.

OCTOBER 12-15
Mission Under Authoritarian Governments in Latin America. Eugene L. Stockwell, Associate General Secretary, National Council of Churches.

OCTOBER 19-22
Christian Mission and Social Justice: Witness with Integrity. Waldron Scott, President, American Leprosy Missions, and Ronald White, Associate Director, Princeton Seminary Center of Continuing Education.

OCTOBER 26-29
Where There is No Doctor: Mission and Primary Health Care. Kenneth Brown, M.D., University of Pennsylvania Medical School Faculty; former missionary doctor, Ethiopia and Mexico.

NOVEMBER 2-5
Missionary Preaching: The Gospel in Context. Samuel Kamaleon, Vice-President, World Vision.

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11-23-82

Graham reports an increase in Czech religious freedom

By Darrell Turner
Religious News Service Staff Writer

Religious freedom has improved in Czechoslovakia in the past 10 years, says evangelist Billy Graham, who recently made a preaching visit to that country.

In a telephone interview from his home in Montreat, N.C., the evangelist discussed his recent trip to Czechoslovakia and East Germany and the issue of nuclear disarmament, which has been one of his special concerns in recent years.

Mr. Graham said he was aware of articles on Czechoslovakia which say that "Christians have had a more difficult time there than in any other country in Eastern Europe except Albania." But, he said, his observations led him to conclude that "that is not necessarily true."

"I think that the problems that we have read about have been largely confined to the Roman Catholic Church some years ago," Mr. Graham said. At the same time, he noted that there have been reports of church-state tensions involving some Pentecostals and Jehovah's Witnesses in Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Graham said he felt that "the Baptists have much more freedom now than they had 10 years ago" in Czechoslovakia. As evidence, he related that he was able to ask people making Christian commitments to come forward during his preaching services, whereas in other communist countries he has visited he was able only to ask such persons to raise their hands. When he offered the invitation to come forward in Czechoslovakia, the evangelist said, "they came by the scores."

Mr. Graham acknowledged that since he spent only a few days in the country, "I might not get the total picture." But he said that following his visit he spoke with observers of the religious scene in Czechoslovakia and that they confirmed his impression that the situation "has improved from 10 years ago."

Asked about reports in the West German press that criticized him for spending too much time with government officials in East Germany, Mr. Graham said, "I spent 90 percent of my time with church leaders and with ordinary people."

He said he felt some of the critical articles may have reflected East German restrictions on journalists from West Germany who tried to cover the Graham visit. He related that West German television was permitted to cover only one church service in Berlin during his visit, and that West German reporters were not permitted to travel with the Graham entourage.

Mr. Graham said the West German press, including the religious press, has been divided in its opinion of his evangelism over the years. But he said he has been invited to preach in the country in either 1983 or 1984, and is considering whether he can fit such a visit into his schedule.

Asked for his reaction to the draft pastoral letter on nuclear disarmament being prepared by the U.S. Catholic bishops, the evangelist said he felt "there's ambivalence, some confusion, some division of thought and some differences in thinking" among the bishops on the issue.

He noted that this reflects the diversity of opinion among the American people in general on nuclear disarmament. "I think that there are many concerned people," Mr. Graham said. "The problem is we don't know how to handle this problem."

The evangelist said he wanted to "think through" the disarmament issue in the next few weeks and "write a major article on the subject." He stressed that he is not in favor of unilateral disarmament, but feels the U.S. and Soviet Union should pursue discussions to at least achieve parity in nuclear weapons as a step toward full mutual disarmament.

Asked about reports that a developer wants to purchase his boyhood home in Charlotte, Mr. Graham said, "That was not my boyhood home . . . On the place where my boyhood home was is a big IBM building." He said the house in question was one where he lived with his family between the ages of 11 and 15. After he went to college, he said, he never returned to the home to live.

"That house never did seem quite like home to me," Mr. Graham said, adding that now that both his parents are dead "I have no special attachment to it."

He said he had no opinion on whether the property should be sold or preserved. "I'm leaving that totally to my brothers and sisters," Mr. Graham commented. "It's their place."

