



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
A DIVISION OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE – JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

MS-630: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Digital Collection, 1953-1996.
Series A: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1961-1996.

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Moral Majority/Radical right, 1980-1994.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

Radical Right

June 30, 1986
23 Sivan 5746

Mr. Robert Bialek
6111 Montrose Road #705
Rockville, MD 20852

Dear Mr. Bialek:

Your letter reached our office during Rabbi Schindler's absence. He is not expected to return to his desk for a few weeks. I know he will be grateful to you for having shared your thoughts with him and I thank you in his behalf.

Enclosed is a copy of Rabbi Schindler's remarks at what was to have been a debate with Jerry Falwell. Mr. Falwell was ill and did not appear; Dr. Pat Robertson spoke in his stead. We don't have his text but I think you will be interested in Rabbi Schindler's comments.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

Encl.

PLEASE PARDON ANY SLOPPINESS.
WRITING IS PHYSICALLY
DIFFICULT FOR ME.

ROBERT BIALEK
6111 Montrose Road #705
Rockville, Maryland 20852
(301) 984-1511

Dear Rabbi,

6/23/86

It is most disturbing to hear a leading Rabbi extol the virtues of a gerry Falwell, Falwell numbers among his friends Prime Minister Botha & Rabbi Haberman of Washington Hebrew Congregation. If you are pro-Israel, for whatever reason, Haberman will dispense absolution - whatever your misdeeds.

The disturbing aspect is that Haberman is not alone, Sinclair Lewis was right; "It Can Happen Here." And Haberman & his ilk are paving the way for Falwell's dream of a one religion (& racist) state. His followers are storm troopers of tomorrow.

"Those who don't know history are doomed to repeat it."

Here's hoping Rabbi Haberman's negative influence can be countered.

Sincerely,
Bob Bialek

NATIONAL REVIEW • 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016

Tel. 679-7330

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Editor

April 4, 1985

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your letter, which we will publish.

I am sorry I cannot attend your conference.

With cordial regards,

Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.
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Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Federal Right
B

March 13, 1985

Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr.
Editor, National Review
150 East 36th Street
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Dear Mr. Buckley:

While I do not expect that you will publish a correction, in the interest of accuracy you ought to know that you misrepresented both the timing and the substance of my views in your column entitled "Have we survived Falwell?", published in the Daily News here in New York (February 21) and other papers around the country.

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באמריקה

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE--JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

NEWS RELEASE

Contact: **Richard Cohen**
(212) 758-6969

For Release
Saturday, Nov. 22

Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco
(415) 772-5000

HEAD OF REFORM JUDAISM SEES A LINK BETWEEN RISE OF RADICAL RIGHT AND ANTI-SEMITIC ACTS

Rabbi Schindler, President of UAHC, Calls for 'Coalitions of Decency'
With Protestant, Catholic and Black Groups; He Assails Jewish Groups
That Embrace Fundamentalists Who Support Israel

San Francisco, Nov. 22 --The leader of Reform Judaism in the United States today called on American Jews to reach out to moderate Christians and black groups to form "coalitions of decency against the chilling power of the radical right."

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler of New York, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, also charged that it was "no coincidence that the rise of right-wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since the end of World War II.

"When the head of the 'Moral Majority' demands a 'Christian Bill of Rights,' when a prominent churchman says that 'God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew,' there should be no surprise at reports of synagogues destroyed by arson and Jewish families terrorized in their homes," Rabbi Schindler said, adding:

"That is why I fail to understand organized Jewry's flirtation with this new force on the American political scene. The Jabotinsky Foundation presents its award to the founder of the Moral Majority, Jerry Falwell; the Anti-Defamation League offers its national platform to TV evangelist Pat Robertson of the Christian Broadcasting Network; and JNF groves are dedicated to them both. All this is madness -- and suicidal as well.

"To be sure, they say good words about Israel and we must be grateful for that. And yet, can someone really be good for Israel when everything else he says and does is destructive of America and undermines the safety of its Jewish community. Let us not honor those whose works are anathema to everything for which we stand.

"I do not accuse Jerry Falwell and Bailey Smith of deliberately inciting anti-Semitism. But I do say that their preachments have an inevitable effect. Note if you will that Smith's first statement concerning the non-acceptability of Jewish prayer was quickly followed by his more recent pronouncement that Jews have 'funny looking noses.' The earlier comment may have been classic Christian doctrine. But how shall we label the latter? That's not fundamentalism. That's plain, old-fashioned anti-Semitism -- Julius Streicher with an Oklahoma twang.

"Jerry Falwell tells us that only one brand of politics is acceptable to God. Bailey Smith tells us that only one brand of believers is acceptable to God.

"It is no wonder that those who hold different political views should be branded as 'Satan' and that those who hold different religious beliefs should become the victims of vandals who respond by attacking synagogues and stoning Jews."

Rabbi Schindler was sharply critical of Jewish groups that he said were "eager to make accommodation to the Christian right and grab whatever short-term gains there may be at the expense of integrity and self-respect.

Jewish Groups That Embrace Right-Wing Preachers Assailed

"I do not suggest that Jews should stand alone against the Christian right, polarizing the struggle into a religious war. Rather, I urge that we seek allies among our Christian neighbors."

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He explained: "We will disagree on the Middle East with the National Council of Churches, which only last week issued an unconscionable statement supporting the PLO, but we must work with them on free choice in abortion, on gun control, strategic arms limitation and a host of significant issues.

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"The ground for cooperation and alliances is fertile -- but there is no time to waste."

On the role of religious movements in political affairs, Rabbi Schindler said:

"We do not deny the right of any Americans to influence the elections, but as Jews we cannot but shiver when the director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress speaks of the 'Christianizing of America.' We cannot but rebel when we hear that it is a sin to vote for a particular candidate."

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Rabbi Schindler conceded that Jewish attitudes toward new right leaders were complicated by the support many Christian evangelicals give to the state of Israel.

He continued:

"We who love Israel seek allies among all Americans. But we cannot be blind to the fact that the deepest reasons for the backing given to Israel by evangelical fundamentalists are theologically self-serving.

"They believe Jesus cannot return for the second coming until the Jews are regrouped in their biblical homeland and then converted to Christianity. They believe further that even devout Jews are not welcome in heaven.

"So let us welcome all those committed to Israel's security and survival. But let us not deceive ourselves as to the reasons for that support. And let us not honor policies that threaten the very values of religious pluralism and respect for the rights and beliefs of others on which our own security as Jews is based."

Rabbi Schindler continued:

"If sectarian doctrine becomes the test of political opinion, the Jewish community is lost. If tens of millions of TV viewers who make up the parishoners of the electronic church are told that only one brand of politics is acceptable unto God, the terrible danger of intolerance grows apace.

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"The idea of a Christian republic is an ominous threat to every American. For Jews, it is a cause of deep anxiety as well. That anxiety is not imaginary, as the mounting number of reports of attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions makes clear.

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'A Struggle for the Soul of America'

Rabbi Schindler concluded: "What has begun is a struggle for the character and the soul of America. It may endure for many years, transcending the immediacies of politics and elections. It is not a battle that Jews alone can win. Just as we believe that the radical right poses a threat to the very institutions which make up America's democratic society, so do we affirm that anti-Semitism is an assault on the fabric of American life.

"Both must be counteracted by the entire American community. Both require the mobilization of interfaith and intergroup coalitions of decency speaking out against bigotry, whether the source be religious or political."

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Moral Majority
Robert R. R.

March 13, 1985

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Perhaps over the years all of us (Falwell included) have become a bit more mellow, less hyperbolic. I have invited Jerry Falwell to address the UAHC's fifth biennial Consultations on Conscience, Sunday, April 14, 1985 at 8:00 p.m. in Washington, D.C. and he has accepted. He and I will speak on the same topic: "The Role of Religion in Politics."

You are invited to attend what I hope will be a stimulating and enlightening meeting.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Radical Right

December 28, 1984

Rabbi Israel Zoberman
Temple B'rith Shlom
1004-1008 South Fourth Street
Springfield, Illinois 62703

Dear Israel:

Many thanks for sending to me a copy of your fine column on
"Responding to the New Right. Well done!

I thank you for your good wishes for the secular New Year.
Be assured, Rhea and I reciprocate them fully to you and your
loved ones.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Radical Right

June 30, 1986
23 Sivan 5746

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FEB-21-85

ONLY six months ago, it strains the memory to recall, the great internal public issue of the day appeared to be the romance between church and state, with Ronald Reagan, as the suitor, in high tumescence. In America, great national issues have a way of just disappearing. (I even forget now who promoted McCarthyism, for instance.) Even the general attitude toward Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority seems to be a little less than the boil level at which it has been sustained for so long.

The publication of a book, *Falwell: Before the Millennium* by the talented young writer Dinesh D'Souza reminds us of the kind of thing responsible, or rather generally responsible, people have been saying. Would you believe that Rabbi Alexander Schindler, the well-known president of

the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, actually said back then that the Moral Majority was responsible for "the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism since the era of World War II"?

As a matter of fact, the reference began by confusing those of us who had been unaware of an outbreak of anti-Semitism during World War II, which continues to remind most of us of the revelation of the horrors of anti-Semitism. But somewhere along the line it became clear that the Rev. Jerry Falwell is the most pro-Israel national figure since Ben Gurion. Norman Lear spoke of "fascism masquerad-

ing as Christianity." It was never quite clear what was fascistic about Falwell except that he opposes pornography, along with such other men of fascist leaning as Irving Kristol, Walter Berns and Oliver Wendell Holmes. George McGovern called Falwell "a menace to the American political process," which, however, he would also call anyone who voted Republican.

And of course the greatest spectacle of them all was provided by the president of Yale, Bartlett Giamatti, who addressed the freshman class and warned it against the awful perils of the Moral Majority. He left Yale students so fright-

ened that the Whiffenpoofs disbanded in order to practice guerrilla warfare, against the day Falwell took over the government.

We have, in America in recent years, been terribly — I once swore never to use the word, but here it is indispensable — uptight about church and state. Europe, notwithstanding its bloody history of religious warfare, is both relaxed on the subject and eclectic. France and Portugal are the two countries in which church and state are most rigorously separated. But religion is taught in the French lycees, often by chaplains, because religion is considered to

be a part of general education. In Belgium the state pays salaries to all clerics, including rabbis. In West Germany, the government supports its churches finally through a payroll tax, no less.

Up until 1952, in great big open-hearted liberal Sweden, no Catholic could serve in the Cabinet, nor teach in an elementary school. Catholic Swedes who wanted a passport needed to get a certificate of good moral behavior from a Lutheran pastor. A generation ago, Norway would not permit a Jesuit to enter its country, and in Switzerland, Jesuits were not allowed to preach. Great Britain, of course, has an established church, currently engaged in examining such questions as the virgin birth and the divinity of Christ, which means that the Church of England is not threatening Norman Lear.

Have we survived Falwell?

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY Jr.



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While I do not expect that you will publish a correction, in the interest of accuracy you ought to know that you misrepresented both the timing and the substance of my views in your column entitled "Have we survived Falwell?", published in the Daily News here in New York (February 21) and other papers around the country.

You began: "Only six months ago...the great internal public issue of the day appeared to be the comance between church and state..." You then referred to me by saying: "Would you believe that Rabbi Alexander Schindler, the well-known president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, actually said back then that the Moral Majority was responsible for 'the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism since the era of World War II'?"

Correction: It was not "back then" (presumably "only six months ago") that I spoke of the Rev. Falwell, but on Saturday evening, November 22, 1980.

You wrote you were "unaware of an outbreak of anti-Semitism during World War II."

I did not use the term "since the era of World War II" but rather "since the end of World War II." And the statistics recording anti-Semitic incidents during that year confirm my assertion.

I did not say that the Moral Majority was "responsible for 'the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism...'" What I did say was that "it was 'no coincidence that the rise of the right-wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since the end of World War II,'" and I added:

"When the head of the Moral Majority demands a 'Christian Bill of Rights,' when a prominent churchman says that 'God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew,' there should be no surprise at reports of synagogues destroyed by arson and Jewish families terrorized in their homes..."

Mr. William F. Buckley, Jr.
March 13, 1985
Page -2-

"I do not accuse Jerry Falwell and Bailey Smith of deliberately inciting anti-Semitism. But I do say that their preachments have an inevitable effect....Jerry Falwell tells us that only one brand of politics is acceptable to God. Bailey Smith tells us that only one brand of believers is acceptable to God. It is no wonder that those who hold different political views should be branded as 'Satan' and that those who hold different religious beliefs should become the victims of vandals who respond by attacking synagogues and stoning Jews."

Perhaps over the years all of us (Falwell included) have become a bit more mellow, less hyperbolic. I have invited Jerry Falwell to address the UAHC's fifth biennial Consultations on Conscience, Sunday, April 14, 1985 at 8:00 p.m. in Washington, D.C. and he has accepted. He and I will speak on the same topic: "The Role of Religion in Politics."

You are invited to attend what I hope will be a stimulating and enlightening meeting.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Radical Right

December 28, 1984

Rabbi Israel Zoberman
Temple B'rith Shlom
1004-1008 South Fourth Street
Springfield, Illinois 62703

Dear Israel:

Many thanks for sending to me a copy of your fine column on
"Responding to the New Right. Well done!

I thank you for your good wishes for the secular New Year.
Be assured, Rhea and I reciprocate them fully to you and your
loved ones.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Acknowledge
of Honor.

12-24-84

From the desk of
RABBI ISRAEL ZOBERMAN, D. Min.

Dear Alex,

Post- Chanukah greetings to you
and yours for a rewarding 1985!

Shalom,
Israel

Guestwork

by Rabbi Israel Zoberman



Responding to the New Right

One of the poignant lessons of the Jewish people's story is not to take for granted a hospitable environment which confers equality on all its children. That must mean that we have a stake in preserving and enhancing the quality of American life. Eternal vigilance is the non-negotiable price that comes along with the precious benefits of a democratic system of government.

America has flourished, due in large measure to its built-in pluralism, a pluralistic texture that would unravel without one essential thread—the traditional separation between church and

state as guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution.

That principle has been under attack by forces committed to replacing the enviable American way of life with their own sectarian vision. The vision to which I refer is that of the New Religious and Political Right, a powerful bloc embracing potentially 50 million Americans. It already flexed its considerable muscle at the 1980 elections, and has kept faithful to its promise to try to change America as we know it. The events of the last four years have proven that the proponents of America as a Christian nation are rather creative and resourceful. Let us not take lightly a movement with a sense of mission, particularly one with a mixture of religious and political aspirations that also happens to have friends in some of the highest offices in the land.

I assume that the New Right counts the Jews among those who will yet have to see the light, in spite of the Rev. Falwell's flirtation with the State of Israel.

There is surely a no better place to begin implementing one's radical plan than in the mind of a child. It is no wonder then that our public schools have turned into contested arenas, with children becoming pawns in a scheme to recreate American society. I believe that God should, indeed, be present in our public educational system, but not in a sectarian manner upholding a certain religious approach clearly identified or nebulous. God is found where caring, sensitivity, concern, and learning permeate the classroom, where a student's and teacher's religious heritage is not compromised by undue pressure to conform to enforced guidelines of religious expression of whatever type.

The Book of Genesis was not intended to be a scientific textbook. Its thrust was and remains to instill an appreciation for sacred ideas and values. The cause of religion is best served when its teachings and guidelines are expounded upon in one's church and synagogue, where interpretation is offered according to one's traditions.

While we should be candid about our fundamental disagreement with the New Christian Right, we are duty-bound to emphasize to its supporters and to ourselves that we share a common agenda of concerns.

☐ The need to strengthen family life.

☐ The significance of values and ideals in a pervasively secular and materialistic society.

☐ The positive contribution religion can make to the individual and community.

☐ We have to consciously remedy the ills and shortcomings in our society.

Working together on these weighty issues would hopefully allow us the opportunity to also discuss differences of purpose and approach. Our opponents need to know that a wrong kind of medication can be fatal to a patient. So it is with improper means employed toward beneficial goals.

We Jews are not alone in our apprehension. It behooves us to create coalitions with concerned Americans across lines of religious and political affiliation. Thus will we respond more effectively to the challenges confronting the entire American system.

A time of crisis is also a time of opportunity. May we all dedicate ourselves anew to the kind of America we dare not do without. □

Israel Zoberman is the rabbi at Temple B'rith Sholom in Springfield.

Radical Right

Radical
Right

October 15, 1984

Mr. Jo Salwen
4 Hawthorne Lane
Westport, Connecticut

Dear Jo:

Unfortunately I have to deplore your letter, for it betrays a measure of innocence concerning the American Jewish community and its articulated positions.

The Jewish community has not at all been silent on the matter of the Christian right. We have spoken up forcefully and with near unanimity on this subject. I would venture to say that 90 percent of the rabbis in the United States made this their central theme during the past high holydays, nor have we been silent in the public arena either.

Just as an example, strong statements of mine were included in Time Magazine and in Newsweek both, two or three weeks ago. I was quoted extensively in The New York Times, in the Washington Post, in the Wall Street Journal and I appeared on news programs on every one of the major networks. Many other Jewish leaders were represented in like fashion. In other words, "our Jewish community has spoken" and is continuing to speak quite clearly.

Nor are we Johnny-come-latelys on this particular scene. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations - the parent body of Reform Judaism in America and the largest American Jewish organization, which I head - warned about the "emerging Christian right" as early as 1978, long before most of the other civic organizations were aware of this danger, and we have spoken regularly and forcefully on this subject ever since. Through our Religious Action Center in Washington we organized several effective coalitions to fight the moral majority, and we have published books and materials and even video tapes warning of this danger and bestirring our people to act against it.

Mr. Jo Salwen
October 15, 1984
Page - 2 -

Perhaps you are getting your impressions of the Jewish community from the editors of Commentary Magazine and some of their fellow travelers who occasionally write articles and Op-Ed pieces in The New York Times and in the Wall Street Journal. But you ought to know that Commentary Magazine is not exactly respected in the Jewish community; very few consider this publication as reflective of the consensus in our ranks.

I hope, therefore, that you'll put your mind to rest.

As a matter of fact, I would venture to guess that the majority of America's Jews will vote Democratic this time 'round. No less than 55 percent, perhaps as many as 60 or 65 percent, in my judgment, will pull the Democratic lever (and this despite the Jackson-Farakhan fiasco). About the only ones who will be firmer in Mondale's camp will be our traditional allies of the black community.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

bcc: Mr. John Simon

~~No further~~

Oct 17, 1984
Dear Rabbi Schindler:
Thank You for taking
your time for response and
enlightenment.
I do feel reassured.
I separate Reagan from the
moral maprity even tho
they are mutually supportive.
I read the Times not com-

mentary but will look
for your stated position
with greater care.

Thanks again
Jo Salwen

Jo Salwen

RA DICAL
Right

March 29, 1982

Rabbi David Saperstein
Religious Action Center
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036

Dear David:

Your letter to Josh Haberman is superb. Thank you for sharing it with me. You have also given me material which will be helpful in responding to others who question our stance in regard to the Religious Right.

With fondest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

(Code 202) 387-2800

Co-Director: ALBERT VORSPAN

Co-Director and Counsel: RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

Religious Action Center

Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

צדק צדק חרדך

Justice, Justice Shalt Thou Pursue

March 16, 1982

Rabbi Joshua Haberman
Washington Hebrew Congregation
3935 Macomb St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Josh,

Two reactions to recent columns in the bulletin. First, I thought the nuclear armaments one was superb. Actually, if you don't mind, I'd like to distribute it to other rabbis as a sample column.

I thought the column on the Religious Right was also superb-- but absolutely wrong. You have slain a straw dummy which you built. Give me one example, not twenty, not ten, not five, but just one single example of a leading Reform Jewish figure (or anyone for that matter) who has argued that the support of the Religious Right for Israel is "a hypocritical strategy, a ruse, designed to soften up Jews before trying to convert them." Give me one example where in Reform Judaism's articles it was asserted or insinuated that these groups "would soon turn into a Nazi-like movement." You certainly shouldn't attribute letters-to-the-editor as being the position of the paper. Give me one example of where Schindler, Saperstein, or Vorspan or anyone else in the Reform Movement has accused these groups of "subversion" or "organized violence." I won't go through the whole article but you have totally misrepresented Schindler's position and that of Reform Judaism. So what did the article prove: that if we had been saying these things we would have been wrong. That's hardly worthy of your thoughtfulness and your sense of accuracy and fairness.

As to the other points which you accurately ascribed to "these alarmists," what about their merits? First, Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson were the only Religious Right types to have said anything against the AWACS sale. What did they do? They signed one newspaper ad and one letter, respectively. Only one. They refused to make any calls. They didn't come to the news conferences. They didn't lobby their congressional supporters. And none of the other leaders did anything at all on the issue. You didn't mention that in your article.

Parenthetically, why did Falwell and Robertson do anything at all? Precisely because there were Reform Jewish leaders who were the only Jews that had access to them. When we asked them to help, they agreed, albeit in this limited fashion. You didn't mention that in your article.

When push came to shove, how many of the Religious Right types in the Senate voted with us? Only one-- D'Amato (and I need not tell you that any move on his part to do otherwise would have been political suicide in New York). Except for him, we lost every one of the Religious Right types. Every one. On the other hand, we

got every member of the Black Caucus. We got every vote cast by the Hispanic Caucus. The major opposition to the AWACS sale came from the liberal democrats and republicans in the Congress. Outside the Congress, the most stringent opposition emanated from the labor unions. You didn't mention that in the article.

"I do not know of a single anti-semitic incident which may be charged to Christian conservatives." Now, I don't know how you define anti-semitic. How about Bailey Smith's remarks on Jewish noses or Jewish prayers? While he's apologized, the Moral Majority leaders haven't. Consider:

Reverend Jerry Falwell in Long Island Magazine 3/22/81

"At the risk of stereotyping people, I'm saying that, as far as controlling the media and the city is concerned, Jews are blessed by God. They have abilities in finances that others don't have."

Rev. Dan C. Fore, chairman of N.Y. state Moral Majority chapter
"God has given them Jews talents He has not given others. They are His chosen people. Jews have a God-given ability to make money, almost a supernatural ability to make money." He also said, "They control the media, they control this city."

conversation between Falwell and journalist Joe Klein

Falwell: Dan Fore is a fine young man.

Klein: But he believes that unless Jews acknowledge Jesus Christ as their savior, they're condemned to eternal hell.

Falwell: Well... most of your fundamentalists believe that.

Klein: Do you?

Falwell: Yes. Of course, you have Orthodox Jews who believe that we're condemned to hell too.

Incidentally, what Schindler did say about the Religious Right and anti-semitism was not that they were anti-semitic but:

Surely it is no coincidence that the rise of right-wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since World War II. Don't misunderstand me. I do not say that the Jerry Falwells are deliberately fomenting anti-Jewish sentiments and violence. But I do say that their preachments have that inevitable effect. When ministers assert before thirty million parishioners that only one brand of politics has God's approval why, then, intolerance takes rootage.

Most importantly, it is the Religious Right groups which are the staunchest supporters of that legislation which would undermine the jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court and the federal court system. Far out "alarmists" like Barry Goldwater remark that:

The uncompromising position of these groups is a divisive element that could tear apart the very spirit of our representative system, if they gain sufficient strength. As it is, they are diverting us away from the vital issues that our government needs to address.... And I'm frankly sick and tired of the political preachers across this country telling me as a citizen that if I want to be a moral person, I must believe in "A", "B", "C", and "D". Just who do they think they are? And from where do they presume to claim the right to dictate their moral beliefs to me?

Way-out groups like the American Bar Association have maintained:

... one overriding conviction: the necessity to protect the integrity of the courts of this Nation, federal and state, from misdirected

legislative efforts to achieve something that can only be done through constitutional amendment. The issue is not abortion; it is not busing; it is not prayer in public schools; it is not any of a number of things that may occasion dissatisfaction with particular decisions. We are sure that the Members of the Association have many various positions on these substantive questions, as we do. But the real issue, the only issue, is whether, as a matter of policy and of constitutional permissibility, this Nation is going to adopt a device whereby each time a decision of the Supreme Court or a lower federal court offends a majority of both Houses of Congress the jurisdiction of the federal courts to hear that issue will be stripped away. We do not believe that is a system the Framers intended nor one that we should strive to institute.

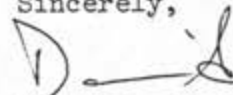
We do not believe the great rights set out in the First, Fourth, Fifth, and other provisions of the Constitution "amount to nothing." We deem it critical to their continued meaningfulness that these bills under consideration and others like them be defeated.

Every Jewish organization in America has opposed the Religious Right's activities in these areas. But, not a word about that in your article. Josh, there are many valid things one could say about the Religious Right groups. They have pointed out serious problems in American society. They challenge us to deal with issues involving the breakdown of morality of the family, authority, and the school system. But their answers-- to legislate their religious beliefs into the law of the land-- is bad for America and bad for those who do not accept their religious values.

Certainly, we should continue to talk with them while we criticize their political platform. We have been doing that. That is why we have better contact with them than almost any other Jewish organization. Such discussion is a necessity if we are to teach these groups about Jews and if we are going to transform their amorphous, theological support for Israel into concrete political support.

I am enclosing a copy of a talk I gave last year which spells out where and why I oppose the Religious Right. Let's deal with the real issues-- not straw men.

Sincerely,



Rabbi David Saperstein

RDS/rjs
enclosures

cc: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler ✓
Mr. Albert Vorspan

P.S. I am enclosing today's Washington Post article that I thought raised some superb issues.



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THE TEMPLE JOURNAL

(USPS 358-060)

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Macomb St. at Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016

FRIDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 26

EARLY SERVICE AT 5:45 P.M.

LATE SERVICE AT 8:30 P.M.

RABBI WEINBERG Will Speak

"On Golden Pond: Across the Generations"



SATURDAY MORNING

FEBRUARY 27 AT 10:30 A.M.

Sermonette By RABBI HABERMAN

Bar Mitzvah of David Wagner

Bar Mitzvah of Todd Alan Waldman

AS I SEE IT...

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman

Our New "Right Wing" Evangelical Friends

Ever since President Reagan's landslide victory in 1980, various analysts have focused considerable attention upon the evangelicals, especially those associated with the "Moral Majority." It is generally agreed that the support of this voting bloc was decisive for the President's election. The emergence of some 60 million fundamentalist Christians with a dominantly conservative outlook as a major political power in America is a fact to be dealt with the greatest care and wisdom by non-Christians, particularly Jews.

Unfortunately, public reactions by several prominent Jewish leaders on the sub-

(continued on page 4)



A New Celebration For The Whole Family

SHUSHAN SHINDIG '82, MARCH 7

We are pleased to announce a totally new and revised format for our Purim celebration this year. The celebration will take place on Sunday, March 7, at 12:00 noon, at the Julia Bindeman Suburban Center, immediately following Religious School. There will be an early dismissal at 11:30 a.m. from the Temple with bus transportation for those who desire it. The afternoon activities will begin with lunch in the multipurpose room. Sandwiches, hot dogs, hamantaschen and Purim delicacies of all kinds will be available.

Food stands will continue to be open throughout the afternoon's activities.

The main feature of this Purim celebration will be a fantastic series of Purim workshops and activities including making your original gregger, creative masks, costume and make-up booths, a hamantaschery (gourmet cooking for the holidays), calligraphy, inscribing your own Purim proclamation, a super treat "Bait-a-Haman," participation in a Purim spiel and seeing yourself live on TV. There will also be the traditional booths and games with prizes.

The afternoon promises to be an unusual treat for adults and children. It is a wonderful opportunity for the whole family to share creative experiences and the holiday celebration together. Join us for a joyous and unforgettable holiday celebration.

Purim Family Dinner, March 8

See page 3

RETROSPECTIVE EXHIBITION TO OPEN MARCH 5

The Fine Arts Committee of WHC will present a Retrospective Exhibition in honor of the recently deceased artist, Judy Lee Gilbert, opening Friday, March 5, in Ring Hall following services.

Judy Lee Gilbert studied at The Ameri-

(continued on page 5)

SUNDAY SCHOLAR, FEBRUARY 28



PROFESSOR MARSHA ROZENBLIT

"The Vienna of Theodor Herzl: Assimilation and Jewish Identity" is the topic of Professor Marsha Rozenblit, faculty member since 1978 at the University of Maryland, in modern Jewish history, at the Scholar Series lecture on Sunday, February 28, 10:30 a.m., at the Temple.

Professor Rozenblit previously served as instructor at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Her publications include a major study on the topic, "The Assertion of Identity: Jewish Student Nationalism at the University of Vienna Before World War I" to be published in the forthcoming edition of the prestigious *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook, 1982* and her book, *Assimilation and Identity: The Jews of Vienna, 1867*, to be published by the State University of New York Press.

The next lecture in our Scholar Series will be Sunday, March 7, when Professor William Hallo will speak on the topic: "The First Purim: An Assyriologist Takes a New Look at an Old Story".

INSIDE THIS JOURNAL

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AS I SEE IT . . .

(continued from page 1)

ject have lacked both wisdom and statesmanship. With extreme haste, before there was even a chance to properly identify and differentiate between the large assortment of Christian groups that are lumped together under the "Moral Majority," some of our leaders, like Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, rushed to denounce them in the sharpest possible terms. Immediately they were branded as a "threat." Articles and letters to the editors in the Jewish press, especially in *Reform Judaism*, insinuated that these "right wing extremists" had an antisemitic bias and would soon turn into a Nazi-like movement.

When, quite to the contrary, Moral Majority leaders rendered public and political support to Israel, these alarmists dismissed it as a hypocritical strategy, a ruse, designed to soften up Jews before trying to convert them in preparation for the Second Coming.

Enough time has elapsed to test out some of the charges and allegations against evangelical Christians in general and the "Moral Majority" in particular. To this date, no evangelical leader has been charged in any American court with political misconduct. There is no evidence that evangelical right wing conservatives seek to operate outside accepted channels of our democratic process. There's been no report of subversion or organized violence under the inspiration or guidance of the Moral Majority. I do not know of a single antisemitic incident which may be charged against the record of right wing Christian conservatives or officials of the Moral Majority. As for their so-called "extremism," it is no different from the conservatism of many millions of conservative Americans of various other faiths.

Now, what about their professed friendship for Israel? The other day, I attended a National Prayer Breakfast for Israel at the Shoreham Hotel sponsored by evangelical Christians, many of them identified with the Moral Majority. Among the three to four hundred guests from across the nation were about thirty Jews. Seated on the dais were several Congressmen, Senators and a dozen prominent evangelical ministers from all over the country, including the notorious Rev. Bailey Smith, President of the Southern Baptist Convention, who shocked us with his remark, later withdrawn with apologies, that God does not hear the prayers of a Jew. The gist of about six opening and closing prayers and five short addresses was: We love Israel. Jews have a right to a free and secure State of Israel. It is the only true democracy in the Middle East, America's best friend and ally. Arabs are freer and better off under Israelis than anywhere else.

The Rev. Bailey Smith reported his impressions of a two-week tour he made to Israel with twelve Southern Baptist and eight Jewish leaders. He was received by Israel's President Navon, the new Ambassador to the United States, Moshe Arens,

A SPECIAL THANK YOU

Sisterhood would like to thank all those who have helped as supervisors and hostesses for Oneg Shabbat during 1981:

Supervisors: Judy Johl, Beverly Kligman, Lillian Levin, Sarah Poll, Hilda Sommes;

Hostesses: Yvette Kraft, Ellen Forman, Mrs. Rosalie Sussman, Mrs. Harold Popkin, Mrs. Hy Bronrott, Mrs. Anita Singer, Mrs. Esther Potash, Mrs. Annabette Kaufman, Mrs. Fran Nathanson, Mrs. Phyllis Cowen, Mrs. Sheila Garfinkle, Mrs. Levy, Mrs. JoEllen Fishman and Mrs. Gusdorf.

Anyone interested in serving as a hostess for Oneg Shabbat should contact Deborah Epstein at 985-1974.

Bar/Bat Mitzvah Families have provided hostesses and their names have appeared in the *Temple Journal* during the year.

former Prime Minister Rabin, he stayed in a kibbutz, he saw Lebanese Arabs receive medical help in Israeli hospitals, and concluded: Israelis are beautiful people. The land is still the Promised Land and the promise must be fulfilled to the Jews. When asked on a CBS interview what should be America's policy if continued support for Israel leads to another cut-off of oil, he replied: "Even if Americans must turn down the thermostat and wear sweaters, we shall support Israel."

The Prayer Breakfast ended on an emotional high when a gospel singer led the group in the singing of Israel's national anthem, the Ha-Tikvah, first explaining it as the song of hope "we all share."

In my assessment of evangelical Christians in America, I have reached seven conclusions:

1. They are not a bubble that will burst, but a permanent major force to be reckoned with whose constituency has been identifiable for nearly 150 years.

2. Their interest in the return of the Jews to the land of Israel is not a "Johnny-come-lately" gesture but may be traced back several generations. The first American Zionists were not Jews but evangelical Christians. The recognition of Jewish rights to the land of Israel is a cornerstone of their theology.

3. Whereas previously evangelical Christians were primarily interested in the land of Israel as the "Holy Land," today they enthusiastically endorse its modernization, cultivation, and the social experiment of the kibbutz movement. They admire Israel as a political entity and military power. They identify with Israel both politically and religiously.

4. How sincere is this friendship for Israel? Among Christians who now account for half of all tourists visiting Israel, evangelicals are a major and ever-growing group. Politically they are the only ardent friends of Israel among the major Christian denominations of America. They have proven their commitment in words and

ISRAEL TRAVEL OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH

The UAHC Youth Division sponsors a wide range of summer, semester and long programs in Israel especially for young people from Reform congregations.

Known as "NFTY in Israel," the program offers high school and college students unforgettable summers and semesters exploring the wonders of Israel. The programs are designed for individuals with a wide variety of interests. One can participate in extensive camping trips in the Galilee, explorations of Israel's modern cities, as well as special programs for those interested in kibbutz life, Hebrew language and more.

In addition to these summer programs, the UAHC has designed to meet every interest of the "NFTY in Israel" offers fully accredited academic programs for college students.

For further information, contact the UAHC in Israel, (212) 249-0100, or Rabbi David S. Saper, (212) 362-7100.

ATTENTION COLLEGE STUDENTS

The UAHC College Education Committee, in conjunction with the Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, announces a "Sambatyon," a Reform Jewish weekend that will take place at the University of Pennsylvania from March 7-9, 1982. The scholar-in-residence, Rabbi Richard Address, the Director of the UAHC Pennsylvania Council, will conduct workshops and discussions on "Jewish View on Biomedical Ethics." The fee for the weekend is \$15.00. Students will be housed at the Harnwell House, 100 Locust in Philadelphia, Pa.

To participate, call Laura Rabinowitz at (215) 287-5477 or Amy Schwartz at (215) 222-3373. Or write Amy Schwartz, 3700 Spruce St., Philadelphia 19104.

deeds, financial contributions and action.

5. There is no sign of any step-back of Christian evangelical missionary activity among Jews.

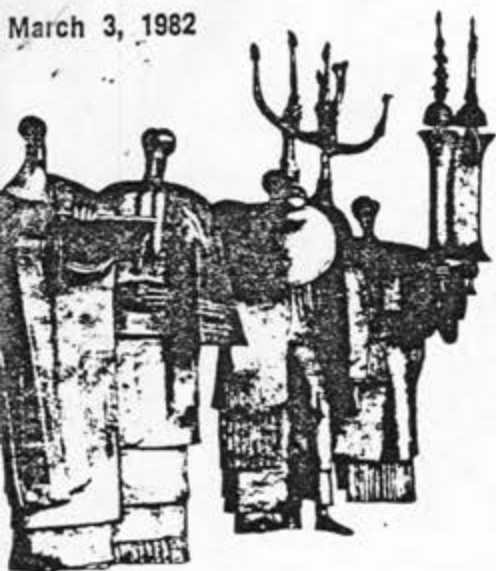
6. With regard to domestic issues, evangelical Christians know that most Jews differ with them on abortion, ERA, public schools and possibly also economic and public welfare policies. I expect to oppose them as hard as ever on those issues on which we disagree—and make common cause with them wherever we do agree—as strengthening the family, curbing pornography, opposition to preferential support for adequate national defense, and friendship for Israel.

7. There is no reason to treat evangelicals differently from other Christians and ethnic groups with whom we have, in the past, cooperated on some issues and differed on other issues. Evangelical Christians, and that goes for the Moral Majority too, should not be labelled as "friends" or "enemies" but should be identified and dealt with on an issue-by-issue basis.

March 3, 1982

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THE TEMPLE JOURNAL

PURIM ISSUE

(USPS 358-060)

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FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 5
EARLY SERVICE AT 5:45 P.M.

FAMILY SERVICE AT 8:00 P.M.

LATE SERVICE AT 8:30 P.M.

RABBI HABERMAN Will Speak

"How Do You Measure Your Success?"
THE BIBLICAL STANDARDS



SATURDAY MORNING
MARCH 6 AT 10:30 A.M.

Sermonette By
Guest Rabbi Simeon Kobrinetz
Bar Mitzvah of Neal Mitchell Shapiro
Bar Mitzvah of Joel Abraham Silberman

AFTERNOON AND HAVDALAH
SERVICE AT 5:30 P.M.

Bat Mitzvah of Deborah Beth Goldman
Bat Mitzvah of Randi Max

AS I SEE IT . . .

By Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman

A Strategy Of Madness

Suddenly the radio program I was listening to was interrupted and I heard a sustained whistling sound at the end of which the announcement said, "This signal is only a test. In the event of an emergency, this signal will be followed by instructions."



That's how the day of doom will begin. The instructions you
(continued on page 5)

Purim Festival, Sunday and Monday, March 7-8

FAMILY SERVICE THIS FRIDAY

The next Family Service will take place on Friday, March 6 at 8:00 p.m. in Ring Hall. This month's service will feature the Fifth Grade classes from the Temple and the music of our Youth Choir. Rabbi Mason will tell a story. All March birthday boys and girls will receive a blessing and a special birthday token. There will be secret Purim surprises.

The service, designed for children of all ages and the wider family, has proved to be a warm religious experience for everyone. Bring the family so that parents, children and grandparents can share this Shabbat experience. A festive Oneg Shabbat will follow the service.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORT

Jay W. Freedman has been designated by the Nominating Committee as the candidate for President of the Congregation for the two year term commencing Tuesday, April 20, 1982. The full report of the Nominating Committee appears on page 3.

Profiles of the Officers and Board candidates will appear in future issues of the Temple Journal.

SUNDAY SCHOLAR, MARCH 7
PROFESSOR WILLIAM HALLO

PASSOVER BEGINS
WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 7

See Page 5

Proclamation

Whereas our ancestors, in joyful thanksgiving for their marvelous rescue from the evil designs of Haman, decreed that "the days wherein the Jews had rest from their enemies, and the month which was turned unto them from sorrow unto gladness, and from mourning into a good day; that they should make these days of feasting and gladness which should be remembered and kept through every generation, every family, every province, and every city; and that these days of Purim should not fail from among the Jews nor the memorial of them perish from their seed."

Therefore we, the rabbis of Washington Hebrew Congregation, call on our members, young and old, to celebrate Purim with us, with singing, dancing, eating, drinking, dramatics and fun games by coming to our celebration, with noisemakers of every kind; furthermore we request that you keep a straight face all day long so that you may the better laugh with us at the Julia Bindeman Suburban Center on Sunday, March 7 and at the Temple on Monday, March 8, at 6:15 p.m. for our Purim Dinner Party with dramatized Megillah and surprise entertainment.

Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman
Rabbi Joseph P. Weinberg
Rabbi Steven S. Mason

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RETROSPECTIVE EXHIBITION TO OPEN MARCH 5

The Fine Arts Committee of WHC will present a Retrospective Exhibition in honor of the recently deceased artist, Judy Lee Gilbert, opening Friday, March 5, in Ring Hall following services.

The artist expressed a 'joy of life' in her works, many of which echo haunting symbols of the Jewish experience. She has exhibited widely and her paintings are included in private collections here and abroad.

The exhibition includes a representative sampling of her work. It will be presented in cooperation with the Gilbert family who is pleased to share with our Congregation the joyous vision of life represented in the art of Judy Lee Gilbert.

AS I SEE IT . . .

(continued from page 1)

will hear regarding food supplies, water and shelter will probably end with the warning that there are only a couple of hours to prepare for the attack.

As for the destruction and your chance of survival, the less said the better—and yet, we cannot be numbed into silence. About three months ago, I wrote an article for this column, "Let's Stop the Drift to International Insanity," in which I called attention to the madness of the nuclear arms race. It is pushing the USA and the USSR to the brink of bankruptcy for weapon systems which both acknowledge must never be used. Yet, nobody in his right mind really believes that we are stockpiling nuclear arms just for show or storage.

Vivid details are being published of what would happen in a nuclear attack. Mary McGrory recently wrote, in the *Washington Post* about the impact of a one-megaton nuclear bomb over San Francisco:

"In the hell that would follow—radiation, fire, storm, 500 mile-an-hour winds, collapsing buildings—780,000 people would die instantly and 382,000 would be seriously injured. Among survivors will be tens of thousands with third-degree burns, a number that would exceed by a factor of ten or twenty the capacity of all the burn care centers in the United States."

Dr. Helen Caldicott, who resigned from Harvard to give full time to her new mission in life, "... to save world from itself," is now President of Physicians for Social Responsibility. This organization has grown into an international association of about 10,000, with membership increasing by approximately 250 each week. Said Dr. Caldicott, "If only 10% of the existing nuclear missiles were fired, between 70 and 80 percent of the ozone layer would be destroyed. If 10 to 20 percent were fired, the glare would blind all unprotected eyes. People, of course, could protect their eyes with glasses. But animals would be blinded and would inevitably die. The entire ecosystem of the planet could collapse."

Dr. Caldicott is travelling from coast to

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 22, 1982

The Nominating Committee of the Washington Hebrew Congregation, appointed by the President pursuant to all applicable provisions of the Constitution and By-Laws, has met and given full consideration to the matter of selecting nominees for officers and members of the Board of Directors.

The Committee has complied with all applicable By-Laws concerning notice to the Congregation and has also published an article in the *Temple Journal*, issue of February 3, 1982, inviting suggestions for nominees from members of the Congregation.

In response to this notice, the Committee has gratefully received several excellent suggestions from members of the Congregation. These were most helpful in arriving at the final slate which is listed below.

The Washington Hebrew Congregation, with its more than 2,300 member families, has an unusually rich reservoir of talent and, as might be expected, the suggestions made to the Committee included many more deserving names than the limited number of positions which are open. The Committee wishes that it were possible to select many more persons than it had the opportunity to name. In formulating the slate below, the Committee has been guided by a desire to strike a true balance of skills, aptitudes, resources, age and gender and also to achieve a workable blend of experience and innovative new leadership.

The Committee believes that the slate it is presenting achieves such a balance. We believe also that each of the persons named has demonstrated his or her devotion to Judaism and to this Congregation and will bring individual and collective strength to our Temple as it enters its 131st year. The names of numerous other deserving individuals are being referred to the officers for consideration for future committee appointments and to future Nominating Committees.

Your Nominating Committee is, therefore, pleased to place in nomination the following individuals to serve for the offices and terms indicated. All terms begin and end

coast to inform the nation of four important findings of her organization:

1. Nuclear war, even a "limited" one, would result in death, injury and disease on a scale that has no precedent in the history of human existence.

2. Medical "disaster planning" for nuclear war is meaningless. There is no possible effective medical response. Most hospitals would be destroyed, most medical personnel dead or injured, most supplies unavailable. Most survivors would die.

3. There is no effective civil defense. The blast, thermal and radiation effects would kill even those in shelters, and the fallout would reach those who had been evacuated.

4. Recovery from nuclear war would be impossible. The economic, ecological and

with the Annual Meeting of the Congregation in each year noted. These names are to be voted upon by the members of the Congregation at the 130th Annual Meeting scheduled for Tuesday, April 20, 1982.

Officers — 1982 to 1984

Jay W. Freedman, President
Harriet M. Kriesberg, 1st Vice President
Stuart L. Bindeman, Vice President
Froma Sandler, Vice President
Richard M. Young, Vice President
Neil Sherman, Secretary
David Forman, Assistant Secretary
Earl M. Colson, Treasurer
Jason L. Shrinky, Assistant Treasurer
Ronald G. Kane, General Counsel

Board of Directors — 1982 to 1985

David L. Burka
Joan Bush
Jerome P. Lewis
Lawrence A. Miller
Alvin Neuman
Stephen W. Porter
Susan Rosenbaum
Joseph M. Sitrick

Board of Directors — 1982 to 1984

(To complete the unexpired term of Neil Sherman who has been named to another position)

Lawrence M. Mann

Board of Directors — 1982 to 1983

(To complete the unexpired term of the following members of the Board who have been nominated for other positions: Earl M. Colson and Ronald G. Kane)

Ethel McGuire
Henry J. Kellermann

The Chairman wishes to express his thanks to the members of the Committee for their diligence and skill which they brought to this Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

Leonard I. Abel, *Chairman*

William Bush, Jr.	Harriet Pomerantz
Herbert Ezrin	Dr. Arthur Schwartz
Ina Finkelstein	Leonard Shapiro
George Kramer	Eugene Youngentob

social fabric on which human life depends would be destroyed in the U.S. and U.S.S.R., and much of the rest of the world.

This catastrophe can be averted. The power of an aroused and informed public is great. The first step is the spreading of knowledge.

Chances are that you are shying away from reading newspaper and magazine articles dealing with the nuclear threat. It is a very uncomfortable problem to confront. It is time that we face up to the most awesome threat to human survival since the mythical flood of Noah. Better be uncomfortable than dead.

For more information about the work of Physicians for Social Responsibility, you may write to P.O. Box 144, 23 Main Street, Watertown, Massachusetts 02172.

J.O.H.

1982 Campaign
(Senate)

February 5, 1982

Dear Connecticut Voters;

THIS IS NOT A REQUEST FOR MONEY. IT IS A REQUEST FOR HELP.

Lowell Weicker faces a multifaceted challenge to his reelection, which requires enormous efforts on his behalf in order to insure that he can continue to serve us in the United States Senate.

Senator Weicker's record clearly exemplifies his commitment to the preservation of our basic constitutional rights and to the continued American support for the State of Israel. He has never waived on any issue affecting the security of the State of Israel and, consistent with that position, was outspoken in his opposition to the sale of AWACs and other sophisticated military hardware to Saudi Arabia.

Senator Weicker's initial challenge to his reelection comes from Prescott Bush, Jr. and he has also been targeted for defeat by the right wing of the Republican Party. This challenge will probably result in a Republican primary for the Senate nomination in 1982. **PRESCOTT BUSH, JR., ON JANUARY 23rd, 1982, WHILE APPEARING ON "FACE THE STATE," ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HAD HE BEEN THE UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT IN OCTOBER-1981, HE WOULD HAVE VOTED IN FAVOR OF THE SAUDI ARMS PACKAGE, INCLUDING THE AWACs.**

You can insure that Lowell Weicker is renominated as the candidate of the Republican Party by enrolling as a member of the Party and thus becoming eligible to vote in such a primary on September 7th, 1982. If you are currently a registered Democrat, you must reregister as a Republican not later than March 5th in order to be eligible to vote in the September primary. If you are not currently registered in any other party, then such registration must be completed not later than August 24th.

TO INSURE THAT YOU CAN VOTE FOR LOWELL WEICKER, ENROLL AS A REPUBLICAN NOW AT YOUR LOCAL VOTER REGISTRATION OFFICE AND ENCOURAGE YOUR FRIENDS TO DO SO. For questions, call East Hartford 289-1524.