Billy Graham says World Council has drifted away from its roots

By Melinda Gipson
Religious News Service Correspondent

AMSTERDAM (RNS)--Billy Graham said here he sees signs that the World Council of Churches will return to its biblical and evangelical roots from which he said it has been drifting for 20 years.

The American evangelist made his comments in an interview here on the eve of an ambitious gathering he has sponsored of 3,850 evangelists from 130 countries.

"I'm praying that the WCC will go back to its roots and that there will be a new emphasis on biblical evangelism, that they'll spend a great deal of time in redemptive theology...concerning the cross, the resurrection of Christ, man's responsibilities in repentance and faith, and call the world to a spiritual revival," Mr. Graham said.

The "International Conference for Itinerant Evangelists" sponsored by Mr. Graham's Minneapolis-based association is being held July 12 to 21.

The World Council of Churches is meeting for its sixth assembly in Vancouver, British Columbia, July 24 to Aug. 10, but Mr. Graham said he will be unable to attend despite an invitation to speak at the assembly.

Internal pressures may bring changes in the WCC, Mr. Graham said. "I'm encouraged...that the WCC is going to take a hard look at itself and I have a feeling that they are going to become more evangelical than they have been. It (WCC) may go back as far as where it was in New Delhi in the early 1960's when the National Missionary Council joined and got swallowed up in it."

Since that time, he went on, the WCC has gotten "further and further" adrift from its evangelical and biblical foundations, "but there's a pressure building up within the church" calling for "realignment."

No official "message" from the evangelistic conference is planned to be sent to Vancouver, though conference organizers say that Mr. Graham has been pressured to do so.

Mr. Graham's evangelical followers have generally been aloof from the ecumenical movement, shying away from social issues--such as attacks on institutional racism--and concentrating on personal conversion efforts.

Mr. Graham said he had been asked to speak at Vancouver, and, "I wanted to go very badly." However, he said, two bouts with pneumonia since Christmas, and the energy needed for the Amsterdam conference, convinced him not to make the trip.

A somewhat subdued, cautious Mr. Graham took center stage at the conference's opening press briefing, perhaps in reaction to some critical reports that have appeared in the media about the gathering. Dutch journalists have criticized Mr. Graham's relationship with Dutch churches because not many were invited to participate in conference planning.

But a Graham staffer said defensively, "After all, this is a conference sponsored by Billy Graham for third world evangelists. How much should we have consulted them (Dutch churches)?"

Conference goals are to equip travelling evangelists, some of whom don't even have complete Bibles, to return to their countries and "as much as double" attendance at their crusades and meetings, Mr. Graham said.

Asked whether he was looking to "clone" himself in the twilight of his ministry, Mr. Graham, 65, said: "Goodness no....I hope nobody will issue as a Billy Graham; each will have his or her own identity and style."

Evangelists didn't just apply to come to Amsterdam, they were recruited. Some 22 search committees around the world sought out participants. Most of the preachers attending preach regularly to no more than 200 to 300 persons at a time. About 400 are women. Only 7 percent have ever been to any kind of conference before, and some are illiterate. India has the largest number of participants; the most from any continent are from Africa.

Asked at the press briefing why no more than 250 out of nearly 4,000 participants came from Europe, Graham alluded to the secularization of the church in Europe, and said that the European church was something like an old man carrying a heavy load--"and that load is tradition."

Another reason for the paucity of itinerant evangelists from Europe was that "new theology has cut the nerve of evangelism" on the continent, though "throughout Europe there are signs of revival," Mr. Graham said.

Graham organization is setting up a worldwide network of evangelists

By Melinda Gipson
Religious News Service Correspondent

AMSTERDAM (RNS)--The more than 3,000 Third World evangelists brought by Billy Graham to Holland won't disappear in the bush when they return home.

Rather, the sponsoring Billy Graham Evangelistic Association plans the largest "follow-up" effort it has ever undertaken.

John Corts, who will lead the follow-up, envisions an international network of itinerant evangelists, conferences such as the one in Amsterdam held on every continent, and schools of evangelism to train lay people.

The Filipino delegation already has plans for a fraternity of itinerant evangelists in the Philippines. The Australian delegation plan a conference for traveling evangelists in November 1984. A fellowship of evangelists already exists in Great Britain, which holds a conference for around 300 preachers every two years.

During the conference, Mr. Corts and a staff of three others interviewed participants to find out what they needed to further their work.

"We're just scratching the surface here of the ongoing efforts as well as needs 'out there,'" Mr. Corts said. He received invitations to individual crusades in such places as Papua, New Guinea, and was asked for support by individual preachers.

"One in India has just married a wife," Mr. Corts said. "He wants us to send him \$68 a month."

The Graham Association won't consider sending individual support checks to the evangelists who came here when they get home. But the preachers won't have to content themselves with only a monthly newsletter either.

The evangelists here were given tape recorders which can be run by batteries, by being plugged into a jeep, by hand winding, or on both types of current.

A tape ministry will be started for those who have players, Mr. Corts said, "lest it could be said that we gave them the technology but denied them the resources to use it."

More importantly, the Graham Association through the conference will become a "catalytic agent" between evangelists and organizations which might be able to supply their needs, Mr. Corts said.

As an example, he said 20 percent of the delegates from Latin America said their greatest need was for Bibles, Scripture portions and Gospel tracts. "We want to the Belgian Bible Society and put the two together," Mr. Corts said.

In all, the shopping list compiled from interviews with evangelists might come to close to \$6.8 million worth of things, like overhead projectors, other media equipment, bicycles. Conference staffers will turn their attention to raising funds for such items on the principle that they aren't likely to meet every need. "But that's no excuse for doing nothing," Mr. Corts said.

Asked if the thrust toward equipping evangelists for a worldwide effort represented a shift for the Graham association, Mr. Corts said, "No...We're like a finger" of the hand that makes up the association. He said he didn't expect the follow-up effort to last more than two years at the most.

Meanwhile Billy Graham, famous for having led millions to Christ in his career, struck out during the course of the conference here witnessing on the streets of Amsterdam. He donned teeshirt, hat and dark glasses over the July 17 weekend and joined some 3,000 itinerant evangelists in a foray onto the streets and beaches of Amsterdam.

In a local square Mr. Graham even had competition from another sort of pastor--a Satanist who was conducting a "reverse baptism" service before a crowd of 2-3,000. Mr. Graham also observed some African and some Pakistani evangelists ply their trade. "They did better than I did," he said.

But as Mr. Graham told a plenary session of the conference later, "sometimes you don't see the results right away...it may take years."

The weekend's experience was the backdrop for Mr. Graham's lecture the next day on how to give an invitation after preaching. Such an invitation to receive Christ is integral to the whole message and should feature as the keystone throughout a sermon, he said.

Preachers here from 130 countries were being trained in the principles of evangelism by one considered to be its master. At the same time, they heard a variety of views on how to approach the political situations in their home countries.

The Rev. E.V. Hill, pastor of Missionary Baptist Church in Mount Zion, Calif. (Watts), said that the black church in America looked to their preacher to be a total leader: preacher, advisor, counselor, politician. "I see no need to get out of the pulpit" to become involved in the community, Mr. Hill told a press conference here. He said he himself once ran for office and now supports the candidacy of Jesse Jackson for president.

On this score, Mr. Hill said he and others close to the Jackson camp had been praying with Mr. Jackson in the last couple of weeks about whether he would announce his candidacy officially. "He's praying for peace about it," Mr. Hill said.

Other opinions came from pastors like Luis Palau, who commented that, as in the case of U.S. President Jimmy Carter and possibly Guatemalan President Efraim Rios Montt, "Perhaps a good Christian is not necessarily a good president and vice versa."

Mr. Palau commended Mr. Montt for "trying" to put an end to some measure of the violence in Guatemala, and added, "You don't turn a nation around by snapping your fingers."

An evangelist, unless he is also a prophet, might be better off staying out of politics, Mr. Palau said, "Just because he is preaching to thousands, he doesn't know any more than my grandmother...He reads the same newspapers as everyone else," the Latin American preacher said.