Very truly yours,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Morris J. Amitay
Susan Shimelman
H. William Shure

Dr. Michael Berenbaum
Rabbi Melvin L. Libman
William Zales
Lewis Rabinovitz



*file Anti
Semitism*

SENTENCED TO DEATH!

THE JEWS IN NAZI GERMANY

An opinion based on one month's study in
the Third Reich from June 1 to July 1, 1933

and

I REVISIT NAZI GERMANY (1935)

With Revisions, an Explanatory Introduction
and an Epilogue

by

FERDINAND M. ISSERMAN

RABBI OF TEMPLE ISRAEL

St. Louis, Missouri

1961

For additional copies contact Mrs. F. M. ISSERMAN

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INTRODUCTION

Ferdinand M. Isserman, Rabbi of Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo.

"Sentenced to Death the Jews of Nazi Germany" is an opinion of one month's stay in Germany from June 3 to July 3, 1933. I entered Germany just about three months after Hitler had come into power. When this material was assembled, there were still many Jews in Germany. I was compelled to conceal the names of the people I saw and the cities I visited, lest I create extra difficulties for my friends. The official book store of Joseph Goebbels, Nazi propaganda minister, ordered two copies of this pamphlet from me, but I did not send them.

Before going into Germany, I visited my old friend, Dr. Bernard Kahn, in Paris. He had been head of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Europe, with headquarters in Berlin, whence he had carried on throughout Europe vast relief work among Polish Jews and other peoples who were impoverished by World War I. I had frequently been on missions for the American Joint in Eastern Europe. When I arrived in Paris in the spring of 1933 and told Dr. Kahn that I planned to enter Germany to get a first-hand picture of the Jewish situation there, he tried his best to dissuade me. He himself had left Berlin hurriedly, fleeing for his own safety. He was concerned lest the people I see get into trouble, and lest I myself experience difficulties. He thought that the Jews of Germany would be hostile to me and would give me no information whatsoever. In Dr. Kahn's office, I had met a former room mate of mine, an intimate friend, Irving F. Reichert, who then was the Rabbi of Temple Emanuel in San Francisco. He had come to Europe with commissions from members of his congregation to look up some of their families in and around Baden in Germany. Rabbi Reichert and I decided to enter Germany together and then separate. He did not want me to embarrass his people, and I was determined equally not to embarrass my people. I thought if I found that no Jews would speak to me, nothing would be lost.

My first day in Germany was in Frankfurt am Main, and I registered at the Frankfurter-Hof Hotel. I had a few names to look up in the city. I decided that the first thing for me to do would be to eat at a kosher restaurant, towards evening, hoping there to find some people who would give me information and advice as to my mission in Germany. At the restaurant, by a happy circumstance, a young German came to me and said, "Aren't you Rabbi Isserman?" He had heard me speak the year before at the Youth Section of the World Union for Progressive Judaism meeting in London. He was Rabbi Vogelstein, whose uncle had been the head of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in New York, and a very active leader in Temple Beth El, now merged with Temple Emanuel. Rabbi Vogelstein's father had been the Rabbi of Breslau in East Prussia. I discussed my mission with Vogelstein. He volunteered to help me,

and gave me the names of representative Jews in five major cities which I had planned to visit. Besides Frankfurt, these were Nuremberg, Leipsig, Berlin and Dresden. He gave me a note to his friends in all these cities, and thus encouraged, I set out. Vogelstein in Germany did not agree with Kahn in France. In the course of my travels, I was in Munich, and there met Cardinal Faulhaber. I asked Rabbi Baerwald in Munich how I would reach him. He informed me that the only thing to do was to take a taxi, go up to the Cardinal's palace, present my card, tell him that I bring greetings from Archbishop Glennon in St. Louis, and see what happens. The Cardinal admitted me to his presence immediately. I was accompanied by my successor as the Rabbi of Toronto, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath. In Berlin I met Bishop Dibelius. He deplored the anti-Semitism of the Nazis because the Nazis insisted that he expell from his church any members who were partially Jewish. The son of his Bishop, the grandson of a Jew, who had been practicing law had been disbarred by Nazi law, and he was forced to bar him from the church. He was not especially concerned about general anti-Semitism, which did not affect his church members.

The feeling among all the Jews with whom I discussed the situation was that they were very anxious that their story be told. Their views were just the opposite of those of Dr. Bernard Kahn. They felt that the world should know what was happening to the Jews of Germany. They did not believe that this crime against them should go by unnoticed. They were glad to see me and helped me in every way, because they wanted to alert the world to the evils of the Nazi machine. IF AT THAT TIME THE WORLD HAD TAKEN FULL NOTICE OF THE JEW'S TREATMENT IN GERMANY, IT COULD HAVE AVERTED THE TRAGEDY OF EUROPE WHICH SUBSEQUENTLY TOOK PLACE. A Jew in Berlin asked me what he ought to do. I told him that I had seen the hate for Jews in the eyes of Nazi youths, and I did not think that any Jewish children would have any future in Germany. He said, "My business is better than ever, and the Nazis continue to patronize me." He was the rubber king of Germany. I told him I was not giving any advice, but I repeated that I had seen the hatred for Jews in the eyes of Nazi youth, and I would not want my children to be brought up in a country where they would encounter such hatred. He told me that if he left, his material loss would be great, and to that I did not answer. He eventually left Germany, died in London, but his material losses were much greater than if he had gone in 1933.

In Berlin I saw also Rabbi Leo Baeck who was the Chief Rabbi of Germany. He had frequently gone to England to look after the treatment of Jewish refugees, but he insisted on returning to Germany. I invited him to come to St. Louis and become an associate rabbi. But he said, "When the ship is sinking, the captain's place is on the bridge." He did remain there throughout the war, although he could have escaped often. He finally was placed in a concentration camp at Theresienstadt. He was scheduled to be executed, but by mistake a Rabbi Beck of Eastern Europe was sent to the gas chambers. I was partially instrumental in bringing Rabbi Leo Baeck over to this country to live at the Hebrew Union College where he

spent many happy years. I had been shocked to note that British Jewry had permitted this Jewish saint to live in a rented furnished room.

From Cardinal Faulhaber I learned that the Nazi attack on Jews also meant an attack on Christianity, because Jews had written the Old Testament and the New Testament. Therefore, the whole Bible was made by Jews. Christianity depended on both, so cold logic compelled Nazis to condemn Christianity as well as Judaism, and that they did.

In Berlin also, through Rabbi Vogelstein, I met Dr. Julius Tietz, a young physician who had been named head of the German Jewish youth. In between his medical practice he was trying to administer the organization training German Jewish youth for settlement in other parts of the world. It involved teaching them new languages, new vocations, and in other ways preparing them to migrate from the land in which some of their ancestors had lived for a thousand years. One morning I saw Dr. Tietz wearing a bandage around his head. He did not want to discuss what happened. When later on I brought Sherwood Eddy to see him, I insisted that he tell Sherwood Eddy exactly what happened, that Sherwood Eddy could inform the American press, and the American public what the truth was about the treatment of the Jews in Germany. Dr. Tietz had had a meeting with the Board of Directors of Germany's Jewish youth in the community building at Oranienburgerstrasse. A gang of Nazi youths wearing brown shirts broke into the hall, had beaten him, and other members of his board. This attack was accurately reported in the foreign press, but the German press wrote that patriotic Germans disbanded a group of hoodlums. The German government officially was denying that this group of prominent young Jewish youth leaders had been attacked, but here were the facts. In many instances, the Jews of Germany were forced to endorse such denials by Nazi officials. One Jew said, "What happened to me was not true." Sherwood Eddy gave forth his information at a reception at the Carl Schurtz Verein House in Berlin. The Nazis had welcomed Eddy's American party, and were entertaining them. They were shocked when with great moral courage Sherwood Eddy publicly stated that he had been a witness to their mistreatment of Jews, and warned them that this would not sit well with Americans. The report of Sherwood Eddy's address was printed on July 5, 1933 in the foreign press, among them the New York Times.

I had left Germany before Eddy spoke, as I did not want the Nazis to trace any source of information to me, and then perhaps to the people who had been my informants. Rabbi Baeck informed me that a united protest of the world against what the Nazis were doing would have been effective. He was particularly bitter against the British government, because it permitted the Germans to rebuild their navy up to one-third of British strength. That, Dr. Baeck said, was a moral crime. It was abetting Nazi power, and a day of reckoning would come, as it did. The German navy was rebuilt, and instead of turning its guns first against the Russians, they were turned against the British. If the Germans had been given no encouragement about re-armament in this instance, they would not have gone ahead with their complete plans of militarization. British permission for them to rebuild their navy was a green light that their re-armament

program would not be interfered with. So the Nazi plan of cruelty to mankind was launched. Wherever Nazi armies went, they spread Nazi policies. As the Napoleonic armies had spread French ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality, so the Nazi armies spread tyranny and despotism. In Berlin, I met Knickerbocker, who I think was at the time a reporter for the Hearst press. His father was a Methodist minister in Tennessee. Knickerbocker subsequently won the Pulitzer Prize. Together we walked down the Leipzigerstrasse in Berlin, and we saw marching before us two heavy-set athletic-looking young men wearing the brown uniforms of Nazi troopers. Knickerbocker prophesied that these people should not be under-rated, that they were destined to become the rulers of Europe. Hitler would become more powerful than Napoleon. Knickerbocker was prophetic. What he knew was common gossip among newspaper men, and was known by all the embassy staffs, but no united organization to stop Hitlerism was developed. Hitler's troops crossed into the Rhineland, and were unopposed. So Mussolini felt free to march into Ethiopia. The League of Nations did nothing. As a result, a green light was given for the subsequent terrorization of and the conquest of Europe. In 1933 the whole Nazi machine could have been stopped. The treatment of Jews was evidence of the ruthless barbaric character of the Nazi regime and their intention to carry out their immoral philosophy and their repudiation of all moral values. They meant what they had preached. Nazi action proved it. Yet Nazi propaganda masked it from the world. The leaders of the world saw through the mask, but they did nothing. So catastrophe marched on rapidly for Europe's Jews and for all of Europe. Many American boys lost their lives in World War II that could have been prevented in 1933. Our diplomats knew the bestial philosophy of the Nazi regime. Their protests were made difficult by our own Achilles heel, our treatment of the Negro. An American diplomat informed me that whenever our embassy would discuss with German officials the Nazi treatment of the Jews, their answer was that America's treatment of the Negro was just as bad. So the moral voice of America was silenced by its spiritual weakness.

While I sensed what was destined for the Jews of Germany, I had no intimation that it was prophetic of the Jews of Europe. They too were sentenced to death. While I could foresee Hitler's conquest, I could not foresee that his cruelty would go from the Jews of Germany to the Jews of Poland. Hitler did destroy the Jews of Eastern Europe, of Belgium, of Holland, of parts of France, and to a lesser extent of Italy and the Scandinavian countries. The latter's defense of Jews constitutes an epic. Even the King of Denmark during the occupation of his country identified himself with his Jewish subjects by wearing the Jewish star. As long as there was no effective protest about the treatment of the Jews of Germany, Hitler thought the world would be equally indifferent to the destruction of the Jews of Europe. Most people did not believe the truth about the fate of Jews, and others did not care. When General Eisenhower visited some of the concentration camps where the gas chambers had been in operation, he was shocked by what he saw, and gave the facts to the world. The St. Louis Post Dispatch made a series of photographs which were on exhibit for a while in Kiel Auditorium. St. Louis learned the tragic truth late.

Some of my own kin lost their lives in Nazi persecutions. Two sisters of my mother and one brother of my father were executed. One of my mother's sisters was over eighty years old. She had lived in Antwerp. German army force personnel had regard for her gray hairs, and spared her life, but when Hitler's elite storm troopers, the black shirts, came, they ignored her age. They arrested her, despite the protests of her Belgian neighbors. She could have saved her life by going into hiding, but she was sure no one would disturb her. My aunt was shipped to the East. A postal card which she had written in pencil which she supposedly threw from a train which was carrying her on to a rendezvous with death was found by someone who mailed it to her son in Brussels, serving at the time in the Belgian resistance forces. Nothing was heard of her since.

All countries that welcomed the Jews of Germany were blessed by them. Among them were many gifted and talented men with creative, scientific and technical abilities. They enriched the lands which gave them asylum. The greatest among these refugees who enriched his host country was Albert Einstein, the No. 1 scientist of the century. He was welcomed in America. His singular genius was placed at the service of the United States. It was he who alerted President Roosevelt about the importance of pursuing research into atomic energy so that Germany would not be ahead of us in that scientific field. If that had been so, it could have brought about our defeat in World War II. Many sons of refugees served in the armies of our country. Among them was my own cousin, Manfred Isserman, whose father was killed by the Nazis, as well as the parents of his wife. Young people like my cousin were anxious to do something to express their gratitude to the land which had given them an opportunity for a fresh start in life. Many of these refugees are now members of Temple Israel. Some have already served on the Board of our congregation; some are teaching at local universities, and there is one, a former patent lawyer from Vienna, whose hobby in Austria was horticulture, and now is a landscape architect. In front of Temple Israel he planted two trees as symbols of his gratitude to America for giving him another chance in life.

The present government of West Germany has tried to make some amends for the brutality of its predecessor governments, and has restored some of the confiscated property to refugees and their children. It has also given large sums which came from the sale of properties of Jews whose families were entirely wiped out to settle Jewish refugees in many parts of the world. Germany has repeated in our generation an old lesson of history, and that is that no country can persecute any minority and retain its greatness. Moral decadence invariably precedes material destruction. The Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492 when Spain was at the height of her great power and was the mistress of the seas. Shortly thereafter, the British Armada defeated the Spanish fleet. Slow decay and degeneration set in, and Spain became a third-rate power which she is in our time. The same is true of Germany. Thus does the justice of God work in history. I have been reading in Genesis the words addressed to Abraham, "Through thee and thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; those that curse thee will I curse; those that bless thee, I shall bless." The history of Nazi Germany in our time testifies to the basic truth

of these age-old statements in the book of Genesis. Even as plagues came upon ancient Egypt for its enslavement of its Jewish citizens, so they have come upon modern Germany. Germany was a civilized land. Its universities were the mecca of scientists. Its people succumbed to a tyrannical philosophy of life, because they lacked the spiritual strength to discipline their own souls. They failed to heed the Tenth Commandment to curb their own spirits. Envy and jealousy filled their souls, and so Nazi orators with great eloquence began to spin their emotional web, and they caught their victims. Anti-Semitism was a spiritual sickness of the German people, who, as they yielded to it, paved the way for their own destruction, the loss of their freedom and the desolation of their country. Subsequently, their sons were slain in battle; their cities were devastated, and the great contributions their nation made to civilization came to an end.

In the fate of Germany, we can see the psychological truth that hatred destroys those who harbor it. The victims of hatred first may be physically destroyed. Ultimately, hatred destroys the hater himself. How intensive this hatred is can be seen by this illustration. When a few weeks ago a local newspaper reprinted one of my utterances made more than twenty-five years ago on my return from my first visit to Nazi Germany, I received abusive telephone calls from a person living in St. Louis. To this very day, Nazi hatred still afflicts the souls of persons in many parts of the earth. The recent outbreak of swastika painting likewise demonstrated this. These are a warning to peoples in democratic countries to be on the alert lest the mental and moral illness of Nazi Germany break out again. So for all of us it is of educational value once more to read about how the Jews of Germany were sentenced to death, not to acquire the spirit of vengeance, but to understand the symptoms of mental, moral and spiritual illness. When these appear, they are a sign of inner decay and degeneration which will destroy the people itself and others who come into contact with it.

When this pamphlet first appeared, agents of the Nazi government and its friends said that I had spoken falsely. A number of such statements made their way to the press. Many of my friends were greatly disturbed when they read my pamphlet, "Sentenced to Death the Jews of Nazi Germany." They did not want to believe what I had to say. Alas, history has vindicated the truth of my story at terrible cost. I am republishing a revised edition of "Sentenced to Death" on the eve of the Eichmann trial, as I know the evidence of the trial will substantiate the story I told twenty-seven years ago. People must know the power of hatred to destroy, not only individuals but freedom and liberty, its power to bring wars, destruction and degeneration of character. Hatred is the devil incarnate. By enthroning him, we destroy ourselves. How true do we find that the verse from the Torah which the rabbis regarded as supreme of the six hundred and thirteen commandments, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," and its companion verse, "Love the stranger as thyself," both to be found in the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Leviticus. Love is the medicine against the corrosive processes of hate which destroy men and civilizations. The tragic fate of the Jews of Nazi Germany in 1933 and the six million European Jewish dead, testify to the potency and villainy of hatred. Their

suffering will not have altogether been in vain if mankind has been alerted to outlaw every manifestation of hatred. Hatred of the heart eventually finds expression in action of the hand. It first destroys the victims of hatred, but it also destroys the hater himself, the nation in which he lives, the freedom he enjoys, the civilization of which he is a part. To this, "Sentenced to Death the Jews of Nazi Germany" brings its eloquent testimony.

I visited Nazi Germany two other times. My second visit was made just prior to the plebiscite in the Saar, when that territory was to decide whether it was to go French or Germany. The Jewish residents were torn by their love for Germany and their desire for security in France. The Saarlanders chose Germany.

In 1935, I returned to Nazi Germany for the last time. The German Consul in St. Louis refused to issue a visa to me, and suggested that I see the German consul-general in Washington. He likewise refused to give me a visa. When I reached Paris that summer, I discussed my situation with Edgar Mowrer, who because of his book, "Germany Turns the Clock Back," and his candid and courageous reporting while president of the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Berlin, was expelled from Germany. Mowrer suggested that I go to the American Express, give them my passport, and secure a visa, as they were doing for many tourists. This was done, and accompanied by Irving Edison, I went to Germany. In Berlin, Jacob Beam of the embassy staff advised us to leave. We visited a few cities, and followed his suggestion. I visited Germany after the war in 1945 with my son. We drove from one end of Western Germany to the other, and witnessed the devastation. In Aachen, a cyclist of whom I asked the way to Cologne and the whereabouts of any Jews said, "I am a little man. I could not voice a protest. I was glad to be left alone." So the little man who acknowledged no responsibility was still held responsible by God—Whose moral law operates in the universe.

My happiest moment in Nazi Germany occurred in my hotel room one day. I had had a difficult morning, and was worn out by the tragedies I had heard. As I sat in my chair, I fell asleep, and I dreamt. The content of my dream was that the reports of the Jewish tragedy that I had heard were but a nightmare and had no reality, and with a satisfying smile on my features, I awoke, again to be confronted with the truth. As I write this epilogue, the man who executed the "Sentence of Death" against the Jews of Germany and Europe sits in a heavily guarded prison in Jerusalem awaiting trial. In the intervening years, he has had little peace of mind. He was afraid of being captured, lived under false names, and over his head hung the dread of momentary discovery. It came. In these hours of penitence and remorse, he must be comforted by the fact that he is to be tried in Jerusalem—a city whose justice is noted, and which taught the world to temper justice with mercy, and its God, with which it blessed the world, is the God of Justice and the God who is the father of mercies.

PREFACE

For residents of Saint Louis, who are familiar with my views, and who know what I have advocated from pulpit and platform, some of these prefatory remarks will not be necessary.

Though a member of the United States Army in the world war, I have done all in my power to attempt to heal the wounds between my country and Germany. I have been a friend and not a foe of Germany. I have recognized the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles, and have urged and pleaded for its revision. I did so in Canada, when to speak a kind word for Germany was not too easy.

On November 11, 1930, while delivering the Armistice Day Sermon at the Community Services at Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis, I pleaded for fair play to Germany, and I urged above all that the war-guilt clause in the Versailles Treaty was unfair and unjust. After that address, an old German-American came up to me and stated "Never in my life will I forget you for these words." I cite this to indicate that I was not anti-German, as I am not anti-any nation. I am anti-Nazi, not only because of the anti-semitism of the Nazis, but also because the philosophy of Naziism is a throw-back to primitive tribalism, ethically and spiritually indefensible, and as outworn as a weltanschauung today as the ox-cart is as a vehicle for transportation. I can conceive of no greater catastrophe for humanity than the spread of the Nazi point of view. It would result in aggressive militant nationalism, war, and then the end of our civilization.

I spent one month in Germany. A good deal of the time I was in Berlin. There I met government officials, Nazis, American and other newspapermen, university professors, religious leaders of all denominations. I also toured through the country and visited other communities. From all these sources, I came to the following conclusions:

1. That there is no hope for the Jews of Germany—that the government aim is their humane extirpation.
2. That atrocities were perpetrated on Jews, Catholics, Socialists, German Nationalists, and other dissenters, and that these atrocities are continuing.
3. That an economic death sentence has been passed upon the Jews of Germany.
4. That only the fear of public opinion, especially that of the United States and Great Britain, has and is preventing a pogrom of all Jews in Germany.
5. That the Jews of Germany live under a sentence of death.

I recognize the sufferings of the German people. These are largely due to the war, and indicate again the need for pacifism. What the war commenced, the depression continued. Being convinced by their present

leaders that they are a superior, the superior race; Germans cannot understand why such a race of Viking warriors should have lost the war. To this natural query comes the glib, fictitious Nazi answer—"Our soldiers won the war in the field of battle but were stabbed in the back by Jews, and hence glorious victory was turned into ignominious defeat." On my desk as I write, there is a text-book, issued by the Ministry of Education in Bavaria, detailing German history from 1914-1933, and used in the schools. The book is entitled "Aufruch der Nation," and on page 15, there is a cartoon showing a Jewish traitor stabbing the victorious German soldier in the back. German vanity is thus satisfied. German soldiers are still the best fighters, and the Jew is the scape-goat, and he must be sacrificed that the Prussian might continue to swagger. Thus people are encouraged not to face the harsh realities of the war and its aftermath, and, living in a world of illusion, believe that if only there had been no Jews in Germany; France, Belgium and Russia would today be German colonies.

The German people must face the grim facts. They have lost a war, and even their victors still suffer from it. From the depression that is world wide, they have not escaped. Facing the truth, unpleasant though it be, is the first step to reconstruction. By sacrificing a weak minority as a scape-goat, the Nazis do nothing except create another injustice, which some day will have to be rectified. But Nazi leaders, knowing nothing of economics, of diplomacy, of government, believe that they can substitute brutality to Jews for science of government. If Germany suffers from an injustice, she cannot be vindicated by perpetrating an injustice upon the Jew. By their treatment of the Jew, the Nazis have revealed to the world that they do not possess the courage of Vikings, for it does not require courage for a nation of 65,000,000 to crush a helpless minority of 500,000. They have only revealed that they possess the Viking's brutality, and that to Christianity they have not yet been converted.

SENTENCED TO DEATH! THE JEWS IN NAZI GERMANY

By Ferdinand M. Isserman, Rabbi of Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo.



Those concerned over the future of the Jews of Germany since the accession of the Hitler regime had hoped that its tenure in office would be brief, that counter-revolution would uproot it or dissension from within end it. To entertain such thoughts is to indulge in wish-thinking, the same sort of thinking that proved popular in the United States with reference to the reign of the communists in Russia. Few observers in Germany see the possibility of any speedy overthrow of Hitler. Even if that were possible, the Jewish position might not be appreciably improved.

The tragedy of Anti-Semitism in Germany is that it is popular, very popular, made so by 12 years of intensive propaganda. At a meeting held at the Kroll Opera, the temporary assembly hall of the Reichstag, on the anniversary of the signing of the Versailles Treaty or "Diktat", as the speakers called it, no statement received such spontaneous and tumultuous applause as did the vindication of the treatment of the Jews.

As a Jewish leader stated "Nazi speakers continue to bait the Jews, because Jew-baiting is most popular with the crowd".

Anti-Semitism has been proletarianized in Germany. Previously, it was inevitably linked with reaction. In Naziism it claims to be linked with progress, with the freedom and not the enslavement of the masses.

Though the German classes have a long Anti-Semitic history, the present Anti-Semitism comes largely from petty merchants, jealous of chain and department stores, from the army of unemployed, from mediocre professional men begrudging the superior talents of their Jewish colleagues, from disgruntled ex-army officers resenting Jewish leadership in pacific movements, from dyed-in-the-wool monarchists obsessed by Jewish influence in the republic, and from the small farmers convinced of the existence and tyranny of Jewish international finance. When the Nazis came to power the only plank in their hazy and still undefined program which could immediately and, as they thought, easily be executed, referred to the crushing of the Jews. From innumerable sources, I learned, so that I dare make this a positive statement, that a boycott against Jewish merchants and professional men to last at least for one month with unlimited license for Brown Shirts to pillage and to kill Jews had been part of the Nazi party plan. The plan miscarried only because Nazi diplomats had not reckoned on the voluminous protests on the part of the civilized world. They had not realized the international and moral ostracism which would follow in the wake of a pogrom of all the Jews of Germany. Before the world, Hitler attempted to defend the one-day economic boycott on the ground that it was a reprisal for the "atrocities campaign" carried on against Germany by the Jewish world press. Those on the inside know that there was no atrocities campaign carried on by Jews and that the world will never know even a fraction of one per cent

of the torture and brutality to which Jews were and **are** being subjected. With a boycott lasting for one month, accompanied by massacres, the Nazi party had hoped in a brief time completely to annihilate the Jews of Germany.

One individual, not a Jew, informed me that he was one of a group of men with international contacts who were aware that such brutal annihilation of Jews would stir up anti-German hatred throughout the world. These men, on the Friday before the boycott was scheduled, pleaded all day with Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Frick, to limit the boycott to 24 hours. Up until 11 o'clock on the evening before the boycott, their pleas seemed to have been futile. Then, Goering made a radio announcement that the boycott was to be limited to one day. This informant added that this policy of moderation was due to the personal intervention of Hindenburg, who insisted that the boycott be limited to one day. In some quarters, it is believed that among other reasons which led Hindenburg to make this imperious demand was the influence of Schacht's plea that the Deutsche Bank could not maintain itself without the daily deposits of large Jewish concerns. Incidentally, it is significant to note that rumors in Berlin indicate that radical elements of the Nazi Party are demanding Schacht's removal and imprisonment.

Though official orders called for the ending of the boycott on Saturday, April the 1st, actually the anti-Jewish boycott is **not over**. It goes on with increased intensity throughout the country. This is not a personal opinion. This is the unanimous verdict of everyone in Germany who dares to speak. No government official, no Nazi Party member, no recipient of a government pension, not even the recipient of unemployment relief may purchase anything from a Jewish merchant. To do so is to jeopardize position, pension or relief. In a city, women were threatened with imprisonment in a concentration camp if caught making purchases from Jews. In Dortmund and Ham, a short while ago, there was another public boycott of Jewish merchants which lasted 8 full days. During that time uniformed Nazis stood in front of Jewish stores and deterred by force and by threat prospective customers from entering them. In other small communities, photographers take snapshots of all who patronize Jewish shopkeepers. In such communities, though completely boycotted, Jewish merchants may neither diminish their staff of employees nor cut their salaries. One such department store owner informed me that he has 50 employees whose salaries he must pay, that his business is completely at a standstill, and that in three months time his capital would be exhausted and that he would stand on the verge of economic ruin. Then his business would pass into Nazi hands and the goal of the revolution will have been achieved. In addition to that, Jewish merchants are facing serious problems in the getting of credits. In small communities, all loans to Jews are being called in. It is only a question of a few months until the Jewish merchant will have completely disappeared from the small communities of Germany. To this rule, there are some exceptions, due to unusual friendliness on the part of Nazi leaders to Jewish individuals. How long this friendliness will be tolerated by the Party, no one knows.

In contrast to the smaller communities, the larger cities are a paradise. The vastness of the population of Berlin, for example, makes for a certain anonymity and renders it possible for Jewish merchants to retain their patronage. Of one Nazi in Berlin, it is said, that after guarding a Jewish store on the boycott Saturday, he doffed his uniform and made his Sunday shopping, as usual, from his Jewish friend. In Nuremberg, I saw stores clearly marked with the swastika and heralded as *Deutsches geschäft*. Even in the *Freiderichstrasse* in Berlin such a sign was displayed. In Frankfurt-am-Main, large swastika flags were prominently displayed on some stores. In Dresden, on the windows of many shops, were large streamers bearing the words "*anerkennt für deutsch-christliches geschäft*". These streamers contained the stamp of the official boycott committee. I saw these as late as July 16th, over four and a half months after the boycott was officially declared to be over. Leaders are convinced that as the party entrenches itself more and more, it will more rigorously and with even greater German efficiency carry out the expulsion of the Jew from the economic life of Germany. Let me just cite this incident which was called to my attention:

In one of the large German cities, a Jewish miller was purchasing his flour sacks from a Jewish manufacturer. The competitor of this Jewish sack manufacturer had a brother who was the head of the bakers' division of the S. A. unit in the community. The Jewish miller was approached by this baker chieftain and ordered to cease buying his sacks from a Jewish manufacturer. Failure to do so would mean that the bakers of that city would cease buying their flour from him. The result was that this Jewish sack manufacturer was just driven out of business. Jews in export business have not been interfered with for obvious reasons. Daily the lot of the Jewish merchant becomes more difficult and in the future his position will become unbearable. For the time being he is the most fortunate of all.

THE PROFESSIONAL CLASSES

Lawyers

Of the professional classes, the situation of the lawyers is by far the worst. Those who were not practicing in 1914, before the declaration of war, and those who did not see active service during the war, or whose fathers were not killed in battle, are completely disbarred. In Berlin alone, 800 of Berlin's 2,000 Jewish lawyers were immediately affected. This meant that young men under 35 who had just begun to establish themselves and to found families have now no economic basis upon which to continue. I spoke to one young fellow whose ancestors for three generations had graced the legal profession, and who now was expelled from it. What can these disbarred lawyers do? Practically nothing in Germany. They can secure no positions as Jews who have positions can not hold them in many cases. They cannot go into new businesses without government consent. Their condition is already precarious and will become more so in a few weeks, when their outstanding bills have been paid and their savings are exhausted. They are candidates for the bread and soup line. Their more fortunate colleagues, who saw active service, fought Germany's battles and were gassed and wounded, may **officially** continue to practice. **Actually**, most of them find that their clients have deserted them. With all the pressure of a relentless, efficient governmental machine, their Christian clients are being weaned away from them. One lawyer whom I visited was still permitted to practice, but already 20 corporations whom he had represented for years and from whom he received an annual retainer fee had cancelled their agreements with him, not because of dissatisfaction with his capacities, but because they were unable to resist the pressure of the party which is now the state in Germany. He informed me that he must find some other work, after years of distinguished service in the legal profession. He knows that before a Nazi judge, it is folly for a Jewish lawyer to attempt to plead any case. His Christian clients have deserted him and what Jew under those circumstances can dare to entrust any case to a Jewish lawyer? Frequently, I heard it said that no German Jew dares at the present time launch any law suit against any one. Though in its apologies, the administration will point out that Jewish lawyers in Berlin are still well represented in the profession and are able to carry on as usual, the facts are that these lawyers are losing their practices and are themselves standing under the shadow of the bread-line.

It is true that their lot is even made worse by the jealousy of Nazi competitors for the little practice that they still possess. In one large city, Jewish lawyers were warned not to appear in the courts on a certain day because some of their Nazi competitors had arranged for a demonstration of what is known as "the spontaneous expression of popular wrath." Forewarned that the "popular wrath" would erupt in the courts of justice, most Jewish lawyers did not appear in them. Six, however, had urgent business which could not be postponed. At the specified time, a mob of Brown Shirts, mostly unemployed and students, entered the courthouse, yelling madly "Juden heraus." The judge took the Jewish lawyers under his protection. One lawyer found in the law library was mercilessly beaten. This occurrence is not isolated. I personally heard

of two large communities in which such demonstrations of "popular wrath" were arranged.

Though statistically only about one-third of the Jewish lawyers are disbarred, actually all are slowly losing their livelihood. Perhaps this incident will dramatically sum up the situation of Jewish lawyers who were war veterans. I was ushered into the office of a very successful attorney, and after a brief interval was brought into his presence. He was about 42 years of age, had seen service in the German army for years, and was wounded. He was dressed in an oxford suit. His office was not an office but rather a tastefully furnished library with carpeted floors, with walls lined with books, with paintings and etchings. He himself sat behind an antique oak table. Calmly, he commenced to discuss the situation in his profession. As a lawyer he admitted he was through. He had had a good practice but it was all gone. What could he do, where could he go, how could he rear and educate his family? Palestine was overcrowded, perhaps Canada? He might become a farmer. He knew nothing about agriculture, but still, to live, he could learn. I looked at his hands and wondered how long it would take them to become hardened to the handling of a plough. While thus conversing and considering the possibilities of settling down somewhere on a farm, he stated that he must live among Germans, he must speak German, read German. He loves German culture. Then he broke down and began to weep and humiliated at this expression of weakness, he began hastily to puff at a cigarette to conceal his emotions. He is still faithful and patriotic and cannot consider a life divorced from German culture, the culture of Lessing. This lawyer was a leader in his profession. If that is the fate of a leading Jewish lawyer, what chance has the average mediocre lawyer?

Physicians

The medical profession is more difficult to interfere with than the legal, though less so in Germany than in any other country. In the last fifty years, Germany has developed an elaborate system of insurance among which are medical and legal insurance. Many people in Germany participate in some sort of Government medical insurance; others in some sort of private medical insurance. Almost 90% of a German physician's patients are apt to be beneficiaries of some insurance scheme. By excluding Jewish doctors, first from treating all recipients of government medical insurance, and then from treating recipients of private medical insurance, the ruination of the Jewish medical profession in Germany is being achieved. A profession which numbered among its sons Wasserman and Ehrlich, who rank among the eternal. Even as in the legal profession, Jewish war veterans as well as practitioners who were in practice when war broke out, have not been officially dismissed from the practice at the *kranken kasse* (government medical insurance). This was due, not because of an appreciation of the Jews' patriotism, but rather because thousands of Germans who, having confidence in the integrity and ability of Jewish physicians, and who had been treated by them for years, resented being placed in the position where they had to forego seeking the advice of the life-long family physician. The young Jewish physicians

are practically through, for in Germany no physician can maintain himself merely on a private practice. The Jewish physician who still has access to the *kranken kasse* finds that his patients are being subjected to the same pressure to desert Jewish physicians as are non-Jewish firms to desert their Jewish lawyers. The physician is, however, better off than the lawyer. A lawyer's work is of a semi-public nature. A physician's practice is private and more difficult to disturb. Patients come to him in the privacy of his office or he to them in the walls of their home. Yet a way has been found of disturbing even the medical practice of Jewish doctors. There are no limits to devilish ingenuity. Beneficiaries of government or of private medical insurance must bring the bills of their physicians to the offices of the agency where they are paid. Some of these agencies are now refusing to pay the bills of Jewish doctors. Officials and party members dare not patronize a Jewish physician even if they owe their lives to his kindness and skill. When we keep in mind how bureaucratic the German government is and that street car conductors and railroad engineers come in the category of government employees, we realize what this ban means to Jewish physicians. As the government increases its power, makes itself more and more the complete master of Germany, and melts, however crudely all parties into the Nazi Party, which is the State, the Jewish physician, though he be a war veteran, will gradually be deprived of his clientele and his livelihood will become more and more impossible. So alluring are the opportunities for young Aryan physicians to secure the patients of their Jewish colleagues that at one great university two research instructorships in medicine, formerly filled by Jews and always greatly sought after, are still vacant because the young Nazi doctors are out to build up their practices while the bewildered patients of Jewish physicians are forced to seek new healers.

To what depths professional rivalry can degrade human beings is revealed by the following incidents which can be verified in the press of Germany now entirely controlled by the government:

1. In one community the head of the local medical society for years had been a Jew, a distinguished specialist in his field, the local authority. His nearest rival was the head of the Storm Troops in that area. On the boycott day this medico and Nazi chieftain brought about the arrest of his Jewish colleague and competitor and secured his dismissal from government medical insurance practice, although legally he was qualified for it. The Jewish doctor's wife, unable to bear these misfortunes, committed suicide. He was then released from prison and through the intervention of Nazi friends in Berlin, he was readmitted to practice at the government *kranken kasse*. His old patients seemed to be returning to him and he seemed to be able to re-establish himself. His colleague specializing in the same field, still a Nazi chieftain, again ordered his arrest. This time no charge was placed against him. Today this Jewish physician is held in "protective custody" in order to be secure from the so-called wrath of the people against Jews. This doctor, I fear, will be held in prison until his practice will be hopelessly ruined.

2. An incident even more degrading occurred during the month of July in Berlin. I mention this incident specifically because it was pub-

lished in the government press. On Friday, July 7, the afternoon papers in Berlin and throughout the Reich in glaring headlines announced that through the diligence and patriotism of the physicians' division of the Brown Shirts of Berlin, a list of Marxist, Communist, and Anarchist physicians had been found. This queer group of doctrinaire physicians were said to be involved in a conspiracy against the government. To carry out their conspiracy, they had obtained an office in the building of the Jewish community of Berlin. As soon as the patriotic Brown Shirts had secured this list of traitors, they turned it over to the police, who prepared to act immediately. The police summoned all the Brown Shirt physicians to report at the police station on Friday morning at 6 A. M. To each physician was assigned two gendarmes and one automobile. With these gendarmes, he was ordered to proceed to the home of one of his Jewish colleagues whose name appeared on the traitors' list, to drag him from his bed and from the bosom of his family, and to bring him to an armory to be held incommunicado as a suspected felon. These men carried out their duty well and brought their prisoners, leaving behind them stunned and distracted families. I happened to be at the Jewish Community Building that morning and heard the distracted wives of several of these prisoners call and ask in vain for news about their husbands. For four days about forty men were kept in the Brown Shirt armory, among them men with international reputations. There they were compelled to submit to indignities, and some of them were beaten. All but two were then discharged and all their passports were cancelled. It was admitted by the police that the arrests were due to an error perpetrated by members of a profession, dedicated to save human life and to hold it sacred, upon their own colleagues.

What were the facts back of this episode? On what flimsy evidence were forty individuals humiliated and their families harrassed? As part of the attempt to salvage German Jewry and to fit the declassed professional and business men into new occupations where they might be self-sustaining, groups have been organized with meeting places in the Jewish Community Building to achieve this goal. A group of merchants seeks to aid merchants, a group of physicians, physicians, and a group of attorneys, attorneys. Leading men in these professions serve on such committees to assist their helpless colleagues. This physicians' committee had its office on the third floor of the Jewish Community Building. The door of the office was labelled as such with a large placard. Its work was performed openly, as is the work of all Jewish communities. It kept systematic records. It strove to make places for Jewish physicians the world over where medical men were needed. The list of anarchists, communists and socialists accidentally found by patriotic Brown Shirt physicians was nothing but the names of distinguished Jewish physicians who had agreed to serve on a committee to assist their brethren in the profession. As I write, the executive director of this committee still sits in prison and his work, of course, is temporarily disrupted. And this disruption was the goal of the Brown Shirts.

3. Even if a physician is a war veteran, if he has enemies who are powerful, he may be denied the privilege of functioning at the *kranken kasse*. One very successful practitioner told me the following experience:

Among his patients were many leading Nazis and city officials. On the day of the boycott, five Brown Shirts came to his home to get him. As he was being taken away, he asked his wife to telephone a patient of his, a Nazi leader. On hearing this request, the young Brown Shirt spoke out and said to his wife, "Never mind, before you can reach your friend, your husband will be in Egypt." (Dead.) Five hours later, this doctor, as a result of the intervention of his Nazi friends, was released. He had been taken to a Nazi armory. There he found himself with 5 other Jews in a small room. One by one, they were taken to a room on the other side of the large hall and beaten. Though the hall was crowded with carousing Nazis, over the din of their carousals could be heard the screams of the victims. I asked this physician to describe to me how he himself had been maltreated. He evaded my question. And when I pressed him to speak, his reply was "I can not tell you what happened to me; I can only tell you of what happened to others." Apparently he had taken an oath not to divulge the details of his own mistreatment, though he did not deny being mistreated but rather affirmed it.

Nazi apologists in discussing the proportion of Jewish physicians in Germany invariably distort figures. They are notoriously skillful in juggling statistics to suit their arguments. Especially do they ply this art upon gullible Americans. I attended a lecture given by Van Leers, an understudy of Goebbels, and well known as a leading anti-Semite of Germany, to a group of Americans. To the Americans, he stated that there were five hundred thousand Polish Jews in Germany. Inasmuch as the total registered Jewish population of Germany approximated 600,000, an informed group would have scoffed at such an obvious misstatement. This Nazi leader dared to make it before Americans who are less informed on European politics and therefore more gullible. When some one in the audience asked the lecturer to verify the statement about a half million Polish Jews, he flushed and replied: "I meant that a half million Polish Jews passed through Germany on their way to Paris, London and to the U. S." Now what significance could a statement about the number of Jews passing for a few fleeting hours through Germany have upon the present burning question which he was discussing? None. Except that the speaker was brazenly trying to poison the minds of his American hearers. Most statistics about Jews voiced by Nazi apologists are as reliable as was that statement. I heard one important leader state publicly that 90% of Berlin's physicians were Jews. An obvious inaccuracy. What this official had reference to but did not state, was that 90% of certain types of medical officials in one Berlin hospital were Jews, but certainly not 90% of the physicians of Germany. Jewish physicians are not in as precarious a state as are lawyers. Yet as the government extends its power, it will slowly and gradually and completely eliminate Jews from the medical profession and thus close another avenue of support.

Artists

From the artistic and theatrical life of Germany, Jews have been excluded by government decree. To be denied the opportunity of participating in theatrical and concerts sponsored by the State means to be

shut out of the artistic life. If Bruno Walter and Max Reinhardt, of international repute, were forced into exile, what chances have lesser lights to continue to function? Recently, the government ban has been extended to include stage mechanics and even operators of motion picture machines. So that, Jews are shut out of the theatrical life of Germany. The ban applies not merely to Jewish performers, but also to Jewish masterpieces. An American composer and conductor informed me that a concert program for which he had contracted and which contained Goldmark's "Gettysburg Address", was changed by the authorities without his consent because Jewish music bears the Jewish racial taint. When he did not readily yield to their demands that the program be eliminated, he was threatened with physical harm.

Even the attic-starved painter or sculptor has not been spared. No Jewish artist may exhibit at any public exhibit or may remain a member of any academy of art. This ban, as in all other professions, includes baptised Jews as well as Christians who have one Jewish grandmother. In order to maintain in a measure the creative abilities of Jewish artists, Jews have begun to arrange their own artistic programs. A few such functions have already been held in Berlin and in other communities before crowded houses and before audiences that were not limited to Jews. Plans are on foot for future concerts and theatricals to be given by Jewish artists in Jewish communal institutions in order that the culture of the German Jew may be maintained. Whether this cultural endeavor is to continue is unknown. In everything the Jew does in Germany, the future is uncertain as no one knows whether the government will permit or prohibit.

Academicians and Office Holders

The fate of Jews holding academic and government posts is like that of their legal and medical professional brethren. A professor or official whose tenure of office was for life and who had a guaranty of a permanent and regular definite income, could plan his life accordingly. Because a retirement pension was part of his contract, he was under no compulsion to save. Some of these dismissed officials are being pensioned, but how long their pension will last no one knows. Others were summarily dismissed. This blow caught them unprepared as they had no savings. One in the latter category, a collector of antiques, was living on the sale of his household furniture. When that is gone, he is through, and must take his place in the breadline. The number of Jewish academicians and officials in Germany is greatly exaggerated. If the Jewish quota among government officials is to be 1.5%, the net quota probably was never equalled for all of Germany. It is possible that in some localities it was for a time exceeded, but in all of Germany the proportion of Jewish officials did not equal one-half of a per cent. Of the 500 cabinet officials which have functioned in the government since the formation of the republic, not one dozen were Jews. And these officials who can be counted on the fingers of two hands are said to have ruled and ruined Germany. It is true that some Jewish officials, like Rathenau, stood out, but there was only one Rathenau, and he was murdered. And to the memory of his murderers, cowardly assassins, now German heroes, and

Nazi idols, a memorial tablet was recently unveiled by responsible party leaders.

A few of the most distinguished academicians like Einstein and Wolfers, director of the Hoch Schule for Politics, engaged by Yale University for next year, are provided for. But the majority are helpless and at the caprice of the government whose proclaimed goal is their ruination. Where officials or academicians, qualify for their posts under government regulations, attempts are nevertheless made to dislodge or to discredit them. In the case of professors, that is easy. Student boycotts can be arranged and riots can be staged so that professors are compelled to go on what is politely known as a leave of absence. Where that is not possible, innuendoes about inefficiency and dishonesty furnish moral grounds for dismissal. When the distinguished head of Berlin's museum was recently "beurlaubt" (sent on a vacation), the insinuation was that he used his standing as an art connoisseur to gain fraudulent profits. The academicians who were the pride of the German Jewish community find themselves in a pitiable plight.

Employees

Just as dark as is the future of the professional classes, so hopeless is that of the employees. Fully two-thirds of the Jewish bread winners of Germany work for others. What is their present status? Those who worked for the government and did not qualify as war veterans were immediately dismissed. An anti-Semitic Nazi speaker addressing a group of Americans stated that he himself had made a desperate plea to permit 200 Jewish widows, widowed by the war, to retain their government positions; that thus far his plea had proved futile, but that he still hoped to win his colleagues over. Keeping in mind how much of German life is dominated by the government, such as insurance, railroads, street cars, etc., the dismissal of Jewish employees from these fields of work must have been serious. In addition, the official policy is to reduce the number of Jewish employees in any single concern, irrespective of its ownership, to 1.5%. The internationally known Tietz firm which operates a chain of department stores throughout Germany refused to consent to the paritisation of its help (parity with Jews being the slogan of Nazi speakers). Tietz insisted that without his tried efficient aides, with their years of invaluable experience, he could not carry on. Rather than accede to the government orders, he would close the doors of his firm. His protest was effective, but temporarily. As a result of the boycott pressure, Tietz' firm sustained heavy economic losses and its life hung in the balance. To go on, a loan of millions of marks was required. Without government consent, that loan could not be obtained. Such consent was given on the stipulation that on the first of July many Jewish employees be dismissed in the Berlin store. And so, on that date, several hundred more Jewish bread winners were set adrift. On the same day, several hundred Jewish clerks of the Dresdener Bank met a similar fate. In connection with the Tietz store, it is interesting to note that at a Nazi meeting the question of the relationship between Jewish and Nazi employees was discussed. Inasmuch as Nazis are expected to have no contacts with Jews,

not even that of perfunctory greetings, some extremists insisted that Nazi employees should neither greet nor speak to their Jewish co-workers. To this decision one saner party member answered "To be able to ostracize the Jews would be Utopia, but alas for that Utopia we are not yet ready at Tietz's."

The dismissal of Jewish employees goes on regularly and systematically. The head of an American firm which does its business in Europe and had headquarters in Berlin was asked to pare down his employees to the 1.5% Jewish quota. He stated that he required skilled and trained men. Refusing to yield to Nazi exhortation, he found himself boycotted by many of his patrons, upon whom the party had exerted its influence. Rather than surrender to this infraction upon his liberty, this business man is moving his office to another country, but his Jewish employees will be turned out. For all types of workers guilds are being formed. From these Jews are excluded. Without membership cards in them, the obtaining of work is practically impossible.