Billy Graham calls for disarmament

This article was written from dispatches from our correspondents in Prague and Berlin.

Evangelist Billy Graham, who recently completed a tour of the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, called for the destruction of all nuclear armaments which "have the awesome capacity to destroy civilization." He urged that funds freed from arms expenditures be used for social justice, to feed the starving and educate the illiterate.

In both countries he was hosted by Protestant churches in the GDR by the Federation of Evangelical Congregations and in Czechoslovakia by the Baptist Union.

Spending a week in each country, he met with representatives of all major denominations, with leaders of the peace movement and representatives of the organizations of anti-fascist resistance fighters and was also welcomed by government leaders.

During his week's stay in the GDR Dr. Graham was informed of prepara-

tions for next spring's celebrations of the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth. He visited the famed site in Wittenberg where Luther lived and worked for nearly 40 years and where he is buried. In the town's historic city hall he met Mayor Klaus Lippart and emphasized that he viewed his visit to the GDR as "an opportunity to build bridges of mutual understanding among our people."

He was received by President Horst Sindermann of the People's Chamber, the country's parliament.

During a visit to the former Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen, Dr. Graham said that it "constituted a warning for humanity in view of the dangers confronting the human race today." He said that it is as urgent "to undertake steps which will lead to greater confidence and fewer weapons."

In Czechoslovakia Dr. Graham was received by Deputy Premier Matej Lucan. He spoke with enthusiasm about the vitality of the churches saying that "I never spoke to more receptive and reverent audiences" and cal-



U.S. clergyman Dr. Billy Graham (r) holds a press conference in the German Democratic Republic last month. To his left are Manfred Sult (c), president of the Lutheran Parish Federation of the GDR, and Peter Heinrich (l), departmental chief at the GDR's State Secretariate of Church Affairs.

led on all Christians everywhere to work and pray for peace.

At a ceremony at the Slavin monument in Bratislava, honoring those who perished in the struggle of liberation from Hitler fascism, he emphasized the need for cooperation between peoples of different social systems. During World War II, he pointed out, the U.S. and the Soviet Union did not agree ideologically but cooperated to fight their common enemy. While there are many things that divide our

countries today, he said, "we can learn step by step to work together to solve common problems such as the arms race and world hunger."

Summing up his trip to both countries, he said at the end of his stay in the CSSR "I learned much about the concern and anxiety of the human heart for peace... The development and deployment of weapons of mass destruction is not only a political or social issue, it is a moral and spiritual issue as well.

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Graham's Remarks on Soviet Religion Criticized

W.P. 85 5.15.82

From News Services

This was not exactly the best of weeks for America's best-known evangelist.

First, the Rev. Billy Graham, attending a religious peace conference in the Soviet Union, said that he had seen no direct evidence of religious repression in Russia, adding that "there is a lot more freedom [of religion] here than has been given the impression in the States"

Then the next day, as he was preparing to leave for Paris and then London, he praised Soviet churches as "free" unlike Britain's Anglican Church. "This is a free church," Graham said, comparing the Russian Orthodox Church to the Anglican Church, which he said was headed by Queen Elizabeth. "This is not a state church."

The result has been a surge of criticism, tempered by the assumption that Graham faced extremely difficult circumstances.

Moral Majority leader Jerry Fal-

well and other U.S. religious leaders said Graham was used as a propaganda tool and was either badly mistaken or "incredibly naive" in saying the Soviet people have religious freedom.

"I sincerely hope he was misquoted or taken out of context because there is no religious liberty in the Soviet Union," Falwell said.

"Everything the Soviets do is for propaganda purposes," Falwell said, "and for their advantage. I don't think he had any wrong intentions whatever. I think the Soviets had all the wrong intentions."

The Rev. Edmund W. Robb, chairman of the Institute of Religion and Democracy in Washington, said Graham was "manipulated to give legitimacy to a conference controlled by the Soviet government."

"There is no question about his integrity and good intentions, but he is apparently so anxious to be an apostle of peace that he's blinded to some of the realities of the world, one being

Soviet oppression of the church," said Robb, a United Methodist.

The Rev. Gene Owens of Charlotte, N.C., Graham's hometown, said Graham's remarks were misinterpreted and that he does not believe there is total religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

"I think that what he is saying is at a regularly scheduled worship service no one is prohibited from attending . . .," Owens said.

Graham said he attended Russian Orthodox services at three churches one night and all were packed and said, "You'd never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina."

"If Billy Graham were preaching at any church in Charlotte on Saturday, it would be packed," Owens said.

The Rev. Keith Bridston, a Lutheran who heads the U.S. Conference of the World Council of Churches, said such a visit was bound to be misunderstood, but "basically I applaud him for it."

"Perhaps he could have been more candid and critical, but you can't stand off afar and judge someone in a difficult situation," he said.

Graham apparently chose "private representations" with Soviet officials

to try to enhance religious rights there rather than "public outcry," Bridston said, calling both "viable options."

Russell Shaw, public affairs director for the U.S. Catholic Conference, said "It's very easy to second-guess somebody in a difficult situation. Someone else might have done it differently, but I don't see any good in second-guessing Dr. Graham on it. He's no babe in the woods."

"He went with his eyes wide open, knowing the conference was taking place under questionable auspices and probably rigged as a propaganda exercise," Shaw said. "But it was one more opportunity to try to break down walls of fears and suspicions that divide people. Any opportunity is worth making the effort."

However, Robb said "the vast majority of evangelicals are very concerned at Billy's new peace emphasis, and particularly his trip to the Soviet Union"

"I agree that in the circumstances, he should not have openly lambasted the authorities, but neither should he have made a statement that can be construed as apologetic for them," Robb said.

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Billy Graham, Anti-Nuclear Crusader

BOOK REVIEWS

By DINESH D'SOUZA 4.4.84

Billy Graham started out in the 1940s as a fiery fundamentalist whose politics were as pungent as his theology. "Communism is inspired, directed and motivated by the Devil himself," he said in 1949. "America is at a crossroads. Will we turn to the left-wingers and atheists, or will we turn to the right and embrace the cross?"

As he moved out of his fundamentalist enclave and into the world of sophisticates and ecumenists, however, Billy Graham became domesticated. He preached a tactful, if not diluted, message to 800 million Protestants, Jews, Catholics, Mormons and Buddhists across the globe. His politics mellowed so much that in May 1982, he discovered in the Soviet Union a religious freedom that Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and others had apparently overlooked.

The conversion of the Soviet Union, in Billy Graham's mind, from an "evil empire" to a society stumbling toward progress (just like us) played an important role in deflecting him toward the anti-nuclear movement. So he has "grown"—from red-neck fundamentalist to urbane evangelical to ecumenical leader to (the latest phase) anti-nuclear cadet. He has memorized all the code words of the appeasement camp; recently he told *Parade* magazine, "I've come to understand that there are no simplistic answers to the exceedingly complex problems that face us as a country—and as a planet."

The theological appeal of the disarmament cause for Billy Graham is not clear. He has been preaching the imminent Second Coming of Christ for 40 years now, urging people to ready themselves. He agrees with biblical scholars that the imagery in the Bible for Armageddon closely resembles a nuclear exchange. If he believes the arms race will expedite a Second Coming, why is he so agitated about the prospect? After all, it is simply a fulfillment of a longstanding prophecy.

In Billy Graham's latest best-selling book, "Approaching Hoofbeats," (Word Books, Waco, Texas, 236 pages, \$11.95), he writes, "The nuclear problem, like all other major world problems, is ultimately the result of sin." The enemy is not just chess players in the Politburo and the Pentagon, or even loony Third World dictators; he is us, our fallen natures. While this doesn't imply that we should ignore the problem of weapons and human belligerence, it does suggest the inevitability of



Bookshelf

"Approaching Hoofbeats"
By Billy Graham

the arms race: Like death and taxes, it can be postponed but not eluded.