In the newly organized guild of agents or salesmen, only Aryans have been accepted. This means that no Jew will be able to represent any firm in Germany. With tears in his eyes, an old man informed me that he was not even permitted to sell matches on the streets. Jewish street peddlers belong to the past in Germany. In the cities, they cannot get licenses and in the rural districts they dare not venture. Where then are they to go? What are they to do? With thousands of Jewish employees losing their positions, positions they have held for years and with no opportunity of hurdling government bans and of securing new work, for all new jobs go only to Nazis, these jobless Jews have only one future, and that is to stand in the breadline or beg in the streets. This condition will grow worse as with the passage of time German efficiency and thoroughness does its work.

Jewish Youth and Jewish Children

With a seemingly inhuman, heartless vise slowly squeezing Jews out of every field of economic endeavor in Germany, it becomes evident that there is no future for the Jewish youth. In Jewish circles one often hears it said philosophically that the old will have to die in the new German ghetto but the youth must migrate. Jewish children are still admitted to the elementary schools, attendance at which is compulsory for all Germans. But in the higher schools the 1.5% is to be rigidly applied. This means that for most Jewish youth the avenues for higher education in Germany are closed. Even in the primary schools the lot of the Jewish child is unenviable. With the propaganda genius which has characterized their rise to power, the Nazi leaders are indoctrinating the children of Germany with the virus of their Weltanschauung. No sooner was the government in power than it placed in the hands of all children a textbook giving the Nazi interpretation of German history, and which details the narrative of Hitler's rapid rise to power and the chief planks of his program. In that narrative the Jew is the symbol of all evil. Copious illustrations fill the pages of these history text-books illustrating vividly this thesis. The Jew is held responsible for the World War. His treason

to Germany turned glorious victory on the field of battle into disgraceful defeat. He was the advocate of parliamentary democracy, the cause of much suffering in Germany. A Jew, Preuss, sinned against Germany by drafting the too democratic Weimar Constitution. A Jew conceived of Marxism, the worst of all human plagues; Jews made the infamous Treaty of Versailles; Jewish bankers plotted the inflation which ruined the middle class; and the Jew sought to complete his mastery over Germany by foisting communism upon it. The Jew generates all these evils because he is cursed, cursed with tainted Semitic blood, cursed with the stigma of being born from an inferior, Asiatic race. These fanatic and fantastic accusations are found in the new German text-books which are intended to implant upon the plastic minds of children the glory of the new Germany. Teachers are forced to teach these untruths to their children. Jewish children are compelled to sit in on these lessons. What is bound to be the effect upon the psychology of the Jewish child from hearing himself and his elders continually cast in the most villainous of roles? What is bound to be the resulting attitude of German children to their Jewish classmates? But contempt, scorn and vicious hatred. In one school, a Jewish child was accused by some of its Nazi playmates of having scoffed at Hitler. The child denied the charge. The principal put that child through a third degree to secure a confession from it. The child persisted in its denial. It was grilled until it became unconscious. With tears in his eyes, the principal informed the child's parents that he would lose his position unless he forced a confession from the child. In another school, a Jewish boy was accused of scoffing at Nazi power. Because his father was a war veteran, he had not been dismissed from the high school and could continue his course. For this reported indiscretion, the boy was immediately expelled from school. Jewish children, who, by law, may continue in the schools may and are being expelled upon the flimsiest of pretexts. But in the case of this particular boy, the design was more machievellian. His father was one of the few judges in the community, who, because of his brilliant war record, had not been removed. That he remained on the bench irked some rabid Nazis. Therefore, the expulsion of his son from school was connived at. Now his son's scoffing at Nazi principles is to be blamed upon the father and thus a valid excuse will have been fabricated to justify the father's removal from public office.

In some Berlin schools, teachers in calling upon Jewish children, referred to them as Jew Goldsmith or Jew Cohen. In other schools there are benches in which Jewish children are segregated. In one of the big cities, a large school distributed folders to its pupils announcing a gala picnic to commemorate a patriotic holiday. At the foot of the announcement was the statement in capital print that Jewish children were to be excluded from the festivity. In Berlin, an annual field day marks the closing of the public schools. From it all Jewish children were banned this year. One principal invited a Jewish boy, an athlete of exceptional skill, to participate because he was especially needed to win a trophy for his school. The agreement of the German Olympic Committee to make no racial or religious distinctions in making its selections for the Olympic team is farcical, because no Jewish athlete in Germany is permitted to

train on public tracks or to compete in events and thus be able to qualify for the Olympic team. From all playgrounds, public tennis courts, parks, camps, recreational facilities, Jewish children are banned. In Berlin, a rich Christian lady offered her large estate for the use of Jewish children's sports. In the primary schools, the practice is to give text-books free to needy children, but not to children of the Jewish poor. Even Jewish orphans are compelled to pay for their books. To all vacationing school children the government offers large railroad rebates, but not to the Jewish school children. All these instances could be multiplied a thousand-fold and indicate that the life for the Jewish child in Germany will be a psychological burden which no child should be asked to bear. In such an atmosphere of hatred and contempt, ingenuously fostered and nourished, only dwarfed and embittered souls can develop. Only cowardly weaklings or unscrupulous revolutionists, sworn foes of society, will emerge. While serious thought is being given by Jewish leaders to the possibilities of developing a Jewish school system, the government has not stated its attitude on the subject. It has given no opportunity to Jewish leaders officially to discuss this problem. With the road to the professions barred, with schooling rendered intolerable, with positions closed, what chances are there for the Jewish youth—none in Germany. Unanimous was the cry, the youth must migrate. But wohin? Whither?

An example of Nazi harshness to Jewish children, this incident will illustrate. On or near the boycott day, the reform school, maintained in Berlin by Jews for juvenile delinquents, was seized by members of Hitler's private army. All its inmates and their leaders were put into a concentration camp. After three weeks the youthful delinquents were released, but they found that all their personal belongings had been stolen. The Nazis still hold the building, and the Jewish community has an additional problem of housing these young people.

Jewish Communities

Jewish communal, like Protestant and Catholic communal life in Germany, was maintained by a tax collected through the government which amounted to about 10% of the income tax. With this tax the Jewish community maintained hospitals, old folks homes, orphanages, cemeteries, schools, synagogues, libraries, museums and other community activities. The plight of these Jewish communities is rapidly becoming desperate. Many of their rich members have already taken refuge in other countries and no longer contribute their share of communal support. The professional classes are struggling to maintain themselves and many of them will soon become public charges. Employees are increasingly losing their positions. The result is that the income even of large and rich Jewish communities has been decimated. Without foreign assistance, Jewish communal life in Germany will soon collapse, and with its collapse will disappear the rallying ground of the stricken Jews of Germany. No matter what organizations the government is suppressing, and in communities like Munich most Jewish organizations have been suppressed, the Jewish community organizations have not been tampered with. How serious their financial predicament is can be seen in the decision of the Berlin

Jewish Community to abandon its hospital. This decision was arrived at because the government no longer will pay for free patients in the Jewish hospitals, as it has paid in the past, and as it pays to all other hospitals. No other funds being available, the Jewish hospital will have to be abandoned. What this may mean, this little incident will illustrate. In a very large community, a Jewish merchant was badly beaten by a group of Nazis. Unconscious, they left him at the police station. There, though in great pain and ministered to by his cellmates, he was kept for one week, while his family was informed that the police knew nothing about him. When the police saw that he was fatally wounded, they sent him home. His family summoned a physician, an Aryan physician, who upon recognizing the case, refused to treat the patient because he stated it would mean the ruin of his medical career. He, however, urged that the wounded man be taken to a hospital as he needed immediate and serious attention. Two private hospitals refused to accept this dying Jew. He finally was admitted to the public ward of a city hospital, where he died from a dislocated kidney. This information I secured from an American official, who has no interest in spreading any propaganda, a lover of German culture. One-third of the Jewish deaths in a community since April 1, have been suicides.

The danger that threatens Jewish communities is real, and when these are disrupted and rabbis become beggars and Jewish communal life ceases, then darkness indeed will brood over the depths of Jewish life.

Atrocities

Just a brief word about atrocities. They are serious, but in view of the economic paralysis which is creeping slowly upon the Jews of Germany, individual atrocities become pygmy and insignificant. Atrocities have occurred in the past and are occurring at the present moment. During the period that I was in Germany, reports that atrocities were occurring regularly reached me from all sources. They seemed to increase in intensity rather than to diminish. They seemed to be breaking out in sections of Germany which had hitherto been free from them. During the months of June and July, they were going on continuously. Nor were Jews the only victims. All political dissenters are feeling the wrath of the Nazi judgment, also Catholic priests. As one individual remarked "This so-called bloodless revolution has already been one of the bloodiest in history." From the Nazi press alone one can read the severest indictment of Brown Shirt cruelties. Daily announcements are made in official newspapers of men shot fleeing from concentration camps. Some of these men, having been shot in the foreheads, must have been running backwards. This June, 3 Nazis were killed in Berlin while endeavoring to rifle a home in the middle of the night, and in retaliation, hundreds of human beings were beaten and 20 important labor leaders have disappeared. One of these was a former cabinet minister, an international personality whose mangled remains were recovered in a small creek. From foreign newspapermen, from consular officials, from employees of various embassies, from various individuals came continuous reports of violence to enemies of the government, while the Nazi press was scoring

the atrocity accounts as part of old anti-German war propaganda. Nazis are having a chance to pay off old grudges to their enemies and they are doing it with a vengeance. Mussolini's Fascisti were humane and meek as lambs in comparison with the frenzied sadism of Hitler's private soldiers. Apologists for the government state that the leaders can not control their unruly followers, to whom they have painted glorious pictures of the Elysian fields which would be theirs when political victory was to crown their efforts? To their followers for 12 years with ceaseless, ingenuous, unscrupulous propaganda, they have promised a paradise of booty, of private vengeance and of murder. Goebbels' own words damn the government for which he speaks. While a member of the cabinet, in an address quoted in all German papers, including his own, he is reported to have said "We have been accused of being ruthless to Jews. When did we say that we would be anything but ruthless to them? They say that we show them no sympathy, when did we promise to show them any sympathy?" Goering made the statement that "We have no police to protect Jews." With such brutally frank utterances coming from men who have ceased to be irresponsible leaders of the opposition, who are charged with the responsibilities of government, what can be expected of a turbulent mob? Because of the threat of reprisals to relatives, the world will never know, as one German put it, one hundredth of one per cent of the atrocities. When an article in the New York Times by as distinguished a German as Philip Scheidemann leads to the arrest and imprisonment of five of his relatives in Germany, among them two grandchildren, how dare a humble Jew tell the story of his maltreatments? How then do accounts of violence reach the attention of people? From wives who have seen the mutilated bodies of their husbands. From physicians who were called in to treat them, from neighbors and friends who have seen men well one day, appear swathed in bandages the next. **I have spoken personally to half a dozen Jews who have been beaten.** I have spoken to men whose nephews have been murdered. I have been in communities where dozens of men were in the hospital as the result of Nazi brutality. But stirring and challenging as are these continued acts of violence, they are incomparable to the slow process of crushing economically the Jew of Germany.

Jewish Denial of Atrocities

When the moral indignation of the world was aroused over the accounts of atrocities which came practically from all foreign newspaper correspondents in Berlin, reported by them with courage, at personal risk which merits them the gratitude of civilized people everywhere, there appeared denials by Jewish leaders. A whole book has been published containing these. This book is being distributed by Nazi propagandists and freely given to American travelers. Even I received one gratis. Men from all walks of life informed me that these statements were white lies which Jewish leaders were compelled to utter in order to save their communities and themselves from even worse fury. Those which were not forced were told by super-patriotic German Jews who preferred to suffer in silence rather than to have the name of their beloved country tarnished. The pathetic patriotism of these German Jews! I heard one say at a

public meeting "We live near an erupting volcano. It pours forth its molten lava about us. The lava covers the land. We must not forget that beneath the lava is German soil, the soil we love, the soil for which, and on which, our fathers have died for more than ten centuries." These patriotic Germans who are no longer Germans by government decree, who weep because they are second class citizens, perjure themselves to uphold the glory of their country which its mad leaders have dragged into the dust. Professor Norlin, President of the University of the State of Colorado, and Roosevelt exchange professor at the University of Berlin for the year ending June, 1933, was asked by Berlin Nazis to sign a prepared telegram denying the occurrences of atrocities. He had the moral courage to refuse to do so and was compelled to resist much pressure in order to persevere in his refusal. Others, lacking his moral courage, succumbed and hence Americans were overwhelmed with tales of how bloodless this bloody revolution was. I can not blame individuals for believing this new German propaganda. It seems so impossible that in the twentieth century, in a country as civilized as Germany, such cruelties could be countenanced by men who presume to rule and to deal with leaders of civilized people. Not infrequently, while in Germany, I wondered whether all I had heard and seen was not a part of a dreadful nightmare. It was difficult to believe that in this land of Lessing and of Goethe, of Einstein and of Mann, such barbarous passions could be permitted to run amuck. Americans who received word to the contrary must know that a reign of terror exists in Germany, that no German dare publicly speak the truth, that every German who aspires to anything must feign acceptance of Nazi doctrines. Even the societies consecrated to such battles for liberty as Carl Schurz and Baron von Steuben have become naught but spawning ground for Nazi bacteria and their hireling leaders are contaminating with their poisonous germs the societies named after these heroes throughout the United States. How Carl Schurz, the rebel of 1848, the leader of a host of rebellious spirits who found shelter on the shores of America, the pleader for human rights and privileges, how he would rise out of his grave to voice his repudiation of the organizations conceived to honor him in which the spirit of liberty has been perverted to advance the cause of tyranny and racial oppression. The best evidence of the hollowness of Jewish protests against the existence of these atrocities is in my hand. On March 16th, a Jewish periodical published in Germany, in screeching headlines which marred its otherwise sober news columns, declared that atrocities were occurring throughout Germany. It cited specific instances of several murdered Jews and other acts of brutality and vandalism. Three weeks later, in the same periodical, with headlines even larger, there appeared the denial of the occurrence of any atrocities in Germany and the statement that these atrocity tales were fomented by enemies of the Germans as propaganda against the legitimate aspirations of the third Reich.

The Army

In all phases of German life, the Nazi steamroller is reducing the Jewish proportion to 1.5% except in the army. The Ministry of War has refused to allow the Nazi leaders to tamper with the army. He has

insisted that it must have the ablest men in the most important positions. Fourteen Jews are being retained in the army in the departments of physics, mathematics and chemistry because they are irreplaceable. The same is true of Jewish chemists in important industries who possess valuable secrets and who are carefully watched lest they flee from Germany taking their secrets with them. Report has it that 80% of Germany's army officers have, as one gentleman put it, Jewish aunts, that is, have Jewish ancestors.

The Church

Strange to say, the evangelical church of Germany, like the army, has many important officials of Jewish descent. Many missionaries are tainted with Semitic blood. Some of Germany's most famous missionaries have been Jews. The predecessor of one of the most distinguished churchmen, the General Superintendent Dibelius (now on an enforced vacation), was the son of a converted Jew. That bishop's son, for a general superintendent is a bishop, a lawyer, has been thrown out of his profession. Thousands of Protestants and Catholics who have one Jewish grandparent are forced to share the lot of Jews with whom they have never had any contacts. According to one leading clergyman, the church in Germany was fighting for the same privileges that the army had secured, the privilege of keeping its best men in their positions. But this faction has lost its battle. The German Christians have triumphed and the church will be Aryanized. A new group will now again appear in Germany, even as it existed in the first days of the Christian Church, a group of Christian Jews. Thousands of Catholics and of Protestants who have Jewish grandparents will gradually become a separate sect in the German state.

Defenders of Jews

Have no Christian voices been raised on behalf of Jews in Germany? They have. Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich sent a pastoral letter to his bishops urging them to champion religious tolerance and combat race prejudice. In a broadcast to America on Easter Sunday, a German Catholic prelate raised his voice on behalf of religious freedom and racial tolerance and Catholics too have suffered from brutality and humiliation, as have Jews. Individual Protestant preachers have risked their positions and have denounced from their pulpits the unfair discrimination against Jews. In one community, a group of Christians banded together and determined to go out of their way to patronize Jewish merchants and to go only to Jewish professional men. In some communities, Christians have secretly contributed to Jewish relief funds. Individual artists have insisted on keeping Jewish aides. A distinguished physician refused to dismiss his Jewish assistants and was himself dismissed. These courageous acts of kindness are the rays of light in an otherwise drab situation.

Propaganda in America

All the arts of skillful Nazi propagandists are to be launched in a desperate effort to win public opinion in the U. S. to the cause of Hitler.

In this campaign fact and truth will yield to falsehood and fiction. Although Hitlerism flaunts democracy, liberty, the separation of state and church, the right to religious worship, the freedom of the press, and its program and practice constitute a challenge to those cherished American principles for which our sons have died on a hundred battlefields, the bold Nazis are nevertheless going to woo the good will of Americans by the plea that Hitler saved Europe from communism. Foreign observers in Germany scoff at that plea. They contend that Hitler created the communist bogey in order to stampede the people to elect him. They contend that the burning of the Reichstag was part of the campaign to frighten the German voter. They insist that many brown shirts have red linings; that many secret communists hold strategic positions in the Nazi party, and that Hitler, now that he has disposed of the conservative Hugenberg elements, may be the agency to bring the communism which the unemployed and disgruntled elements in the brown army desire. European nations closer to the German scene know the facts and did not believe that Hitler saved the German government from anything except an orderly government and from peace with its neighbors. Yet Americans are to be won by having Hitler pose as the world's saviour from communism. It must not be forgotten that the Nazi flag is red, with a black swastika; that its platform is called national socialism, and that the difference between socialism and communism is that socialism seeks to establish its social order through parliamentary process, while communism seeks to gain the same ends through violence and a dictatorship. The ends that Hitler intends to use he has proclaimed to the world. If he lives up to his socialist promises, he will bring communism to Germany. The treatment of Jews will be justified on the ground that most Jews are communists. In Germany, as in other lands, many Jews being merchants are conservatives, and not communists. It is true that there were a few Jewish communist leaders in Germany, but for every single Jewish communist leader in Germany, there were scores of Jews who were leaders in all other political parties.

The Polish Jews

Nazi apologists who can not before the world deny the contribution of the Jews to German history will state that they had no quarrel with the German Jew, but that their venom is directed against Polish Jews. Anti-Semitism existed in Germany long before Polish Jews appeared on the scene in Germany. Only 72,000 Polish Jews altogether entered Germany. Among these are many who in a brief time made significant contributions to German life. The irony of fate is that the Polish Jews who are not naturalized Germans are protected by Polish passports and by the Polish Government. The Polish Government has threatened to commit reprisals upon Germans living in Poland for every Pole harmed in Germany. The result is that the stores of Polish Jews were not boycotted, and that the children of Polish Jews may in the schools enjoy all the privileges. The victims of Nazi wrath are the old German Jewish families whose traditions center about Germany and into whose fabric their lives have been woven for centuries. No German Jew with whom I spoke believes that the Polish Jews are responsible for Nazi anti-Semitism.

The Protest Meetings

From all sides I learned that the protest meetings arranged and held under Jewish auspices were considered to be of little value. They harmed rather than helped. The protests, however, arranged under Christian auspices, such as the protest of American university professors, or the protests in which the Archbishop of Canterbury took part, as well as the protests in the House of Parliament in England, and in our Senate, to these the Nazis pay attention, and only such protests, indicating the outraged conscience of humanity, if anything can save the Jews of Germany.

The Casual Traveller in Germany

The casual traveller in Germany may never have any inkling of what is transpiring behind the scene, nor of the reign of terror which exists. Outwardly everything seems calm and serene. Stores and shops are open. People are going about their business, seemingly, in the normal way. No evidences of disorder, no signs of brutality are to be seen in the streets. The sun still shines in Germany. The wheat ripens. The flowers bloom.

But the tragedy of blighted lives cannot be seen by the tourist. He knows nothing about the silent boycott. He knows nothing about the midnight raids and arrests. He cannot peer into the cellars or armories of the Brown Shirts. He hears no screams. He sees no tortured bodies brought home in sealed caskets. He does not learn what is transpiring in concentration camps. He cannot feel the anguish of ostracized children or the hurt pride of devoted Germans, who now bow their heads in humiliation, because they are second-class citizens. He does not know that even in sumptuous offices, lawyers receive no business. Nor can he perceive how the savings of individuals slowly dwindle.

No American tourist can express any opinion about Germany, that has any value, if he has been chaperoned by Nazis and has not received the confidence of the natives, who could, if they dared, speak the truth. The tourist enters no homes. He sees no windows closed, lest spies listen in. He sees no nervous movements when the sounds of crackling paper disturb the silence of the night.

He cannot feel the anguish of parents whose sons have been assaulted and who fear that these assaults may at any time be repeated.

Only by prodding beneath the surface can one learn the truth, and no tourist can do that.

The Ignorance Even of Germans About the True State of Affairs

Many Americans with friends or relatives in Germany have undoubtedly received word from them denying the reported cruelties and that anything untoward is happening in Germany. Some of these denials were undoubtedly inspired by the government and were made mandatory. At one time, individuals mailing letters to foreign countries had to bring them unsealed to the postoffice so that their contents could be read.

But there are in Germany many sincere people who believe that nothing unusual has happened to their Jewish neighbors. I spoke to

several prominent clergymen, who seemed to feel that the Jewish problem was not acute, and that with minor restrictions Jews could carry on as usual. The very day that I spoke to these men, I had seen Jewish leaders, who were expecting pogroms, who reported more and more brutality and who stated that there is no future for Jews in Germany. How account for these contradictory views? That is simply done.

Because of press censorship, only approved government news appears in the daily newspapers. Most of the news emanates from government headquarters in Berlin, and its publication is mandatory. By merely reading the newspapers, the average German will not know what is transpiring in his country, and in addition, no German will receive any inkling of the truth from any Jew, because of the fear of the espionage system.

A man sees his Jewish neighbor go to his store as usual, wear the same suit, and live in the same house. That his business is ruined, his practice disrupted and he himself maltreated, this neighbor cannot know and will not know unless the Jew will speak and the Jew fears to speak.

Men are taken from their homes in the night, are maltreated behind the walls of the Brown House and are sent home before daybreak, or else ostensibly go to a sanatorium for a rest-cure.

Germans in small towns will know what is happening, but in a large city, like Berlin, they may know nothing. An American journalist, realizing that many Germans do not know what is happening to Jews, suggested that one hundred Jews begin a hunger strike on "Unter Den Linden", Berlin's principal thoroughfare, in order that the German people may know what is happening to them.

The Press of the World

The foreign news correspondents of Germany have rendered the world a great service in telling the truth about the German revolution. To do so, they forfeited the favor of the government, subjected themselves to inconveniences, if not physical danger and even braved imprisonment. To attack their integrity is to attempt to besmirch the character of courageous soldiers in the army of truth.

Because of stringent laws, failure to be accurate is dangerous. Newspapermen must be able to prove everything they write, else they are liable to long terms of imprisonment. Whatever, therefore, American newspapermen living in Germany have written, is truth, which they can substantiate. Their telegrams and articles are frequently censored. They send important messages by phone to London and Paris and though records of these conversations are kept by political police, they cannot be interfered with, for by the time the interference could be effective, the news has been received on the other end.

American journalists know much more than they have reported. They cannot write all the news because to prove its truth they would be compelled to violate the confidence of their informants and would compel these to testify, publicly, about their mistreatments, with disastrous results for themselves and their families. Therefore, the world has only heard a fraction of the brutalities, because the victims must be silent.

I met many American correspondents. They are a fine lot. They are upholding the noblest ideals of their great profession and are giving

the American public the truth, which they frequently gather at personal risk. The newspapers which maintain them have merited the gratitude of Americans.

Hostages

The silence of many Jews in America about the situation in Germany may be due to the fact that they have relatives there, and that they fear reprisals upon them. American Jewish leaders, too numerous to mention, have such hostages in Germany, and their timidity in the face of the great Jewish calamity may be due to their concern for their own kin. This timidity has played right into the hands of the Nazis. The Nazis fear nothing except force, brute force stronger than their own. Such force exists only outside of Germany. It is the force of nations as big or bigger than Germany. The only factor which may lead the Nazis to mitigate their treatment of Jews is the public opinion of other nations and the pressure of that public opinion made manifest through diplomatic, economic and publicity channels. Especially do the Nazis value British and American public opinion. The Jews of Germany are lost. They can be saved, if at all, through letting the Nazis know that the world will ostracize Germany if it brutally destroys one-half million of its citizens. American Jews who hesitate to expose Naziism in Germany are not helping but harming their relatives. German Jews recognize that only the voice of an outraged humanity can save them from pogroms.

Then, too, the fate of all Jews in Germany transcends the fate of any individual. Jewish leaders should not be deterred by their hostages. During the world war, President Masaryk was agitating in England for a free Czech republic. In order to silence him, his daughter in Prague was seized by the militarists and sentenced to death. Word was sent to Masaryk that his daughter would be spared if he ceased to agitate for the freedom of his people. Masaryk refused to be restrained by his hostage. His answer was "If they kill my daughter, it will just be too bad, but I must continue to fight for the liberty of my people."

Jews of German descent in America may well emulate the example of Masaryk. The hostages in Germany should not prevent the Jews' exposure of the brutality of Naziism.

The Future

For the Jew there seems to be little chance of the lessening of his burden. The recent statement of Goebbels and Goering indicate where they stand. A Canadian newspaper man had received an appointment for an interview with Goebbels. He was asked to submit seven questions, to which Goebbels would prepare an answer. Two referred to the future of Jews. Goebbels cancelled the interview because of the Jewish questions, which he did not care to answer.

Hitler refused to see a British member of Parliament to whom he had given an appointment when he learned that one of the M. P.'s grandparents was Jewish. From both a journalist and a government official, I was informed that Hitler stated that for him the Jewish question was closed and that he no longer cared to discuss it. Recently, a German newspaper which suggested that General Balboa, Italy's hero, was a

baptized Jew, was suspended for three months by order of Goering. Its editor was arrested and put in a concentration camp. To call a heroic Italian a Jew, Goering considered an insult to Italy, and hence, the editor responsible for that insult, had jeopardized Germany's foreign policy. This illustrates the intense hatred against Jews in government circles.

The government will not see or deal with Jewish leaders. The men to whom I brought letters of introduction all promised to arrange interviews for me, but never did. A Nazi leader can only lose status by discussing the Jewish problem. If he is disposed to ameliorate conditions of Jewish life, he will lose popularity with the rank and file of the party. If he appears relentless to the Jewish question, he must face the criticism of public opinion and of the press of the world. The result is that the Jewish question is the quilled porcupine which no Nazi leader cares to touch. One Nazi leader stated that for 12 years the Nazi Party had spoken about the fruit of victory that they all would enjoy. Now that victory has been achieved, what can the party offer them but the Jews. He added that the November revolution of 1918 gave the people peace and the men in the trenches clean beds to sleep on. What can the Nazi Party give to its victorious troops? Only the Jews. As an American journalist said "To the hungry lions they are casting the Jews." To my utter amazement, Nazi leaders shunned me and were afraid, honestly and frankly to discuss the problems of the Jews. I was promised many interviews, only one was kept and that one was kept because I refused to allow it to be cancelled. An American newspaper man informed me that it was his conviction that all Jews should leave Germany at once. And if need be, even become beggars. To him that fate seems preferable to life in Germany as members of a race of helots. A distinguished American informed me that if the anti-Jewish teachings in the schools continue for 2 years longer and children's minds continue to be poisoned against Jews, there is no tolerable life possible for the next generation of Jews in Germany, even if Hitlerism is overthrown. When I asked a Nazi leader about the future of the Jews, he stated that at best it would be most difficult.

A Catholic leader informed me that Jews in Germany must bear a sore burden and that their lot is tragic. A Nazi naively stated that it is hell to be born a Jew. Many German Jews who do not hesitate to face reality, recognize that for the time being German-Jewish history is closed. As one put it, "The old will die here. The youth must migrate. One hundred thousand Jews may be able to settle in other countries. Another one hundred thousand will, by October first, be standing in breadlines. Three hundred thousand will, for a short time, be able to eke out an existence. Above all the children must leave Germany speedily. Thus will the Jew be liquidated in Germany."

A professor, an intellectual apologist for Hitler, stated that the aim of the present government is "the humane extirpation of the Jews." These exact words were phrased by one of the most important Nazis in Germany. Initially, the inhuman extirpation of the Jews was part of the Nazi policy and a pogrom of all Jews was initially contemplated. Only the public opinion of the world prevented that plan from being executed. Humane extirpation is the new goal. The cold pogrom is on. A paralysis creeps slowly over Jewish life and the shadow of Ghetto memories

casts its pall of gloom over the tents of Israel. Without the outraged conscience of humanity, especially of England and of the United States, it is my conviction that today there would not be a single Jew alive in Germany.

If the government changes, will the Jewish lot improve? To believe that it will be changed, is to yield to wish-thinking. If the government changes, it will only change midst violence. During that period of violence, the Jews will be the first victims. If Hitler succeeds, his ideology will be established and anti-Semitism is the keynote of that ideology. Again, to quote an American observer: "This is the third Reich. In the fifth Reich the lot of the Jew will be tolerable."

What are the Jews of the world to do? Altogether, there are sixteen million of them; the five million who live in Poland and Russia are helpless. That leaves eleven millions. Can these eleven million Jews pit themselves against a nation of sixty-five million Germans, an able nation aided and abetted perhaps by thirty-five million Germans living all over the world? This pan-Germany, which Hitler claims, is just as international as Jewry, and ten times more numerical. Can the Jewish David prevail against the German Goliath by picking up arms against him? To talk of world Jewry through a parade and the blare of trumpets and a noisy congress declaring an economic war on Germany is childish prattle and is playing with tinsel and toys. It is perhaps the vainglorious boasting which conceals a great inferiority complex. The Jew has no such world-power. The power of the international Jew is a myth. Nor is warfare the Jewish way. "Not by might and not by strength, but by my spirit, saith the Lord." The internationalism, the democracy, the pacifism, the world fellowship, and the social justice of the David of history must triumph over the militarism, the chauvinism, the race prejudice, the autocracy of the German Goliath. Israel lies prostrate on the field of battle in Germany, routed by the age-old enemies of man, ignorance, darkness, fear. The storm blows and before its fury the tallest of trees must bend or be broken. But storms pass and in their wake comes the sunshine and the quiet calm. The diseases of nationalism, of racial arrogance, of militarism, born from hungry bodies in disordered minds, in maddened souls, will be healed by the spirit of the Great Healer, and only then will Jew and German acknowledging their common humanity embrace once more in fellowship beneath the radiance of the Shekinah.

The New Germany and the Peace of the World

Perhaps the worst blow struck at the peace of Europe, since the beginning of the world war, was the accession to power of Hitler and his national socialists.

Mussolini, on his assumption of power in Italy, was bellicose and militant and imperialistic, like Hitler, but Italy is a nation of forty million and Germany is a nation of sixty-six million. Europe was alarmed over the entrance of Mussolini. It is frantic over the rise to power of Hitler. For twelve years his followers and he have nourished a militant spirit in Germany. They have held out dreams of conquest. They have revived the tales of victorious Vikings, and sought to stir the fighting

spirit of the youth of Germany. They have preached a doctrine of narrow nationalism. They have inculcated hatred against French and Poles. They have falsified science to prove that theirs is a superior race and hence entitled to mastery over other inferior peoples. They have drilled a political army of hundreds of thousands. They have encouraged military sports. They have declared themselves the foes of internationalism, of pacifism. They have kept alive the desire for vengeance against French and Poles. Now that they are in power, what can Europe expect but war—terrible war, as soon as Hitler's Germany is ready.

Against this logical conclusion of Nazi preachments, the friends of Hitler will argue that on May 17, in the Reichstag, and to the world, he declared the pacific intentions of his government. This declaration fooled no one. Despite it, troops are drilling nightly in the school yards of Berlin. Children from the age of six upwards are to be seen in uniform being prepared for the next war. Boys of ten are taught to throw hand grenades by a party whose spokesman has declared its pacific intentions. Drills, drills, drills everywhere in Germany. Between the hours of six and eight, young people are drilling in vacant spaces all over the country. Weapons are everywhere in evidence. Children glory in them. Hatred for other peoples, for foreigners fills the youthful masses. Europe, knowing this, is concerned. It remembers the Germany of 1914, its war-machine. It knows the resourcefulness, the scientific ability, the industrial power of Germany. Because it knows, it trembles.

Europeans thank God for the existence of the French Army. It alone stands as a wall to prevent an invasion of Europe by these young barbarians. The old generation in Germany is war-weary. The Nazi propaganda urges the youth to revolt against the cowardliness of the old generation. When their young generation comes into full control, war in Europe is inevitable. One of Germany's leading religious teachers expects a war when the youth of Germany, fed up on hate, nourished on the thesis that right can be achieved by might, comes to power. When that war breaks, it will mark the end of European civilization—for Europe cannot survive another war. America, too, may be engulfed.

What then of the disarmament conference! Henderson goes from capital to capital hoping to save it. His efforts must be futile. For Europe is afraid—afraid of the militarism of which Hitler is voice. When Europe, in addition, sees the fugitives of Nazi fury, some maimed for life, when it sees that these victims increase instead of decrease, it trembles more and grips its weapons with grimmer determination.

Until there is a spiritual disarmament in Germany, Geneva conferences must fail. To look for such a disarmament while the Nazis reign is to hope for the impossible. War may not be imminent in Europe because nations are bankrupt. Only the depression compels peace. Let Germany recover economically, and let Hitlerism flourish and European war is inevitable, as inevitable as the ebb and flow of the tides. The peace of the world has been irreparably retarded by the rise of the Nazis.

The Eternal Conflict—Judaism and Naziism

While Jews of the world are greatly concerned over the determination of the Nazis to exterminate them, it seems as if no finer compliment

has been paid to Jews and Judaism than the fact that they and it have been singled out for an attack by the present rulers of Germany.

The Nazis, by public confession, are the acknowledged foes of the finest things in American civilization. Instead of democracy, they favor a dictatorship. Instead of government by the people, they favor government by supermen, by leaders miraculously and romantically chosen. Instead of believing in the equality of races, they blare forth the superiority of their own race. Instead of recognizing the interdependence of all nations, and the kinship of all men, they champion an arrogant tribalism. Instead of recognizing the rights of the individual to freedom of worship, to freedom of thought, to justice and to fair play, they state that an individual has no rights which interfere with the rights of the state. Justice to them is whatever advances the welfare of their tribe. Individuals of other tribes need receive no consideration whatsoever. The Nazis are the pronounced foes of pacifism. They have proclaimed their opposition to universal religion, and have nationalized the leading church of Germany. They scoff at parliamentary government. Those great ideals, without which surely Americans cannot conceive life to be worth while, have been cast into the scrap heap. The Nazis insist that their conception of the state will eventually supplant democratic and parliamentary government. They are the outspoken foes of the ideals of liberty, of equality and of fraternity.

Against this Nazi philosophy, which is in reality an ancient form of tribalism dressed in modern garb, Judaism has always protested. Judaism teaches the belief in God, as the Creator of all men. Democracy, which is naught but an expression of faith in humanity, faith in the common man, faith in his essential nobility and beauty is a corollary which flows logically from the belief in one God. Judaism is interested not in the welfare of one nation, but in the welfare of all nations. It is international and universal in its aspirations. Judaism believes in the brotherhood of man and in the equality of races. Judaism maintains that peace among the nations is not merely a Utopian vision, but can be made a blessed reality. Judaism and Naziism, therefore, are anti-thetical philosophies.

It is interesting to note that some of the German-Christians, who have recently taken control of the Protestant Church in Germany, have advocated the elimination of the Old Testament from Christianity. There is some justice to that suggestion. The Old Testament contains the teachings of the prophets of Israel and these with their insistence upon social justice, upon the sacredness of human personality, upon the equality of races, upon the necessity of peace do contradict and clash with the philosophy of Naziism. To that extent the elimination of the Old Testament is justifiable. It must, however, be noted that when these prophetic elements found in the Old Testament are removed from Christianity, the finest sections of the New Testament are likewise automatically eliminated. The Jesus of the New Testament taught the Judaism of the Old. To eliminate from the New Testament, the prophetic idealism of the Old would mean to strip Christianity of its ethical and spiritual kernels and to leave naught but empty theological shells. There is logic, therefore, in the Nazi aim to eliminate the Old Testament from their religion.

There are some reasons why it should be retained. For it is the irony of history that much of the Nazi idolatry is the ideology of the Old Testament. The belief in the sacredness of one nation. The belief in a national God. The belief in a people chosen for conquest, the belief in an ethical code which, applied only to members within a tribe, have striking parallels in Old Testament literature. The Nazi philosophers have revived the crudest, most primitive elements of the Old Testament, and have made a modern religion of them. They have set up as an ideal for modern man the tribalistic, nationalistic primitive ideal of ancient semitic tribes. That ideal is chronicled in the Old Testament. But against that primitive semitic ideal, the prophets of Israel arose in protest. Against it, they led a spiritual revolution. The result of their revolution is Judaism and Christianity. Judaism must not be confused with semitism. Frequently it is, unfortunately. Judaism is a protest against the tribalism, the primitive ethics of ancient semitic tribes. The internationalism, universalism, love and justice, humanitarianism of Judaism challenged and many believe doomed forever the primitive ethics and religion of ancient semitic people. In that sense, Judaism is anti-semitism. Naziism which seeks to revive for the modern world the tribal ideals of primitive semitic tribes, though it professes to be anti-semitic, is actually semitic.

Even as the prophets of old warred against semitism, so the heirs and descendants of the prophets in the modern world must take arms against Naziism. These critical days are challenging the character and idealism of the Jews. We are accused of being internationalists, of being interested in the welfare of all people. God forbid that the day ever dawn when we shall be interested only in one people. To that accusation we plead guilty, and in the face of the new tribalism, let us hurl the universalism of Isaiah and of Jesus. We are accused of being the champions of democracy. To that charge let us plead guilty, and God forbid that the day ever dawn when we shall cease to champion democracy, or when we abandon our faith in the masses of men. Against the philosophy of dictatorship, we advance the ideals of liberty, of freedom, of democratic government. We are accused of being lovers of peace by the Nazis. To that charge we too plead guilty. And may the day never dawn when the sons of Israel will cease to love peace.

The Nazis have declared war upon Judaism, upon democracy, upon internationalism, upon human brotherhood. At our feet they have hurled the gauntlet. That challenge we must accept. Between Judaism and Naziism, even as between the prophets and semitism, there must be eternal, perpetual conflict. Between them there can be no compromise. Naziism may be temporarily triumphant, but Naziism is due to ultimate defeat, because God is on the side of humanity, of liberty, of democracy. Edgar Maurer said "Germany has turned the clock back a few centuries." Others say that the Nazis are plunging Germany back into the dark ages. What the Nazis are doing is to retrace the steps of civilization for the past 20 centuries, to ride rough shod over the ethical ideals which Judaism and Christianity have proclaimed, and thus to bring the German people back to the level of primitive semites and primitive Teutons. They may succeed for a brief time, but they will ultimately be defeated. Even the stars will war against them.

Will Anti-Semitism Spread?

Not infrequently, while discussing their problems with them, German Jews were concerned lest anti-semitism, like a contagious plague, spread to other countries. It is tragically true that anti-semitic tendencies are latent in many countries, and that these tendencies have become more vocal in the years of depression following the World War. In some European countries, and also in the United States, the triumph of the Nazis in Germany may give fresh impetus to leaders prepared to exploit anti-semitism for their own selfish ends. Already I have seen "The American Observer"—an English supplement of the "Deutsche Post" of New York, which seeks to stir up anti-Jewish animosity in the United States. It seems unthinkable that any virulent anti-semitism will spread in countries with great democratic traditions like France, England and the United States. If bad times continue, if in America the NRA were to fail, the masses would become more resentful and more sullen than they are. They would seek and demand a scape-goat, and it might not be impossible that the Jew might once more be elected to be that scape-goat. While this possibility seems utterly remote, it ought to be faced and faced courageously. To the German Jews, their present status seemed impossible, utterly impossible. This is no time for frenzied fears or for panicky hysteria.

What can we do to arrest the rise of anti-semitism? If prejudice were a matter of reason, it could be combatted with arguments, with facts. But prejudice is not born of the mind. It is the fruit of blind emotions. Neither the patriotic record of the Jews of Germany, nor the twelve thousand who fell on the field of battle, nor the Jewish contribution to literature, to art, to the theatre, to pure science, to medical science, to government, to the law, to the humanities, mattered in Germany. The saint was made to suffer with the criminal. Where prejudices raise their shadows, the light of reason is darkened.

We, Jews, in these critical days must not be stampeded into taking refuge in a counter-chauvinism as distasteful spiritually as the chauvinism of the Nazis. We must not allow ourselves to reply to the Nazi philosophy with a Naziism of our own. For us Jews there is this challenge: to articulate our spiritual traditions, anew to inscribe the prophetic ideals upon our banners. If we must go down, let us go down with world peace, internationalism, human brotherhood, social justice, inscribed upon our standards, proudly unfurled to the breezes. If men are to abandon justice, fair play, decency, consideration for human beings, love for one's neighbor, if savagery and barbarism and brutality and oppression and tyranny are to prevail, then we Jews will have to suffer. Such suffering will not be a novel experience in the history of our people. We can prepare to meet it like servile whimpering hirelings or like prophetic, courageous spirits. If we are to be destroyed, we know that we can only be destroyed when civilization is destroyed. A nation which destroys its Jews destroys itself, perhaps materially but surely spiritually. Such is the inexorable moral law which governs the universe. Such seems to be the will of God.

I REVISIT NAZI GERMANY (1935)

Two years ago, six months after Hitler had become chancellor, I visited and spent one month in Nazi Germany. In the summer of 1935, though refused a visa in Saint Louis and Washington, I secured one in Paris, and revisited Nazi Germany. Two years ago, a speaker addressing a group of Americans at Die Hochschule fur Politik, and representing the official Nazi point of view, stated that one of the aims of the national socialist party is "the humane extirpation of the Jews in Germany." My observations then, plus my confidential contacts with hundreds of persons in Germany convinced me that the Nazis were deadly sincere about their Jewish policies, and that, therefore, the Jews of Germany were condemned to death. After another stay in Nazi Germany, it is my belief that the sentence of death has not been suspended, but is slowly and with ruthless efficiency being executed. Even if the brave men of the foreign press, hamstrung and fettered can no longer record many of the dramatic acts of brutality that still continue, the world must know that the process of the extirpation of the Jews goes on apace. It goes on as planned, with one exception, and that is that it is not humane. The uprooting of a settled people cannot be humane. I have read and wept over Longfellow's poem describing the extirpation of the Arcadians from Nova Scotia to Louisiana. Even though carried out humanely, the very act of forcibly uprooting a people is cruel and brutal. I have seen in my own community families evicted by order of the court, though I knew they would find a home in the next block, though I realized that governmental or charitable agencies would provide the rental, though I knew that they could pitch a tent on a hundred vacant lots, and that they would yet remain citizens with rights, living in their own country, speaking the native language, familiar with its customs, yet my heart bled over their unfortunate plight and my indignation had risen against the circumstances which made such eviction possible. Even this legal uprooting of a family from a temporary abode stirs human sympathies, because of the concomitant suffering. How then can men speak of the humane extirpation of Jews from Germany, Jews whose written records go back to a thousand years in that country, who have been identified with it since the days of the Romans, who were as German as the Germans, speaking the German tongue, writing Germany's literature and its lyrics, composing the music of its ballads and the melodies of its symphonies, framing its laws, establishing the science that made it world-famous, fighting for it, living for it, dying for it. These can no more be uprooted humanely than an arm can be torn off humanely from the body of a living person. If the extirpation of the Jews from Germany was being carried out by an army of saints, it could not be humane.

And Nazis are not saints. Their schools for adult education they call concentration camps. In these, more rigorous than medieval prisons, they educate decent men and women, who were their political opponents, with the steel rod, and with every form of human bestiality. They seek to convince their former opponents not with the light of a new truth, but with the fear of a devastating terror. Only a naive child can expect that such educators could do anything humanely, let alone the extirpation of a

group of their countrymen. The laws on the statute books of the third Reich are sufficient to bring about the uprooting of the Jews by strangling them economically. These laws have served to drive Jews from the great professions, have practically made it impossible for them to secure employment, and have terminated the career of most Jewish students in German universities. But the tempo of the execution of these laws is slow, so slow that they tax the patience of anti-semitic leaders, so slow that they become undramatic, and failed to furnish the diversion made mandatory by a drastic economic situation and a continuous lowering of the level of living. So der Fuhrer whistled for his faithful Lieutenant, Julius Streicher, to make it interesting for the German populace, to let loose his furious anti-semitic blasts throughout the land, and to post his foul and filthy sheet "Sturmer," in every market-place. From Nuremberg to Berlin was Streicher promoted, so that the anti-semitic policies established by him in Franconia might be instituted throughout the Reich. Streicher is not a powerful feudal-lord before whom Hitler trembles in fear. Streicher is a friend of the fuhrer (my secretary accidentally spelled fuhrer furore) and his coming to Berlin to intensify anti-semitism in Germany is part of the Nazi plan to accelerate "the humane extirpation of Jews." The first fruit of Streicher's new strategy were the Kurfurstendam riots of last summer. Ostensibly, they were caused, as explained in the official press of the Nazi party, by the reawakened insolence of Jews who had taken advantage of the sweetness and mercy of Nazis, and who had dared to hiss an anti-semitic film in Berlin. Actually the Kurfurstendam riots, and now it can be told, represented an attempt on the part of Nazi leaders to stampede the German people into a frenzy of anti-Semitism. It was to have been a little Reichstag fire. The facts are that the showing of the anti-semitic film which led to the riots was under the auspices of important national socialist leaders of Berlin who had invited members of the diplomatic corps of various nations to attend its premiere. If among these invited guests of Nazi leaders there had been any Jews, then the Nazis were false to their own Aryan principles. If there had been Jews there foolhardy enough to hiss in such an assembly, they could easily have been apprehended and have been brought to concentration camps. The conviction prevails in informed circles in Berlin that the hissing, if it took place at all, was carried out by Nazi minions, that the riots were carefully planned in order that an anti-Semitic tidal wave might inundate Germany and wipe out of the memory of the German masses the realities of the ghastly economic plight for which Nazi policies are responsible. To attempt to achieve this, Streicher was called to Berlin. Instead of bread, Hitler was going to give the people anti-Semitic circuses.

But the attempt has not succeeded. It has not succeeded because the Germans have become wise to Nazi propaganda. That it has failed is a tribute to the character of Jews of Germany and an indication of the restoration of sanity among the German populace. I rejoiced at Streicher's promotion, and at the fact that Nazi leaders ordered him to carry on a new anti-Semitic crusade. Not that I glory in fresh Jewish suffering, but because it is a public confession of Nazi weakness. First, the Nazis, conscious of their internal failure, having exploited every external policy for

pacifying Germans except war, are forced again to Jew-baiting. Second, despite possessing supreme power, despite continuous propaganda, despite the frothing of Nazi orators, despite the violence and terror, enough Germans have sufficiently resisted the anti-semitic virus so that fresh doses of it are necessary. I was astounded when a visitor in Germany informed me that he met an S.A. leader who was grumbling and dissatisfied. On being asked why he was dissatisfied, he answered, "All Hitler has done since he has been in power is to go after the Jews. He has driven them out of the national life. He has persecuted them continuously. With what result? That conditions in Germany are worse today than they were in 1932. I fought for the revolution. I suffered for it. I achieved victory. What is my compensation? Lower wages, higher cost of living, and unheard of taxation. I wish Hitler would let the Jews alone. They, it is evident, were not responsible for our woes. I wish he would go after those truly responsible for them." What an amazing statement. Here is one of Hitler's ward-healers, expressing dissatisfaction with the anti-Semitic policies of his boss, which have not helped him. He is beginning to realize that many of the Nazi slanders about Jews are false. Think of it, the anti-Jewish policies of Hitler have proved to this particular individual the falsity of the anti-Semitic charges. Hitler has tried to extirpate the Jews from German life, the Jews responsible for all of Germany's woes, and yet life in Germany, instead of becoming better has become bitterer, instead of improving has deteriorated.