There are great similarities between the rhetoric of the anti-nuclear movement and of the millennialists. Disarmament propaganda, such as Jonathan Schell's "Fate of the Earth" and the ABC-TV movie "The Day After," exhibits a fascination with the details of the last days that exceeds that of the most ardent millenarian. Sharing this urgency, Billy Graham urges evangelicals to "put your ears to the ground and hear the hoofbeats growing louder by the day."

They represent, of course, the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse described in the Book of Revelation. But we can understand them as the four doomsday schools in the world today: millennialists, whose doctrines proclaim an imminent Second Coming; disarmament groups, which ritually reenact nuclear holocaust; the latter-day Malthusians, who fear we are reproducing ourselves into oblivion; and the ecological Jeremiahs, who warn that the earth is sweating out its resources.

Doomsday themes have always been titillating to a large segment of the American population. For some they serve as an eschatological complement to this-worldly optimism; for others they are phantasmagoric rescue from the mundane images of daily life. No wonder "Approaching Hoofbeats" has climbed to the best-seller lists (aided, of course, by the author's enormous personal following). Apocalyptic books sell briskly, maybe because people who believe them feel impelled to *act now*. Come, dear, we'd better get to our local bookstore before the world blows up.

The specific texts on which Billy Graham meditates focus on the Book of Revelation's descriptions of the churches of Laodicea and Ephesus, where members were orthodox but lacked passion, and others in Thyatira and Sardis, where promiscuity had replaced divine worship. Probably the most courageous section of "Approaching Hoofbeats" is its warning against "the rider who rides within the church"—a tongue-lashing for horsemen in clerical garb who steer the church away from the Gospel and toward secular mission. (Billy Graham, despite his political dabblings, isn't one of them.)

This is an apocalyptic book, but its author doesn't indulge in gauche specificity, announcing the details of the "rapture" or setting dates for the big blowup. Whether Billy Graham is right about his central thesis—that we are virtually at the terminus of history—can only be discovered through time; prophecies, like scientific hypotheses, are tested by verification of their ability to predict. But will we be around to congratulate the soothsayer?

Mr. D'Souza is author of a biography of Jerry Falwell, "Before the Millennium," to be published in April by Regnery-Gateway. He is editor of *Prospect* magazine at Princeton University.

statement they said was prepared because of requests for information by legislators and individual Catholics.

Many observers felt the bill was likely to pass this year. Even with the bishops' stand, "I still think it has a good chance this year," said Alex Rodriguez, chairman of the Commission Against Discrimination.

Some other religious groups have also expressed reservations about the bill, principally because of fears the measure would prevent religious groups from firing employees when homosexuality is an issue, a concern cited by the Catholic bishops as well.

A representative of The Christian Science Church told a legislative committee earlier this year that his church wished to protect its "right to establish employee standards."

The Rev. Dr. James A. Nash, executive director of the Massachusetts Council of Churches, said the council's member denominations favor the purpose sought by the anti-discrimination measure but that "we would not want to see any further state encroachment on religion."

At least one religious group has pressed for the bill — the Unitarian-Universalist Association. "We are not asking any special favors but simply equal protection under law," said the Rev. Robert Wheatley, director of that denomination's Office of Lesbian and Gay Concerns.

The Catholic bishops argued that some discrimination based on homosexuality is "a necessary limitation" on personal rights for the common good.

"Homosexuals surely possess all the rights proper to human beings but, as in the case of heterosexuals, these rights should be limited whenever they come into conflict with the rights of others and the common good," the bishops said.

However, the bishops said they will "do all in our power to dispel the unfortunate myths and misunderstandings related to this issue . . . We must state publicly our disapproval of the unjust harassment of homosexuals by members of the heterosexual community. Such behavior is unconscionable and it must be stopped."

Nevertheless they said, "we are of the opinion that this will be achieved only by a process of consciousness raising leading heterosexuals to proper respect for persons who happen to be homosexuals. What we need is education and a change of heart, not new and ill-advised legislation."