If the unity the Nazis claim had been achieved by the German people, the Jews would have been extirpated. If all of the Germans were to boycott Jews, as party leaders advocate, overnight life would become impossible for them. The same violence with which other Nazi policies were advocated is being employed to further anti-Semitism. The bill-boards which one sees frequently on the outskirts of cities which proclaim "Jews are not wanted," and some of which show Jews with red ropes around their necks, do not of necessity represent the majority opinion of the men and women of these communities. They merely indicate that a group of aggressive Nazis are seeking to impose their will upon a terror-stricken population. Germans have to be driven, bribed and terrorized to anti-Semitism. The Nazi press is full of pictures of Aryan friends of Jews who still purchase from them, of names of philo-Semitic Aryans who still speak and associate with Jews. That anti-Semitism is a panacea is an exploded bubble in Germany, and only frenzied propaganda keeps anti-Semitism a live issue.

I write these lines with the greatest difficulty. If this article is seen by Nazi leaders, they must not be able to trace my journey. In order to make this difficult for them, I would register in one city and by day would make excursions by train to nearby towns so that the record of my hotel registry would tell nothing of my activities and contacts. That method, as well as the use of sleepers, I believe enabled me successfully to cover my tracks. Indubitably anti-Semitic propaganda is having effect. Signs "Jews are not wanted," like hideous scare-crows mar the German landscape. In some towns taxicabs bore placards "Jews undesired." In other towns, street cars shrieked similar information. In every German city that I visited, Aryan symbols bristled on the shops in the main streets. Whereas

two years ago one had to look carefully to find one anti-Jewish sign on the main street, now ninety percent of the business in many big cities display them. In one large community where the retail business was in Jewish hands, almost no Jewish merchants are left. There one could not buy a suit of clothes from a Jewish retail dealer, whereas previously the best men's furnishing shops were owned by Jews. What has happened to these Jewish businesses? Either their owners left and their Aryan clerks just seized the business, or their proprietors were forced to sell out to ambitious Nazis. Not infrequently these proprietors were to have been paid out gradually, but they have no methods of collecting such payments. One factory owner sold his business to a Nazi. The latter now rides around the town in two luxurious limosines and thus far has not paid one cent of his obligation. Sue him? No Jew dare prosecute a law suit in a German court. He would never be on hand to press the suit. Very likely he would end his days in a concentration camp, or would be shot trying to escape from it. What is the inevitable result? That the economic resources of Jews are being depleted. Their livelihood daily becomes more impossible and their contributions to communal causes which have been maintained in the Hitler regime perforce dwindle daily.

But the last blow has not been struck against the Jews. It is the plan of Nazi leaders to boycott the Jew completely, to buy nothing from him, to sell nothing to him, not even the necessities of life. In some communities, this means immediate exile or death by starvation. I knew of one man who was compelled to bring milk and bread to his mother in a small town because her neighbors no longer dared to sell it to her. It is such legislation that the Nazis are considering, and who knows when they will carry it out. It is unofficial Nazi policy, not yet legal. In a Nuremberg address, Hitler stated that if the present Jewish laws fail, then he would turn the Jews over to the party. Already foodstuffs are being shipped by Jews in the larger centers to Jews in the smaller centers. When services such as light, water, transportation and food will be denied to Jews in Germany, then they will have been extirpated.

Even more serious than these material difficulties are the psychological torture from which Jews suffer. One college graduate informed me that when his friends, Aryans, who went to college with him, see him coming on the street, they go into doorways in order to avoid meeting him. When they cannot do so, they look away from him and do not see him. In some cities all restaurants are closed to Jews, all recreational facilities except those arranged by the Jewish community. Non-Jews may not live in apartments with Jews, nor in apartments owned by them. Daily, new regulations come out to plague them. In one place, where rolls usually are made with milk, and bakers made some with water so that ritually observant Jews could use them, an order was issued forbidding the baking of rolls with water. This is comparatively a trivial matter, except insofar as it indicates the meanness of anti-Jewish policies. When such trivial difficulties multiply daily, one can appreciate the worry and irritation which is bound to embitter the life of Jews in Germany. Not only do such new rules come out constantly, but the suspense and uncertainty is harrowing. Big men informed me that they do not know whether they

"will be able to resist the next blow." Hitler, in his address in Nuremberg, pointed out that this is not the last word on Jewish persecution. If these policies fail, he said, the Jews will be turned over to the Nazi party. This means that all laws and all rights with respect to Jews will be suspended, and young Nazis fed on anti-Semitic poison will be permitted to do what they will with noble human beings. Knowing that, you can see how even where life is physically safe, it becomes psychologically impossible. Every new bit of cruelty devised in the sadistic mind of any Nazi spreads like a contagious plague to other Nazi groups who experiment with it. In one city, a seventeen-year old girl, head of a Nazi group, ordered the arrest of two Jewish children because they wore a white shirtwaist and a blue skirt, which she insisted was a Jewish uniform. She threatened the police who refused to make the arrest. The children were arrested and released. Yet, as news of this spread to other cities, Jewish girls fear to wear blue skirts and white waists lest they be arrested. As I tried to see a Jewish leader, who I was informed lived on the first floor of a certain house, I encountered difficulties. I forgot that when a European speaks of the first floor, he means what we Americans call the second. The tenant on the first floor was surly and scowled when I told him for whom I was searching. I thought to myself, what security can that leader have when the man who shares an apartment building with him is so hostile. What fute hope will that man have when Jews are turned over to the mercy of the Nazi party.

Two years ago the German Jews had hopes. They thought that the Nazi regime after its first excesses would moderate its policies. They had some confidence in the fact that the Nazi leaders were proclaiming to the world that the Jews had not been maltreated. They realized that life in Germany would be difficult, especially for adolescent children. They hoped that these children would be cared for by Jews of other lands, in schools of other lands, until such time as the Nazi fury would suspend itself.

My most humiliating moment in Germany was when a Jewish communal leader asked me why five million American Jews could not find homes for two hundred and fifty Hitler orphans. In his own community, two parents had decided to part with their two children, who were to have gone to America. They prepared them for the journey, exhausted their savings in equipping them properly, reconciled themselves mentally to entrusting their children to strangers, only to find then that no homes were open for them. When I was asked why we had not found two hundred and fifty homes in America, I thought of all the excellent rational and psychological reasons that my friends have given for not opening their homes to these waifs of destiny, these orphans of persecution. I could not utter them. They were so insignificant in the face of the calamity that faces the German Jew. How ashamed was I of myself, of my brethren in America! No Nazi placard, no vile Sturmer humiliated me as much as did my inability to answer the question why five million American Jews had not made room for two hundred and fifty German children.

Today, German Jews no longer speak of the migration of children as they did two years ago. They speak of the migration of all Jews, for

most of them life is rapidly and increasingly becoming impossible. But where are they to go? If they have capital, they cannot take it with them. What lands will receive them? What men will finance them? Pitiful, pathetic creatures whom no soil will accept, whom no land will shelter, who are as if chained in a dungeon and destined helplessly to perish.

I met a German friend whom I had seen two years ago. He could have escaped from Germany. He was prominent. He had wealth. He had many friends in the outside who would have welcomed him, but he remained to lead, to serve, to inspire. He was a tall man of powerful physique, of majestic bearing, of dignified appearance. Two years ago, I saw him at the height of his power, eager, resolute, fearless, determined. Just two months ago, I was shocked by his appearance. It seemed as if his face had shriveled up. His forehead was wrinkled. The bones of his cheeks protruded ominously. He seemed like a person afflicted with cancer who was slowly dying. I tried to be cheerful and pleasant with him in order to conceal the pain that was mine on seeing his changed appearance. I looked into his eyes. They were not the eyes of a dying man. In them I saw the fires of eternity, the flame of an indomitable spirit, of a courageous warrior. He spoke: "We are fighting for all humanity. We are encouraged to resist because we know that we are the sole spokesmen of civilization and of spiritual values in this land. We dare not surrender. Death would be easier for me than life, but I must live. I shall live for humanity's sake, for civilization's sake, for God's sake. What can you do? You, on the outside world, you must never let the world forget our plight. You must hammer and hammer away for our plight is but a symbol of the tragedy of moral values in this land. If the world forgets us, it may forget the barbarian philosophy of our oppressors and its menace to the civilization of the western world. The Jews are but an episode in the German debacle, but a significant episode. When mankind forgets us, it may forget the new tribalism of our oppressors." He kissed my hands in gratitude for having come to him. I left before he could see the tears, not of sympathy but of appreciation, in my eyes.

Only the outside world, only the public opinion of humanity has a restraining influence upon Naziism. When that influence goes, the Jews of Germany are lost, and the policy of humane extirpation will become a policy of public pogroms. Any government of the world which leans to Germany, like Poland commercially, or like England with its naval policy, strengthens the iron claw of the Nazis and accelerates the doom of western civilization. The holding of the Olympic Games in Germany would be interpreted by Nazi leaders as a moral white-washing for all of their sins. After the British naval treaty came the Kurfurstendam riots. Who knows what will come after the Olympic games? Only four hundred and fifty thousand Jews are left in Germany. Destiny has singled them out that through the stripes on their bodies and the lashes upon their souls humanity might learn the character and the temper of their oppressors.

The plight of the Jews of Germany is a warning to the civilized nations as to the fate that may overtake them if the Nazi spirit should prevail. We must render these holders of the front-line trenches ambulance

service. We must heal their wounds. We must build new homes for them, and above all, we must remind the world of their fate. Mankind can survive with half a million less Jews, but mankind cannot survive decently if the Nazi spirit triumphs. The sentence of death of the Jews of Germany must not be executed quietly. "Tell it in Gath and proclaim it in Ashkelon," that everywhere men may be warned and nations may understand of the demonic spirit which fills the rulers of the new Germany.

Six that I saw two years ago in Germany are dead. Only one was advanced in years, but he was in good health. He died of worry, care and anxiety. Prussian that he was, loving his country with an undying love, he died of a broken heart. Two in middle life could not stand the strain, and a cup of poison relieved them. Three died prematurely like brave warriors in the fray, beaten and buffeted by the barbarian tide. Their absence saddened me first, but then exalted and inspired me. They died to serve man and to glorify God. The spirit of heroism and martyrdom lives in Israel.

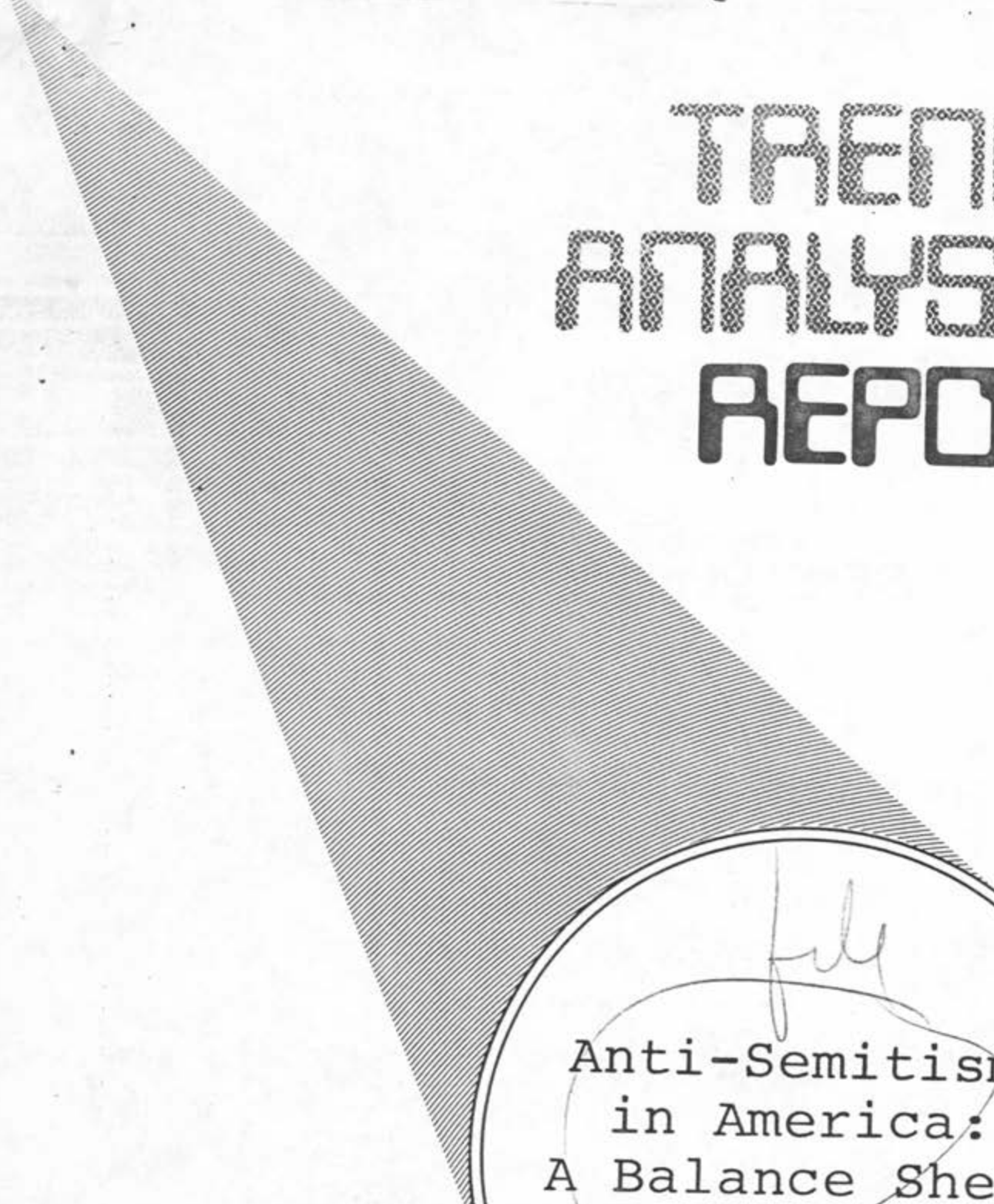
EPILOGUE

Rabbi Baeck's Analysis of the Cause of Jewish Suffering

Rabbi Leo Baeck who was Chief Rabbi of Germany during the Nazi regime refused to leave Berlin permanently. Very frequently, he went to England to help make plans for the migration of Jews, and always returned. He told me that when he was in a concentration camp at Theresienstadt, and knew that he soon would be slated for execution in the gas chambers, he pondered the question why this terrible fate was overtaking European Jewry, and asked himself, "What sins have the Jews of Europe committed that their fate is so tragic?" He came to the conclusion that the failure of Jews since the days of the Emperor Constantine, when Christianity became the official religion of Rome, to seek converts to Judaism was their great fault. It was his conviction that Judaism is a missionary faith. To declare that God is one carries with it the implication of bringing His message to all the peoples of the world. The biblical verses that Jews were to be a blessing to all mankind means carrying out a mission to men teaching them the theology of Judaism with its clear concept of one God, with its ethics affirming individual obligations, and the duty for action, with its faith in the goodness of man and his capacity to build the good society. Failure to disseminate these doctrines, Rabbi Baeck believed to be the sin for which God has allowed tragedy to overcome the Jews of Europe.

I once asked a sociologist what the effect would be if Jews were to embark on a vigorous campaign to win unbelievers to Judaism. His answer was, "It would tend to do away with anti-Semitism. It would prove that Jews did not desire to separate themselves from other peoples, that their life goal was the noblest, and that they wanted to share their religious heritage with others." For the modern era, one world has become essential. Because of the rapid methods of communication and transportation and an increasing closeness with all peoples, the Jewish concept of one God is tailor-made. One God means one world, one humanity, one human race. As I have met with American scholars at the universities of our country, many have indicated that in their thinking they have moved to the Jewish religious tradition of believing in one God and man's obligation and capacity to build a good society here. Some have asked me why they are not invited to affiliate with Judaism. We have no recent missionary traditions, nor do we have missionary techniques. We have no concept of how to approach converts. Perhaps we are having an influence in the religious world by our very presence which is justified by our loyalty to our faith in one God. But Rabbi Baeck thought that this was not enough.

TRENDS ANALYSES REPORT



file

Anti-Semitism in America: A Balance Sheet

TRENDS ANALYSES
MARCH 30, 1981

Discrimination Division,
Domestic Affairs Department

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA: A BALANCE SHEET

Over the past 12 months, incidents of vandalism and other malicious acts against synagogues and other Jewish institutions in the United States have increased sharply, almost tripling the figures for a year ago. These manifestations widely covered by the press and the electronic media, have stirred understandable fears in the American Jewish community which, even before the recent outbreaks, has felt itself beleaguered on a number of political and ideological fronts.

Certainly all of these disturbing events must be carefully studied. The American Jewish Committee, through its network of chapters and units and its national Trends Analyses Unit constantly monitors happenings that threaten, or appear to threaten, Jewish security. But AJC investigations and analysis to date indicate that it would be a mistake to interpret the recent outbreaks as signaling a new and dangerous wave of anti-Semitism in the United States. On balance, AJC studies indicate the Jewish position in the U.S. remains secure.

How then are the 377 reported anti-Semitic incidents in 1980 to be read -- particularly in the absence of reliable indicators in this area? One answer is to consider these occurrences in the perspective of other events taking place in this country and abroad.

According to AJC files, the majority of the anti-Semitic incidents in the U.S. took place after a widely publicized bombing of the rue Copernic Synagogue in Paris, on October 3, 1980, that left four dead and a dozen wounded. That outrage is believed to have been the work of Arab-inspired terrorists, a part of their campaign against Israel. But no discernable political motivation has surfaced in the American incidents. Indeed, in those instances where arrests were made, the overwhelming majority of the culprits proved to be young white teenagers, unaffiliated with any known hate groups and entirely uninvolved politically. Indications are that their behavior was triggered by the notoriety of the rue Copernic bombing and a few local incidents rather than religious and political motivations and that choice of Jewish targets was more imitative than a conscious and personal expression of anti-Semitic sentiment.

This is not the first time since World War II, that the American Jewish community has experienced a rash of anti-Semitic incidents. Reports of such incidents have waxed and waned over the years. In the two months following the widely publicized desecration of a synagogue in Cologne, Germany on Christmas day in 1959, there were 650 recorded cases of swastika daubings on synagogues and other Jewish institutions in the United States. Then, too, most of the apprehended culprits proved to be psychologically troubled teenagers imitating what they saw in the newspapers and on TV.

The American Jewish Committee sponsored an intensive investigation of the teenagers arrested for swastika daubings in the New York area. In a report entitled Why the Swastika? A Study of Young American Vandals, published by the AJC in January 1962, the investigators concluded: "Most of the episodes were not meaningless mischief, but eruptions of latent anti-Semitism which persists in the American community. Usually buried and under control, this prejudice apparently can be precipitated into the open by factors such as [...youth unemployment, intergroup tensions and competition]." The report also noted, that inflammatory treatment of the issue by the media can fan imitative incidents and stressed "the exercise of restraint in news coverage.... The reporting of episodes in the context of the personal or social pathology they reflected might have reduced the impact on vulnerable children."

The current outbreak of anti-Semitic vandalism must be viewed against the alarming increase in all kinds of crimes in the U.S. over the past several years. In 1979, crime took its biggest jump since the recession years of 1974-75; it has been estimated that there is a theft every 4.8 seconds and a burglary every 10 seconds, day-in and day-out, throughout the year. Religious institutions have become prime targets for thieves hoping to turn valuable religious objects into cash. Synagogues have been hit by such break-ins; but so have a great many churches. Arson, vandalism, and senseless violence are also sharply on the rise, and in this climate it is inevitable that some of the victims should be Jewish.

Deputy Inspector Kenneth Carey and Detective Sergeant Howard Mandell of the Nassau and Suffolk County police departments on Long Island, where several synagogues and cemeteries were defaced, told AJC leaders that the police had found no signs of instigation by organized extremist hate groups, and the AJC's own monitoring of local and national anti-Semitic groups supports these conclusions. One young culprit, when pressed as to why he had soaped swastikas on car windows in October 1980, explained: "I considered it a prank. My intentions were not ones of defiance or discrimination. I did not realize the sensitivity of this act or the offensive nature that would cause such resentment or mental anguish."

Detective Sergeant Mandell said that almost all of the 20 or so individuals arrested for anti-Semitic vandalism on Long Island have been white boys between 14 and 16 years old. "They tend to come from a lower-middle-class background. They tend to have a ne'er-do-well mentality. They have not succeeded in what they want to do. They are looking for a scapegoat for their own failures."

The role of the media in encouraging such incidents has been widely debated. Van Eisenhut, managing editor of the Oregon Statesman-Journal, denies that reporting such acts increases their frequency: "That is not really true of course. They continue, in fact increase, if not exposed." But many law enforcement officials disagree. Patrick J. Murphy, Chief of Operations of the New York Police Department believes that "the incidents feed off each other. The kids read about themselves...and any dope can see himself immortalized." Police officials in Los Angeles also feel that too much publicity for the graffiti smearers stimulates the "crazies." And the AJC's own investigations also suggest that widely publicized anti-Semitic incidents trigger imitative acts.

In November 1980, the American Jewish Committee convened an all-day consultation on anti-Semitism, bringing together a group of respected social scientists, to discuss the history, politics and psychology of group hatred. Several of the experts stressed that historically anti-Semitism has constituted a powerful threat to Jews only in those countries where it has enjoyed government sanction and been institutionalized in the laws and tradition of the land. Institutionalized anti-Semitism has never existed in the United States; and the American egalitarian tradition makes it most unlikely that it can achieve such respectability. The conferees did express concern, however, about the "internationalization" of anti-Semitism in the United Nations and its contribution to intergroup conflict in the U.S.

It is also important to remember that reports of anti-Semitic incidents cannot be used as the sole indicator of anti-Jewish feeling in the U.S. today. To determine the state of Jewish security, it is also necessary to examine the position of American Jews economically, politically and socially, and to contrast it with their position in earlier decades.

Organized anti-Semitism in the U.S. achieved its greatest public acceptance before the Second World War, when an estimated 250 to 300 militant hate groups were plying their wares. Organizations like the German American Bund, the Christian Front, Christian Mobilizers and the Order of '76, all blatantly pro-Fascist or pro-Nazi as well as anti-Semitic, are gone, and no organized hate groups have any appreciable political or social influence in this country.

The various Ku Klux Klans and neo-Nazi groups, whose provocative antics receive media attention far beyond what their numbers and strength warrant, are factionalized bands with feuding leaders competing among themselves for the spotlight. They have failed to attract a single influential American to their ranks. Most knowledgeable observers estimate Klan membership today at 10,500 nationwide, compared to 2-5 million in its heyday in the 1920s, and 50,000 as recently as the 1960s.

David Duke, one Klan spokesman on scores of radio and national television programs, resigned as head of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan after an unsuccessful attempt to sell his faction for a reported \$35,000 to his rival, Bill Wilkinson. The neo-Nazis number less than 2,000, nationwide.¹ And no one, since the death of George Lincoln Rockwell, founder of the American Nazi Party, in 1967 has managed to unite them. (Frank Collin, who achieved notoriety during the Skokie incident, was ousted from the National Socialist Party of America after his arrest and conviction for sexually molesting young boys).

1

Even these numbers may be vastly inflated. The Columbia Journalism Review has documented how the media is duped into inflating Klan and Nazi membership figures and providing coverage of staged media events.

The underlying danger of these groups remains their potential for inciting others to violence. The House Judiciary Subcommittee on Crime held hearings in December 1980 on reports that the KKK has established paramilitary training camps in at least six states. Testifying before the hearings, Professor Ted Gurr of Northwestern University stressed that a "vigorous official response, within the framework of law, is essential if the resurgence of anti-democratic activities in the United States is to be checked....Official responses which are tolerant, apathetic, or simply ineffective are likely to encourage more extremist action."

There is no individual of stature on the political scene today who is an overt anti-Semite. The three members of hate groups who did run for office in 1980 were all unsuccessful. Grand Dragon Tom Metzger, who won the Democratic primary for California's 43rd Congressional District, the nation's most populous, by 318 votes, lost the general election by an 8-to-1 margin.²

In the Republican primary for North Carolina State Attorney General, Harold Covington, an avowed neo-Nazi, captured 43 percent of the vote, losing to a well-qualified former Federal prosecutor. There have been various explanations for Covington's strong showing, but little evidence that the vote signaled an embracement of Nazi ideology by the citizens of North Carolina.

Klansmen and former Nazi Gerald Carlson won the Republican primary for the 15th Congressional District in Wayne County, Michigan by a margin of 55-to-47 percent over James Caygill, the official party candidate, running on a promise to "contain the black race, to reassess white superiority." He lost the general election to incumbent William D. Ford, and when he tried in March 1981, to run as a Republican for the 4th District Congressional seat vacated by Office of Management and Budget Director David Stockman, he lost overwhelmingly. Nevertheless, the fact that a sizeable number of Americans were willing to support the political aspirations of three avowedly anti-Black and anti-Semitic candidates is just cause for concern.

The 1980 election campaign was virtually free of anti-Semitism.³ Indeed, more Jews than ever before -- 6 Senators and 27 members of the House of Representatives -- were elected to the U.S. Congress in 1980,

² The disturbing fact about Metzger's success in the primary is that so many people voted for him despite his known Klan affiliation. He ran a populist-oriented campaign as a conservative Democrat and small businessman, effectively pinpointing genuine concerns of the people of the 43rd District.

³ Lyndon LaRouche, head of the right-wing U.S. Labor Party, ran as a Democrat for the Presidency and won enough primary votes to qualify for federal matching funds, but anti-Semitism is only peripheral to the major focus of his philosophy.

and the number of Jews serving in state legislatures and other political offices is too large to accurately track. At the same time, many Americans have watched with misgivings the growing political influence of certain evangelical groups, particularly those affiliated with Moral Majority, which has promulgated "minimal moral standards, dictated by the Bible," against which candidates for public office are to be judged, and which insists that there is only one moral position on such issues as abortion, homosexual rights, prayer in the schools, gun control, capital punishment and similar issues.

The National leadership of Moral Majority and other evangelical political organizations go to great pains to disclaim any anti-Semitic bent. But state and local chapters of these organizations are frequently less sophisticated in their thinking about Jews. For example, the Rev. Dan C. Fore, head of the New York Chapter of Moral Majority, assured a reporter for the New York Times on Feb. 5, 1981, "I love the Jewish people deeply. God has given them talents He has not given others. They are His chosen people. Jews have a God-given ability to make money, almost a supernatural ability to make money. They control the media, they control this city."

Jews and other concerned citizens will be watching carefully in the coming months as political Evangelicals focus their attention on local legislators and issues. Many state representatives have already received voting questionnaires from Moral Majority and some observers believe this kind of subtle pressure is likely to stifle freedom of debate on a number of important social issues.

One of the most valuable tools for gauging public attitudes toward Jews and other groups is the public opinion poll. The American Jewish Committee has been taking the public pulse on issues of Jewish concern for many decades and is therefore in a position to make objective comparisons over many years.

In 1946, 58 percent of the non-Jews polled said that Jews had "too much power in the U.S." By 1974, notwithstanding the Arab oil embargo and the gasoline lines, the respondents who agreed with this statement had dropped to 37 percent and the decline has continued to 26 percent in 1975, 19 percent in 1977, 12 percent in 1978. In October 1980, just before the Presidential election, it was down to 8 percent. There has been some fluctuation in the support for Israel, however, particularly, among the college-educated and among Blacks.

Professor William Schneider, who prepared a paper on Anti-Semitism and Israel: A Report on American Public Opinion in 1978, also noted an increase, since 1974, in Black anti-Semitism, especially among younger and better-educated Blacks, an observation supported by a Louis Harris survey, conducted for the National Conference of Christians and Jews in October 1978, which also found that Black leaders as a group hold more negative stereotypes about Jews than the Black population as a whole. In October 1980, a poll conducted by Yankelovich, Skelly and White asked: "If war broke out between Israel and other Arab nations, with whom would your sympathies lie?" Thirty-four percent of the non-white respondents said they would be more sympathetic toward Israel, as against 45 percent of the total number queried, and 53 percent of the college-educated.

There are, in every poll, some respondents who are more sympathetic to Arabs than to Israel in the Middle East conflict, and some who believe that Jews have too much political influence. Nevertheless, repeated polling over the years underscores the fact that the vast majority of Americans are favorably disposed toward their Jewish fellow citizens.

In the arts, sciences, business and the professions the same acceptance is evident. In 1970, the last year for which such data are available, 19 percent of the faculty at elite colleges and universities were Jewish, marking a steady increase since World War II. Sixty-four percent of the entire Jewish work force is employed as professionals or executives.

It would be wrong, however, to discount the long-term effect of certain disturbing events, particularly the transformation of the United Nations into a sounding board for anti-Israel and anti-Semitic rhetoric and the attempts by some bigots in Europe and the U.S. to deny the Holocaust ever really happened. In 1979, one such group, based in Torrance, California, which calls itself the Institute for Historical Review, hosted a Revisionist Convention at Northrop University in Los Angeles, expressly to promote the idea that the Holocaust was a myth. Willis Carto, the motivating force behind the rabidly anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby, and its official newspaper The Spotlight (paid circulation, 281,000) praised the speakers for their dedication to the truth and offered a reward of \$50,000 to anyone who could prove the Nazis operated gas chambers to exterminate the Jews.

The second Annual Revisionist Convention was held at Pomona College in Claremont, California in August 1980, and a third is scheduled to take place in June at the University of California's Lake Arrowhead Conference Center. (Despite public protests, the University's President and the Board of Regents do not feel they can break the signed contract). The Institute publishes a scholarly-looking quarterly entitled, The Journal of Historical Review.

These developments, like every reported case of overt anti-Semitism, obviously require constant vigilance. Though every objective assessment indicates that American Jews continue to enjoy a secure and respectable status in this country, history underscores the risks of complacency. But effective counteraction requires that reason dictate strategy. It calls for meticulous factfinding, in-depth assessment of all available information, and careful planning to deal with both immediate events and potential dangers. The American Jewish Committee's ongoing program in this area includes:

Monitoring: AJC chapters and the national office keep constant watch over the activities of all known hate groups in the U.S. as well as their covert supporters. The Committee tracks reports of anti-Semitism anywhere in the country, compiling data that make it possible to separate rumor from fact, and determine whether such manifestations are part of any organized pattern or plan.

At least two people, Mel Mermelstein, a survivor of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp and Simon Weisenthal, the Nazi-hunter, have filed claims for the money.

The AJC also monitors the national and international political scene, gathering the background information essential to effectively combat Arab propaganda, Soviet anti-Semitism, religious cultism, right- and left-wing extremism and other threats to Jewish security.

Evaluation: The Committee sponsors conferences of social scientists, law enforcement specialists and historians to assess national and international events and determine their impact on Jews in this country and abroad. AJC-sponsored public-opinion polls periodically test the way the general public feels about Jews, Israel, social and economic issues affecting the status of Jews in this country and abroad. AJC national and foreign staff conduct frequent on-the-scene studies of anti-Semitic outbreaks in Europe and South America. AJC leaders regularly review all the available data and determine what specific response or action is required.

Cooperation: The AJC meets regularly with Federal, state and local law-enforcement officials to review events and trends that suggest possible anti-Semitic components and discuss ways to deal with them. The Committee works closely with other Jewish organizations and with concerned non-Jewish religious and civic groups to share information and plan necessary counter-measures in the face of anti-Jewish manifestations.

Public Education: Committee briefings for investigative reporters and the media generally have sparked important exposes of the Klan and other hate groups. AJC chapters are working to educate young people and the general community about the dangers of anti-Semitism. AJC-sponsored interreligious conferences are alerting Evangelical and other Christian leaders to the threat to religious pluralism inherent in some recent political drives. AJC backgrounders, pamphlets and reports have helped inform and alert the Jewish community and the general public on issues of concern to Jews, and to mobilize intelligent and effective responses to specific provocations.

Combatting anti-Semitism has been the American Jewish Committee's first concern for seventy-five years. It will always be the primary focus of the American Jewish Committee's activities and program.

Prepared by Alisa H. Kesten, Milton Ellerin and Sonya Kaufer
March 30, 1981
81-970-4

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FROM: Richard Cohen

December 9, 1980

TO: 1. Rabbi Alexander C. Schindler

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Remarks:

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'Chosen people' hit by Rev. Smith again

By HELEN PARMLEY
Religion Editor of The News

The president of the Southern Baptist Convention, who caused a furor recently with his statement that God does not hear the prayers of Jews, a month later told his congregation that Jews "have funny-looking noses."

Dr. Bailey Smith, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Del City, Okla., in a September sermon on God's special people and special places, preached:

"There are some people with whom God works more intimately than others. Why, you say? I don't know. Why did he choose the Jews? I don't know why he chose the Jews."

"I think they got funny-looking noses, myself. I don't know why he chose the Jews. That's God's business. Amen."

Smith made the remark during a sermon Sept. 14, two weeks after a speech at an evangelical National. See SMITH on Page 5A.

Smith views 'one-sided,' rabbi says

Continued from Page 1A.

Affairs Briefing in Dallas, where he told 15,000 people in Reunion Area that "God almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew" because Jews do not accept Jesus as the Messiah.

Smith's Sept. 14 sermon was aired on an Oklahoma radio station and offended at least one rabbi who heard it.

The rabbi obtained a tape from Smith's church and distributed it among Jewish leaders across the country who provided some Baptist leaders with copies. The Dallas Morning News obtained a transcript Thursday.

Smith told The News Thursday the statement was made in jest after someone teased him about his bald spot and a "little Jewish boy"

in the congregation said to him. "Don't let them tease you Dr. Smith. Jews have funny noses."

"It was an aside," Smith said Thursday. "It wasn't part of my sermon. I was teasing as I talked to the people of my church. It was not a public meeting. Can't people tease any more at all?"

In his position as president of the world's largest Protestant denomination, Bailey said he now realizes that everything he says is news.

"I shouldn't have said it," he said. "Even in teasing."

After his Dallas statement about the prayers of Jews was publicized, Smith said he loves the Jews and believes them to be "special people."

"I am not anti-Semitic, and it is

irresponsible for anyone to say that I am."

At least one Jewish leader agrees Smith is not an anti-Semite.

"I don't look on Smith as anti-Semitic at all," Rabbi Gerald Klein of Temple Emanu-El said Thursday. "I view him as dangerous to those of us who are attempting to interpret the liberal, rational point of view."

"I view him as dangerous to those of us who always tried to admit we don't know all the answers, and we need to keep seeking."

Klein said Bailey begins with a premise of "public coatsleeve religion" where nothing is private.

"There is no sense of doubt or concern they are saying the right thing when these things come up,"

Klein said.

"Jews ought to react by looking at each other," said the Jewish leader, who looks on himself as a parish priest. "We have never been sure all our prayers have been heard. We have very prayerful people. We do pray, but we pray with particularism and universalism. We are not privy to when or how they are answered."

Klein sees Smith viewing Jews with "a kind of one-sided image that comes from where he is coming from," and he said, "For those who adhere to a belief in inerrancy (scriptures written without any error), it is hard to accept a point of view of all of God's children — where God hears everyone's prayers and we don't decide who goes to hell."

DALLAS MORNING NEWS
FRIDAY, NOV. 14, 1980

PLO and European rightists forge terror network

Information regarding a network of ties between the PLO and European radical rightist movements dating to the 1960's has been obtained by *The Jewish Week*. Many of the ties help to explain the involvements of the PLO in the recent wave of neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic activity in Europe. The ties include:

- At the convention of the Lausanne-based neo-Nazi *Europäische neue Ordnung* which was held in Barcelona in April, 1969, two Algerian nationals attempted to focus the attention of the plenum on the Palestinian issue and to recruit volunteers to the ranks of *El-Fatah*.

- That same year a Belgian, Jean Tireault, who was secretary of the neo-Nazi organization *La Nation Européenne* and coordinator of all terrorist underground activity in Brussels, served also as an adviser to *El-Fatah*. Another Belgian neo-Nazi, Karl Van de Put, who had served in Rommel's *Afrika Korps*, was active in recruiting volunteers to the ranks of *El-Fatah*.

- According to a report in the Belgian neo-Nazi bulletin *Alliance* of November 11, 1969, a secret meeting of former Nazi leaders was held in Madrid at the end of August, 1969, at which it was decided to give all possible support, including propaganda, instructors and financial assistance, to *El-Fatah* and other PLO terrorist groups.

- Also during 1969 another former Nazi officer, Johann Schuller, who was living in Rome, sold arms to *El-Fatah* and recruited military instructors to the ranks of *El-Asifa*, the military arm of *El-Fatah*, from among the local neo-Nazis.

- During this period, the PFLP wing of the PLO also discovered the European neo-Nazi groups to be a promising source of aid and encouragement. Thus, for example, a former Nazi commander in the "action groups" of the German Brandenburg Division during World War II was recruited to command the PFLP training camp at Basra, in southern Iraq.

- During the January, 1970 trial in Winterthur, Switzerland, of the three captured PFLP terrorists who had attacked an El Al plane in Zurich in February, 1969, much data was revealed about the links between *El-Fatah* and Swiss neo-Nazis, especially with Francois Geroude, head of the Swiss Arab Bank and one of the founders of the Swiss Nazi Party.

- An analysis of the links between the Palestinian Arab terrorist organizations and the radical rightist movements in Europe appeared in an editorial in the Italian daily *Corriere Della Sera* shortly after the bloody Athens attack, on August 5, 1973, on transit passengers from a TWA flight which had originated in Israel. Among other evidence of such ties, the editorial refers to an advertisement which had appeared in the neo-Nazi *Deutsche National und Soldaten Zeitung* for movement members to join the ranks of the PLO terrorists, in order to "Learn the system of war of liberation of the Palestinians." The editorial also refers to similar links with neo-Nazi groups in Spain, France, Portugal, Argentina and Italy.

- On April 6, 1973 the Viennese newspaper *Die Presse* reported that a member of the Austrian neo-

Nazi party, Herald Angelkel, had been arrested on charges of having introduced into the party a group of Arab terrorists who had been arrested and sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

- Toward the end of 1973, three known German Nazis who had been sought by Interpol for automobile and document theft — Guenther Brahbürg, Eckhardt Will and Gunnar Fahl — were apprehended in Yugoslavia. At their trial, on January 26, 1976, it was revealed by their Nazi lawyer, Wilhelm Staller, that, at one point, the three had been en route to a PLO training camp in the Middle East. Intelligence sources also reported at the time that there had been contacts between the Black September wing of *El-Fatah* and the radical rightist *Arab-German Liberation Front*, based in West Germany.

- According to intelligence sources, an agreement was

reached in 1977 between the radical rightist *L'oeuvre Francaise* and *El-Fatah*, according to which that PLO terrorist organization would train members of the French group and it, in return, would conduct terrorist operations on behalf of *El-Fatah*, when and if called upon to do so.

- On January 8, 1978 the *Yediot Aharonot* correspondent in Bonn reported that four members of the *Free Corps — Adolf Hitler* and *Free Corps — Saudi Arabia* radical right-wing groups had been arrested in West Germany on suspicion of having had contacts with members of the PLO in West Germany and of having smuggled arms from Arab states to that country. They had been caught red-handed while smuggling arms, and at least one of them was in possession of a membership card in the PLO.

- On October 1, 1980 an AP report from Zurich quoted a spokesman of the Bavarian Interior Ministry as having said that

there "appeared to be links" between the illegal neo-Nazi *Wehrsportgruppe Hoffman* gang — which was responsible for the bomb attack, in late September of 1980, on Munich's *Oktobertfest*, in which 12 persons were killed and 213 injured — and the PLO.

Kabbi Balfour Brickner
Stephen Wise Free Synagogue

Alex Schindler

Alex

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you are meeting Pickell.

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WHEREAS there has been a long and close cooperation between Reform Judaism and the Unitarian-Universalist Association(UUA) in many areas of social and humanitarian concern, and

WHEREAS a brochure for the UUA entitled, "Do I have to Stop Being Jewish to be a Unitarian-Universalist?", written by Linda Wettner, claims that it is possible "to remain true to what we feel to be the essence of Judaism"(page 4) while also belonging to the Unitarian-Universalist Church, and

WHEREAS the result of this brochure is to damage relations between the UUA and the Jewish Community, and

WHEREAS such missionizing activity implies a denial of the integrity of Judaism as a fully legitimate religion, therefore be it

RESOLVED that NER-CCAR conveys its deep regret and disappointment in the UUA's official action, and calls upon the UUA to withdraw this offending brochure from distribution and to enter into dialogue to resolve this sensitive matter.

PASSED NER-CCAR
KALLAH
3/19/80

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FROM: Richard Cohen

January 7, 1980

TO: 1. *Nath Sander*
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REMARKS:

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Let's discuss { }

**JMC****Jewish Moral Committee**

7"סד

Heshy Friedman
*National Coordinator***Rabbi Marvin Friedman**
*Chairman***Rabbi Moshe Brown**
*Outreach Director***Rabbi Moshe S. Antelman**
*National Decisor of
Religious Law***PRESS RELEASE**

The Jewish Moral Committee espouses the authentic moral teachings of Judaism towards contemporary society. The Jewish Moral Committee is similar in certain aspects to the Moral Majority. The J.M.C. is in favor of Capital Punishment, a strong U.S. Defense and is opposed to abortions and immoral relationships among other issues.

The chairman of the newly founded Jewish Moral Committee is the dynamic, fiery spiritual leader, Rabbi Marvin Friedman. The outreach director, is the distinguished religious educator, Rabbi Moshe Brown. The decisor of Jewish religious jurisprudence, is the erudite Rabbinical Judge, the revered Rabbi Moshe Shlomo Antelman,

Organizations, T.V., radio networks, and the news media may contact the National Coordinator Heshy Friedman for further information at (212) 854-2285.



Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE -- JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
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NEWS RELEASE

Contact: **Richard Cohen**
(212) 758-6969

For Immediate Release

LEADING PROTESTANT THEOLOGIAN WARNS OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN CHRISTIAN RIGHT-WING

One of the unforeseen consequences of the growing influence of the new religious right may be an increase in anti-Semitism in the nation, according to a prominent Protestant churchman.

Tom F. Driver, professor of theology and culture at Union Theological Seminary in New York City, put it most bluntly in a recent issue of the magazine Christianity and Crisis:

"There is a rising anti-Semitism today among people who are very religious and very nationalistic," he said.

"I am deeply troubled by this, most especially by the resurgence of anti-Semitism among Christians and its recent rapid growth among them," Driver added.

Driver specifically named Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell and television evangelist James Robison, and the movement associated with their leadership, as the source for the new anti-Semitism.

He also cited the remarks made by the Rev. Bailey Smith, president of the 13.4-million-member Southern Baptist Convention at a political rally of religious conservatives to the effect that "God does not hear the prayers of a Jew."

All three of the conservative leaders cited by Driver have denied they are anti-Semitic and all have stressed their support of Israel -- a fact noted by Driver.

"It is also true," he wrote, "that this group is pro-Israel. We are thus presented with a great and frightening irony: The most pro-Israel group in American Christianity is also the most anti-Semitic."

(more)

When the Christian conservatives "say they are 'pro-Jew,' they mean that Jews are all right as long as they are in Israel defending Middle East oil. They also mean that they would be glad to convert any Jew to Christianity."

Driver, a leading Protestant theologian who holds the Paul F. Tillich chair at Union Theological Seminary, appeared to support concerns over the rise of the religious right expressed by Rabbi Alexander Schindler, head of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Schindler, in a recent speech, called attention to recent attacks of vandalism on Jewish synagogues, schools and homes and said it was "no coincidence that the rise of right-wing fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism since World War II." He said he did not accuse the Rev. Jerry Falwell of anti-Semitism but observed that the Moral Majority's call for a "Christian Bill of Rights" created an atmosphere that encouraged anti-Jewish bigotry.

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Full Report



Christianity and Crisis

A Christian Journal of Opinion

537 West 121st Street/New York/New York 10027

JOHN C. BENNETT/Senior Contributing Editor

Hating Jews for Jesus' Sake

Tom F. Driver

THERE IS A RISING anti-Semitism today among people who are very religious and very nationalistic. I am deeply troubled by this, most especially by the recurrence of anti-Semitism among Christians and its recent rapid growth among them. For they are my people, and they are right now very powerful in the politics of Europe and America.

Unlike some, I believe that a great danger of anti-Semitism comes from the right. In my view it poses a serious threat

not only to Jews in this country but also to other minorities, to women and to the democratic heritage of this land. That is why it is important to deal with anti-Semitism in right-wing evangelical Christianity and to search out its roots.

I have in mind the religio-political movement under the leadership of Jerry Falwell, James Robison and other preachers of the airways, who have of late combined their preaching of fundamentalist religion with reactionary politics. They are anti-Jew, anti-black, anti-feminist, anti-Communist and anti-Third World.

We all noticed with alarm what was said at the "National Affairs Briefing" in Dallas last August by the Rev. Dr. Bailey

Smith, who is president of the Southern Baptist Convention. Here are his words as quoted in the *United Methodist Reporter* (Oct. 3):

It is interesting at great political rallies how you have a Protestant to pray, a Catholic to pray, and then you have a Jew to pray. With all due respect to those dear people, my friends, God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew.

For how in the world can God hear the prayer of a Jew, or how in the world can God hear the prayer of a man who says that Jesus Christ is not the true Messiah? That is blasphemy. It may be politically expedient, but no one can pray unless he prays through the name of Jesus Christ.

Quite a number of Christians, including some officials of the Southern Baptist Convention, made public objection to what Dr. Smith said. I'm glad they did. But the fact remains that he said it. And when asked about it, he repeated it. And Jerry Falwell and others have publicly supported his statement. There is little room for doubt that right-wing evangelical Christianity in this country is deeply anti-Semitic.

It is also true that this group is pro-Israel. We are thus presented with a great and frightening irony: The most pro-Israel group in American Christianity is also the most anti-Semitic.

When Bailey Smith and Jerry Falwell say they are "pro-Jew," they mean that Jews are all right as long as they are in Israel defending Middle East oil. They also mean that they would be glad to convert any Jew to Christianity. They do not mean that they like Jews as neighbors or that they believe them to be their equal under God. They do mean that it is Israel's providential role to protect American interests. Israel is viewed by them as an instrument of America's manifest destiny.

By this sort of Christian *realpolitik* the Jews are to be kept in their place and used for an end not their own but that of a zealous, fanatical and self-righteous Christian mission which cannot tell the difference between Jesus Christ and the American nation. This bigotry proposes a marriage of convenience with a certain kind of Zionism—the kind which cannot tell the difference between Yahweh and

(continued on p. 333)

TOM F. DRIVER, Paul F. Tillich Professor of Theology and Culture at Union Theological Seminary (NYC), will shortly publish a book on Christology and ethics. This article is adapted from remarks delivered at a teach-in on anti-Semitism held at Columbia University last month.

November 24, 1980

the State of Israel. It is not my purpose to lecture the Israelis. I am here to lecture the Christians.