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4027

Evangelist sees secularism yielding to 'new age of mission'

By Willmar Thorkelson

Religious News Service Correspondent

EDINA, Minn. (RNS) — When Robert Schuller was in England recently for the conclusion of a Billy Graham crusade in Bristol, he had tea with Malcolm Muggeridge, the British social philosopher.

Mr. Muggeridge said an earlier visitor, the late Fulton J. Sheen, an American Catholic bishop, had told him that "Christendom is dead, but Christ is alive."

Dr. Schuller, preacher on the "Hour of Power" television program, said he has not been able to forget Bishop Sheen's words, which he said will be the theme for his 15th annual Institute for Successful Church Leadership at his Crystal Cathedral in Garden Grove, Calif., next Easter week.

On a visit to the Colonial Church of Edina, in suburban Minneapolis, where he led a conference on "New Possibilities in Ministry," Dr. Schuller said the state of Christendom means that the entire church has to make evangelism a top priority. "We are entering a new age of mission," he said.

The evangelist said that Christendom started dying with the division of church and state that began with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and the influence of secularism has been increasing ever since. He said secularism is succeeding because it obviously meets a human need, but he claimed that the gospel of Christ meets the deepest need.

"Materialism treats people like trash at the end of the road," he said. "Secularism may feed pride, and its materialism is a vehicle to feed the need for glory, but it leads to hell."

He said the world is "getting sick of cynicism" and that "we are being set up for what could be a great new spiritual age."

In an interview before his talk, he explained that "freedom is a two-edged sword. People find

themselves listening to positions that lead to moral decadence they would never have considered before . . . They can see its hollowness and become open to the gospel."

Dr. Schuller said because the human person is made in God's image he/she has "an insatiable need for glory." He charged that theologians have abandoned the doctrine of man (human person) and passed it off to psychiatry.

In spiritual conversion, Dr. Schuller said, the human being who has been an "I-I" or an "I-It" person becomes an "I-You" person concerned with the problems of others. Conversion takes place, he explained, "through the radical process the Bible calls regeneration."

Dr. Schuller said that "one of the central theological issues of our time will be a review of the whole idea of what sin is.

"Sin doesn't mean that I am bad, but it does mean I am lost. To be lost means to have no hope of eternity."

He said he believes in hell because he believes in heaven. "If there wasn't a hell, heaven would be a hell of a place," he quipped.

Shame, he said, is the deepest human emotion that gives you hell on earth. This is the glory of salvation — shame is gone.

"Every person," he continued, "needs one essential friend. Jesus can be your one essential friend. You can spill it all out to him. He will accept you as you are."

Dr. Schuller, a minister of the Reformed Church in America who identifies himself with "main-line Protestantism," said main-line Protestantism "has had a heck of a time fighting fads.

"He who marries the spirit of the age soon will find himself a widower," he said, quoting a familiar phrase.

He emphasized that a person is not saved by faith or possibility thinking or by repentance.

"You are saved by grace," he emphasized.

In the question period, the evangelist said he did not believe in "total depravity" but in "total inability.

"I'm totally unable in my own strength to do anything without the impulse of the Holy Spirit," he said.

He told how the late football coach Paul (Bear) Bryant approached him on an airplane flight shortly before his death, and that he could not be sure he was a Christian. He said Mr. Bryant received assurance when he had him sign a slip of paper on which Dr. Schuller wrote these words:

"My admission to heaven. 'Whosoever cometh unto me I shall in no wise cast out'. . . Jesus Christ."

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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4064

Pope holds Christian unity must be through recognition of papacy

By Religious News Service

GENEVA, Switzerland (RNS) — Pope John Paul II emphasized on a visit here to the World Council of Churches June 12, that the way to Christian unity must be through recognition of the papacy.

The pontiff also urged the churches to join together to defend human rights and liberty of conscience.

On the first day of his five-day pastoral visit to Switzerland, he invited collaboration on defense of human rights.

"The Catholic Church," he said, "desires that other Christian churches and communities should raise their voices along with hers so that citizens' authentic freedom of conscience and worship be guaranteed, as well as the liberty of the churches to train their ministers and to provide them with the means they need to develop the faith of the peoples."