Facing Away from Challenge

The voice of liberal Christianity is, alas, not very loud on this issue. There have been a few statements, but they are rather pussy-footed. I recently sat in a body of liberal Christian educators who were asked to make a public, collective repudiation of Bailey Smith's declaration that "God does not hear the prayer of a Jew." The body refused to go on record as a collective body. I felt then what someone else in the room voiced aloud: That Christianity in this country is headed toward what Christianity in Germany

faced after 1933, when a so-called "Confessing Church" had to repudiate the majority of German Christians who could not tell the difference between God and the German Reich. But even the Confessing Church never faced the evil of anti-Semitism squarely. And that leads me to my main point.

Even liberal Christianity is "soft" on anti-Semitism. The most persistent reason

is that there is an anti-Semitic bias built into the way Christianity has thought about Christ ever since the writing of the Fourth Gospel in the New Testament. Ever since Christianity came to think of Jesus as the perfect Son of God given to the world once for all time, so that no one is saved except through him, it has set itself in opposition to Jews. It has not been able to tell the difference between God and Jesus. It has supposed that Christ should rule the world.

Not all Christians draw the anti-Semitic conclusions from this as clearly as the fundamentalists do, but very few have been willing to face head-on the anti-Semitism in the churches' Christological doctrines. With a few heroic exceptions, Christianity as a whole has not befriended Jews and Judaism. On the contrary, it has persecuted and slaughtered them. The Holocaust in Europe in this century was as much an act of Christians as it was of pagan Nazis. And it was not the first in Christian history.

The person who has written best and most courageously about anti-Semitism in Christology is Rosemary Radford Ruether in her 1974 book, *Faith and Fratricide*, which every Christian should read; and if we won't, then the Jews should read it for us. I am myself addressing the issue as nearly head-on as I know how to do in a forthcoming book. I believe it is time for Christianity to change its tune.

Christianity has carried in its soul something I call "the latent doctrine of the nonperson." That is, there is a tendency in

Christianity to regard all persons who do not conform to the model of Christ as less than full persons; and when push comes to shove, these nonconformists lose all their rights as persons. Their prayers are not heard. Their freedom does not matter. They are expendable in a "final solution."

This latent Christian doctrine of the nonperson was first stimulated by the conflict between Christian Jews and Torah Jews in the first century, out of which came that awful anti-Jew book known as the Fourth Gospel. Its beauty is matched by its ugly diatribes against those whom it calls "the Jews." Originally, this meant "those other Jews," but when the church became Gentile that was forgotten, and the blood of Christ has become bad blood between Christians and Jews to this very day.

Beginning with Jews of the Torah, Christianity's latent doctrine of the nonperson has spilled over onto many other types. It has been applied to women, to the "barbarians" of Europe, the blacks of Africa and later of America, the natives of North and South America, Orientals and, of course, heretics, atheists and Communists. In Christianity, anti-Semitism is the source of prejudice and intolerance of many kinds.

I don't say there are not other motives, too. I mean that Christians first learned to hate others in their disputes with non-Christian Jews, and that this hatred is still rationalized today by regarding Jesus Christ as the perfect incarnation of God for all time. Since I am a Christian and speak here as a Christian, I must attempt to mobilize Christian conscience on this issue. We have got to change our doctrine of Christ in order to rid ourselves of our latent doctrine of the nonperson, which falls so heavily upon Jews because in their case the Christian theological motives are combined with racism.

Having said all that, I must add a very sour note in my conclusion. It is this: Although I was born and grew up as a WASP in the Bible Belt of this country and have been exposed to Christian anti-Semitism all my life, the most blatant expressions of anti-Semitism I have ever heard were in Israel in 1965 from the lips of some Israelis talking about the Arabs. I heard from otherwise calm, humane and well-educated people that all Arabs are scum, vermin and dirty animals who ought to be exterminated. The only time I had heard such language before was in my

Southland as I grew up, when it was the language of white people talking about "niggers." Even when I discounted 80 to 90 percent of the Israeli invectives as the kind of thing people say on the verge of war, the residue appalled me.

In more recent years, a fundamentalist-type nationalism has grown stronger in Israel, attempting to claim a divine biblical mandate for any and all territorial rights demanded by the State of Israel.

I believe that when war and politics claim a divine right we are in the presence of anti-Semitism, whether the target be Jews or Arabs. Often one can speak similarly of theologically rationalized animus targeted against blacks or women or, for that matter against the hostages held in Teheran.

When the synagogue in Paris is bombed, and when the Baptists' president in Texas makes anti-Semitic statements in the name of Christ, we have to cry out. We have to shriek that we will not have it.

But we have to do more. We have to repent. Jews and Christians alike must cease claiming to be the specially chosen instruments of God in this world. That hubris, if not repented, will lead to our destruction. □



COPY

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, NY 10021-7064 (212)249-0100

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

July 12, 1994
4 Av 5754

Merle L. Silverstein
Rosenblum, Goldenhersh, Silverstein & Zafft
Fourth Floor
7733 Forsyth Boulevard
St. Louis, MO 63105

Dear Merle:

Thank you so much for writing me. Your letter of June 27th reached my desk on my return. Needless to say, I will pass on your letter to Eric Yoffie and David Saperstein in the hope that they will have a means of doing what you wish.

I did enjoy my trip abroad although, alas, it was mostly speech making and meeting attending.

Thank you so much for your kindness to Josh. He is so happy in your firm and he thrives under your encouragement.

Again, my very best to you.

Fondly,

Alexander M. Schindler

CC: ALL TO:

RABBI ERIC YOFFIE
RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

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June 27, 1994

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Rabbi Alexander Schindler
UAHC
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10131

Dear Alex:

I am writing in regard to the current controversy, only recently highlighted in the media, between President Clinton and the right wing fundamentalists, particularly Jerry Falwell and Rush Limbaugh. Now is the time for people and organizations to step up and publicly support the President, and the Union should be among the first to do this. Hopefully David Saperstein is giving this immediate attention.

Is it possible for us to promulgate and publicize an appropriate resolution before the next board meeting in December, perhaps through the Executive Committee?

I hope you enjoyed your trip abroad, and will now take a little rest for yourself for a few days.

With best regards, I remain

Yours very truly,


Merle L. Silverstein

MLS:cd
31255.1

Moral Majority

MEMORANDUM

File

From Annette Daum

Date 7/15/85

To Rabbi A. Schindler

Copies Al Vorspan, Harry Helft, Steve Robbins

Subject Jerry Falwell and the International Board of Jewish Missions, Inc.

As promised, attached is the following information regarding Jerry Falwell's association with the International Board of Jewish Missions, Inc.:

- 1) A response from Jerry Falwell to Dr. Philip Abramowitz regarding the listing of Falwell as a member of the Advisory Board of the International Board of Jewish Missions.

As you can see from his letter, he does not deny being a member of the Advisory Board, but rather defends the activities of this organization which is aimed solely at missionizing Jews. So much for Falwell's assertion that he does not missionize.

- 2) A pamphlet describing the aims and goals of the International Board of Jewish Missions. As you can see, this organization proselytizes Jews, appears to be using a Hebrew-Christian approach and certainly cooperates with Hebrew-Christian groups. It even maintains a Chair of Jewish Studies at Tennessee Temple University for the express purpose of training missionaries to the Jews.

What chutzpah!

This information will be extremely useful in any future challenge regarding Falwell's intentions.

OK



JERRY FALWELL

June 13, 1985

Dr. Philip D. Abramowitz
Task Force on Missionaries
and Cults
111 West 40th Street, 3rd Floor
New York, New York 10019

Dear Dr. Abramowitz:

Thank you for your letter of concern about my membership on the Advisory Board of the International Board of Jewish Missions.

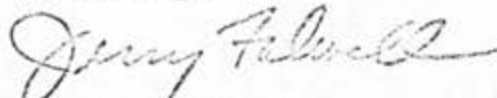
I want to thank you for expressing your feelings to me directly. I think it is very important that we communicate our misgivings in a forthright and direct way. First, I do not believe that the International Board of Jewish Missions is "perverting the tenets of both Judaism and Christianity." While I strongly object to any Christian group which engages in manipulative, deceptive and demeaning proselytizing techniques, I do not feel that your analysis of the International Board of Jewish Missions is accurate.

I have stated repeatedly that as a Christian I have a commitment to world evangelization. I have an obligation to obey the command of Christ to evangelize the world. If the Fundamentalist community is to continue its close relationship with the Jewish community then we must accept each other as we are. I accept your concern about groups which seek to convert Jews and you must accept my commitment to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to every person--Jews and Gentiles alike. To deny each other the right to do such and to predicate future dialogue upon the surrender of such rights is to undermine the essence of who we are and to destroy any attempt at a meaningful relationship.

Dr. Abramowitz
Page 2

Thank you for your letter and if you have any further questions, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,



Jerry Falwell

**"I HAVE SET
THEE A WATCH-
MAN UNTO THE
HOUSE OF ISRAEL"**
EZEK. 33:7



WITH DR. LEE ROBESON IN ISRAEL
(AT SEA OF GALILEE)



IN URUGUAY WITH DR. ORMAN NORWOOD



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A Miracle

Dr. Jacob Gartenhaus, founder and president of the International Board of Jewish Missions, Inc., was born in Austria in a cultured, extremely orthodox Jewish home. Educated in the best Jewish schools of learning, he was being groomed to be a rabbi, even as his father had been.

In his youth he came to America in search of earthly riches but instead Jacob found something infinitely more precious: the Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth. Overwhelmed with the wonder of that revelation, he immediately burst out into the street and speeded two of his own people to tell them that the Messiah had come.

Soon others gathered and within a few minutes he was preaching to a crowd of people. Before that meeting ended on the day of his conversion, Jacob was beaten night to death. The same night he was ordered out of his uncle's home where he lived and told never to return. The same week, he was dismissed from his position in a Jewish clothing firm in New York because he had become a Christian.

His father mourned his passing as though he were dead, and would have nothing to do with him for twenty-five years. His mother was brought from Europe to try to convince him to renounce his new faith. However, nothing could shake his resolution to give his entire life to making known to his brethren in flesh the message of salvation and peace through Christ.

Following graduation from the Moody Bible Institute and then from the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, he was engaged by the Southern Baptist Convention to inaugurate a work among the million Jewish people in the Southland. For so many twenty-eight years, he carried on an indefatigable ministry in the field; and during those years, he reaped insults, abuse, beatings and even imprisonment at the hands of those who, in their ignorance, thought they were pleasing God in persecuting this twentieth-century apostle.

Steadfastly and prayerfully, Jacob carried on, looking for the brighter day foretold by the prophets of old when his people would respond to the message of the Saviour, Who had transformed his own life.

Today the work has grown into a ministry to Jews that reaches around the world. The exciting history of the International Board of Jewish Missions, Inc., under the leadership of Dr. Jacob Gartenhaus reveals a marvelous account of how this man of God entered church after church, and nation after nation, taking the message of God's redeeming grace to his people Israel. Now, in our time, Jewish people are turning to Christ in larger numbers than ever before in history. Jewish sources themselves state that as many as 30,000 Jews may have embraced Christianity since 1965. Hearts long hardened are now softening; doors long closed are now opening and opportunities for mission work among the Jews are greater than ever before.

FUNDAMENTALISTS AROUND THE WORLD ENDORSE THIS MINISTRY

Dr. Gartenhaus' ministry through the years has had the endorsement of evangelical Christian leaders throughout the world.

At an unusual meeting of the Southwide Baptist Fellowship, where some 2,000 pastors and laymen were present, resolutions were unanimously passed recommending this ministry.

DR. J. R. FAULKNER, president of Tennessee Temple University, Chattanooga, Tenn., says, "It has been stated 'Before you invest . . . investigate.' If this is good advice in the secular realm, how much more ought it to be true in the scope of missions? Dr. Gartenhaus has been a missionary to his own people, the Jews, for over sixty years. His unusual dedication and faithfulness have been a great inspiration to thousands of our students over the years. Many IBJM missionaries and workers are Tennessee Temple graduates, and the Mission has a capable and consecrated staff both at home and abroad. We are happy to have a part in this great work."

DR. ROBERT C. GRAY, JR., pastor, Trinity Baptist Church, Jacksonville, Florida, says, "Although a number of Jewish missions in this country are rendering a real service for Christ, I do not know of any ministry that can compare with the work and accomplishments of the International Board of Jewish Missions, Inc. I feel that one reason the Lord has blessed us so much is because we have supported this work over the years."

DR. W. E. DOWELL, former president of the Baptist Bible College, Springfield, Missouri, says, "I am one hundred per cent for what Dr. Gartenhaus is doing. I have believed in his ministry. God has a special place for Jewish evangelization, so I am glad to see the IBJM headquarters established in Chattanooga. I want Dr. and Mrs. Gartenhaus and all their workers to know that my prayers are with them. My support will be with them, too."

DR. JOHN R. RICE, late editor of the widely-read Christian weekly, "The Sword of the Lord," Murfreesboro, Tennessee, said, "The International Board of Jewish Missions is a worldwide testimony for Christ to Jews. I have known Dr. Gartenhaus for more than a quarter of a century. He is a truly converted, honest, spiritual, experienced missionary leader, genuinely worthy of trust. Give this work your whole-hearted support. I gladly commend it."

DR. NOEL SMITH, late editor of "The Baptist Bible Tribune" newspaper, said shortly before his death, "There are a number of Jewish Christian organizations in this country . . . their staffs include some of the ablest Bible expositors in America. One of these organizations is the International Board of Jewish Missions, Inc., of which Dr. Jacob Gartenhaus is the founder and president. He has stuck with it in season and out of season. Few Christian leaders have paid a greater price for their faith in Christ. A distinguished man of God, for over half a century he has been an international missionary to his people after the flesh."

DR. ROBERT G. LEE, late preacher, author and orator, and pastor-emeritus of the Bellevue Baptist Church, Memphis, Tennessee, said, "I am sure that the word 'faithful' is known in heaven, even as it is known upon earth, whenever the name of Jacob Gartenhaus is mentioned. I commend Dr. Gartenhaus and the International Board of Jewish Missions as worthy of Christians everywhere."

OBJECTIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL BOARD of JEWISH MISSIONS, Inc.

THESE ARE OUR AIMS

The International Board of Jewish Missions, Inc., is seeking to evangelize Jews at home and abroad in the following ways:

1. The publication and distribution of suitable literature for Jews, setting forth the Gospel message of Christ as their Messiah, including the Old and New Testaments in various languages.
2. The establishment of "Friends of Israel" fellowships for the purpose of sharing Christ with the Jews, and to pray for their salvation.
3. The training of Christians in methods of approach to the Jews through the local church, and with a view in mind of bringing about a better understanding of Jews by Christians, and Christians by Jews.
4. The sending out of God-called, capable missionaries to labor in neglected and strategic areas where there is no testimony to Israel.
5. The establishment of New Testament churches in Jewish communities, and cooperation with existing churches in the evangelization of the Jews in their midst.
6. The holding of prophetic Bible and missionary conferences with the aim of setting forth God's plan and purpose for and through Israel in the world.
7. The utilization of national and international radio facilities to arouse the Christian conscience on behalf of the Jews, as well as to broadcast the Gospel message to Jews.
8. The distribution of relief to needy Hebrew Christians, including orphanages.
9. The rendering of financial assistance to worthy students who are preparing themselves to be missionaries to the Jews.
10. The maintaining of a Chair of Jewish Studies at Tennessee Temple University in Chattanooga, Tennessee, for the training of Christian workers in their witness to Jews.



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MORE THAN

65

YEARS

MORE THAN

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MISSIONARIES

WORKING ON

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"I HAVE SET
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MAN UNTO THE
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EZEK. 33:7



WITH DR. LEE ROBBERSON IN ISRAEL
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1805 BAILEY AVENUE
CHATTANOOGA, TENN. 37404

DR. LEE ROBERSON, chancellor and founder of world-famous Tennessee Temple University and pastor-emeritus of the Highland Park Baptist Church, Chattanooga, Tennessee, says "It has been my privilege to know Dr. Gartenhaus for over thirty years. In our working together, I have found him to be a dedicated servant of God. His heart is in the work of missions, especially in the work with his own people."

"The Highland Park Baptist Church and Tennessee Temple University are great missionary agencies — we want to work by the side of the International Board of Jewish Missions in getting the Gospel 'to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.'"

The International Board of Jewish Missions, Inc., is a miracle of God's grace. Only God could have done what has been accomplished in the history of the Mission, and only God will be able to do all that needs to be done in the future days.

The field of our ministry is as wide as the Jewish dispersion itself. We believe God would have us to go wherever His people are to be found and to take them the glorious truth concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, our Messiah.

Through our many missionaries and through our literature program God has permitted us to work on six continents, but we are only touching the hem of the garment. The call for help has come from North America, South America, Europe, Africa, Asia, the Far East, Israel, behind the Iron Curtain, etc. Literally millions are waiting to hear of the Saviour.

Unlike some other Jewish missions, IBJM is engaged in establishing New Testament churches and not only winning Jews but enlisting them as active members of these churches so they may go out and win others. New missionaries are being added constantly and new fields evangelized.

Christ's command to us today is the same as it was when He spoke to His disciples and said, "Give ye them to eat." You can have a part in this vital ministry and share in carrying the Gospel "TO THE JEW FIRST . . . and also to the Greek." (Romans 1:16) May we hear from you?

We need your prayers! We depend upon your support!
All gifts are deductible for income tax purposes

Get in touch with us today

A Miracle Challenge

Dr. Jacob Gartenhaus says, "After 65 years as a missionary my heart's cry remains the same . . . We must make God's Word known to His people Israel. But never, in all my fondest dreams, have I anticipated such open doors as we are witnessing today! A great movement is on, not only among the Jews themselves, but also among Christians, since we are seeing God's people everywhere touched with a fresh burden for the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

"It will take a miraculous moving of the Spirit of God to reach the Jews, and although much is being accomplished, we are hindered in doing more because some have failed to catch the vision. We must have more help, more missionaries, more churches and individuals standing with us.

"The fields are white, but the laborers are few. Our missionaries are now crying for reinforcements. We dare not fail them in these days just before the coming of the Lord. We must send forth many more workers while there is still time. God's people will have to do it, for no one else will. Souls are waiting — we dare not delay in reaching Christ's own brethren according to the flesh with the saving message of redemption.

"In light of present-day events, the rapid and literal fulfillment of ancient prophecies in the Land of Israel, and the wide-open doors for Jewish missions, I know of no greater investment of the Lord's money than in this work. I earnestly plead with you to join with us in this worldwide outreach among the Jews.

"Any church requesting one of our representatives will receive a prompt reply, and we will be happy to send a speaker to further lay upon your heart this missionary burden. Surely, the blessing of Abraham (Genesis 12:3) will be yours for having a regular part. We await your inquiry. God bless you."



Dr. Gartenhaus (center) at the dedication of "Jacob's Well" on the campus of Tennessee Temple University in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Dr. J. R. Faulkner (left), president, and Dr. Lee Roberson (right), founder and chancellor, are faithful friends and supporters of our worldwide ministry. Dr. Faulkner is pastor of the Highland Park Baptist Church, and Dr. Roberson is pastor-emeritus.

Moshe Myer

October 31, 1984

Mr. Yoav Karny
30 West 60th St.
Apt. 2 F
New York, NY 10023

Dear Yoav:

Enclosed is a copy of the speech I discussed with you. Please note it was delivered over ~~five~~ years ago ~~and~~ we have spoken of this group since that time and noted the extreme danger represented by this grouping.

Unfortunately, they are gaining in strength and Israel's flirtation with this group has not helped for it gives them a hechsher among Jews. Yet they always were and continue to be a long term threat, not only to the American Jewish community but to Israel as well. That should be clear to anyone who bothers to look beyond the trees to ~~be~~ the forest as a whole.

Kind regards.

Jones

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

*Moral
Majority / Radical Rte*

February 10, 1983

Rabbi Lawrence M. Colton
Union Reform Temple
475 North Brookside Avenue
Freeport, NY 11520

Dear Larry:

I have just received your letter of February 8 and I write to express my thanks for your thoughtful note and for the vote taken by your Board. It is good to know that your congregation endorses this stand.

No, Larry, you never "incurred (my) ire" for any of your past objections. I don't claim all wisdom and when you have objections I expect and appreciate all expressions of dissent.

Obviously, I am pleased to have your concurrence in this particular instance.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Union Reform Temple
475 North Brookside Avenue
Freeport, New York 11520

LAWRENCE M. COLTON
RABBI

February 8, 1983

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex,

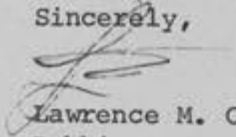
I have been asked, on behalf of our president, Mr. Stanley Hochberg, and the Board of Trustees of our Temple, to express to you our gratitude for the position taken regarding the Christian Right.

As you know, in the past we might have incurred your ire by expressing concern over stands previously taken. I was most appreciative of the Board member who offered this resolution unprompted, and the unanimous vote of endorsement and support.

As you may know, I have met with many Evangelicals in my role as Chairman of the Central Conference of American Rabbis Committee on Cults and Missionaries. Al Vorspan will attest to the fact that I was approached by representatives of Jerry Falwell for a meeting. In fact, Al met in the CCAR office for a Conference call to decide on Conference policy regarding such requests. We did not seek out nor purposely continue the request for dialogue and indeed, it went nowhere.

I believe that we are being used for purposes other than those stated. The Evangelicals are a difficult group to define. The Christian Right, and particularly the Falwell Fundamentalists, et al, want just what they are getting; our approval, gratitude, and recognition. I believe we know what their motives are. Many Jewish groups have been approached; not all have responded. Thank God!

Sincerely,


Lawrence M. Colton
Rabbi

LMC:rs



Mme Meyers

March 19, 1982

Ms. Holly Hamilton
1613 Red Mill Drive
Pittsburgh, PA 15241

Dear Ms. Hamilton:

As Rabbi Schindler is out of the city I am taking the liberty of responding to your letter of March 12.

Enclosed herewith is a report made to the Board of Trustees of the UAHC by Rabbi Schindler. It deals with the Moral Majority and right-wing extremism. I believe you will find it to be helpful in regard to the paper you are preparing. I am also enclosing two press releases on the same subject.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

1613 Red Mill Drive
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15241
March 12, 1982

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I am interested in finding out your opinion about the Moral Majority. I am writing a research paper and the topic is "The Moral Majority: is it the majority and how much power does it really have?" I am writing to you to find out your opinion on the Reverend Jerry Falwell, his organization and his actions. I have written to Senators and Representatives to find out what their views are and now I would like to find out how the churches stand on this issue. We are supposed to enter our topic with an open mind and to form an opinion after compiling the information.

I would be most grateful for any information or pamphlets you could send me. I need to compile my information by the middle of April. I appreciate your taking time to help me with my research.

Sincerely,

Holly Hamilton

Holly Hamilton

First, I want to thank Rabbi Joshua Haberman for his kind words of introduction and for opening his communal home to this function. It is altogether fitting that tonight's dialogue be held in the sanctuary of the Washington Hebrew Congregation since Rabbi Haberman is an ardent champion of a rapprochement between Christian evangelicals and American Jews. What better place, then, than this synagogue for an honest probing of our differences regarding the proper role of religion in American public life.

I am genuinely sorry that Jerry Falwell couldn't make it tonight and that illness kept him from coming here. But sometimes you luck out. Sometimes, when Pavorotti has a cold you end up with Placido Domingo, and while the one might be flashier the other has the more solid voice.

Even so it is with Pat Robertson. He is truly among the foremost spokesmen of that viewpoint which has come to be known as the Christian Right. Head of the Christian Broadcast Network, his own program, The 700 Club, commands an audience of millions. And so I join you in thanking him for his graciousness in coming here on such short notice, and after four hectic days of leading a conference of his own.

Now, Dr. Robertson has told David Saperstein that he would really rather not get into a sharp debate, that while he is perfectly prepared to discuss his views on Church and State, he would just as soon eschew harsh rhetoric. That speaks well for him, and it is in character, for he has always been among the more responsible of evangelical leaders. And he certainly was most forthcoming in his remarks tonight. How can I possibly argue against such an approach?

And yet I must. Having a responsible dialogue does not import that those who engage in it are compelled to voice platitudes. A responsible dialogue demands frankness as well - it requires that divergent views be openly explored and that perceptions be freely stated. That rapprochement which Dr. Robertson wants requires openness. We can't lift the curtain of stereotypes without first looking at the stereotypes. I will do dispassionately, that it is against my essential nature to do so. But know that if I do speak with emotion tonight, it is directed not against you, Dr. Robertson, personally, but only against those views and means which we Jews generally ascribe to that ideological alliance which has come to be known, for better or for worse, as the Christian Right.

* * *

Let me say at once that we uphold the right of fundamentalist preachers to speak out on public policy. American Jews cherish the First Amendment separating Church and State but we do not see that principle as precluding a political involvement by the religious community. Indeed, the right to such an involvement is secured by the Free Exercise Clause of that Amendment itself.

We Jews claim this right for ourselves with a passion, and we will not deny it to others, however divergent their views. If Eisendrath could thunder against the war in Vietnam and Schindler can hold forth on nuclear disarmament and economic justice, why then Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell have every to take the stump for prayer in the public schools and against abortion.

Consultation On Conscience

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Washington Hebrew Congregation
Washington, D.C.
April 14, 1985

First, I want to thank Rabbi Joshua Haberman for his kind words of introduction and for opening his communal home to this function. It is altogether fitting that tonight's dialogue be held in the sanctuary of the Washington Hebrew Congregation since Rabbi Haberman is an ardent champion of a rapprochement between Christian evangelicals and American Jews. What better place, then, than this synagogue for an honest probing of our differences regarding the proper role of religion in American public life.

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We Jews claim this right for ourselves with a passion, and we will *not* deny it to others, however divergent their views. If Eisendrath could thunder against the war in Vietnam and Schindler can hold forth on nuclear disarmament and economic justice, why then, Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell have every right to take the stump for prayer in the public schools and against abortion.

The public debate is enriched when different groups bring their divergent moral perspectives to bear on the issues of the day. Even so has the Moral Majority refocused our attention on concerns we had neglected: the deterioration of the family, and the debasement of sex, and the indiscriminate permissiveness in our society. None of these issues has ever evoked an appropriate moral response by our liberal Jewish community—and we might as well admit it.

Now I trust that you will not construe these words as an endorsement of the fundamentalist manifesto as a whole. Quite aside from our wide divergence on many of its specific items, I find the scope of that agenda to be entirely too narrow, ethically inadequate, unfaithful to the fullness of religious witness.

Maybe my own conception of religion is at fault. But I cannot understand how an agenda that calls itself religious can oppose our government's ratification of the Genocide Convention.

I cannot understand how a *religious* agenda can concern itself almost exclusively with personal rather than with public morality, more with what happens in the privacy of the bedroom than with what happens in our urban ghettos.

I cannot understand how a *religious* agenda can identify itself with a particular economic theory—clearly secular in its essential nature—which leaves it up to God to take care of toxic waste dumps, and rent gouging, and unemployment, and unequal pay for women, and all those other scarcely self-corrupting by-products of the rigid laissez-faire approach.

And, finally, while I will yield to no one in my love for this land for which I fought and bled, I cannot understand how those who speak in the name of a religion that claims adherents in every corner of our world can nonetheless be so narrowly nationalistic as to attain to a blatant chauvinism. The embrace of the Christian Right is scarcely global. And its preachments about nuclear disarmament make it almost impossible for me to believe that the more traditional Christian quest for peace on earth emerged from the same Holy Scriptures in worship for the same Lord.

Forgotten the injunction about "turning the other cheek" to one's enemy. No inspiration derived from God's promise to Noah, sealed by the rainbow sign, that God would never again destroy the world. Foreign policy decisions made with reference to an approaching Armageddon. All countermeasures to Soviet influence appear condoned by that camp, dictatorships and death squads and grinding poverty and apartheid right on up to nuclear brinksmanship—they all appear condoned if not blessed by the Christian Right. It is a puzzlement!

* * *

While there may be some or even many Jews in this audience who disagree with one or another of my views implicit in this critique, few here will disagree with me when I say that the American Jewish community is most perturbed about the fact that the Moral Majority has made "prayer in public education" a centerpiece of its national agenda.

We are exceedingly sensitive on this subject and the reason is not far to seek: we see the public classroom as the very first line of defense in our struggle to maintain Church and State separation on the American scene.

This is a "gut issue" for American Jews. We hold this principle to be our fundamental protection, the ultimate ground of that unique freedom which we have experienced in this land. Everywhere else in our wanderings we suffered persecution, never here. In all other countries there was an established faith; here, in this blessed America, there is none. That is why we prize the First Amendment as the very cornerstone of our liberties.

Even the slightest chip in that separating wall evokes our anxious concerns, and properly so. For instance, could there be anything more innocuous than the "equal access" program adopted by Congress last year? It seemed so harmless! America's secondary schools were to be opened to a wide variety of religious activities, no more; and everything was to be voluntary, nothing was to be required.

Yet look at what has happened across the land! In Illinois, the Jews for Jesus established chapters in various high schools. In one West Coast community the Moonies asked for equal time and space; in another, it was the American Nazi Party. On Long Island so many cults and missionary groups are competing for available resources, the despairing local school officials have actually recommended the closure of *all* extra-curricular activity, including sports, just to get out from under. Next thing you know, Louis Farrakhan will ask for high school space to spew his venom—in the name of his Black Muslim sect.

And thus it is that the American public school which always was and always should be the primary unifying force of our country's divergent religious and ethnic groups is threatening to become a battleground for competing sectarian interests.

And this is why we American Jews will continue most vigorously to resist the Moral Majority and its allies on their every suggestion to introduce religion into the public school. We will do so, lest the separating wall crumble into a moat where the sharks of religious hatred thrash about and sharpen their teeth for victims.

* * *

Now the fact that we are opposed to this or that aspect of the Moral Majority Manifesto does not really go to the root of our distrust. We oppose many other groupings on divergent issues, but we don't necessarily hold them suspect, we don't fret and fume about them as we do with the Religious Right.

The real reason, I believe, is style, the manner in which the arguments of the Moral Majority are advanced. There is entirely too much hyperbole. Extremist solutions are often endorsed. And everything is cast in apocalyptic terms, as a struggle between good and evil, between God and Satan, between the forces of light and of darkness.

This kind of language violates the bounds of a reasonable democratic discourse. In effect it forecloses such a discourse for, if a political opponent is wrong or misguided or even stupid, he can be dealt with in the marketplace of ideas. But, when he is immoral and a sinner, the case can be made that he does not deserve to be in the debate at all.

Let me give you a concrete example of what I mean, Pat Robertson.

Back on September 25, 1984, on the 700 Club broadcast, you said the following:

The Constitution of the United States is a marvelous instrument for self-government by Christian people. But the minute you turn it into the hands of non-Christian people, and

atheistic people, they can use it to destroy the very foundations of our society. And that's what's been happening.

What, in effect, are you saying to American Jews? We hear it only one way. You are saying in effect:

I'm going to keep you Jews from holding public office, and I want you out of the political arena.

You certainly didn't have that in mind, heaven forefend. Now that I have met you and heard you, I know you don't have that in mind. But that's the only way we can read it. Put yourself in our shoes.

Don't misunderstand me to demand that you restrain your feelings, Dr. Robertson, in public debate on the subject of abortion or anything else, for that matter. How can you be dispassionate! Your views flow from the deepest wellsprings of your being. They are tempered on the anvil of your soul. But, when you and other spokesmen of the Christian Right publicly advance arguments in a narrow sectarian context and in absolutistic terms, we Jews become very anxious indeed.

When we hear that those who favor E.R.A. are "anti-family," and those who insist on civil rights for homosexuals are "perverts," and those who are opposed to school prayer are "anti-Christ," and those who believe in free choice are "murderers," the "Nazi-like perpetrators of another holocaust"—when we hear all this we somehow get the feeling that just maybe there is somebody out there who would rather not have us about.

It is in this context that I made comments some years ago that were later misrepresented to imply that I hold Jerry Falwell and other leaders of the Christian Right to be anti-Semites. I did not. That simply is not so. What I did say—I repeat—is this:

...that the extreme and absolutistic language of the Christian Right "creates a climate of opinion which is hostile to religious tolerance. Such a climate... is bad for civil liberties, for human rights, for interfaith understanding, and for mutual respect among Americans.... Therefore, it is also bad for Jews.... I do not accuse Jerry Falwell and Bailey

Smith of deliberately inciting anti-Semitism. But I do say that their preachments have an inevitable effect. Jerry Falwell tells us that only one brand of politics is acceptable to God, and Bailey Smith tells us that only one brand of believer is acceptable to God. It is no wonder, then, that those who hold different political views should be branded 'Satan' and those who hold different religious beliefs should become the victims of vandals. . . ."

That's what I said, and I stand by every word. The health of the American democratic process requires civility, temperateness, and a genuine respect for divergent views, even if these views involve a divergent interpretation of Holy Writ.

* * *

Which leads me to the final comment I want to make on the manner in which arguments of the Christian Right are advanced. I refer now to the frequency with which its followers invoke God's name to sanctify their positions.

This troubles me on theological grounds. We realize, of course, that Christian ministers draw on Scripture for inspiration, that they believe it to be the revealed word of God. I respect these beliefs, and I admire the steadfastness with which they turn to the Bible for guidance as they make their life decisions. But can we really know God's will on all the issues facing our nation? Can any being of flesh and blood know with a certainty just what God Almighty wills on a particular policy matter? Surely that is a knowledge which neither Christian nor Jew, however learned and pious, has the right to claim!

In his elegant Lynchburg speech, Senator Kennedy made a similar point when he asked respect "for the independent judgment of conscience." He said:

Those who proclaim moral and religious values can offer moral counsel, but they should not casually treat a position on a public issue as a test of fealty to faith.

Illustrating the problem, the senator quoted Jerry Falwell's own

statement that "to stand against Israel is to stand against God." Said Kennedy:

There is no one in the Senate who has stood more firmly for Israel than I have. Yet I do not doubt the faith of those on the other side. Their error is not one of religion but of policy.

The senator's example is well chosen. Many congressional leaders who receive extremely high marks on the "morality index" of the Christian Voice, because of their conservative positions on such "holy" subjects as gun control and U.S. relations with Zimbabwe, have only mediocre if not poor voting records on Israel. The liberals did much better on that score, I'm afraid. Thus, for instance, more than 90 percent of the senators who co-sponsored the Prayer Amendment also voted in favor of selling AWACs to the Saudi dictatorship. Were they saints on some issues and sinners on others? Did their religion lapse on the AWACs vote?

Surely not. Surely, they had other considerations that came to play in their decision, such as the extension of U.S. influence in the Middle East, and the dampening of Syrian power, and the need to recapture petro-dollars. If this be so, it is a confession that the AWACs sale was a complicated matter that involved many considerations all at once. And, if *that* confession is made, it must apply as well to domestic gun control, and to U.S. relations with African nations, and all of those other issues which the Christian Voice crowns with the halo of divine approval.

Let me make it crystal clear here that Pat Robertson did *not* line up with the other conservatives on the AWACs sale. Nor did Jerry Falwell. Dr. Robertson opposed it then as he opposes the delivery of those planes now, and we are grateful for his steadfast support. Nonetheless, the hazard—indeed the blasphemy!—of proclaiming "God's will" on specific policy issues is demonstrated by example.

* * *

Now, in one respect, my critique of the Religious Right hasn't been fair at all. I freely intermingled the views of the Moral Ma-

YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

No answer

September 16, 1981

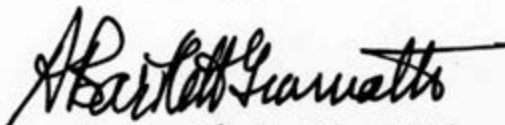
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your letter concerning my address to the Freshman Class. Your support means an immense amount to me. It is with great pleasure that I enclose a copy of my speech as you requested.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



A. Bartlett Giamatti

ABG:sk
enclosure

av
DS




September 22, 1981

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
American Union of
Hebrew Congregations
838 5th Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Norman and I were happy we could spend a few minutes with you last week in the midst of your rush to Australia. We look forward to working closely with you in this most important effort. I've enclosed a copy of the first issue of our monthly Bulletin which I thought would interest you.

Sincerely,



Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director

ATP:bb

enclosure

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY is a nonprofit, nonpartisan educational organization established in 1980 to help improve the climate in which we exercise our First Amendment freedoms.

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY is a project of the Tides Foundation, a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization.

The PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY Bulletin is a monthly report on the activities of the Radical Religious Right. Other work includes a national media campaign, a citizen participation program and various publications designed to strengthen freedom of expression.

September 1981

RADICAL RELIGIOUS RIGHT URGES ABOLITION OF SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM

"Probably the most tragic and criminal plunder ever perpetrated against the American people by liberal government has been the Social Security system," says the official journal of The Roundtable, one of the key organizations of the Radical Religious Right.

Founded as the Religious Roundtable by Edward McAteer, who is credited with introducing top TV preachers to the political organizers of the New Right, The Roundtable includes among its Board and official advisors: Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.); Congressman Kent Hance (D-Tx.); TV evangelists Jerry Falwell, James Robison and Pat Robertson; Conservative Caucus leader Howard Phillips; and Tim LaHaye, chief organizer of the national campaign against "secular humanism."

The Roundtable concludes, "Various companies should be allowed to compete in the arena of free enterprise, offering the customer real choices as between multiple retirement plans."

MORAL MAJORITY RESTRICTS GOVERNMENT BOOKLET

Moral Majority has successfully pressured Indiana's senior senator to stop most distribution of the booklet, Your Child from One to Six, published by the federal government in various versions since 1918.

Indiana Moral Majority leader Greg Dixon attacked the booklet for stating that children are not born bad and for advising new parents not to spank their toddlers. "That is totally contrary to the Scriptures," Dixon asserted. "Everyone is born a sinner."

Senator Richard Lugar will no longer automatically send "Your Child from One to Six" to new parents in Indiana as he had before Moral Majority's complaint.

(Greg Dixon has also succeeded in weakening Indiana's child abuse law. See page 3.)

TV EVANGELIST BLASTS PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

Reverend James Robison, one of the Radical Religious Right's favorite TV preachers, recently told a Tulsa, Oklahoma, reporter what he thinks of PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY: "They are entitled to their opinions. But to tell you the truth, they are a real detriment to this country and we don't need them." Robison is often called "God's Angry Man."

MORAL MAJORITY: A MINORITY

A majority of Americans don't know enough about Moral Majority or Jerry Falwell to have an opinion, according to an Associated Press-NBC poll. Of those who have an opinion, large majorities have unfavorable views of Moral Majority and its founder. The poll, released in August, shows:

<u>Moral Majority</u>		<u>Jerry Falwell</u>
52%	don't know	64%
28	unfavorable	24
12	favorable	7
8	unsure	5

While 51% said they believe churches and members of the clergy should express their views on issues, 66% opposed religious groups' involvement in electoral politics.

GOD TO BAKKER: "DON'T LET GO OF ONE POSSESSION!"

Forty-seven TV stations had already dropped Jim Bakker's "PTL (Praise The Lord) Club" for nonpayment of bills by the time the TV evangelist spent an hour trying to raise money on the air August 15. (Bakker has had trouble paying for air time because he's also financing his retirement homes, amphitheatre, \$5 million World Outreach Center, TV studio, communications satellite dish and Heritage Village Church.)

Bakker told his TV audience that the night before the broadcast he had prayed about his problem. He reported, "God said, 'Jim, I don't want you to let go of one possession that I gave you....I want you to increase, not diminish.'" Bakker prayed on the air: "Heavenly Father, I pray that you will speak to many people and ask them to send \$120." For \$120, a contributor receives Efrem Zimbalist, Jr.'s tapes on the New Testament.

RICHMOND PROFESSOR GETS AIR TIME TO ANSWER TV EVANGELISTS

Dr. Robert S. Alley, a professor at the University of Richmond (Va.) has been given air time by two Richmond TV stations to respond to controversial political statements made by television evangelists Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson on their "religious" programs.

Alley, a PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY activist, answered Robertson's attacks on Judge Sandra O'Connor, the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion, and Falwell's attack on the Supreme Court for "kicking God out of the schools."

BLACK PASTOR TO FALWELL: "YOU ARE A DANGEROUS MAN."

"Dr. Falwell, I find it necessary to make this an open letter. Your kind of Christianity must be exposed for what it is, namely -- a perversion of the faith. You equate piety with patriotism. You're an advocate, in reality, of civil religion. In your devotion to 'Old Glory,' you evince the erroneous notion that there is a positive correlation between government and God, between the flag and the cross. You seem not to understand the progressive character of Biblical revelation, i.e., the monumental difference between Jesus' 'love your enemies' ethic and Moses' ethic of 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' Your

continued from p. 2

ability to drape tyranny with sanctimony makes your actions more hideous and more heinous. In short, you are a dangerous man."

-- William Augustus Jones, President, National Black Pastors' Conference, "An Open Letter to Jerry Falwell," Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide, August 5, 1981.

TV SPOTS BROADCAST NATIONWIDE, DESPITE THREAT

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY's latest television public service announcements (PSAs) are being broadcast on at least 250 stations in 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Each of the entertaining, patriotic spots concludes with the message, "Freedom of thought: the right to have and express your own opinions. That's the American Way."

Less than a week after PEOPLE FOR's press conference announcing the PSA campaign, Moral Majority sent a mailgram to several hundred TV stations around the country that claimed the spots were "a thinly veiled attack on Moral Majority and its President, Dr. Jerry Falwell." Moral Majority threatened to challenge stations that aired the PSAs with a Fairness Doctrine demand for "equal time to respond to the unfounded and distorted charges made in the...spots."

Moral Majority later admitted that "the mailgram went out before we had a real opportunity to examine the content of the Fairness Doctrine." ~

MORAL MAJORITY WEAKENS INDIANA CHILD ABUSE LAW

Indiana Moral Majority has succeeded in its campaign to guarantee a parent's right under state law to strike a child. The new amendment excludes "reasonable corporal punishment" from the law's definition of child abuse.

Greg Dixon, a national board member of Moral Majority, Inc. and head of Indiana Moral Majority, claims the Bible tells parents to whip their children and says, "Our position is the parents own the children."

FALWELL: "STOP THE HOMOSEXUALS DEAD IN THEIR TRACKS!"

"Believe me, Minneapolis is just a stepping stone! Your hometown...may be next!...This is why we must stop the homosexuals dead in their tracks -- before they get one step further toward warping the minds of our youth!...We must not...let these perverted, immoral individuals influence our naive, innocent children!"

So thunders Jerry Falwell in a recent fundraising letter, computerized to add the city where the addressee lives to the sentence, "Your hometown of _____ may be next!" Minneapolis was selected because, according to Falwell, "a group of lesbian and gay speakers were granted permission to present slide shows and lead class discussions on homosexuality in the local public schools."

The letter continues for five pages. "If the gays win this battle," Falwell predicts, "it will mark one of the blackest days in the history of our nation! The time for us to attack is now!...The enemy is in our camp!"

continued on p. 4

continued from p. 3

The truth behind Falwell's accusations, which he failed even to mention, was that the Minneapolis schools required each school principal, every teacher and each and every parent to grant their permission before any high school student participated in the discussion about homosexuality.

MILLIKEN DENOUNCES RADICAL RIGHT

Governor William Milliken (R-Mich.) has denounced the Radical Right for trying to impose its standards of morality on Michigan voters and developing a "political hit list." "It offends me when an individual speaks with such absolute moral certainty," Milliken said. "Absolute moral certainty removes almost any grounds for rational discussion."

Michigan Moral Majority claims credit for electing one Congressman in the state and is threatening to defeat lawmakers who oppose reinstating prayer in public schools.

SENATOR PROPOSES COUNTER TO RADICAL RELIGIOUS RIGHT

Senator Carl Levin (D-Mich.) has proposed a 10-point program to counter "the threat to civil liberties posed by the radical religious right." Among the points:

"Let us not be silent, even if it means criticizing those who support Israel. The great threat to American pluralism posed by those who denounce their political opponents as godless is made doubly dangerous by virtue of the fact that on an issue of vital concern to us, they support Israel."

Bulletin

PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY
1015 18th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036 • Suite 300

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TIDES FOUNDATION



July 20, 1981

Mr. Peter D. Moore, Vice President
Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Co.
140 Garden Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

Dear Mr. Moore:

Thank you for your kind letter in response to our request for additional copies of the Connecticut Mutual Life Report on American Values in the 80's. It was good to learn that you have had many requests for bulk copies and I can certainly understand and appreciate the inability of the organization to underwrite the cost of distribution for such requests.

Inasmuch as we have budgetary restrictions which limit our ability to underwrite costs for materials to be shared with our leaders, we have arranged to have the Report reproduced in-house. The cost to us for the required number of copies will be much less than \$3.00 each. We will, of course, give proper credit to the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, in accordance with the request made in granting permission to reproduce portions of the report or the full text.

Please express my warm regards to Sy and I thank you both for your kindness.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Connecticut Mutual Life INSURANCE COMPANY

140 Garden Street, Hartford, Connecticut 06115 Tel. (203) 727-6500

Peter D. Moore, Vice President-Communications Division

June 25, 1981

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

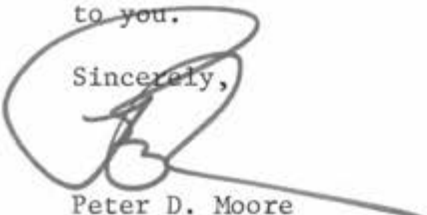
Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Sy Raboy forwarded your letter to me requesting 50 copies of our study on American Values in the 80's. As you can imagine, this study has created a great deal of interest among a number of people around the country. Because of this fact, we have found it necessary to charge \$3.00 a copy for all large quantity requests.

We would be more than happy to forward the 50 additional copies you asked for if you would send us a check for \$150 to cover the cost. Both Sy and I wish we were in a position to be able to fully underwrite the cost of distributing this booklet, but the tremendous demand for copies would have a significant impact on our very modest budget for this entire program.

I am enclosing two additional copies for your use and, upon receipt of your check, will forward the additional 50 copies to you.

Sincerely,



Peter D. Moore
Vice President

PDM:mlb
Enclosure

June 19, 1981

Mr. S. Caesar Raboy, C.L.U.
Executive Vice President
Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Co.
140 Garden Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06115

Dear Sy:

Thank you for your gracious note. I, too, am delighted that we had an opportunity to meet. I look forward to being with you on many occasions in the future.

It was thoughtful of you to share with me the study on "The Impact of Belief" undertaken by your Company. Would it be possible to obtain an additional fifty copies of this fine report to share with members of the Board of Delegates? I would very much wish to call this item to their attention.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

● Connecticut Mutual Life INSURANCE COMPANY

140 Garden Street, Hartford, Connecticut 06115 Tel. (203) 727-6500

S. Caesar Raboy, CLU, Executive Vice President

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June 15, 1981

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I'm delighted we had a chance to get acquainted at last week's Second Board of Delegates' meeting. Your presentation was most intriguing.

I've taken the liberty of sending along a copy of a study recently commissioned by our Company. The film clip concerning the emergence of the Fundamentalists is confirmed by our study. Certainly thought provoking.

Now my best regards.

Cordially,



Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

June 29, 1981

Rabbi Donald R. Berber
Temple Beth Orr
9393 West Sample Road
Coral Springs, FL 33065

Dear Don:

As Rabbi Schindler is out-of-the-country and not due back until late July, I am taking the liberty of responding to your letter of June 24.

I know of no analysis being done here at 838 in regard to the leadership of Bailey Smith and/or resolutions which have come out of the recent Baptist Convention. This type of project is usually undertaken by the staff of our Religious Action Center. I am sharing your letter with David Saperstein and will ask him to provide you with any information which will be of interest to you. If there is a delay in his response, please know that the renovation of the Religious Action Center is now complete and today is moving day. I'm sure you can imagine what a time-consuming task it is to move the furniture and files of the RAC back to the building and to get everything organized properly so the staff can resume activities efficiently and without undue delay.

Thank you for sharing your letter of appreciation to Rabbi Schafer for the assistance rendered to Debbie Geffer. It was thoughtful of you to bring this matter to Rabbi Schindler's attention.

I hope all goes well with you and hope you are enjoying a rewarding and pleasant summer. With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

cc; Rabbi David Saperstein



Rabbi Donald R. Gerber

TEMPLE BETH ORR

June 24, 1981

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

I'm referring to our exchange of letters earlier this year with regard to Bailey Smith. Now that he's been reelected as the moderator of the Baptist convention, I was wondering if you have yet put together any kind of analysis of his leadership and the Baptist's recent convention and resolutions. I saw in the news coverage down here that one resolution opposed "anti-Semitism". If you get a chance to send me a note with regard to your impressions of this latest development, I'd be happy to hear from you.

Most sincerely yours,

Rabbi Donald R. Gerber

RDG/ik

June 24, 1981

Rabbi Steve Schaeffer
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Steve & Nina:

My sincere appreciation to you both for assisting me and Dr. Sol Gefter regarding his daughter Debbie's hopes to spend this coming year in Israel as part of the Israel Goldstein Youth Village Program. The telegram you sent was extremely helpful, particularly in reassuring the Gelters that the academics of the program were "excellent". I'm sending a copy of this note to Alex so that he will be aware of one of the more unusual services that the Union has provided to one of its member congregations.

Hoping that all the UAHC kids are getting off all right, given the threat of the air traffic control strike. My best wishes to you for a productive summer.

Most sincerely yours,

Rabbi Donald R. Gerber

RDG/lk
cc: Rabbi Alexander Schindler ✓

P.S. My best to Paul Reichenbach as well as to Smitty, Dorothy and the gang.

'Morality' movement is assailed

United Press International

NEW HAVEN, Conn. — Yale University President A. Bartlett Giamatti, in a commencement speech Saturday, attacked the thinking behind Moral Majority-type movements and blamed it for an increase in intolerance in the United States.

In his baccalaureate address, Giamatti said movement members "arrogantly assert that their morality is in the majority."

"A civil society can be shattered by the kind of coercion that now seeks to become commonplace," he said.

"We must insist on law, not on rule by decree. We must insist that the principles of the Constitution be applied through the courts and resist the desire that the Constitution be endlessly amended."

Giamatti spoke of the "increasing and deeply dangerous polarization of the races, the eruptions of racism and anti-Semitism whose stench now fills the air."

"These are all signs that some now feel licensed to shove against the less numerous, the weaker, the new, the exotic and the foreign."

The Ivy League school's ceremonies will end with the awarding of degrees to 3,002 students today. Honorary degrees will be awarded to 13 people, whose identities will not be revealed until then.

SW Jewish Press
Veritane

2/10/81
LOS ANGELES

Schindler: No Alliance with Moral Majority

By Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Pres., Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Is Jerry Falwell good for the Jews? Is the Moral Majority a political force with which Israel and her American supporters should make alliance?

At first blush the answer to these questions is a clear "yes." After all, Falwell ranks among Israel's staunchest supporters. Israel has too few friends, as it is. Moreover, the Moral Majority is an emerging political force of some consequence. Why not cooperate with them?

A more careful consideration of the ends and means of America's new right prompts an entirely different response. Alliances should not be made with only short-term gain in mind; the long range consequences must also be seen. And once these are weighed, the Moral Majority

and those other religious and political organizations with which they are in coalition, reveal themselves to be a threat to American democracy, to America's Jews, and therefore also to Israel.

This new political force — which gained considerable strength in the campaign just past — seeks nothing less than to Christianize America, to make it a republic ruled by Christ. Falwell has called for the adoption of a "Christian Bill of Rights" and his coalition associate Potter spells out precisely what this means: "When the Christian majority takes over this country, there will be no more satanic churches... Pluralism will be seen as immoral and evil, and the state will not permit anybody to practice that evil."

The means of the Christian right, even more than their goals, are troubling. They disdain the democratic process. Tests of politico-religious purity have been es-

tablished. Non-conformers are labelled "sinners," "followers of Satan." Hit-lists of candidates targeted for political oblivion are drafted, and slander is a favorite weapon for such assassinations; terms like "pervert," and "communist" are liberally applied; in Idaho the word "Zionist" was used in such a manner, possibly because a good deal of Arab money was commingled with the funds used by the radical right to destroy Senator Frank

Church.

It is scarcely prudent to make alliance with those who are sworn to destroy Israel's true and tested friends. If we do, we are not only foolish but lacking in all honor.

39 EIGHT 75-4 ST

**Report
of the President
of the Union
of American
Hebrew Congregations**

to the Board of Trustees

NOVEMBER 21, 1980
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA



It is a joy to be here tonight in this beautiful and exciting city of San Francisco, to greet the members of Congregation Emanu-El and of Sherith Israel who have joined in worship, and to welcome the members of our Union Board who have come here from distant places. It is always a source of inspiration when Reform Jews from all over this bounteous continent of ours meet together and sing together and pray together. There is no sound more strengthening for the Jew than the sound of the Shema intoned by a thousand voices. We renew ourselves. We gather fresh spirit when we meet, when we join hearts and minds, to reason together, and to deliberate the welfare of our religious community and, indeed, the welfare of American and world Jewry. That sense of renewal is immeasurably heightened by our historic surroundings and by our presence in this magnificent place.

Because this service is an integral part of our semi-annual Board meeting, my message will be more in the nature of a presidential address than of a Sabbath sermon, which means—alas for you—that it will be more extended in time and in scope. I have no other choice. We meet too infrequently as a leadership community, and those issues which compel our concern are many and weighty. This is not to say that I will keynote every item of our crowded agenda. But I do want to say some things concerning the recent election. I want to discuss that new phenomenon on the American political scene, the new Christian majority, and the manner in which the Jewish community relates to it. Lastly, I want to sound some warnings concerning the rise of neo-Nazism the world over, and here too, that new anti-Semitism which has come to stain our national honor.

First, concerning the elections. It was a quandary, was it not? I do not recall the American Jewish community in quite so desperate an uncertainty. Reagan seemed better for Israel, but his domestic vision was flawed. Carter clearly lacked competence, but if not Carter, who? Our perplexity continued into the polling place, and the results reveal it. Among Jewish voters 45% chose Carter, 40% voted for Reagan, the balance for Anderson, and some Jews, undoubtedly, didn't pull the presidential lever at all.

This diffusion of electoral strength does not impair our place in the political process; it may well enhance it. In the past the Republicans felt that they had little chance to garner Jewish votes; and the Democrats took us for granted. This explains President Carter's aberrant conduct during the past year, his UN vote and the like; he felt that when push comes to shove we had nowhere else to go. He was wrong, and we are better off. We must never be in any party's pocket.

God doesn't
like it
(A)

A

The numbers simply do not sustain the boast that we had an ideological referendum. Add Anderson's 7% to Carter's 41; remember further that only 52% of all eligibles voted and you have a hard-rock conservative core of no more than 25% of the American people. Much the same was true on a local level. In nearly every single state where a U.S. Senate candidate important to liberals lost, that candidate ran far ahead of Carter. If the voters of Idaho, for instance, had not repudiated the President by 45%, Frank Church would not have lost the vote by one percent. And so it went. In sum, the election was fought not in the ideological but in the economic arena. It played primarily on personality, that is to say, Carter lost it more than Reagan won it. The issue was not compassion but competence, or rather the lack of it in national affairs.

And so I am not despairing. And I do not think that we had better head for the hills and hide in caves, although it doubtlessly is so that the coming years will summon us as Jews and as leaders of the synagogue to struggle with an even greater resolve for justice and for compassion. For this above all is what Judaism demands of us: that we be concerned for the stranger who dwells in the lower depths.

Do NOT SPEAK OF MORAL MAJORITY ALONE

One of the more frightening by-products of our recent election is the emergence of a new and dangerous phenomenon on the American political scene, the Christian right. This, as most of you know, is a loose confederation of many radical right-wing organizations, some strictly sectarian, such as the Moral Majority, headed by Jerry Falwell and composed of evangelical fundamentalists . . . others of a more traditional political mold, such as Terry Dolan's National Conservative Political Action Committee.

NO DO NOT SPEAK OF ALL EVANGELISTS OR FUNDAMENTALISTS

This confederation has become a potent political force. The Moral Majority alone claims two million members, including 72,000 ministers, and they boast that they added no less than three and a half million new voters to the rolls. They use the most advanced technology to do their work. Guided by direct mail wizard, Richard Viguerie, they utilize a sophisticated, computerized list exceeding thirty million names. From the electronic pulpit of the television evangelists, they command a weekly audience of nearly forty million viewers. And the sums which they have consequently been able to raise for their political activities is staggering. Some estimate their war chest for the recent campaign, nationally and locally, to have reached one hundred million dollars.

NOT ALL ARE
CHRISTIANS
MAY BE
BILLY CRIST
IN EVANGELICAL

At first broad moral vision - narrowed by absolutism (see attached)
Their ideological banner is wide. They seek to Christianize America, to make this a republic ruled by Christ. Yet they give their religion a narrow definition. They are pro-family and pro-life. But they ignore and even oppose such religious principles as the stewardship of our resources, and care for the poor, and justice and peace; as a case in point, they are violently opposed to the U.S. ratification of the Genocide convention. High on their priorities also are some issues which are more political than moral and come straight from the right-wing lexicon: Government spending, the abrogation of the Taiwan security treaty, Panama Canal and the devaluation of the dollar.

MORAL MAJORITY

NOT ALL ARE

A/ What does the election import for Israel? At first hearing, the news is good. Reagan speaks more clearly than Carter acted. He regards Israel as a strategic ally, not just a moral burden. He is opposed to dealing with the P.L.O. under any circumstances. He urges a tougher line against the Soviet penetration of the Middle East. Still, we remember that back in 1976, *candidate* Carter's words were just as sweet, and today we know that once President-elect Reagan is installed, there will be many pressures on him: to balance Israel with Saudi Arabia, to rally Islamic support against the Soviets, to bend to the oil-inspired anxieties of our western allies and Japan. And so we Jews had better maintain our critical vigilance and be prepared to speak with voices united and strong when we perceive as we undoubtedly will that Israel's security has been placed in jeopardy.

There are some people and things to which as a consequence of this election we can bid a not too sad farewell: President Carter and his capriciousness in foreign affairs; Brzezynski's flirtations with the P.L.O. and his quixotic, counter-productive quest for a comprehensive peace; McHenry, our Ambassador to the United Nations, who far from restraining, zestfully led the majority chorus in that citadel of slander, that sanctuary for liars and for hypocrites. We are well rid of all of these, and brother Billy, too. "Stand not upon the order of your going, but go at once!" But we paid a heavy price for this victory, such as it is. In the Executive branch we may be better off on balance. But in Congress, we lost some of our most devoted and skillful supporters; Bayh and Culver and Nelson and Magnuson. We face a Foreign Relations Committee without Church and Javits and Stone. And Strom Thurman has replaced Ted Kennedy as the chairman of the pivotal Senate Judiciary Committee.

B/ → With all that, I do not despair. I have a more balanced view of the election's impact on the domestic scene. And while I concede that liberals were devastated, I do not acknowledge that the liberal idea itself is dead. I certainly do not buy the contention of right-wing analysts who, in the exuberance of their victory are insisting that the vote earlier this month was a vote against compassion. Thus a conservative pundit on the morrow after the election declared: "Liberalism has failed. It is unnatural. It expects people to subordinate their concern for their families and for themselves to an attenuated compassion for remote strangers. You can't build society on a principle so contrary to human nature. Conservatism is coming out of the closet. Hail to the chief."

What nonsense all this! Compassion does not destroy society, and xenophobia is not a necessary ingredient of conservatism. Think of some of our Union's foremost leaders, lifelong Republicans all, conservatives to the core and yet scarcely lacking in compassion. Emil Baar, without whom we would not have had a Religious Action Center. Irvin Fane of Kansas City, whose fair and forceful conduct in the chair secured our anti-Vietnam vote in early 1965. Sidney Cole, the builder of MUM, who always insisted that the Union's social action program be properly provided. ^{I know that} They were conservatives all—and all were and are men of sensitivity and soul. We liberals are often too sanctimonious, entirely too aggrandizing in our self-perception. We think that we hold a patent on decency. We do not.

→ Nor do I believe that Reagan is a conservative of the tooth-and-claw kind. Indeed, his entire campaign was dedicated to refuting the charge that his breed of conservatism is devoid of compassion for the disadvantaged of our land. In any event, in order to govern he must move toward the center of the ideological spectrum. He must demonstrate that he is the leader of all the people and not just of those who voted for him. He simply will not be able to rule if he fails to take into account the needs and aspirations of the poor and the minorities who dominate America's cities.

Their means, even more than their goals, are troubling. They are scarcely democratic and threaten to destroy the fabric of our freedoms. They have tests of politico-religious purity; those who do not conform to their standards are labelled sinners, the disciples of Satan. They have their hit lists of candidates targeted for political oblivion, and slander is their favorite weapon for such assassinations; terms like 'pervert' and 'Communist' are liberally applied; in Idaho the word 'Zionist' was used in such a way, probably because a good deal of Arab monies were comingled with the funds used by the radical right, to destroy Senator Church. All in all, these evangelical ayatollahs re-create the atmosphere of the Fifties; it is McCarthyism reborn and wearing clerical robes.

My words fail to convey the full flavor of their political thrust. Listen to their words, then.

Jerry Falwell, founder and guiding spirit of the Moral Majority: "What we need is a return of the McCarthy era, where we register all Communists, stamp it on their foreheads and send them back to Russia."

James Robison, perhaps the nation's foremost TV evangelist: "I'm sick and tired hearing about all the radicals and the perverts and the liberals and the leftists and the Communists coming out of the closet. It's time for God's people to come out of the closet, out of the churches, and to change America."

Bailey Smith, President of the Southern Baptist Convention: "Why did God choose the Jews? I don't know why . . . I think they got funny looking noses myself. I don't know why He chose the Jews. That's God's business. Amen."

I suppose we cannot fault these evangelists on constitutional grounds. They have the right to speak out under the First Amendment as do we. Yet their means are manifestly a threat to the democratic process. And their goal for a Christian America is discordantly alien to the principle of diversity which has guided our nation since its founding. The issue is not church-state separation. The issue is political safety in a pluralistic community.

* * * * *

If all this is true, as it manifestly is, why does organized American Jewry continue its flirtation with the Christian right? We know the reasons of course. Most Jewish leaders are willing to forgive anyone anything so long as we hear a good word about Israel.

The fundamentalists have long been among Israel's staunchest supporters, and so we go to bed with them. Never mind that the new political evangelism is inherently undemocratic. Never mind that it may well be anti-Semitic. Their support for Israel remains firm. And so the Jabotinsky Foundation presents its award to Jerry Falwell. And the ADL offers its national platform to America's foremost TV evangelist. And JNF groves are named in honor of them both. It is madness—and suicidal as well.

How blind we are! We fail to see that one cannot be good for Israel when one is injurious to America and its Jews! We settle for the short-term gain and ignore the ultimate disaster! We make a pact with the devil for transient boon, even while we know or ought to know that in the end we serve *his* purposes!

After all, the deepest reasons for the support given to Israel by the evangelical fundamentalists are theologically self-serving. As *they* read Scripture, Jesus cannot return for the Second Coming until all the Jews are regrouped in the whole of their Biblical land and then are converted to Christianity. Only true believers can enter the gate of heaven. Devout Jews, if they refuse to accept Jesus, will not be permitted beyond those pearly gates. They will be buried beneath Mount Zion once the newer Israel replaces the old.

This is their apocalyptic vision in all its fullness: they seek our extinction as a particular people. Why then in heaven's name should we give them recognition? Have we lost all self-respect? We may have to meet them, talk to them, even deal with them. But surely we need not applaud them. When we do, it is a madness—and suicidal.

* * * * *

I said, a moment ago, that the new political evangelism just possibly is anti-Jewish. Let me be a bit more definitive: it is precisely that. Our history instructs us that fundamentalism and anti-Semitism invariably go hand in hand.

Surely it is no coincidence that the rise of right-wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since World War II. Don't misunderstand me. I do not say that the Jerry Falwells are deliberately fomenting anti-Jewish sentiments and violence. But I do say that their preachments have that inevitable effect. When ministers assert before thirty million parishioners that only one brand of politics has God's approval why, then, intolerance takes rootage. When the Moral Majority demands a Christian Bill of Rights and a prominent churchman adds that 'God Almighty does not hear the prayer of Jews,' there should be no surprise when synagogues are destroyed by arson and Jewish families are terrorized in their homes.

Aye, such preachments have their inevitable effect. They breed hatred against the Jew. Note, if you will, how very quickly Bailey Smith's first statement concerning the inefficacy of Jewish prayer was followed by his more recent pronouncement that we have 'funny looking noses.' His earlier ~~comment~~ may have been no more than classic Christian doctrine. But how shall we label his latter dictum? That's not fundamentalism. It's unadulterated anti-Semitism—Julius Streicher with an Oklahoma twang.

To be sure, now, the rantings of the Christian right cannot alone be held responsible for the contemporary violence against us. Worsening economic conditions are also responsible; this is the view of Henry Kissinger. The cosmetization of the P.L.O. is no help; one cannot legitimize terrorism in one part of the world without also giving it license everywhere else. Political considerations come into play, as they did when Carter pitted the blacks against the Jews in the aftermath of the Andy Young affair. And when the leaders of the Western World decided to woo the Arabs by condemning Israel at every turn, blackening her name without just cause, why, then, they diminished the stature of Jews everywhere and set them up to be the targets for violent attack.

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Whatever the reasons, anti-Semitism is alive and kicking in this land. The number of reported incidents mounts daily. Synagogues are defaced, cemeteries desecrated, religious schools vandalized, slanderous leaflets are distributed, threatening telephone calls are made, and individuals have been pelted with rocks. So far there has been only property damage, and some minor injuries, no deaths, so far, thank God, in North America. Although we have reason to be anxious on this score, too, when we learn that the KKK has established paramilitary training grounds in six locations, one of them in Canada, I am convinced that the number of attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions is even greater than that which has been reported. Too many Jews write off such incidents as mere pranks, or hope that by denying them, they will somehow go away. They won't, and we might as well face up to it.

Don't misunderstand me. I do not suggest that we face some kind of holocaust, God forbid. We manifestly don't. All that I am saying is that the respite which we have had since World War II has come to its end. The memory of the holocaust is fading. The sense of guilt has waned. Hatred of the Jews is stirring once again, and we had best be ready.

Tomorrow night the Union Board will consider what we can do to counter those threats to Jewish security which are posed by the spreading episodes of overt anti-Semitism as well as in the growing impact of the Christian right. Among those several measures which I hope we will adopt are:

- the formation of a national task force trained to provide guidance to those of our congregations who are victimized by anti-Semitic violence and vandalism.
- the activation in our Religious Action Center of a Hot-Line for such emergency guidance and to monitor these episodes.
- the acquisition by the Union of at least one low-power TV station which will be linked via the cable system or like community stations into a national Jewish TV network enabling us to communicate instantly with our constituents and supporting our Jewish educational efforts as well.

We need not wage this struggle alone. And so I will recommend that we reach out to moderate Christian leaders and to civic leaders, to minority bodies and other groupings to form coalitions of decency against the chilling power of the radical right.

This is not a conflict which pits Jews against Christians. Indeed, most Christians, most main-line Protestants and Roman Catholics are as alarmed as we are about the growth of this so-called Christian right. They see it as but a perversion of their faith. The American people are with us too. Most Americans support the Equal Rights Amendment, gun control and the right of free choice in abortion. Most Americans oppose the conception of America as a Christian state. And most Americans I believe categorically reject the notion that God Almighty wants us to keep the Panama Canal and to build the neutron bomb.

The preponderant majority of Americans are also on our side in the war against the Great Hatred. They know that we Jews are the bellweathers of the civilized world. We might be the first to fall victim but others quickly follow: Catholics and gypsies and blacks and ethnics and political dissidents; in other words, all those who do not fit into the mold, who refuse to march goose-step in beat with the Fuehrer of the band. Thus anti-Semitism is something more than an issue of conscience. It is also a matter of civilization's survival.

In our search for allies, the Jewish community cannot seek one hundred percent ideological purity. We will disagree on the Middle East with the National Council of Churches, which just issued an unconscionable statement supporting the P.L.O., but we must work with them on free choice on abortion, on gun control, strategic arms limitation and a host of significant issues. We will disagree with the Roman Catholic Bishops on abortion and birth control, but we will give voice to a common concern on aid to refugees, world hunger and racial justice. We will disagree with Blacks on racial quotas, but we continue to share a vision of a compassionate society and can work together in support of national health insurance, youth employment, decent housing and similar programs. Be that as it may, we do have many allies in our struggle against the excesses of the radical right.

What has begun, in effect, is a struggle for the character and the soul of America. It will endure for many years, transcending the immediacies of politics and elections. It is a struggle, therefore, we ought need not fight alone. It must be waged by the entire American community, by interfaith and intergroup coalitions of decency speaking out together against bigotry and hate of every kind.

I am confident that we can hold America's political center—which must be the central goal of our communal striving—by reaching out to all these forces of which I spoke, marshalling their impulses for good.

But we must hold on to one another too, we Jews, for we are one and indivisible in death and life alike. *Atta echad, v'shimcha echad, umi k'amcha Yisrael goy echad ba'aret.* God is one and His name is one, and we His people of Israel are one, throughout the world.

And this above all: we must not despair. After all, we prevailed in times more perilous by far. We overcame our bitter yesterdays. We'll overcome our threatening tomorrows. And so against the schemings and the maledictions of our enemies we will extend our stake in this land. We will not yield. We will fight and gain the victory.

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

Resolution adopted by the
UAHC Board of Trustees

November 22, 1980
San Francisco, Ca.

We applaud the president of the Union for alerting us to important issues which are of great concern to us at this time.

The rise of extremism in some elements of American life—including episodes of anti-Semitism and the growing impact of the Radical Right—represents a clear and present danger to the tradition of American pluralism and a distortion of religious precepts in political life. The Reform Jewish movement has always had a commitment to the ethical values of Judaism and their relevance to contemporary society. This prophetic mandate assumes new urgency today because of the rise of extremism, both theological and political.

We see these developments as a threat to the fabric of American life, to a democratic society, to Jewish values and to the security of American Jewry. The great strength of America lies in its pluralistic nature with its respect for diversity of viewpoints, whether liberal or conservative, Christian, Jewish or any other.

Therefore, the Board of Trustees of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations resolves:

- 1/ To give high priority to a program of religious action to strengthen human rights and human dignity, thus serving not only a prophetic mission, but equally our own interests, for we Jews have a profound stake in maintaining an open, tolerant and compassionate society.
- 1/ To reach out to religious (Jewish and non-Jewish), civic and minority groups to form coalitions which will advance our mutual concerns.
- 3/ To urge our congregations to advance these goals through the strengthening of existing religious action committees or establishing such vital entities where none exist. We encourage all congregations to take advantage of the resources of our Washington Religious Action Center and urge individual congregants to keep informed of developing issues by subscribing to the CHAI/IMPACT information system.
- 4/ To establish a joint task force of the Commission on Social Action and the Commission on Synagogue Administration which will provide guidance and assistance to those congregations which experience incidents of violence and vandalism, and to provide guidance on preventive measures to all of our congregations.

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

VIDEO COMMUNICATION

Resolution adopted by the
UAHC Board of Trustees

November 22, 1980
San Francisco, Ca.

Technological developments and opportunities for increased communication create challenges never before open to our movement.

We urge the prompt development of a plan to intensify the utilization of video techniques (such as video cassettes and video discs) in Jewish education, and to create educational and general interest programming for broadcast and cable television facilities. The work already undertaken in this field by the Commission on Jewish Education is a valuable first step.

As part of broader perspectives to be funded by the forthcoming capital fund drive, we further urge the chairman to assign to an appropriate body—such as the Long Range Planning Committee—the responsibility of developing a systematic plan for UAHC video communications, possibly anchored in a low-power television station of our own.

**Moral Majority
Conservative
JERRY
FALWELL**

**An Exclusive
Interview With
The Distinguished
Clergyman Who
Is The Far Left's
Favorite Target**

by John Rees



■ WITHIN less than two years the Reverend Jerry Falwell, pastor of a very large church in a very small town, has become at once a conscience for Conservatives and target of an intense attack by the "Liberal" mass media. Dr. Falwell is not only pastor of the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, but he is well known to some 50 million television

viewers through the more than 324 television stations that carry his Old Time Gospel Hour. Of particular irritation to the "Liberal" media, however, is that he is the founder and inspiration of Moral Majority, an organization which since 1979 has influenced and helped to guide the Conservative upsurge that swept President Reagan into office and assured the

election of many new Senators and Representatives.

Dr. Falwell travels all 50 states carrying his message that the majority of Americans hold the same basic moral standards whether they be Christians, Jews, or non-believers. The purpose of his Moral Majority is politically to organize people from all walks of life and from all religious persuasions who are pro-life, pro-family, pro-morality, and pro-America.

Q. Dr. Falwell, in the two-year period since the Moral Majority became a presence on the American political scene, legends and slanders have proliferated about your activities and goals. Is Moral Majority something to be feared?

A. The Moral Majority is feared only by those who are attempting to secularize America. It is not a fundamentalist movement; it's not an evangelical movement. It is an American movement. We have millions of members. These include Jews, Protestants, Mormons, Catholics, fundamentalists, and many nonchurch people who share traditional moral values.

We have noticed that America has been moving quickly away from the moral values that made our country the most admired and respected in history. No people has ever been able to develop a strong nation without religious and moral values.

Q. Yet you believe in religious pluralism?

A. Yes, in the sense that every American must be free to live out his personal religious convictions, or lack

of them, with the full rights of citizenship. I believe that even an atheist in America should have the right to preach his doctrine, worship his vacuum, and live out his life without harassment. At the same time, as our President emphasized in his Inaugural Address, this is a nation under God. America is established upon the Judeo-Christian ethic, which in lay terms means that it is based upon the premises set forth in the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, the great ethical precepts of the Old and the New Testament. You can't be a student of American history and deny that.

Q. Then Moral Majority is not, as some charge, a political effort to make everyone religious?

A. No, we are not trying to make everyone religious. Nor are we trying to make everyone subscribe to our particular doctrine of faith. We are trying to say that there are certain values which cannot be forfeited in our country and still have the same America we have known for 200 years.

Q. What are those values?

A. The husband-wife relationship is one. The Free Enterprise system is another, and the democratic Republic that we enjoy is another. Nor can the traditional taboos of our morality be ignored. For example, Americans have always looked upon homosexuality as a perversion. It still is. We are not trying to hurt homosexuals. We simply say their way of life is neither normal nor healthy nor moral.

We have always believed that the

relationship between husband, wife, and children in the family was to be guarded. We are not saying that the husband must be a dictator in the family but that he has a leadership responsibility in the home.

We are saying that women should have equal rights with men in the sense that they should earn the same pay for the same work, with all the opportunities for advancement that any man of equal ability might have in the economic world. We are also saying women should be protected from some of the hardships that God created the male to endure. We don't want to see women in combat. We think people with common sense do not believe that all women, or even most women, were created for N.F.L. football or military combat.

Q. Then you see Moral Majority as proposing consensus or common sense?

A. The consensus has always been there, but we have now mobilized it. Our goal is moral stability where the family is central, the church is safe, and America is the military power she once was and able to protect herself from all would-be invaders.

Q. Dr. Falwell, one measure of your success and effectiveness in moving towards those goals is the extent of the vicious attacks made on you personally and on Moral Majority. These attacks have ranged from our own "Liberal" and Leftist media and the A.C.L.U. all the way to Radio Moscow. Has any of this slowed your ministry?

A. It has not. Obviously we have had to take the time and expend the monies to answer charges and protect our good name. We will continue to do that, but none of the attacks have retarded our growth and development.

What the "Liberals" and the secular humanists and those way out on the Left have forgotten is that Americans traditionally rally to the underdog. By its attacks, the Left has made us the underdog. When Moscow news agencies attack us we are flattered and greatly encouraged. It's like Satan putting out a press release against us.

I feel the same way when the A.C.L.U. attacks me. I have always looked on that group as advocates for the counter-culture. If they were to applaud my work I would look at myself very carefully to see what I was doing wrong.

Certainly when *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, and other pornographic magazines attack us, the general public says, "Falwell must be doing something right." When "Liberal" bureaucrats and politicians like George McGovern and Patricia Harris, and so on, attack us, the vast majority of Americans say, "He must be doing something right." Frankly, such attacks have played right into our hands.

Q. One of the favorite charges of your opponents is that you are manipulated by the Svengalis of the new Conservative movement — the Larry McDonalds, Paul Weyrichs, and so on. Do you feel like a puppet?

A. I do not. I highly respect Lar-

ry McDonald, Paul Weyrich, Howard Phillips, and many others I could name who are in the same high echelon of great Americans. None of them has ever attempted to impose his will upon mine. Whenever I have asked them for help, they have quickly offered it. We respect each other and work independently.

Q. Another charge from the Far Left is that you have aligned the Moral Majority with those who oppose labor unions. Aren't many of your supporters working men and women who belong to unions?

A. Of course. We no more oppose labor unions than we oppose capital and management. We are Middle Americans. We feel that we have successfully crossed all lines, particularly in the sense of blue-collar and white-collar labor.

Q. While we are on the subject of these attacks, there has also been a flurry of allegations in the "Liberal" newspapers that if the Moral Majority is not openly anti-Semitic it has a strong potential for that sort of aberration. Is this possible?

A. It is impossible! I doubt that there is an organization in America that is so committed to the Jewish people everywhere and to the State of Israel. In fact, you cannot belong to Moral Majority without committing yourself to the welfare of the State of Israel and to the welfare of the Jewish people.

Our chief criticisms sometimes come from those who feel we are too blindly pro-Israel. The people who say

that are simply trying mindlessly to damage the reputation, goals, and objectives of Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority. These are the same people who equate us with the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. They are the same people who attacked Robert Welch and attempted to destroy him 20 years ago; the same people who are attacking Ronald Reagan now and calling him a racist because the pork barrel is empty and the giveaway is over. These are unreasonable people who do not have the welfare of this country at heart and are trying to destroy everybody who does.

Q. Yet your effort continues to grow. What is the magic cement that binds together so many men and women who disagree on matters of doctrine — Baptists, Methodists, Jews, Catholics, and Mormons — to work comfortably together for the goals you have described?

A. Shared moral values and a love for America are what bind us together. For example, we are strongly pro-life and at the top of our agenda is a Human Life Amendment or legislation that would stop the holocaust that is costing 1.5 million lives every year. We do not all come to our anti-abortion position from the same perspective. We have nonreligious people in Moral Majority who oppose abortion chiefly from a medical perspective. I oppose it from a theological as well as medical perspective. But regardless of how our people come to that point of view, one must be pro-life to belong to Moral Majority.

As I have said, we are also advocates of traditional family virtues. We define a family as having its beginning when a man legally marries a woman. We accept no diverse family forms beyond that. We support all efforts to strengthen the family unit and oppose any effort, like the White House Conference on Families of 1980, that attacks this concept.

We are pro-morality. Here we attack illegal drug traffic and pornography in all forms as we would attack cancer eating away at the Judeo-Christian ethic. There is certainly nothing new in that.

We are unashamedly pro-American, but we are not isolationist. We are aware that there are four-and-a-half billion people in the world. But we look on America as our own beloved country. Therefore we believe in a strong national defense as the best deterrent to war. We are not war mongers; we hate war. But we believe that freedom is the basic moral issue. No one in Afghanistan today is discussing abortion or pornography; they are talking about freedom.

Q. Dr. Falwell, Moral Majority was very active in the recent elections. How do you rate the performance of the new Senate and the 97th Congress?

A. Compared to some recent Congresses, I rate this one very highly. But I am disturbed that there is reluctance totally to support the President's Budget cuts. As a matter of fact, if I have any objections to the President's early performance, it

would be that his people haven't cut deeply enough.

Q. Are you critical of President Reagan at this point? Do you think he has let us down?

A. No, I understand that he is fighting an uphill battle and is trying to take it one step at a time. He's doing it logically and I support that totally. But we have people in the House of Representatives who have the mistaken idea that we can continue to give away what we don't have. I hope the American people will put so much pressure on their Representatives that the Congress will fully endorse the Budget cuts and social agenda of the President.

Q. Yet we hear from the Far Left that the sick, the impoverished, the elderly, and the unfortunate will be made to suffer from these reductions. Traditionally the religious community has been deeply concerned with such matters.

A. We are hopeful that the church in America can move in to fill the vacuum created by withdrawal of the federal government wherever there is real need. Many of the government's social programs have been unnecessary and grossly wasteful. They should be eliminated forever. Much of the Food Stamp program, for instance, has been a fraud and a disaster.

We need properly to identify what are the real needs and to eliminate unnecessary programs. Then I believe that thousands of local churches, like ours, must move responsibly into those areas where job creation is necessary.

where food and raiment and shelter must be provided, and help to provide those needs.

Right now we are working diligently with inner-city pastors in five of America's largest cities, including Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and Detroit. We are sending in groups of young people from the Liberty Baptist Schools and pumping hundreds of thousands of dollars into those projects. We are providing workfare, teaching people how to enter the job market, earn their own way, and do for themselves.

Q. Do you have support from Black ministers in this project?

A. Yes, the really dedicated Black and Hispanic pastors I know do not want their people to be recipients of Welfare. They want their people to preserve their dignity and self-respect through honest work. So we are working with the Black pastors and Black churches, and Hispanic pastors and Hispanic churches, and other minority and ethnic groups, in a way that I believe will in the long run be far more successful than the "Liberals" have been with their billion-dollar government schemes.

The "Liberal" clergymen, the "Liberal" churches, and the "Liberal" politicians are bankrupt in plans and programs. Everything they have tried in the last 30 years has failed. They have lost credibility. Now Conservative Americans, Conservative politicians, and Conservative churchmen must move to do in a realistic way what the "Liberals" have been talking about

doing for 30 years but have failed to accomplish.

Q. So Moral Majority is at once Conservative and a strong force for social change in America. What sort of change are you seeking?

A. First, I would like to see the federal government get out of the Welfare business. I'm not talking about Social Security, but other areas where real damage is being done. The federal government should hand education and Welfare back to the states, because the local communities know better what needs to be accomplished and are better able to accomplish it than is the federal government.

Second, I would like to see the local churches in the states and cities begin to work together, and with local governments, in truly helping people. I am talking about practical charity. Washington, by contrast, has had this fallacious philosophy that we can buy people out of their poverty and pay their problems to go away. It doesn't work. We only teach people to be professional bums and to hate us for it.

Q. Meanwhile the middle-class bureaucrats administer the poverty programs at high salaries.

A. And the poor people are not benefitted at all, and hate us all the more. So I would like to see our President call on Conservative and responsible Americans, including religious leaders, to move personally among the rank and file of the poor in America with love, compassion, and private monies to heal the awful sores in our inner cities. I think it can be done.

Q. Yet many of your "Liberal" critics have raised outcries to the effect that religious believers, especially those who support traditional Judeo-Christian ethics and hold to biblical principles, ought to stay out of public life and politics and concern themselves only with personal salvation. How do you respond to that?

A. It has been my experience that the people who make such demands are absolute hypocrites. The fact is that the National Council of Churches and other such Leftist organizations have been involved in politics since time immemorial. They have in my opinion been on the wrong side of every issue, yet you don't hear anyone complaining that they are involved in politics. When I look at the Berrigan brothers, William Sloane Coffin, William Howard, and scores of ministers like them, I don't know how they can even suggest that we refrain from political activities.

The problem is that they have never had credible opposition. They had always been able to portray the Conservatives as religious fanatics and got by with it. They can't do that anymore. The people on our side now have tremendous media coverage. We have our own networks, our own magazines and newspapers. We have the ability to answer fully and logically. What they are now screaming about is that we outnumber them; we are mobilized; we are effective; and, we are not going away.

Q. While the Far Left does not

have much influence with the Reagan Administration, it still has very powerful friends in the Congress. Have you noticed any indication that harassment is being planned against Moral Majority under the pretext of changes in the federal election laws, television broadcasting regulations, or tax status?

A. Yes we have. And of course the American Civil Liberties Union is attempting to persuade public opinion against us and has spent thousands of dollars on full-page ads in the major American newspapers and magazines. In their efforts to discredit us they have ignored facts, dealing in inaccuracies, distortions, and outright lies. If we did anything like that we would immediately be exposed as unreliable and dishonest. Yet the national media ignore these distortions and inaccuracies and guard the reputation of the A.C.L.U. as a believable organization. It is not.

Q. The A.C.L.U. has been a force on the Far Left since 1920, and the Conservative Moral Majority is barely two years old. What has sparked this sudden ferocity against you?

A. The efforts of the Far Left are failing. So they are fighting back like a wounded tiger, lashing out at everybody and everything that moves. Fortunately, these people are for the first time on the defensive. But they have never learned how to play defense. Now we have the ball and they don't know how to deal with that.

Q. Have the national media been able to strengthen their line?

A. The national television networks are certainly powerless to help them. In recent speeches made to the American Association of Advertising Agencies, the three major network presidents sounded like crybabies who had lost. Well, those who are beating them down are not Moral Majority but the American people. For the first time the American public is informed and educated on the issues. People are no longer completely mesmerized and brainwashed by experts in polemical distortion. Which is why we are expecting the greatest, most carefully orchestrated, smear attacks in history to come from all directions.

Q. How will you respond to those attacks?

A. We must be ready to reply not with the hysteria that our opponents are displaying, but with facts and figures and with action.

Q. Do you think the smears will be as effective as they were in the early 1960s in curtailing the activities and effectiveness of some Conservative groups?

A. I do not. I think the day of the "Liberal" has come and gone. "Liberalism" is the movement of the past; we are the movement of the present and future. I have never been so optimistic about America.

Q. Having said that, Dr. Falwell, what do you see as priorities, both political and general, for 1981?

A. First, I think we must keep the pressure on our Congressmen to do what they were elected to do and promised to do when they were elected.

A majority in the Congress favors moral, social, and political changes — and we have a President who has committed himself to Conservatives on these issues. We must wrap that man up in our prayers so that he will not be slain.

Second, we must be looking towards 1982 — right now! We must recognize we are winning, but that we have not won. Therefore we must decide right now as private citizens who those persons are who share our commitment to the rebuilding of America, and who are those persons committed to the destruction of America. We must continue to reshape the Congress at the educational and electoral battlefronts.

Third, we must keep our word to the American public. The Human Life Amendment or whatever legislation is necessary to stop abortion must continue to be a priority. I also think that a tuition tax credit in some form must become law quickly. The public school systems in America are infested with secular humanism. This is tragic. But bear in mind that we are not out to destroy or eliminate public education; we are out to make it better. And, in the process, we must make possible non-government education in the form of excellent religious and non-religious schools. Nothing improves quality like competition.

Finally, I think we must help the President get his Budget and tax cuts through the Congress and move as quickly as possible toward a balanced Budget that will stop inflation and restore our economy. ■ ■

April 15, 1981

Dr. Ellis Rivkin
Hebrew Union College-
Jewish Institute of Religion
3101 Clifton Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio 45220

Dear Ellis:

Thank you so much for your recent letter and the several papers which you wrote and which I read at once with great interest. I found them all exceedingly instructive, especially your paper on the "Dangers of Extremism" which will be especially useful to me in my efforts vis a vis the Moral Majority. It might not be a bad idea if you were to show it to your colleague Jacob. He tends toward an absolutism in his judgments.

Be that as it may, I would be delighted if you were to send me some of your other writings which you think will be especially helpful to the unaffiliated who are considering conversion to Judaism. There is very little doubt in my mind that this program will be expanded during the year and years ahead and we will be in need of helpful material.

Please share these writings not only with Sandy, but with Danny Syme as well. Both will be involved in the publications effort.

With fondest regards to your dear ones as ever.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Rabbi Sanford Seltzer
Rabbi Daniel B. Syme



HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

Cincinnati • New York • Los Angeles • Jerusalem

April 3, 1981

3101 CLIFTON AVENUE • CINCINNATI, OHIO 45220
(513) 221-1875

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

It was so good seeing you the other evening, though I regret keenly that there was really no time for a leisurely renewal of our friendship.

I am delighted that you would like a copy of my address, so you will find it enclosed.

I am also enclosing a copy of a paper that I gave several years ago dealing with the Holocaust, entitled "To Heal a Wounded Time," which was presented at the John Courtney Murray Forum series and which aroused deep interest.

I also think that you will find of value three recent papers of mine that deal with sensitive issues affecting the Jewish-Christian relations: (1) "A Jew Looks at the New Testament"; (2) "Anti-Semitism in the New Testament"; and (3) "The Dangers of Extremism" (this is an effort to challenge the moral majority on their own turf, namely Holy Scriptures).

As you know, I am very sympathetic to your outreach program and I would therefore suggest that you take a look at some of my writings which I think would be very helpful to the unaffiliated who are drawn to your program. Should you be interested, I shall be very happy to make available to you and Sandy those studies and papers which might be helpful in your efforts.

With fondest regards to Rhea, and with warmest friendship,

Always,

Ellis Rivkin

ER:yg

Enclosures (5)

We are how many?

In late November, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, proposed that it is "no coincidence that the rise of right wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since the end of World War II." In Schindler's view—with which we here are in sympathy—it signifies a lack of self-respect among Jews when we rush to ingratiate ourselves with the Christian right, and it demonstrates a misunderstanding of the Jewish self-interest that we seek "to embrace forces that are anathema to every value in the Jewish ethical system."

The proper response of the Jewish community to the Christian right is a subject of very intense debate these days. Many who have expressed themselves on the subject have taken pains to note that the Christian right is hardly monolithic, and there cannot, therefore, be a single response. Others, stressing the commitment of some of the fundamentalist groups to Israel's security, have urged an alliance of convenience. Still others—we among them—have expressed the view that any move to alliance with the Christian right will necessarily further alienate us from moderate Christian groups, and will surely distress many of our own people.

A healthy debate.

Important and complex questions. Now, however, comes Rabbi Abraham Hecht, president of the Rabbinical Alliance of America, who brands Schindler's charge as "scurrilous and inane," and goes on to insist that Schindler's "irreligious policies are a much greater threat to the existence and future of the Jewish people than any other religious group in America, past, present or future."

This is not the first evidence of a dreary and dangerous inability, within the Jewish community, to sustain serious debate on pressing issues. Reckless allegations that this or that spokesman with whom one differs is, in effect, an enemy of the Jewish people are increasingly common—and a disgrace. In the case at hand, our fundamentalists are, apparently, more comfortable with their fundamentalists than they are with us. So be it. If Rabbi Hecht finds the company of Reverend Bailey Smith more congenial than the company of Rabbi Alexander Schindler, he is welcome to that myopia. Quite likely, Rabbi Hecht does not believe that God Almighty listens to Rabbi Schindler's prayers. If that be so, is not Rabbi Hecht's position at least as grave a threat to the welfare of the Jews as Reverend Smith's? And if it is, where are the responsible voices that condemn such boorishness?

A MOMENT with . . .



Shimon Peres



Yitzhak Rabin

Last month, Israel's Labor Party named Shimon Peres (over Yitzchak Rabin) as its candidate for Prime Minister in the forthcoming elections. Back in 1976, before Mr. Begin's accession to power, when Mr. Peres was Israel's Minister of Defense, we had a lengthy interview with him. (Readers who go back that far will find the interview in the February 1976 issue.) Some of Mr. Peres' remarks at that time remain relevant today and provide a glimpse of the man thought most likely to succeed Mr. Begin.

Photographs by R. Nowitz

March 17, 1981

Mr. Len Evans, Chairperson
Santa Barbara Coalition for Human Rights
Box 1501
Santa Barbara, California 93102

Dear Mr. Evans:

Many thanks for your recent letter in regard to my article in Reform Judaism. I am grateful to you for taking the time to write and share your thoughts and I much appreciate your expression of support.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, as you may know, has been in the forefront in the fight for equal rights for all, for the gay and lesbian community as well as women. We have Resolutions which state our position and in reports to our Board of Trustees I have also articulated our position on many occasions, orally as well as in writing.

While I did not particularly mention Lesbians, gays and women in the recent article, it was because the thrust of my article was anti-Semitism and I had a limit as to the length of the article. Alas, one cannot always articulate each and every aspect of concern in writing such a paper. I do, however, want to assure you that the Union has been, is and continues to be concerned for the rights of all members of the community.

With repeated thanks and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Santa Barbara Coalition for Human Rights

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President,
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I read with interest and enthusiasm your article on the fundamentalist New Right in the February, 1981 issue of "Reform Judaism". I am also very much encouraged by the action of the U.A.H.C. 's Board of Trustees to initiate a broad coalition of forces and organizations on both a national and local level to counter the threat from the religious right. The Santa Barbara Coalition for Human Rights certainly looks forward to working in such coalitions.

But, I must say that while I agree wholeheartedly with the views expressed in your article, I was somewhat disturbed by, what I feel is, a rather significant omission. Women and homosexuals have borne the brunt of the fundamentalist attack for the last few years, and yet their participation is not mentioned as a component of the coalition. I sincerely hope this will not be reflected in the actual building of such a coalition.

As you pointed out in your article, the memory and the history of the holocaust serves as a defense against anti-Semitism. If Lesbian and gays and women must suffer the direct attack without the recognition of those who should be our allies, we are doubly victimized, and are left lacking a very important defense against further attack. Certainly, homosexuals, a group which perished in great numbers in the holocaust but largely ignored by the histories of that nightmare, deserve the same consideration as any other victim of prejudice and violence. To deny us a place in the struggle for our own survival is as demeaning as the slander directed at us by the fundamentalist New Right.

As I am sure the lack of mention of these important groups was merely an oversight, I look forward to building such a coalition and pledge my energy towards its success.

sincerely,

Len Evans
Len Evans,
chairperson

cc "Reform Judaism"
B'nai B'rith Temple, S.B.
Metroploitan Comm Church, S.B.

box 1501, santa barbara, calif. 93102

March 10, 1981

Rabbi Donald R. Gerber
Temple Beth Orr
9393 West Sample Road
Coral Springs, FL. 33065

Dear Don:

The remark attributed to Bailey Smith appeared in a number of newspapers and magazines. I used as my source an article which appeared in the November 14, 1980 edition of the Dallas Morning News, it was written by Helen Parmley, Religion Editor. The comment about "funny looking noses" was made by Smith in a sermon he delivered to his own congregation in September, 1980. I don't have the article in my files but a copy is being sent to me from our Dallas office and I will send a copy on to you.

Your kind comments about my Board address are much appreciated. And I am delighted to note your own activities in Coral Springs. I am sharing your letter with Al Vorspan so he is apprised of what you are doing as well as your desire to be of assistance. It is gratifying to know that there is an infrastructure in Coral Springs which is ready to act on suggested programs. I am also delighted to note that you are involving members of Beth Orr in outreach programs to seek to educate others and to stem the tide of right-wing extremism. This is very important and we will be eager to have your report as your local programs develop.

For your interest, I enclose herewith an article which appeared in the New York Times on a Moral Majority beachhead in New York, as well as a letter Al Vorspan directed to the Editor of the Times. His letter was published, albeit in an edited version. And, of course, the Rev. Fore retracted his comments about Jews a few days after the article and letter appeared.

With appreciation and with warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.
cc: Mr. Albert Vorspan



TEMPLE BETH ORR

Rabbi Donald R. Gerber

February 25, 1981

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Ave.
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

I read your speech to the Board of Trustees of the UAHC and saw your reference to Bailey Smith on page 5 talking about, "Funny looking noses". Please send me documentation on that quotation.

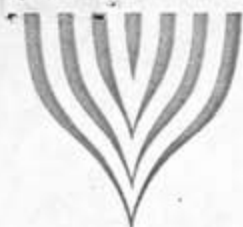
Your words were, as they most often are, highly motivational. I meet on a bi-weekly basis with seven or eight young ministers in the Coral Springs community. These gentlemen are moderate in their thoughts and are equally concerned about the issues you raise on right-wing extremism. At least in Coral Springs, one of thousands of American communities, there is an infrastructure ready to act on programmatic ideas from the Union.

I have publicized both resolutions in my Temple bulletin and am asking for volunteers to serve on an outreach committee to the city officials and religious civic groups. I would imagine that within six months I will be able to report to you on how our activities are going. It would be helpful to have a workshop in Southern Florida on such an outreach program. Marc Tannenbaum has recently spoken to a group of clergymen at Merle Singer's place. More such speakers should be brought down to Florida which I believe should be one of your target areas for this program. I'll do all I can to help.

Most sincerely yours,

Rabbi Donald R. Gerber

Encl.
RDG/ik



איחוד
ליהדות
מתקדמת
באמריקה

Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS — CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

February 5, 1981

Editor

Letters to the Editor
NEW YORK TIMES
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

To the Editor:

Today's TIMES (Feb. 5) brought dramatic news that the Moral Majority had established a "beachhead" in New York. Reading the battle plans, one feels that New Yorkers need this invasion about as much as we deserved the gypsy moth, Dutch elm disease and the latest blast of Arctic air.

The Rev. Dan C. Fore put down his sword long enough to lament Rabbi Alexander Schindler's recent warning that the Moral Majority is a danger to Jews because it fosters a climate of religious intolerance which is inimical to pluralism and mutual respect. In his rebuttal, the Rev. Fore proved Rabbi Schindler's case even more eloquently than did the rabbi. The Moral Majority spokesman observed that the Jews are a great people, a chosen people, to whom God has given "talents He has not given others." What are these talents? "A God-given ability to make money, almost a super-natural ability to make money." Besides, he said, Jews control the media and also New York City.

As a religious (albeit liberal, God save the mark) Jew, I must find out why God has withheld this money-making talent from me and my (Jewish) friends, despite regular Sabbath observance in the synagogue of my choice. Perhaps, as another preacher from Texas put it recently, God does not hear the prayer of a Jew.

Rev. Fore's melange of old-fashioned anti-Semitic stereotyping and Christian triumphalism tells us more about the Moral Majority than all of its pietistic and arrogant propaganda, which has thechutzpah to claim a lock on God and morality.

Chairman
Alexander I. Ross
Director
Albert Vorspan
Associate Director
Rabbi David Saperstein

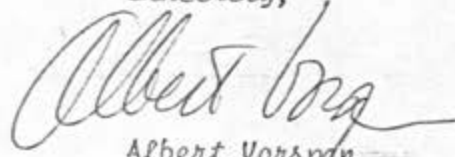
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NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
TEMPLE YOUTH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
TEMPLE EDUCATORS

- 2 -

His pronouncements about Jewish "control" ought to demonstrate to those Jews willing to embrace the Moral Majority, because it is strong on Israel, that a force which cannibalizes American politics, fosters division and exclusivity and promotes reactionary causes is bad for America and bad for Jews.

Sincerely,



Albert Vorspan

Moral Majority Establishes Beachhead in New York

By JOYCE PURNICK

Last autumn, candidates for office throughout New York State received a two-page questionnaire in the mail. The first page asked the usual questions about some of the usual issues — capital punishment, welfare, the equal rights amendment, abortion.

The second page of questions went beyond the routine. "What is the Bible?" it asked. "Have you ever been born again?" And: "If you stood before Heaven's gate and were asked on what grounds you sought admission, how would you reply?"

Only a handful of these questionnaires were returned, but the man who mailed

them out predicts he will not be so easily ignored from now on. He is the Rev. Dan C. Fore, chairman of New York State's fledgling chapter of the Moral Majority, and he expects only success.

The fundamentalist political movement that spearheaded the new "Christian right" last year is now moving east, to states previously mentioned in the same breath with the Bible Belt only for purposes of contrast. The objective is to find new members and influence elections and legislation on what it calls "pro-life, pro-family and pro-morality" issues.

"Just as God judged Sodom and Gomorrah, just as God destroyed the Roman Empire because of godlessness,

we're dead unless we do something," Mr. Fore said recently to note-taking recruits at the Christian Life Center in Commack, L.I. The meeting was a "training seminar" — one of several that Mr. Fore is conducting statewide.

To some, the idea of what detractors have dismissed as "Bible thumpers" establishing themselves in a state with so generally progressive a political history as New York flirts with the irrelevant. To leaders of the Moral Majority, whose previous triumphs have mainly been in the South and Middle West, New York is just one more state moving to the right.

It was last year that the organization founded 19 months ago by a television

evangelist, the Rev. Jerry Falwell, first dipped into politics and had conservative impact on the Presidential race and other contests. It was also last year that New York State voted for Ronald Reagan and a new Senator, Alfonse M. D'Amato, who ran as the candidate of the Republican, Conservative and Right to Life Parties. Many factors contributed to those victories, but Mr. Falwell sees them as political harbingers.

"People are the same everywhere," he said in a recent interview in his Washington office. The New York metropolitan area is liberal, he suggested, because

Continued on Page B4

News Summary

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1981

International

Poland's labor troubles worsened as negotiations between the Government and strike leaders broke off in a southern province. The independent national union told all its chapters to be ready to begin sit-ins if force was used to break the walkout. The province is the only region where strikes were continuing, but other areas where negotiations were still under way remained tense. [Page A1, Column 1.]

Information on two Americans in Iran was reported by the State Department. It said that Mohi Sobhani, an Iranian-born American citizen held since Sept.

few feet away, and amicably urged them to sing louder. [A3:4-6.]

Energy

Refined oil costs are rising much faster than the Reagan Administration predicted last week when it decontrolled petroleum prices, and analysts say that evidence is mounting that they will rise even further. Many specialists predict that heating oil prices could increase to as much as \$1.40 a gallon by spring, and the problem is generating expressions of anger, confusion and doubt. [A1:2.]

Deep cuts in synthetic fuels projects are planned by the Reagan Administration.

President Reagan is going to the people over the heads of Congress tonight in an effort to gain momentum for the economic program that is to be the keystone of his Administration. His televised speech is set for 9 P.M. [A20:1-2.]

The case against a Marine accused of collaborating with the enemy while he was a prisoner of war in Vietnam was given to a jury of five marine officers after two and a half months of trial testimony. The defendant, Pfc. Robert R. Garwood, has pleaded insanity induced by brainwashing. [A10:1.]

Metropolitan

G.M. is paring New York operations. The leading American auto maker announced it was transferring two major subsidiaries from the city to Detroit, dealing a sharp and unexpected blow to Mayor Koch's efforts to keep jobs in New York. The move will result in about

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International

- Stubborn Britons cling to embattled Atlantic islands A2
- State Department stresses experience of new envoy to Salvador A2
- Moslems at U.N. fear move to legitimize Kabul regime A3
- Senior Israeli analyst fears sale of U.S. jet gear to Saudis A4
- Around the World A5
- Filipino cane cutters and planters fight sugar-price controls A8

Government/Politics

- Diplomat who had no embassy recalls life in Iran A10
- Ex-chairman of Kentucky Demo-

Preacher Establishes Beachhead For Moral Majority in New York

Continued From Page B1

conservatives have not been well-organized here in the past.

They will be in the future, he pledges.

The Moral Majority is focusing on 17 states that Mr. Falwell calls "not yet mature and developed." It is seeking new members from all religions and backgrounds.

Among those 17 are New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. All three have chairmen now, but little more than that. The Moral Majority is not now a force in the area. It views itself as a potential one — as it was elsewhere a year ago.

Mr. Fore, who was born in Texas and is pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist Church in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn, does not intend to be underestimated. As head of this state's chapter since last spring, he hopes to enlist 60 county chairmen and 100,000 members paying \$15 a year. That will entitle them to the organization's new newspaper, which will report the voting records of state and national legislators. Mr. Fore has garnered the support of a few Hasidic Jewish leaders, and officials of both the Right to Life and Conservative Parties said in interviews that they were willing to work with him.

Mr. Fore, who seems to have made more progress than his counterparts in New Jersey and Connecticut, has recruited only one county chairman and a "few thousand" members so far, but that does not faze him. "I know that you've got to crawl before you walk," said the 43-year-old minister, who came here from his last parish in California nearly four years ago.

The states will have to raise their own money, he said, but the national organization — which has built up a substantial treasury through television appeals and sophisticated direct-mail techniques — helps by providing literature and holding lengthy "workshops" on fund raising, public relations and organizing.

"The name of the game is votes," Mr. Fore said in Commack. "First you get a local chairman. Then you organize a moral action committee. Then you organize your telephone tree. You've got a woman who loves to talk? — and most of them do — you get a woman to be head of the telephone tree."

Once organized, the group's members will pressure candidates and legislators on key issues. They favor a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion and favoring the death penalty, prayers in schools and tuition tax credits for parochial education. They strongly support Israel and oppose the equal rights amendment, sex education and homosexual rights.

Public opinion polls show that on some of those issues, the majority of New Yorkers disagree with the Moral Majority. Recent history demonstrates, however, that so-called one-issue groups can have an effect that far exceeds their numbers.



The New York Times/William E. Sauro

The Rev. Dan C. Fore at Moral Majority headquarters in Brooklyn.

Mr. Fore argues that his lobby is no different from any other. "We aren't doing any more than the A.F.L.-C.I.O. or the United Council of Churches — nobody's ever said anything about them," he said. He is particularly exercised about the comments of some Jewish leaders. Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, stirred some controversy last fall when he said that the group's activities had helped foster a climate in which religious intolerance could flourish.

"I love the Jewish people deeply," Mr. Fore said. "God has given them talents He has not given others. They are His chosen people. Jews have a God-given ability to make money, almost a supernatural ability to make money." He also said, "They control the media, they control this city."

Mr. Falwell, told of those remarks, said: "I don't think you can stereotype any people."

Just as it did nationally, the local organization will not formally endorse — but will oppose — candidates. And in the future, instead of sending out questionnaires, the organization plans to interview candidates personally.

"We are not expecting to stop all the crime, all the homosexuality, all the lesbianism, all the harlotry," explained Mr. Fore. "We are simply here as a savoring influence, preaching what we believe is the truth, which is salvation by faith in Christ."

LOTTERY NUMBERS

Feb. 4, 1981

New York Numbers — 151

New Jersey Pick-It — 754

New Jersey Jackpot — 14820

Connecticut Daily — 612

free
Jews? Is the Moral Majority a political force with which Israel and her American supporters should make alliance?

At first blush the answer to these questions is a clear yes. After all, Falwell ranks among Israel's staunchest supporters. Israel has too few friends as it is. Moreover, the Moral Majority is an emerging political force of some consequence. Why not cooperate with them?

A more careful consideration of the ends and means of America's new right prompts an entirely different response. Alliances should not be made with only short-term gain in mind; the long-range consequences must also be seen. And once these are weighed, the Moral Majority and those other religious and political organizations with which they are in coalition, reveal themselves to be a threat to American democracy, to America's Jews, and therefore also to Israel.

Let me say at once that I do not speak of all evangelical fundamentalists. They do not constitute a monistic group. They may be bound by a common theology, but they are not of one mind politically. Indeed, many fundamentalists have serious reservations about the policies and programmes of Falwell and his followers. It is only of the latter that I speak, those fundamentalists who join forces with America's radical right to form what has become known as the Christian right.

This new political force — which gained considerable strength in the campaign just past — seeks nothing less than to Christianize America, to make it a republic ruled by Christ. Falwell has called for the adoption of a "Christian Bill of Rights" and his coalition associate Potter spells out precisely what this means: "When the Christian majority takes over this country, there will be no more satanic churches... Pluralism will be seen as immoral and evil, and the state will not permit anybody to practise that evil."

THE MEANS of the Christian right, even more than their goals, are troubling. They disdain the democratic process. Tests of politico-religious purity have been established. Non-conformers are labelled "sinners," "followers of Satan." Hit-lists of candidates targeted for political oblivion are drafted, and slander is a favourite weapon for such assassinations; terms like "pervert," and "communist" are liberally applied; in Idaho the word "Zionist" was used in such a manner, possibly because a good deal of Arab money was commingled with the funds used by the radical right to destroy Senator Frank Church.

It is for these reasons that I labelled the Christian right a threat to

Friend or foe?

ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, who has been attacked for attacking America's Moral Majority, answers his critics.

Jews. I never called the Rev. Mr. Falwell an anti-Semite. What I did say — and repeat — is that in his exclusivist emphasis on a Christian America and the tools he chooses to build it, he and his associates are creating a climate of opinion which is hostile to religious tolerance. Such a climate, in my judgment, is bad for civil liberties, human rights, social justice, interfaith understanding, and mutual respect among Americans. Therefore, it is bad for Jews.

It is scarcely prudent to make al-

destroy Israel's true and tested friends. The Moral Majority boasts of its recent victory over seven Senators, among them Israel's most devoted and skillful supporters, including Frank Church. One result of the success of the Christian right is the replacement of Frank Church as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Charles Percy, who told the Kremlin last month how important it was for Yasser Arafat to have a state to rule over before he died. Is that good for Israel?

Boasting of their success in the 1980 election, the Christian right published a new hit-list of political targets. It features, among U.S. senators, Edward (Ted) Kennedy and Howard Metzenbaum, and even Henry Jackson. Are we to go to bed with political assassins of our friends?

If we do, we are not only foolish but jacking in all honour.

The author is president of the Union of American Hebrew (Reform) Congregations and past chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

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Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

February 26, 1981

Donald S. Day

I am enclosing a sampling of letters we have received in regard to the radical right and Moral Majority. The majority of the mail response has been very positive but, of course, some have been negative and we have also had our fair share of mail from "kooks" and "fanatics." These we have come to expect. I share these so you will be aware of the response to my statements and there was also a positive response to Al Vorspan's letter to the Times in response to the article on the formation of a "beach-head" for the Moral Majority in New York.

Yesterday I received a message that Begin wants me to meet with Jerry Falwell. I will want to discuss this with you and in the meantime felt you should see some of the mail we have received.

Warm regards.

February 26, 1981

Mr. Jeffrey Colman
24530 Santa Barbara
Southfield, Mi. 48075

Dear Mr. Colman:

Many thanks for taking the time to write in response to my recent article in Reform Judaism. I am grateful for your thoughtfulness and heartened to know of your concern and your support.

I appreciate your comments in regard to your work on the campaign staff of Senator John Culver. We will be seeing more and more actions by the radical right in seeking to remove from office some of our finest members of the House and Senate. I feel strongly that it is our role to bring the threat to religious freedom in a pluralistic society to our constituency. I also appreciate your having shared with me your column from the Detroit Jewish News. It is very well put.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

February 17, 1981

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

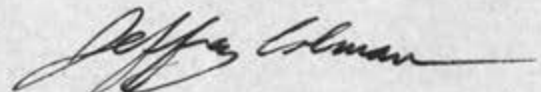
I just read your article in the February 1981 edition of Reform Judaism and wanted to let you know that I concur with your evaluation of the New Right.

I had the rewarding opportunity this past fall of working on Senator John Culver's campaign staff in Iowa. As part of this experience, I had the chance to see the New Right first hand. Much of what I saw in their propaganda and bullyboy tactics I had hoped never to see in American politics. The New Right is indeed a threat to religious freedom and pluralistic democracy in this country. I am proud to have been involved in a campaign that straightforwardly and unapologetically fought back at the New Right. John Culver's fight should serve as an example of how these right-wing crusaders should be confronted in the future.

I am pleased that both you and the UAHC are taking such strong positions in counteracting the New Right threat.

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed article I had published in The Detroit Jewish News a few months ago. Before being edited, the article was much more provocative but the main points are still made in the published form.

Sincerely,



Jeffrey Colman
24530 Santa Barbara
Southfield, Michigan
48075

cc: AV
DSO

letter & article

A Detrouter's Personal Experience With the 'New Right' Threat

By JEFFREY COLMAN

(Editor's note: Jeffrey Colman spent this fall in Iowa working for the John Culver Senate campaign and the Iowa Democratic Party. Colman is a recent graduate of the University of Michigan who is active in Jewish, Zionist and political affairs.)

"Our democracy (cannot) agree to a moral majority that makes religious doctrine the test of political opinion. You may have that only where all are alike in thought and root and intent, which America is not."

— Bill Moyers Journal

The New Right is a well-organized coalition of fundamentalist Christians and right-wing activists who are trying to change the Ameri-

can political system to reflect their own conservative political doctrines and fundamentalist Christian beliefs. They are different from old-time conservatives like Barry Goldwater and William Buckley in that they ignore traditional party politics and invoke the name of God as being on their side in their crusade to radically change the American political scene.

One New Right leader, Paul Weyrich, perhaps describes his movement the best: "We are radicals, working to overturn the present power structure."

The 1980 election provided the New Right with the perfect opportunity to try to secure political power for itself. Not only were New Right leaders jubilant in their belief that one of the



JEFFREY COLMAN

Presidential candidates, Ronald Reagan, mirrored their interests and ideas (although all three major Presidential candidates claimed to be "born-again" Christians), but they were eager to rid the halls of

Congress of their "liberal" enemies.

They concentrated on the U.S. Senate by targeting for defeat six Senators (all Democrats) who they deemed as both liberal and vulnerable. They went to war armed with millions of dollars, sophisticated computers and skillful organizations like the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

I had the opportunity to see the New Right from the front lines, for I spent this fall in Iowa working on the campaign for one of the Senators on the New Right's hit list: John C. Culver.

In John Culver, I found the rare leadership qualities so desperately lacking at all levels of government today: the ability to combine intellect and reason with traditional liberal ideals of compassionate government, and translate them into a workable legislative program.

During his first Senate term, Culver established a reputation as one of the body's most effective members. However, there was only one thing of importance to the leaders of the New Right: John Culver was too liberal and therefore un-Christian.

So New Right groups began working toward the defeat of the Democratic Senator by pouring hundreds of thousands of dollars into a negative media campaign against Culver, even before his Republican opponent had been chosen.

What bothers me is not that these New Right groups helped to defeat Culver, but rather how they helped. Instead of running a straightforward campaign espousing their own values and policies (or those of Republican candidate Charles Grassley), they ran a totally negative campaign.

They did not advocate any positive programs for change; rather they targeted a candidate for defeat because he was a "liberal" and supposedly against the principles they stood for: family, life and God.

I would be less alarmed with the New Right if I believed that its tactics, propaganda and influence were limited to Iowa. But its political crusade is a national one.

New Right groups were deeply involved in several Senate and House races across the country. Already some of the New Right leaders have targeted a Democratic Senator from my home state of Michigan for defeat in 1982.

No state is immune from the polluted politics of this New Right. And no candidate (of either party), so long as he or she does not fully endorse the narrow-minded view of morality of the New Right, is immune from its bullyboy techniques.

The New Right in this country today is perceived as a powerful force by the

press, by lawmakers in Washington and by its own leaders. Whether or not President-elect Reagan perceives the New Right (whom he publicly endorsed during the campaign) as being powerful, we have yet to see.

Although I am uncertain about the current power of the New Right, I am certain about its potential danger. I truly believe that the New Right extremists pose the greatest threat to individual and group freedoms in our country since the demise of McCarthyism and forced segregation.

Our freedoms are only as firm as is our tolerance for those who live, think and worship different from ourselves. The New Right's message is clearly one of intolerance; intolerance for other people's lifestyles, political beliefs and religious values.

If I have learned anything from my studies of American history, it is that an environment of intolerance breeds bigotry and curtailment of liberties. As an American, and as a Jew — a member of a religious minority — I believe the New Right must be prevented from creating such a dangerous environment.

I am not so much bothered by the New Right's contention that religion and religious people should play a part in American politics. Our country, after all, was founded upon certain moral traditions rooted in religion. My own political involvement is due in large measure to the sense of justice and compassion which Judaism has taught me. But it is a totally different matter to try to impose through political involvement a single religious doctrine upon the country. That, in my view, is what the New Right is trying to do.

These New Right crusaders claim that their fundamentalist interpretation of Christianity provides the only hope for America's national salvation. They misuse Scriptures to support their narrow-minded conception of morality and to chastise the positions of their political opponents.

They devise moral litmus tests to determine whether or not a candidate is "Christian" enough to hold public office. And they sentence to political and religious damnation those who fail to pass these ill-conceived tests.

As a Jew, I find such so-called Christianity ratings distressing. For, if the New Right's equation is that to be an American political leader you have to be a good Christian, then the corollary is that you have to be a Christian.

I am not deceived by Rev. Jerry Falwell when he pronounces his support for Israel over and over. He does support a strong Israel but only because it may be part of his particular mission to Christianize the Jews. That is hardly part of the Zionist dream.

I do not believe American Jews should walk a tight-rope with the New Rightists, balancing the "good" things they say about Israel with the "bad" things they say about everything else. We must see the danger which the New Right poses to religious freedom in this country — for Christians and Jews.

We must join with other progressive and ecumenical forces in defending America's pluralistic political tradition from the monolithic tyranny advocated by the New Right. For there cannot be pluralistic democracy or true religious freedom in a society run by a "moral majority."

In this year's election, John Culver and several of his Senate and House colleagues were so-called targets of the New Right. We must realize that we are all targets of the New Right — Jews and Christians — if we do not fully accept its political-religious gospel.

We should follow the example of what John Culver did in Iowa: "I'm a target. Sure I'm a target. But this target is going to fight back."

February 26, 1981

Mr. Kopel Koplowitz
960 East 26th Street
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11210

Dear Mr. Koplowitz:

It was heartening to receive the letter of February 24 signed by you and members of your group from the Kings Bay 'Y'. I am grateful to you for taking the time to write and express your commendation of my public statements in regard to the radical right and Moral Majority. It is heartening to know that my comments are appreciated.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

February 24, 1981

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

We applaud your efforts to expose and isolate the so-called "moral majority". We join with you in your conclusions that this movement is a menace to the Jewish People and Israel and to a Democratic Society as well.

We are concerned that a victory of a sort has already been won by these enemies of the people for they have split the Jewish World. Those who do not see beyond their noses are also enemies even though they do not realize the full significance of their behavior.

The undersigned are only a few of a group of folk who meet at the Kings Bay 'Y' in Brooklyn current events and social problems affecting Jews everywhere. We sometimes feel that your battle is a lonesome fight. We agree with you and express our support. We know that all anti-democratic, anti-civil rights and anti-Semitic movements however disguised must be exposed and fought against. They menace Jews everywhere.

Sincerely yours,

Kopel Koplowitz
Kopel Koplowitz

Nat Gross
Nancy Rosenberg
Frederica Goldsmith
Ruth Teller
Sentuck Falk
Ernie Goldspinner
Isse Adelman
Sylvia Koslowsky
Morton Koslowsky
Bertrice Finner

Levis Milkow
Sonia Fogel
Granges Weiss
Lil Segal
Ray Hoffman
Adelle Goldberg
Rose Anish
Miriam Glickman
Faith Schwarzenberg
Berta Sedica
Morris Tomasch

Salie Timasch
Alfred Feshon
Max Goldsmith
Sally Schenker
Dora Cohen
Anni Baur
David Lumbson
Zelma Carter
Lillian Grunewald
Medard Wasserman
Ben Wasserman
Ben Wichter
Ida Beemer
Murray Beemer
Just Shemin
Nothan Brozinsky
Jack Kaufman



Silence Is Approval!

Ten years ago, when intermarriages were first beginning to take place on a large scale, people were shocked to hear that one of their relatives was going to marry a non-Jew. They would expend all efforts to try to rescue their child from such a relationship. No expenditure of money or energy would be considered too much to attempt to avert such a crisis. If in fact, such a marriage was performed, parents would often sit Shiva, mourning for their child.

Today, the situation has changed. The figures most commonly given is that over thirty percent out of every three Jews intermarry today. Many "Rabbis" give their consent and even perform such ceremonies. Let us stop and think for a moment. This means that a

third of our people are having their Jewish roots cut out from under them and yet as a whole the Jewish community is complacent over the question!

Silence is a sign of support. Not only the "Rabbi" who stoops so low to perform such a ceremony, but all those who attend and even those who object but do not raise their voices in protest have given their stamp of approval to such a union. They have either willingly or unwillingly shown their consent and acquiescence to an act which will pull the Jewish partner in the wedding, not to mention his children, far away from their Jewish roots.

Can we afford to be silent? The Nazi Holocaust killed off one third of our people. Today, great effort is taken to make our youth conscious of

what happened during that period. However, at the same time, equal percentage of our people are being decimated and very little is being done to prevent it. When a Jewish boy marries a non-Jew, the children resulting from their union are not Jewish. There is no way these souls can be retrieved for our heritage. Even in the case of a Jewish woman marrying a non-Jewish man, when according to Torah law the children are Jewish, it is very difficult for them to grow up with a firm Jewish commitment. If their father is committed to a different faith, then the child will be subjected and torn in a battle between the two religions. Even if, as is the case in many homes, the father has no feelings for his own religion, he certainly can not serve the role of a Jewish parent, communicating the warmth and excitement of our Torah heritage to his children. Within a few years, this problem could claim, G-d forbid, as many Jewish souls as Hitler himself and yet there are "Rabbis" who perform such marriages openly and a Jewish community, who by its silence gives these relationships their tacit approval.

To stem this tide, two courses of action must be taken. They must each be followed vigorously and no



The Falwell Phenomenon and Schindler's Folly

The last decade has witnessed a role reversal in Judeo-Christian relations. In the early 70's the "in" thing among Reform Jews was interfaith meetings. These were loudly condemned by many Orthodox leaders. Perhaps no one at the time could have visualized that at the beginning of the 1980's the Reform would condemn the Orthodox for the very same thing. Strange as it

seems, that is exactly what has happened.

Rabbi Abraham Hecht, President of the Rabbinical Alliance of America, met with members of the Religious Round Table, a group which is aligned with the Reverend Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority.

What does the Orthodox Rabbi Hecht have in common with a Baptist Fundamentalist Preacher?

Jew, is always a Jew and nothing can destroy the inner G-dly potential that exists within him. However, on a revealed conscious level a Jew who intermarries has broken his ties with his heritage. He may protect, try to rationalize his behavior with this explanation, or another. However, until he breaks the marriage his/her behavior clearly demonstrates which desires motivate him most powerfully. Our Jewish youth must be made aware of the fact that though intermarriage he breaks his tie to his Jewish heritage.

Furthermore, it is necessary to stress Jewish education. A child who is exposed to the glory and the beauty of our Torah and our tradition will naturally desire to share them with his or her spouse. When Judaism is meaningful to a child on a personal level he will want to establish a Jewish home when he is ready to get married. A stitch in time saves nine. If effort is made to educate our youth and communicate Jewish commitment to Jewish children, problems will not arise when they grow up. When a parent complains to a Rabbi that his child is thinking of intermarriage, the Rabbi's first reaction is why didn't you come to me fifteen years ago. One should worry about intermarriage when the child is three not twenty three.

Now is the time when both on an individual and communal level, we must turn our attentions to this issue. Every single Jew and the Jewish community as a whole must work to destroy this problem before it destroys our people.

More, by the Rabbi's own admission, than he does with a Reform Jew. The liberal philosophies prevalent among Reform leaders, says Rabbi Hecht, are anathema to traditional Torah values. A number of Orthodox leaders agree with him and feel that a strengthening of morality in general in this country will, in the long run, strengthen Torah values among Jews. Or, as a prominent Orthodox Rabbi is reported to have said to himself, "I too am a member of the Moral Majority."

To the charge that he is associating with fundamentalist Christian groups who are basically anti-Semitic, Rabbi Hecht replies, "If we don't go to meet with them it's far worse, because they'll say all Jews are liberals, all Jews are leftists. And if we're not at the meetings of the Religious Round Table, who's there to deny that?"

Still, a great question mark looms over the intentions of the Moral Majority and Reverend Falwell. What is he trying to accomplish by involving himself in politics? "I'm not a Democrat. I'm not a Republican," he replies jokingly, "I'm just a noisy Baptist." And what of his relationship with Ronald Reagan? Of this he says, "I know him. I have respect for him. The relationship is that he will run the government and I will run the Thomas Road Baptist Church and somewhere the twain shall meet."

Dr. Dan Fore is pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist Church in Brooklyn and Chairman of the Moral Majority of New York. He is more blunt than Falwell. "We believe that unless America repents of her national sin and turns back to G-d, our days are numbered, just like Rome," he says. What are his chances of instilling fundamentalist religious principles in avant-garde, liberal New York? Optimistically, he proclaims, "I feel that the New York area (will) be a Moral Majority stronghold for this reason. We've had many meetings with the high Jewish leaders in the city... The Jews... have got about a 93 per cent voter registration. They basically believe in the 10 Commandments. They're against the gay

(Continued on Page 16)

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Vigil

(Continued from Page 12)

rights movement, they're against abortion."

And then there is his reply to the charge that Moral Majority opposition to Jewish political leaders is indicative of anti-Semitism. "See, we're not against Javits or Holtzman...in particular," he explains. "We're looking at their voting record. Because, see, we're about as pro-Jew as a person could be. In fact, I've often said I should have been a Jew...I am for Israel as a concept... We know that G-d blesses those that bless the Jews. But if a Jew is in office and he is voting contrary to Biblical morality, he is voting contrary to his own teachings."

Falwell does not see the Moral Majority's influence on American politics as a violation of the separation of church and state. "No where in the constitution," he explains, "are American citizens who happen to be religious, forbidden to wield influence and create a moral climate that will cause government to find it easier to write new law... I do not think Ronald Reagan is the Messiah. I do not think that a conservative House or Senate are the panacea to America's problems. But we

do have some new leaders in Washington who will work with us and not against us."

Clearly, the verdict is still out on the ultimate intentions of Reverend Falwell and the Moral Majority. But Orthodox leaders such as Rabbi Hecht believe that meetings with fundamentalist groups will dispell some of the notions that Jews are anti-morality and thereby will help to somewhat diffuse the anti-Semitic rhetoric that claims the Jews are poisoning the hearts and minds of American youth.

Alexander Schindler, the executive head of Reform congregations in this country has attacked what he calls, "these flirtations with the anti-Semitic Christian Right." He has termed it "suicidal and madness...a pact with the Devil." The Reform rabbi went on to say that the support given by these fundamentalist groups to Israel is no reason to give them recognition. Said he: "This is apocalyptic vision in all its fullness. They seek our extinction as a particular people. Why then in heaven's name should we give them recognition? Have we no honor? Have we lost all self-respect?"

It is truly amazing. Alexander Schindler dons the prophet's robes and points the prophetic finger at fun-

damentalist groups. Schindler, whose reform rabbis perform intermarriages which have resulted in the highest rate of assimilation of any Jewish group is accusing others of "seeking our extinction as a particular people!?" Alexander Schindler who proposed that children of non-Jewish mothers be accepted as Jews is suddenly concerned about our "extinction as a particular people," and is upset because we are giving fundamentalist Christian groups "recognition"! Alexander Schindler whose reform Union of American Hebrew Congregations has given sanction to synagogues whose sexual philosophies are in direct violation of Torah principles is worried about us losing our "honor," our "self-respect"?!?

The real dispute is not between Jew and non-Jew, but between liberal and conservative values. The liberal philosophy has tended to do away with the religious value base, while the conservative philosophy has usually sought to retain it.

Personal experience has left me with the impression that Alexander Schindler is basically a mouthpiece to sanction the liberal leanings of American Jewish Congress/Committee types. These groups have the ear and eye of the press and have done little to discourage the

Remsen Village Wins Senior Citizens Program

City Councilman Ted Silverman (Remsen Village, Flatlands and Canarsie) has announced that the Congregation Beth Israel of East Flatbush, 660 Remsen Avenue, has been approved by the Family and Adult Services of the New York City Human Resources Administration, in conjunction with the Federation of "Y's", as the site for a Senior Citizen Center and Program in Remsen Village.

blatantly fallacious notion that they speak for American Jewry.

And it is this assumption that Jews are all liberal that may be doing severe damage. When the average conservative Christian in the midwest sees his kids watching T.V. programs from New York that suggest that "old fashioned" morality is a joke, and then he sees all the Jewish names in the credits at the end of the show, he is tempted to conclude that "them liberal Jews are poisoning the minds of American youth."

If Rabbi Hecht, in his meetings with Christian fundamentalist groups, can succeed in destroying this image of the Jew, he will have done us a great service.

Work on this program began many months ago when Councilman Silverman's successful efforts to save the Rugby "Y", 555 Remsen Avenue, resulted in the School for Alternative Learning, headed by Rabbi Mondrowitz, becoming the new primary tenant at the "Y". Silverman worked very closely with many parent activists, including Mrs. Sarah Rosenman, and many political figures including Assemblymember Helene Weinstein, Democratic leaders Carl Garritani and Myrna Zisman, former State Committeewoman Sandy Silverman and former Assemblyman Murray Weinstein.

The Beth Israel Senior Citizens Program will service 75 or more seniors, provide hot kosher meals and recreational, educational and cultural programs for all.

News Digest...

(Continued from Page 4)

reported that a close friend of Abuhatzzeira, restaurant owner Eli Ronen, had hired private investigators to collect evidence against Siegal. Ronen was deluged with calls from hundreds of people offering information. One of these was a former police sergeant who operates a vegetable stall at Tel Aviv's Hacarmel open-air market. He signed an affidavit under oath at the Magistrates Court that he had sold Siegal vegetables at a discount for an entire year. Another stall owner swore that he had several times given Siegal vegetables for free in the presence of others.

The ethnic issue in the Abuhatzzeira affair was raised once again by these charges, which Ronen claims, were triggered by the anger caused by publication of a transcript of a conversation between a police agent and state's witness

Gottlieb in which the former derogatorily referred to the Religious Affairs minister and other National Religious Party members as "Sephardi scum." The ethnic outrage has thus combined with dissatisfaction over police high-handedness into a backlash which the police never expected.

Tales of the Gaonim...

(Continued from Page 6)

The Soup Didn't Taste As Good

Rabbi David would study the Torah every day until after midnight. He would then return home to eat. His wife would usually leave a pot of soup on the oven and she and the rest of the family would be asleep when he came home. Rabbi David would then take a piece of bread and together with this soup it would make up his meal for the night. He would then bench, say Krias Shma and retire for the night.

One night his wife was washing the clothes and she forgot to spill out the dirty soap water. She left the pail on the stove near the pot of soup. That night as usual, Rabbi David came home to eat before he retired. He accidentally took the pail of wash water instead of the pot of soup and he drank it all.

The following morning when he saw his wife he said, "Do you know that the soup last night didn't taste so good. I didn't enjoy it at all. It might have had too much salt or other spices."

Never Enough

When his wife would complain about their extreme poverty, Rabbi David would say, "Do you know why certain people never have enough money? Because they are never satisfied with the amount they have. If they were satisfied with their lot, they would always be content and they would have more than they need."

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TRENDS ANALYSES REPORT

THE NEW RIGHT: AN EMERGING FORCE ON THE POLITICAL SCENE

by Milton Ellerin
and Alisa H. Kesten

Trends Analyses
November 18, 1980

Discrimination Division,
Domestic Affairs Department

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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

The New Right: An Emerging Force on the Political Scene

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

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix B

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix B

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix B

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix B

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix C

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

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

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

ADDENDUM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*See Appendix A

APPENDIX A

New Right Support of Congressional Candidates

(November 4, 1980 Elections)

CSFC- Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress
 RR- Religious Roundtable
 MM- Moral Majority
 CV- Christian Voice
 NCPAC- National Conservative Political Action Committee
 W- Won
 L- Lost
 *- Denotes member of CV Congressional Advisory Committee

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

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

APPENDIX B

Some Secular New Right Organizations and Leaders

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

Some Evangelical New Right Organizations and Leaders

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

APPENDIX C

The New Right Political Agenda

ANTI

PRO

Family Issues

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

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

Domestic Issues

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

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

International Issues

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

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

Religion and Politics

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The last word on the question of religion and politics is not yet in. An ancient dilemma, disputed and debated over the ages, the relationship between kings and priests, between prelates and presidents, keeps resurfacing in new shapes and forms.

In our own day, thanks to the power of "the electronic church" to magnify and multiply its messages to countless millions, a specific group of evangelicals, lumped together as the Christian Right or Religious Right, has become disproportionately vociferous and visible. While the activities of these and other religious bodies in the political process are in line with the ongoing church-state dialogue, as most of our observers reaffirm, it is the ability to impact on the masses, via television and radio, that is the decidedly new phenomenon. The skilled use of communications media by some of the evangelical preachers, in a period of electronic marvels, cannot but revive many of the old questions anew.

What is or should be the legitimate role of religious bodies in our own free society? To what extent do they, as the moral conscience of our country, have an obligation to speak out on the crucial issues affecting our government and those elected to govern? Should church and state remain separated or are new kinds of coalitions and alliances inevitable?

This issue of *Face to Face* purports to examine afresh, from a cross-section of vantage points, some of these issues as they impinge on American society in the 80's. Thoughtful historical Jewish perspectives are provided by the first two articles, both written more than 20 years ago. In the view of the late Rabbi Morris Adler, an influential figure in the Judeo-Christian dialogue during the 50's and 60's, "a monumental obligation" rests on religious leaders to play an active gadfly role in helping to complete "the unfinished business of our democratic life." He practiced what he preached by helping to pioneer, as chairman of the Review Board of the United Automobile Workers of America, new methods of arbitrating labor-management disputes.

Emil Fackenheim, the well-known theologian-philosopher, warns religious leaders against "innocuous generalities" and insists instead that they transform their moral concerns into concrete, specific deeds. Theological observations on the Religious Right formulated by 15 distinguished Protestant bodies clearly separate what they find acceptable for Christians in the political arena and what they find unacceptable.

Other reactions and responses to the new phenomenon of political activism by the Religious Right follow. Father

George Higgins, the eminent Catholic theologian, presents his personal views, both positive and negative, as does Rabbi Seymour Siegel, an acknowledged expert on Jewish law and lore. While refusing to see the movement as monolithic, Seymour Reich, an attorney and chairman of ADL's Civil Rights Committee, raises some "troubling" questions about the Christian political movement — e.g., its advocacy of prayer in the schools, which, in his view, poses a threat to "the pluralist character of American society" and the time-honored American tradition of separating church and state.

The sharpest critique of the Christian Right, however, comes from within the Christian fold. Robert McAfee Brown, leading Protestant theologian, takes a close look at groups claiming to be moral majorities and finds them dangerous because "they begin to conceive of themselves as moral monopolies." What is more fitting for America's national and cultural pluralism, asserts Dr. Brown, are moral minorities — small units of citizens that can "propose convictions without arrogance, insight without absolutism, commitment without coercion, and democracy without demagoguery."

The statement by leaders of the Lutheran church bodies is equally forceful, with special emphasis on the potential divi-

siveness of bodies seeking to "Christianize" the American government. "To describe one group's political position as 'The Christian Voice' and one movement's political agenda as a movement 'for Jesus,'" it avers, is "an affront to Jewish and other religious advocates whose religions hold social justice as a social form of love of neighbor. Devout Christians and Jews agree and disagree between and among themselves regarding political decisions and can agree and disagree with nonbelievers."

Moderation in reaction to the Christian Right is urged by Professor Martin Marty, the well-known authority on church history. Specifically, he cautions against lumping all the groups together and suggests the need to counterorganize. Above all, he pleads, "don't underestimate and don't overestimate the new force."

Rabbi Ronald Sobel, as chairman of ADL's Program Committee, concludes our round-up by summing up the pluses and minuses. Both Jews and Christians, he asserts, need to share their respective perspectives on the role of religion in shaping American culture and in defining and strengthening "the fundamental values that underlie the ordering of a society."

Lily Edelman

A Statement of Policy

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith believes that the American democratic system has found much of its inspiration in the ethical and moral concepts of the great religions. Their impact upon American life is evident. The Hebrew Bible and the great religious philosophers influenced the founders of the Republic, and most Americans today agree that these concepts are essential to the fullest realization of the American democratic ideal.

ADL is firmly committed to the centrality of religion in American life. It is equally committed to the separation of church and state as the means whereby the religious freedom of all Americans is safeguarded. ADL, therefore, believes that all religious bodies have not only the right but also the responsibility to play an active part in guaranteeing social

justice, dignity and freedom for every human being.

As for the heightened activism of the Christian Right in recent times, we believe that looking at its components as one monolithic group is every bit as mischievous as viewing Jews or Catholics as one monolithic group. While we shall remain vigilant in our defense of the Jewish people and of the democratic process in our society, we in ADL are always open to dialogue and discussion with any and all groups, confident that no matter our differences and confrontations of the past, the amplitude of reason in the Judeo-Christian heritage will guide us to better understanding.

Nathan Perlmutter

National Director, Anti-Defamation League

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FACE to FACE

Religious Responsibility in a Free Society

The Challenge of Democracy **Morris Adler**

Democracy challenges the religions of the land to live with one another in a relationship neither of inferiority nor superiority, domination or subordination — but of parity. To be sure, the adherent of one faith does not, perhaps cannot, believe that all faiths are of equal truth, value, and sublimity. To believe that makes one's commitment to a particular religion a meaningless matter of whim rather than a decision involving one's destiny. Each religion believes that it is in possession of something distinctive, unduplicated — else its persistence is shorn of significance. As a Jew, I want to feel and do feel that the presence of my tradition on the American scene does not simply add to its variety or increase its diversity — but enriches the content and substance of American life.

Important and Crucial Force

All religions have a common task of combating the corrosions of an amoral, materialistic, success-centered, power-mad world. The religions of democracy have likewise the supremely significant function of maintaining vital and alert those spiritual qualities, ethical sensitivities, and moral disciplines without which the forms of democracy may fall of their own inert weight. Democracy functions best when it is composed of individuals, not merely of citizens. It is in totalitarian societies that the individual contracts into the citizen and is permitted no province of expression and aspiration outside of loyalty and subservience to the state. The extragovernmental, voluntary spheres of life in a free land must be kept free and open. There are areas in a child's life which should always remain beyond the reach of the mechanisms of government and the state. Many church and synagogue leaders are equally concerned about the religious illiteracy of American youth and the adult as well — an illiteracy that is truly interfaith and transdenominational in scope. The responsibility resides with the religious community. Religion is the most important and crucial force functioning in the voluntary areas of American life through instruction, persuasion, and example.

And religions have in common the monumental obligation of serving as the moral conscience of the country. The great social and economic problems we face are deeply grounded in moral issues. Unpartisan, uninvolved in the machinery of

government, speaking out of a large perspective and endowed with a tradition of love and compassion, religion can uphold the social goals to which we must direct our political and economic policies. It can and should foster uneasiness in the American people about the unfinished business of our democratic life — bigotry, segregation, political corruption, foreign policy, and international understanding.

Passion for Justice and Righteousness

Religion has no technical competence in the fields of politics, economy, and social need. But it does possess the qualities without which no adequate solution of the problem in these areas of our national life can ever be achieved, namely, large humane goals and a passion for justice and righteousness. There are still social obstacles that prevent men from seeing God. There is the danger of machine the instrument becoming machine the ruler. There is still the divisiveness which denies God as Father because it repudiates man as brother. There is the parochial partisanship and denominational exclusiveness which keeps us from seeing the whole man and all of mankind. There are still children deprived of the sunlight of love, the lamp of learning, the shelter of security. The thunder of greed and avarice, the race for gain and fame, the din of the conforming multitude threaten to drown out the still small voice.

Here is a task for religion, as formidable and as basic as it has ever faced. It must transcend its institutionalism by its outgoing love of all men. Our society under the aspect of the Eternal must bring to bear upon the tormenting problems of our age religion's mellow wisdom, its inspired ideals, its sensitive standards — its faith in God, in life, in man.

May religion — all religion — be blessed with the generosity of spirit and the nobility of mind to fulfill the opportunities and to meet the obligations that beckon in a democracy.

The late Rabbi Adler of Detroit participated in many national conferences involving religious leadership, serving for many years as chairman of the Review Board of the United Automobile Workers and pioneering new methods of out-of-court arbitration of labor-management disputes. This article is excerpted from *May I Have a Word with You?*, a collection of his essays compiled by Goldie Adler and Lily Edelman, Crown Publishers, 1967.

Religious Responsibility for the Social Order

Emil L. Fackenheim

The following article was part of a Protestant-Catholic-Jewish dialogue, held at the annual board meeting of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Washington, D.C., on November 20, 1961. I have found the topic not only most important but also — if seriously tackled, and tackled in a brief statement — difficult and full of snares. Among the snares which I sought to avoid and expose are: (a) the mistaking of the separation of church and state for a dualism which makes religion otherworldly, and society either amoral or else morally concerned in a way which does not only need religious inspiration but positively rejects it; (b) the belief (found in the various forms of "Biblicism," on the one hand, natural law positions, on the other) that it is the business of religion to offer moral doctrines which are specific and concrete, and yet timelessly valid; (c) the opposite belief that, precisely because religion cannot offer such doctrines, it must confine itself to innocuous generalities, thus leaving the big decisions concerning war and peace, the implementation of social justice, etc., entirely in the hands of religiously and morally neutral "experts."

E.L.F.

If there is a single religious affirmation which, first coming with Judaism into the world, has remained basic to Jewish belief until today, it is that the God on high loves widows and orphans below; and that He commands men, from on high, to do His will in the social order below. Elsewhere, too, men have had an awareness of the Divine, and a sense of responsibility in the social realm. It was the distinctive contribution of the Hebrew prophets to proclaim that the two cannot be rent apart; that men ought to treat each other as created in the image of a God who challenges them to this task.

It is in the light of this basic affirmation that I must seek to answer the question concerning religious responsibility for the social order. And I must begin by opposing all attempts to tear asunder what the prophetic affirmation joins together: that is, on the one hand, a secularism which bids religion mind its business, of which responsibility for the social order is to be no part, and, on the other hand, an otherworldly religion which, accepting this advice, disclaims all responsibility for the social order. Forms of such divorce have existed in all ages. That they may exist in one and the same person has been terribly illustrated in our own time — by those Germans who thought it possible to be Nazis and Christians at once.

Religious and Social Realms Not Divorced

I must stress that opposing divorce between the religious and the social realm is by no means equivalent to rejecting the separation between church and state. I must stress, too, that secularist social morality has often put to shame a social morality supposedly religiously inspired; that those rejecting or suspending belief in God have often done His will toward men more perfectly than those professing belief in Him. And this fact must give us pause. Even so, one may question whether secularist morality can, for long, treat men as created in the image of a God in whom it does not believe; whether it can forever resist the temptation to reduce man, from an end in himself, to a mere means, thus degenerating either into a merely relativistic morality, or else — and worse — into one resting on pseudo-absolutes, such as the interests of a deified class, nation or state.

The dangers of divorce between the religious and the social may seem remote to North Americans, who tend to be practical in religion and religiously inspired in their social morality; and indeed, for the worst examples of divorce we must surely look elsewhere. Still, we are by no means exempt from danger. For a religious civilization such as ours invites a secularism assuming a pseudo-religious garb; and hence religion, meant to be openness to the divine imperative, may become a device for avoiding it. Thus, for example, those who begin by responding to the divine imperative, with a dedication to freedom and democracy, may end up deifying their dedication; and to the extent to which they in fact do so their actual dedication — as well as what it is dedicated to — is perverted. Of this danger, there are ominous indications in our time.

Complex Relationship

So much for the divorce between the religious and the social, which the prophetic imperative bids us oppose. What of their relation, which that imperative bids us affirm? This question, unlike the former, is fraught with great difficulty. And its essential cause is that, while the prophetic imperative is divine, the social world in which it is to find realization is human; and the human world has characteristics which render complex not only any attempt to *realize* the prophetic imperative, but even any attempt — such as the present — merely to *state* it, in terms concrete enough to be applicable. Three characteristics must here be noted.

(1) All social organization involves power. But power is amoral before it can be made moral, and presumably it always retains aspects of amorality or even immorality. This fact confronts those who would heed the prophetic imperative with a dilemma. They may either forswear all use of power, in order to remain true to the prophetic imperative. But then they condemn their own efforts to ineffectiveness, at least beyond the most private relations and in the social order as a whole; and thus they contribute either to total anarchy or else — more likely — to an amoral order based on naked power. Yet most forms of social order are better than anarchy, and a partly moralized order better than one not

moralized at all. Alternatively, they may seek power, for the sake of the prophetic imperative which demands realization. But then they must recognize that they become compromised in its use; and their religious motivation is no protection against such compromise. Indeed, experience shows that power wielded in the name of God is subject to special perversions.

This is why those who are organized by commitment to the prophetic imperative cannot, on the one hand, escape their responsibility of moralizing power, while on the other hand they must resist all temptations to make a bid for direct power, confining themselves to indirect methods of pressure-by-exhortation. Here lies perhaps the deepest justification for the American principle of the separation of state and church.

(2) What must be the content of such exhortation? May religion advocate specific measures in the name of God, leaving to the state and society the task of their enactment? Here I come upon a second complexity of the human condition, which makes such a neat arrangement impossible. This is that concrete moral ends are, in the actual human situation, in conflict both with other ends and with the means required to enact them. I cannot think of a single moral and religious end, concrete enough to be directly applicable, and yet valid without exception. Thus believing all human life to be sacred, I believe all wars to be evil; and yet I must admit that some wars had justly to be fought. But the concept of "just wars" does not supply me with universally applicable criteria. Again, though believing in the Biblical injunction to be fruitful and multiply, I cannot deduce from this belief the universal wrongness of artificial birth control. For I must measure the Biblical injunction against the dangers of overpopulation and mass starvation. In short, I find myself unable to subscribe to what has been called the natural law, supplying us with a knowledge of right and wrong sufficiently concrete to be directly applicable, and yet valid regardless of time and circumstances.

Limits of Religion

(3) Must religion, then, confine itself to the affirmation of abstract principles, leaving to other forces not merely the task of enactment but also that of specific application? Is religion confined to affirming in general the sacredness of life and liberty, and the evil of exploitation, but barred from taking a specific stand as to when life may be taken and liberty curtailed, and as to what constitutes a just minimum wage? Here we come upon this further characteristic of the human condition, that the moral and religious conscience of a society is manifest, not in an abstract affirmation of liberty or condemnation of exploitation, but in what it protests against, as constituting a case of curtailed liberty, or a case of exploitation. Relevancy lies in the particular. As for the general, this is apt to be invoked not only by the indifferent but even by the enemy; peace has been invoked by the mongers of war, freedom and democracy, by their worst foes. This tendency to hypocrisy is evident throughout human history. But, as George Orwell has shown with such depressing persuasiveness, not until the twentieth century have men made it into a system.

Another neat arrangement of the respective responsibilities of religion and society for the social order has thus

collapsed. A religion which confines itself to general principles condemns itself to ineffectiveness and innocuousness. The Hebrew prophets, in contrast, were neither innocuous nor ineffective. And this was because they asserted the will of God, not in terms of abstract general principles, but in and for the here and now.

In the light of these reflections, how, then, can I link, positively and concretely, prophetic religion to its responsibilities for the social order? The link is found, I think, not in rules or principles but in a believing attitude.

This believing attitude must, first, stubbornly insist that the will of God is to be done in the social world of man, and that we are responsible for our share in it. It must resist the temptation, born of frustrations of all ages and especially of our own, of escaping into dualism, whether into a divine world above, unconcerned with man, or into a human world below, unconcerned with God and hence not really human.

Believing Attitude Required

This believing attitude must, secondly, face up to the will of God, not in general, or for some other place and time, but here and now. There is no situation which is morally and religiously neutral. There is no power struggle, however necessarily Machiavellian, which is not at the same time a situation in which the prophetic imperative speaks to us. And even the thunder of nuclear tests must not be allowed to drown its voice.

Thirdly, the prophetic imperative, being divine, must be taken with radical seriousness, not given mere half-hearted and niggardly concessions. It is one thing to be forced to compromise in the struggle against war, oppression, discrimination and poverty, and to accept such compromises temporarily and with an aching heart. It is another thing entirely to mistake what are at best incomplete achievements finally and self-righteously, as if they were perfect. This believing attitude can never forget that so long as the divine image is violated even in one single human being, the Kingdom of God on earth is incomplete.

Fourthly, this believing attitude knows that while the prophetic imperative is divine, even our best efforts to respond to it are only human. And this is true not only of our organized forms of acting but also of our organized forms of belief, doctrine and preaching. Society and religion, even at their best, are under the judgment of God.

Finally and most importantly, this believing attitude knows that while we have our responsible share in the doing of God's will in the social world of man, the fate of that world is not in our hands alone. Throughout the ages, those committed to the prophetic imperative have always been threatened by despair when faced with the discrepancy between what ought to be and what is. This danger assumes unheard-of proportions in a world confronted with possibilities of total destruction. Today, more than ever, one can heed the prophetic imperative with any kind of confidence only if one heeds it with an ultimate confidence; with the confidence in a God who, while bidding us to work in His world, is also its absolute Sovereign.

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Christian Theological Observations on the Religious Right

A Statement by 15 American Church Bodies

The emergence of a politically active movement popularly called "the Religious Right" claiming to represent "the moral majority" or "the Christian voice" has prompted us, a group representing a broad range of traditions and viewpoints in the U.S. Christian community, to issue this statement.

We disagree with many of the political positions of those in the Religious Right, but Christians in this country have traditionally disagreed on many political issues. A common faith does not necessarily produce a political consensus.

Our intent in this statement is not to argue for one ideological stance over against another, but to make some theological observations about certain things now being said and done in the name of Christian morality.

Areas of Agreement

We want to register our agreement with some things we hear these companions in the U.S. Christian community saying. We agree that:

- Christians ought to be actively engaged in politics and influenced in their political judgments by their faith in God and loyalty to God's cause.
- Church bodies and other groups of Christians have both the right and the responsibility to make their views known on public policy issues.
- Religious leaders have both the right and the responsibility to proclaim the Word of God as they understand it in light of political realities and to interpret political realities in light of the Word of God.
- It is proper for religious bodies or organizations to provide their members and the general public with analyses of political issues and information on the voting records of office holders, and to mobilize their members in support of or in opposition to particular legislation.

We express these agreements because many criticisms of the Religious Right reflect what we judge to be misunderstandings of the role of the Christian community in the common life and the meaning of the constitutional principle of separation of church and state. Christians and Christian groups — whether they be ideologically right, left, or center — have every right to seek to influence public affairs.

Theological Objections

Nevertheless, apart from any political differences we may have with the Religious Right, we have strong theological objections to some of their positions and tactics.

1. On theological and ethical grounds, we object to the list of issues which the Religious Right has identified as the

moral agenda facing our nation. We do not simply disagree with their stance on particular items on their agenda; we find their selection of issues to be theologically and ethically inadequate. An agenda identified by Christian believers ought to reflect God's concern for the whole world. It ought to be consonant with what God has revealed of Himself through the prophets and Jesus. It ought to be faithful to what Jesus called the "weightier matters of the law." Our study of the Biblical witness convinces us that the God of the prophets and of Jesus calls the people of God to work for peace and things that make for peace, to seek justice for the poor, and to care for the created order. What God wills for our common life is at heart a theological question. We regard the theology of the Religious Right, expressed in their choice of issues for Christian concern, as unfaithful to the fullness of Biblical witness.

2. On theological and ethical grounds, we object to the moral criteria that many in the Religious Right use to evaluate candidates for public office. It is quite appropriate, even morally mandatory, for citizens to choose among candidates for public office in light of their stances on the great public issues of the day. But simple human decency and fairness to the candidates, concern for the common good, and most of all loyalty to the God of Biblical faith surely demand that the instrument by which Christians measure candidates for public office be adequate to the task. We believe the narrow range of issues selected by such groups as the Christian Voice and the Christian Voters' Victory Fund for the purpose of rating members of Congress represents ideological preferences rather than the breadth of responsible Christian positions.

Impossibility of Knowing God's Will

3. On theological and ethical grounds, we reject the assumption that human beings can know with absolute certainty the will of God on particular public policy issues. Many in the Religious Right seem to have forgotten the clear Biblical witness and central Christian acknowledgment that all of us are finite, fallible, and sinful. They make claims to knowledge of God's will for our nation that no Christian is entitled to make. God wills peace, justice, and liberation for all His children. God works in history to fashion a just, participatory, and sustainable society. And the requirements of God are clear: We are to love God with all that we are; we are to love our neighbors as ourselves; we are to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with our God. But we who are finite and fallible cannot claim to know with certainty the appropriate response to God's requirements at a particular moment in history. We recall and urge others to recall the wisdom of Reinhold Niebuhr:

The sorry annals of Christian fanaticism, of unholy

religious hatreds, of sinful ambitions hiding behind the cloak of religious sanctity, of political power impulses compounded with pretensions of devotion to God, offer the most irrefutable proof of the error in every Christian doctrine and every interpretation of the Christian experience which claim that grace can remove the final contradiction between man and God. The sad experiences of Christian history show how human pride and spiritual arrogance rise to new heights precisely at the point where the claims of sanctity are made without due qualifications.

4. Finally, on theological and ethical grounds, we reject the manner in which some in the Religious Right are engaging in political activity. There is no place in a Christian

(Signed)

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United Methodist Church

Rev. Charles V. Bergstrom,
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Rev. Robert C. Campbell,
Executive Secretary,
American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.

Ruth A. Daugherty,
President,
Women's Division,
Board of Global Ministries,
United Methodist Church

Dr. Milton B. Engebretson,
President,
Evangelical Covenant Church in America

Dr. John S. Groenfeldt,
President,
Moravian Church, Northern Province

Bishop Nathaniel L. Linsey,
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

Rev. C.J. Malloy, Jr.,
General Secretary,
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manner of political life for arrogance, manipulation, subterfuge, or holding others in contempt. There is no justification in a pluralistic and democratic society for demands for conformity along religious or ideological lines. St. Paul urges Christians to "let your manner of life be worthy of the gospel of Christ." This applies to political as well as to other forms of social life. All of us stand constantly under divine judgment and mercy. Sensitivity to this common human situation should be reflected in every Christian's political manner of life.

This statement was issued on October 20, 1980, in Washington, by 15 major American church bodies. The names of the signatories appear at the end of the statement.

Dorothea C. Morse,
Clerk,
Friends General Conference

Dr. Robert W. Neff,
General Secretary,
Church of the Brethren

Rev. Avery Post,
President,
United Church of Christ

Dr. Porter W. Routh,
Interim Executive Director,
Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs

Rev. Kenneth L. Teegarden,
President,
Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)

Rev. George B. Telford, Jr.,
Director,
Division of Corporate and Social Mission,
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.

William P. Thompson,
Stated Clerk,
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Reactions and Response to the Christian Right

Religion and Politics: A Personal Statement George G. Higgins

As a matter of strong personal conviction and not merely for the record, I do not question the right of any organization, secular or religious — whether left, right, or middle of the road — to speak out on matters of public policy on the basis of its own moral and ethical standards and to try to persuade its constituents or members of the general public to think and act and even vote accordingly. To the contrary, I believe that our nation is enriched when its citizens and social groups approach public affairs from positions grounded in strong moral conviction. To put it another way, I share the opinion of a leading Washington journalist who argued recently in a widely syndicated column that “it would be ludicrous [and, I would add, completely contrary to the best of our traditions] to say that to protect religious freedom, we must bar . . . those professing any degree of religiosity from participating actively in politics. . . . We need more political participants, more voters, in this society, not fewer.” The fact that the columnist in question strongly disagrees with the political views of the specific coalition of religious organizations he was referring to makes his argument all the more timely and persuasive.

Danger of “Moral Fascism”

The question before us, then, is not the right of this or that particular organization or coalition of organizations to attempt, in the light of its own moral and ethical convictions, to influence the electorate but rather the manner or the style in which this right is currently being exercised by certain religiously oriented organizations which are widely thought of as belonging to the so-called New Right. I would deem it improper and harmful to the cause of ecumenism — a cause to which I am deeply committed — for a person of my religious background to engage in polemics with these organizations on theological grounds, other than to say that their uncritical use of Biblical citations for partisan political purposes is rather worrisome in that it leaves no room for the give and take rationality of sane politics in a pluralistic society and, when pushed to extremes, as the Jesuit weekly magazine, *America*, recently pointed out, could become “a kind of moral fascism.”

Theology aside, however, now that these organizations have moved over full force into the political arena, they

cannot reasonably object on religious or ecumenical grounds if others, including other Christians, disagree with their political philosophy or with their political strategy and tactics. For my own part, while I think I understand why they are hurting and while I fully respect their sincerity in attempting to make political judgments in the light of their own moral and ethical principles, I disagree with their approach to political activism on several different but related grounds.

First, I am disturbed — and would have good reason to be even more disturbed, I suppose, if I were not a Christian — by their repeated and not very subtle emphasis on getting out what they indiscriminately call “the Christian vote” or, even more ominously, creating in this country “a Christian Republic.” One does not have to be doctrinaire in his interpretation of the principle of religious freedom and the separation of church and state to be put off, indeed to be frightened, by this kind of political extremism. For members of the Jewish faith the very notion of turning this country into “a Christian Republic,” in the ominous sense in which certain New Right spokesmen are using that term, must be a cause of profound anxiety. I fully share their anxiety in this regard.

While I fully respect the right of the organizations in question to speak out on the moral and ethical aspects of public policy issues, nevertheless I find their highly partisan approach to such issues to be strangely selective and extremely simplistic — simplistic in the sense that it makes little if any allowance for the complexity of these issues and for the complexity of the political process itself.

U.S. Catholic Conference Statement

Let me develop this point in more positive terms by citing a profoundly different approach to religiously inspired political action as outlined by the Administrative Board of the United States Catholic Conference in its recent policy statement on Political Responsibility:

In order to be credible and faithful to the Gospel and to our tradition, the Church’s concern for human rights and social justice should be comprehensive and consistent. It must be formulated with competence and an awareness of the complexity of issues. It should also be developed in dialogue with other concerned persons and respectful of the rights of all. . . .

The application of Gospel values to real situations is an essential work of the Christian community. . . . However, specific political proposals do not in themselves constitute the Gospel. Christians and Christian organizations must certainly participate in public debate over alternative policies and legislative proposals, yet it is critical that the nature of their participation not be misunderstood.

We specifically do not seek the formation of a religious voting bloc; nor do we wish to instruct persons on how they should vote by endorsing candidates. We urge citizens to avoid choosing candidates simply on the personal basis of self-interest. Rather, we hope that voters will examine the positions of candidates on the full range of issues as well as the person's integrity, philosophy and performance.

I fully concur in this statement and would emphasize that, while it was issued by the leadership of my own church, it is not a sectarian statement. To the contrary, it is my impression that it closely parallels the position taken on the subject of

political responsibility by the majority of Protestant and Jewish agencies in the United States. In other words, those religiously-oriented organizations which, in attempting to form a religious voting bloc, have identified themselves in a very partisan manner with one political ideology and are rating candidates for political office according to their conformity to an officially approved "Christian way" to vote on a very selective range of disparate public policy issues represent a minority point of view within the American religious community. While I respect their constitutional right to go their separate way in this regard, I share the opinion of the editors of *America* magazine that their extremism does not make for "either good politics or good religion."

For 36 years Father Higgins served on the staff of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops/U.S. Catholic Conference, retiring on September 1, 1980. He is now associated with The Catholic University of America and Georgetown University. His statement is made in his own name and on his own authority and only for himself.

A Jewish Perspective Seymour Siegel

During the recent election campaign the proper role of religious groups in the political process became the subject of controversy. Announcements by various church groups and religious bodies urging their members to vote for one candidate or another aroused opposition and fear in the minds of many people.

Such concern regarding the participation of religion in politics is not a new phenomenon. One of the oldest controversies is recorded in the Bible concerning the prophet Amos; after making an impassioned address and denunciation of the evils of the politicians of his time, he was told: "Oh, thou seer, go flee thee away into the land of Judah and there eat bread and prophesy there. But prophesy not again anymore at Bet El for it is the king's sanctuary and it is a royal house." Rulers and politicians have always been uncomfortable with prophetic voices who condemn their immoral and unjust actions.

Prophetic Tradition Expresses Social Concern

In our own time, religious leaders are frequently told not to "meddle" in politics; their realm is spiritual — concerned with the destiny of the soul and the heavenly and not the affairs of state and who is or is not to be elected. This approach to the relationship between religious teaching and the political process seems to go against the whole thrust of the Judeo-Christian tradition and its theology. The Hebrew Bible after all preaches that there is a God who is concerned with orphans and widows, with this world and how it is governed both politically and economically. Those who pro-

fess a belief, an attachment and commitment to this God are, therefore, expected to be concerned with the state not only of their soul but also of their government and its leaders' ethical and moral standards.

There may be separation of church and state in the U.S., but there cannot be, in any Jewish — or Christian, for that matter — view of things, a separation of religion and state. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibits the establishment of religion and any restriction of the free exercise of religion. The intention of the founders of the Constitution was to prohibit the establishment of a state religion, which had been and still is the situation in many countries of Europe and other parts of the world. The founding fathers wanted to make sure that the institutions of religion would not be controlled by or dependent upon the state, thereby insuring the freedom of both the church and the government. This did not mean, however, that religious teachers — those professing to be the guardians of morality and justice — should not make their views known to those holding political power or organize themselves to try to influence the elective process.

Obligation of Religious Teachers

In fact, the principle that religious leaders have an interest in the political and moral climate of government was eloquently and effectively expressed in previous decades when American religious personalities spearheaded movements for civil rights, for justice to labor and the right to organize unions, and also participated in the controversies

surrounding the Vietnam war, when clergymen of all faiths expressed strong views and organized effective lobbies, mainly to oppose the war, although there were some who favored it. It would, therefore, seem that religious groups not only have the right but the duty and responsibility to influence the direction of our political life, particularly when moral or ethical questions or issues are involved.

There are, of course, some limitations that should be imposed upon religious groups as they organize themselves and try to influence legislation or the outcome of elections. For example, no claim of exclusiveness should be made — that is, religious traditions are always open to interpretation — and varying ways of looking at the same issue can be found in all the great faith communities. Each religious group has a right and, in fact, a duty to promote its views; but it does not have the right to say that its view is the only valid Jewish, Christian or Muslim one, and that, therefore, those who profess the same religion but come to different conclusions are somehow outside the parameters of acceptable religiosity. In other words, religionists, especially those with a Biblical orientation, have to be committed to what they think is right and, at the same time, to have the charity and humility to accept that others who are equally pious might come to different conclusions.

Appropriate Activities

A second limitation is that religious groups, like other citizen groups who participate in the political process, should do so in ways appropriate to politics — and certainly not through bribery or false charges against individuals. Twisting facts or deliberate misinterpretations are, of course, out of bounds.

One of the problems today, which has led to considerable criticism, is that some of the more vocal religious groups are promoting causes not generally popular with the opinion-makers in our society instead of causes that have the general approval of our culture, of the so-called “enlightened” spokesmen for our culture. For example, many of these groups are now against abortion, gay rights, the weakening of American defenses, and various treaties made and ratified by the Senate. Whether they are wrong or right in taking such positions, we must admit that they are not wrong in organizing to make their opinions felt and to influence those listening to them to express those opinions at the ballot boxes. Jews as well as Christians have used the political method to further aims that support their religious views. For example, Jews promote the rights of Israel, not only out of ethnic but also religious considerations; they oppose bills which threaten ritual slaughter (*sh'kta*) and promote legislation making it possible for Sabbath observers not to be penalized for their religious beliefs and practices.

We should not, therefore, it seems to me, complain that the political process is being used by other religious groups to further causes holy to them and commanded by their teachings. Even if we dislike the style or the causes or differ with the religious interpretations offered, this should not prevent us from supporting the greatest amount of freedom for those wishing to express their religious views, both in the pulpit and the political process. Our commitment to this doctrine of freedom to participate in the common life is most effectively tested when the doctrine is applied to views with which we

disagree.

In my view, religious leadership does and should play a role in the political process. In an election campaign, for example, religious leaders should point up to their congregations the moral issues involved in the policies, personalities or characters of various candidates, pointing out why they think certain candidates are closer to the moral teachings of their religious groups but at the same time making it clear that it is possible to be religious and have a completely different opinion. Congregational leaders should be careful, of course, not to be partisan except where it is imperative to be so — that is, in the case of specifically moral issues on which religious groups have a stand.

Another example is the issue of abortion for Catholics, on which the Catholic Church has spoken out clearly and in one voice on its prohibition. I would think that those committed to Catholic teachings have every right to try to promote those teachings wherever they can, including within the political process.

According to Catholic doctrine, which Jews do not share (a fact which must be underscored), abortion is equal to murder, feticide is homicide. In that view, citizens in a society have a duty to prevent murder, which is universally condemned. Of course, Protestants and Jews do not hold these views. It would, therefore, seem to me that a Catholic who is committed to such a view has the right to try through the political process to prevent what he considers to be a universally condemned crime, namely murder. On the other hand, in a pluralistic society, other groups that believe that abortion is not murder, or even that abortion is acceptable and sometimes mandated, have an equal right to use their political influence and persuasion to bring about an opposite result, namely, the legalization and permissibility of abortion.

Excessive Politicization to Be Avoided

A caution must be exercised about religious groups becoming too politicized, that is, tied to one political party or another. While the extreme of the separation of religion from life is a bad thing, there is an equal danger of subsuming religion or making it only a political thing — that is, spending all the time preaching about politics, which is a danger not so much to the state as to religion itself. Religious leaders should talk about politics only when there is a clear moral issue involved and about which men of good will cannot differ, as in the case of civil rights. Religious leaders must remember that although the political life is important, it is not the whole content of religion, which is to teach about God and His relationship to the world, which includes politics but is not exhausted by it.

We must also not overlook the prophetic role of religion, which is to criticize. But what we have now is quite different in that it is more of an effort to manipulate instead of bringing the pure voice of religion to bear on the political process. In other words, instead of influencing the culture and politicians to become more moral, what some religious groups are doing is to become politicians themselves. The identity of “altar and sceptre,” as they used to be called in the Middle Ages, of religion and state, must be kept distinct. Just as it is dangerous to separate religion from the affairs of state, it is even more dangerous to unite them. Political judgments have to be

tentative, open to change, new conditions and developments. Religious judgments by nature are absolutist, but for politics to become absolute is disastrous.

What is new today is that religionists are using more intense forms of persuasion, such as television and other media. They are also professing ideas and promoting policies which many Americans do not approve. We have a touchy, delicate situation in which religious leaders as well as political leaders, labor leaders, and intellectual leaders have to

walk the narrow ridge between influencing politics and becoming political, of being the king's prophet but not the king's chaplain. But that is easier said than done. It takes a good deal of good will, intelligence and self-criticism. The task is to help raise the sensitivity so that the narrow ridge can be crossed without falling into the abyss.

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How Should We Respond? Seymour D. Reich

The problems presented by the new Christian Right political movement pose a dilemma for the Jewish community. The groups making up this movement are strongly supportive of Israel at a time when that land is under heavy threat. Earlier in 1980, a number of prominent leaders of the movement had a breakfast meeting with Prime Minister Begin in Washington, where they presented him with a letter read by Jerry Falwell, the most prominent single spokesman of the Christian political movement. "We proclaim," read the letter, "that the Land of Israel encompasses Judea and Samaria as integral parts of the Jewish patrimony, with Jerusalem as its one and indivisible capital . . . Israel stands as a bulwark of strength and determination against those who, by terror and blackmail, threaten our democratic way of life."

The Christian political leaders also profess a friendly attitude toward American Jews. Jerry Falwell has stated on a number of occasions that "God has blessed America because America has blessed the Jew — His chosen people." He has also publicly stated, "I want to stand with the Jews. If that's where God blesses, I want to walk close by." In the March 14, 1980 issue of the newspaper *Moral Majority*, Falwell wrote a full-page article with the heading "Falwell says America must support Israel." His opening line was "To stand against Israel is to stand against God."

Some Troubling Aspects

There are also some troubling aspects of the Christian political movements. For example, they advocate prayer in the schools, which would tend to erode the separation of church and state. In many respects, their basic doctrines are in conflict with the pluralist character of American society, which has been a mainstay of the religious and cultural freedoms of Jews and other minorities. Their openly proclaimed goal of creating a "Christian America" and their promotion of "Christian" candidates for public office contain an implication of second-class status for Jews. When pressed for clarification as to the meaning of a "Christian America," the leaders have said they mean a "moral"

America dedicated to "Biblical values." Yet American history teaches that such white Protestant revivalist movements, of which there have been earlier examples, bring with them a strain of narrow-mindedness and intolerance and a climate inhospitable to minority religious and ethnic groups.

We question the proposition that religious views or religious affiliations have any legitimate place in the selection of candidates for public office. As U.S. Senator Robert B. Morgan of North Carolina recently told a Baptist convention in his home state, "Religion and church should not be used as justification for dogmatic political positions propounded from the pulpit, or for condemnation of those who disagree." Warning against those who claim an exclusive morality for their political views, he said, "If a slate for morality is to prevail, what would become of the dissenters? I think the history of religious persecution has the answer to the question. And that is why I think we must be constantly vigilant on the matter of separation of church and state."

Four Major Groups

The four national groups which, together with some local organizations, make up the Christian political movement, are *Moral Majority*, *Christian Voice*, the *National Christian Action Coalition* and the *Religious Roundtable*. Each is registered with the Internal Revenue Service as a 501-C4 organization, enjoying tax exemption, although contributions to them are not tax-deductible. They have published scorecards on the voting records of members of the House and Senate, rating them as to their votes on certain so-called moral issues. Their leaders have also organized parallel political arms which have been registered with the Federal Election Commission as Political Action Committees. The committees have solicited funds in the churches and endorsed political candidates.

Moral Majority, the largest of the groups, led by Rev. Jerry Falwell, claims chapters in all 50 states; a mailing list of 400,000 (72,000 of them pastors); and a first-year budget of \$1.2 million. *Moral Majority* representatives claim to have

been responsible for the registration of four million voters, but when asked how their registration figures were arrived at, responded vaguely that they derive from estimates for state affiliates. In two of the most active states — California and Alabama — state directors admit that they merely send voter materials to pastors, but keep no actual records of the number of voters registered.

Christian Voice, based in California, with a lobbying office in Washington, DC, claims 190,000 members, including 37,000 ministers and a "projected" first-year budget of \$1.5 million. Its political action arm, Christian Voice Moral Government Fund, formed an avowedly partisan campaign operation entitled "Christians for Reagan."

The Religious Roundtable, headed by Edward E. MacAteer and James Robison of Dallas, sponsored the Dallas National Affairs Briefing. With a 1980 income totalling about \$750,000, it has concentrated on leadership training rather than grass roots organizing, and spawned a lobbying arm known as Roundtable Issues and Answers, headed by William C. Chasey, Jr., a former member of the campaign staff of John B. Connally.

The National Christian Action Coalition is headed by William Billings, the son of the former executive director of Moral Majority, who was on the campaign staff of Ronald Reagan, in charge of relations with the churches. The Coalition's major concern has been the defense of private Christian schools against the intrusion of government into school policies regarding racial integration and curriculum. The group has engaged in voter education and has a mailing list of

some 1,200 churches and private Christian schools.

How effective the Christian political groups were in the 1980 elections has yet to be fully analyzed and evaluated. While their influence proved slight in 1978, there is no denying the large following that some of their spokesmen enjoy in their capacity as evangelists. Jerry Falwell, the leader of the Moral Majority, for example, has millions of viewers for his Old Time Gospel Hour, which is aired weekly on 300 television stations. Falwell receives some one million dollars in contributions each week from his television and radio audiences.

In reality, the broad social implications of this new phenomenon pose serious questions not only for Jews but also for Christians and Muslims as well as for non-believers. To what extent does its appeal for "Christian" votes and the restoration of a "Christian" America constitute a call for a throw-back to the narrow, exclusionary, nineteenth-century white Protestant America which viewed its city-based immigrant Catholic and Jewish population as an alien menace to the American way of life? Does its influence threaten the pluralistic cultural and religious patterns which through long years of struggle have brought us to the point where Americans of every race and creed feel at home in our land? Does its appeal for the election of "Christian" candidates not constitute an affront to the constitutional provision that there shall be no religious test for holding public office in the United States?

Mr. Reich, an attorney, is chairman of ADL's Civil Rights Committee.

The Need for a Moral Minority Robert McAfee Brown

In the 60's, and indeed long before that, it was common for Protestant fundamentalists, confronted with "liberal social-activists" in various denominations, to repeat one of their favorite slogans, "Religion and politics don't mix." Sometimes this would be followed with comments about "separation of church and state," and more frequently it would rest on the assumption that there was a wide gap between "the sacred and the secular," or the worldly and the spiritual, and that stepping over the boundary lines between them constituted a particularly heinous form of sin.

It is now a brand new ball game. For whatever reasons, and for good or ill, conservative Protestants have gotten the message that religion and politics *do* mix, and they have invaded the political arena with a zeal engendered by their evangelistic enthusiasm and a desire to make up for lost time.

Many such groups have emerged on the scene and were actively involved in attempts to elect, or usually, more precisely, to defeat a variety of people running for public office. The targets of such efforts were almost uniformly "liberals" (a pejorative term in the fundamentalists' lexicon) who fa-

vored such things as SALT II and "government spending," and were not sufficiently against pornography, homosexuality and the ERA.

The number of successes claimed by these groups has been a heady elixir, and they are already laying plans for the 1982 campaign, in which, backed by considerable media exposure and extensive financial resources, they will oppose candidates who do not conform to their understanding of what is good for America.

Now on one level this is as American as apple pie; it is important that *all* citizens, whatever their religious affiliations, be encouraged to participate in the electoral process. Claiming such rights for one group hardly makes it appropriate to take issue with people who campaign, lobby, speak for, or demonstrate on behalf of those who represent some other group. If people to the left of center can be politically involved, surely those who are to the right of center can claim the same right. And if they wish to do so on the basis of deeply-held religious commitments, that is certainly their right also.

Why, then, should there be any fuss? Why should people be apprehensive about the emergence of the Christian Right, and why should they wonder about the health of the democratic process in the light of these new participants on the political scene? I think there are some legitimate reasons for concern, not because "religion and politics don't mix," but because in this particular case the nature of the mix leaves some things to be desired.

Case Study of the Moral Majority

Let us look at the attitudes of one particular group from the Protestant right, using Moral Majority as our case study, and examining the text of a letter widely distributed by its head, the Rev. Jerry Falwell. It is a letter of warning, and an appeal for funds. It states succinctly what Falwell believes to be the trouble with our country and what he proposes to do about it. The letter is masterful P.R., playing upon fears and apprehensions, appealing to patriotic instincts, and reducing complexities to the simplest form possible. Here are some of its basic characteristics:

1. The basic appeal is patriotic. Its first lines are, "Is Our Grand Old Flag Going Down the Drain?" The phrase is repeated, with minor variants, eight times within the letter's four pages. The only representation in the letter is the flag, in full color. The message is that the question will have to be answered in the affirmative unless we act and act quickly.

2. To keep the grand old flag from going down the drain, God has singled out Jerry Falwell, the writer of the letter. He tells his readers clearly and unambiguously, "God . . . has called me to take action. I have a divine mandate to go right into the halls of Congress and fight for laws that will save America." There is a crisis in our national life, but God has provided someone to see that we avert it.

3. When one operates under a divine mandate, it becomes clear to such a person that those who side with him are on God's side, and those who do not are against God. Falwell states that there are not only people he must oppose but that those he opposes also oppose God. "Americans," he writes, "are sick and tired of the way the *godless liberals* are running our nation" (italics added). The adjective is crucial in terms

of the tone and appeal. The problem is not just "liberals," who might be political or theological or any other kind of liberals. No, the problem is that the liberals are "godless." (Presumably the list includes Jimmy Carter, who has reasonably certifiable "born again" credentials; George McGovern, who went to a Methodist seminary; Walter Mondale, whose father and father-in-law are both Protestant ministers; and a long list of others.) What is disturbing is that this sort of labeling implies that those who agree with Falwell's politics agree with God, and those who are against those politics are not only against Falwell but against God as well. The God-fearing are on one side, the "godless" on the other. Political opponents are not only wrong, they are evil.

4. The letter goes on to explain *why* the grand old flag is going down the drain. It does so by two devices: (a) a very selective list of national iniquities, and (b) a use of scare words and distortions. The reasons listed are traceable to the increase in homosexuality, pornography and abortion, and a vacillating foreign policy in which we are craven before leftists and Communists. In order to reverse these trends, we need prayer in the public schools and greater spending for military strength. We also need, as Falwell says on numerous occasions elsewhere, to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment.

Injecting Fear

One is entitled to one's own analysis of what is wrong with society. But the devices to "sell" one's position need to be able to stand up under scrutiny. And Falwell's letter abounds with attempts to inject fear and to offer shallow analyses in order to elicit support. Here are a few examples: (a) frightening verbs: "Homosexual teachers have *invaded* the classrooms and the pulpits" (italics added), suggesting a horde of people virtually battering down the doors to get in and take over; (b) simplistic statements of cause and effect: "We are giving away the Panama Canal *so* we won't offend a leftist government" (italics added), as though all the complexities of that decision are reducible to our cringing before a brutal regime about to destroy us; (c) personal opinions offered as simple statements of fact: "America is the only hope for the Jews today. . . . God has blessed America because America has blessed the Jew." No doubt a Jewish reader can respond to those statements more authentically than a Protestant, but I would have thought that Israel might also be a hope for Jews today, rather than that America was the "only" hope, and I would have thought that it might be news to some Jews that "America has blessed the Jew," it being my understanding that such things as anti-Semitism, discrimination and ghettoization have not been unknown on our shores.

In addition to asking for money to "go into the halls of Congress and fight for laws that will protect the grand old flag," Falwell asks his readers to return a questionnaire so that he can tell the members of Congress just how Americans stand on the issues of abortion, pornography, homosexuals, school prayers and military strength. Once again, what could be fairer than that? Surely every citizen is entitled to do just as Falwell is doing. Agreed. But one has to be more than a little disturbed at the way the questions are framed in regard to the five issues listed. The questions are so designed that they almost force a "no" answer, giving Falwell an arsenal of

petitions, the results of which he has virtually dictated ahead of time. Examples: "Do you believe that smut peddlers should be protected by the U.S. Constitution, so they can openly sell pornographic materials to your children?" Who is likely to answer that question in the affirmative? But who, on the other hand, could believe that the complex issues of what constitutes pornography have been adequately laid out with that sort of wording? "Should school systems that receive federal funds be forced to hire known practicing homosexual teachers?" Who is likely to believe that schools should be "forced" to do that? But who, on the other hand, could feel that the issue of homosexuality has even been fairly considered in such a question? "Do you agree with the President's decision to break the treaty with Taiwan, betray our friends, and give the Russians military superiority by signing the SALT II Agreement?" Who is likely to endorse Presidential actions that "betray"? But who, on the other hand, could feel that the complexity of the text of SALT II has been fairly presented by such wording?

So much for exegesis. If the above paragraphs seem like nit-picking, I insist that in direct mailings, such as the letter represents, every word is chosen with extreme care, and the creation of attitudes is carefully manipulated.

Troubling Omissions

In broader terms, there are two other things about this position that disturb me deeply. One is contained not in what the letter says but in what it does not say. Falwell is a Christian minister, going into the halls of Congress with a mandate from God, and yet his silences, total silences, in areas where one would presume that a student of the Bible would have special sensitivities, are very disconcerting. We have much talk about things sexual, but we have not a word, not even a whisper, about the great concerns that characterize the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures — concerns for the poor, the oppressed, the victims; concern for the hungry and starving; concern for the issues of social justice that are writ large through the prophets. Where is the message about liberty to the captives, freedom to the oppressed, hope for the widowed and fatherless?

My other concern, not only with this letter but with many other things that Falwell and his friends say and do, is what I can only call a kind of breathtaking theological arrogance. These people on the Christian Right know exactly and unambiguously what God's will is on the most minute matters. A few days before the election, for example, Falwell told a group of 1500 people in Sacramento, California that "God is against the Equal Rights Amendment." Now that may or may not be true, but the notion of claiming that much of an inside track to the mind of the Almighty makes most statements of the doctrine of papal infallibility seem like instances of cringing modesty. When people claim to be mandated by God, one expects that there will be some congruence between what they say and what we have some notion are the things of which God might or might not approve. The total assurance is compounded by the equally total assurance that those who disagree are "godless," a proposition we have already examined. The logic of the position, whether directly articulated or not, unfolds in the following manner: This is what God believes, and God believes it exactly the way I am going

to state it, and if you don't agree with me you don't believe in God, and the problem with the world today is that too many people don't believe in God, and that makes them atheists, which is practically the same as Communists, and we've got to get rid of Communists because they threaten the American way of life and are sending the grand old flag down the drain, so we've got to get rid of you.

What is the alternative to the Moral Majority? It is not to create a precisely similar counterpart on the left that will retain the tactics and simply change the words. A very different mentality is called for. While there is every imperative to speak, lobby, persuade, act, and all the rest, there needs at least to be a kind of modesty about the absolute and total divine sanction resting over the claims of any group in political life. I am very uneasy with attempts to juxtapose words like "moral" and "majority." That seems to me in a fallen world to be almost a contradiction in terms. Truth is much more likely to come in small packages. I have no recollection that the prophets felt that they were speaking for majorities. The odds against Elijah were 400 to 1. Amos, Jeremiah, Ezekiel — they all kept getting run out of town. I do not think the Hebrew Scriptures talk about "moral majorities." I think they talk about "remnants." I do not find evidence that Jews have been more than a minority. And I reflect that when Christians ceased being a minority and became a moral majority (at the time of Constantine), it was bad news for everybody else. Conformism was introduced, conversions were forced, the Pope had armies, pogroms became common.

Moral Majority vs. Moral Minorities

No, the answer is not "moral majorities." It is more likely that truth will be preserved and even enhanced by moral minorities, those handfuls who refuse to knuckle under to majority opinions, who find and help sustain each other, who do not play the numbers game, and do not seek to get a kind of control that will enable them to suppress those who disagree with them. This means taking seriously the pluralistic situation in which we live which is healthy precisely because no one group or opinion has enough muscle to shove everybody else off stage. The trouble with moral *majorities* is that they begin to conceive of themselves as moral *monopolies*. And that is bad news for everybody else.

There need to be some new ground rules for the engagement of citizens in political life. They would involve such things as honoring the national and cultural pluralism that permits the holding of unpopular views; seeking the good of all and not just small segments of the population; presenting issues without demagoguery or cheating; acknowledging that problems are complex and that simplistic solutions will be wrong; and that ambiguities abound not only in the positions of one's opponents but in one's own positions as well.

With some such way of conducting political life, we might be able to create a moral minority that could propose convictions without arrogance, insight without absolutism, commitment without coercion, and democracy without demagoguery.

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Religion and Politics: A Lutheran Statement

The American Lutheran Church, The Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches and Lutheran Church in America firmly disagree with Christians or coalitions of Christians who plan political action under the guise of religious evangelism, worship or revivalism — or “in the name of Jesus.” These partner churches in the Lutheran Council support pluralism and freedom of all people in the political process in the United States and maintain that pushing for total agreement on moral issues is *not* the same as advocating for legislation which will enhance the common good. “Religious grounds” should not be used as the exclusive yardstick for determining the quality of candidates for political office. . . .

As Lutherans in the U.S., we recognize that an increasingly complex society has produced growing interdependence and interaction among groups, persons and resources in the governmental, economic and voluntary sectors. The government’s responsibilities to maintain equity and order have led both the churches and the state into greater contact and, at times, into tension. As governmental bodies seek to perform their roles and the churches seek to fulfill their missions, each needs to be aware of the other’s purposes, principles and methods. In their endeavors, both the churches and the government have the task of formulating and clarifying position statements and guidelines for implementation and application when appropriate. . . .

In affirming the principle of separation of church and state, Lutherans in the U.S. respectfully acknowledge and support the tradition that the churches and the government are to be separate in structure. As the Constitution provides, government neither establishes nor favors any religion. It also safeguards the rights of all persons and groups in society to the free exercise of their religious beliefs, worship, practices and organizational arrangements within the laws of morality, human rights and property. The government is to make no decisions regarding the validity or orthodoxy of any doctrine, recognizing that it is the province of religious groups to state their doctrines, determine their politics, train their leaders, conduct worship and carry on their mission and ministries without undue interference from government. . . .

Lutherans in the U.S. affirm the principle of functional interaction between the government and religious bodies in areas of mutual endeavor, so that such interaction assists the maintenance of good order, the protection and extension of civil rights, the establishment of social justice and equality of opportunity, the promotion of the general welfare and the advancement of the dignity of all persons. This principle underscores the Lutheran view that God rules both the civil and spiritual dimensions of life, making it appropriate for the

government and the churches to relate creatively and responsibly to each other.

Lutherans hold that their churches have the responsibility to describe and clarify to their members and to society the mission of the Lutheran churches and to determine, establish, maintain and alter the various forms through which that mission is expressed and structured. The distinctive mission of the churches includes the proclamation of God’s Word in worship, in public preaching, in teaching, in administration of the sacraments, in evangelism, in educational ministries, in social service ministries and in being advocates of justice for participants in the social order. According to Lutheran theology, the civil government’s distinctive calling by God is to maintain peace, to establish justice, to protect human rights and to promote the general welfare of all persons.

It is a misuse of terms to describe government and politics as godless or profane, because God rules both the civil and the spiritual dimensions of life. Thus it is unnecessary and unbiblical for any church group or individual to seek to “Christianize” the government or to label political views of members of Congress as “Christian” or “religious.” It is arrogant to assert that one’s position on a political issue is “Christian” and that all others are “un-Christian,” “immoral” or “sinful.” There is no “Christian” position; there are Christians who hold positions. Government under God employs reason and power for social justice, peace and freedom.

To describe one group’s political position as “The Christian Voice” and one movement’s political agenda as a movement “for Jesus” is wrongly judgmental. It is also an affront to Jewish and other religious advocates whose religions hold social justice as a social form of love of neighbor. Devout Christians and Jews agree and disagree between and among themselves regarding political decisions and can agree and disagree with nonbelievers. Advocacy for social justice is part of the mission of the churches according to Lutheran theology. Such advocacy may often bring disagreement on issues and votes as to how to strive for justice.

So we challenge members of Lutheran churches as evangelical Christians to worship and pray as Christian congregations. All persons need forgiveness. We also challenge all citizens and corporate religious groups to participate in the process of decision-making for the common good, and we encourage cooperation with other religious and voluntary associations in this work of advocacy.

This statement was issued by the Lutheran Council in the USA on behalf of The American Lutheran Church, The Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches and Lutheran Church in America.

Voices of Moderation

Twelve Points to Consider about the New Christian Right

Martin E. Marty

1. Don't underestimate and don't overestimate the new force.

Northeastern and West Coast urban media have not known how many people of intransigent and belligerent Catholic-Protestant stripe there are out there. They have been learning slowly. There are millions. Don't underestimate them. But don't overestimate them either. You will hear that there are 47 million mobilizable viewers of Right-Wing religious radio-TV alone. Maybe. Don't trust the media people who make the claim. Remember also that the number includes people in nursing homes, shut-ins, politically apathetic folk, unteachables who will never find their way to the polling places. Remember that people vote other self-interests, not merely creed. Fundamentalism in the 1930's (and earlier) had a populist tinge in the backcountry. Not all of that is gone. Not all fundamentalists will take instruction from distant communicators. Americans eventually learn to counter-organize, and sooner or later they will.

2. Understand their hurts and resentments.

Not everything in the perceptions of new Christian rightists is inaccurate. Their world *is* changing. Pluralism hits hard. The school-prayer issue from 1962-63 symbolizes its effects. Once communities were homogeneous. Catholics dominated Catholic wards, and a single Protestant ethos predominated in Protestant valleys and towns. More and more people of many faiths now have to share a single turf. California has had a Buddhist Senate chaplain. What is happening to Christian America? People do try to hold on to what they have, and they do not like to see change. The New Right is also correct in its perception that values associated with family, sex, living together, and the like are also changing. Many of these rightists contribute to the change: They have bought into the materialism-consumerism-glamorism. Who more than they want to claim the celebrities of the day? But they do not see their contribution to the changes.

Resentments? They have felt left out in everyone else's liberation. Women's, black, Chicano, gay, and other liberation movements leave them behind. The textbooks have been changed to accommodate the sensibilities of Jews, homosexuals, women, and the like. The only ethnic stereotypes one

can still use and misuse are WASP, redneck, or backwoods and, to a lesser degree, Catholic ethnic. As one such WASP once told me, "In all their exoduses and liberation plots, I'm Pharaoh." The left-out people not only want in, but they want to run the show. We will make no progress on this issue until the larger public sees the new Christian Right as a tribe that feels slighted.

3. Don't ever again trust people who say they are nonpolitical in churches or as churches.

They may seem quietistic for a time, but step on them and they will react, or give them some power and they will take more. Congress people do not quake this year because the United Methodist Church or the United Church of Christ has passed some social-action resolutions. These may make the members of those churches feel good (or bad) and may instruct some of them. But legislators fear them not. They pay little attention to the churches that a dozen years ago were constantly under criticism for meddling in politics or mixing church and state.

Today everything is different. Fundamentalists are people who claim an inerrant hold on an inerrant Bible. In 1968 that inerrant Bible told them inerrantly to profess that God and Caesar were to be kept apart and unconfused, and that Satan alone led churches to mingle in the political order. And now they have switched and admit it loudly. How they make that come out right with the same Bible one will not hear. The favorite ploy is to call their political involvements morality and piety, and their opponents mere politics. No way. Any time the program calls for settlement of issues through agitation, media attention, lobbying, election of candidates, balloting on propositions, and constitutional amendments, you have politics. They do not notice that the other side on these issues also claims that theirs is really a moral and theological impulse. There's no place to stand apart from politics.

4. Their theological assumption gives them power.

They will run into some fanatic opponents; I have met some of them, on the pro-abortion front, for example. But most of their opponents have a variety of political interests

and motivations, and refuse to focus everything on a particular set of issues. These opponents are ready to live with some measure of ambiguity, doubt, brokenness, partial claims and partial defeats and partial successes. That's politics. Politics is an art designed to minimize the inevitable violence that threatens human relations because societies are made of competing individuals and interest groups. You win some and you lose some. Not so for the Christian Right. Their theology includes a convenient conspiracy theory: The Devil made their enemies do it; God helps them do it, whatever *doing it* comes to mean. And the Devil has his agents on earth. Instead of seeing their complicity in change because they have bought into the system, they have to track down human conspirators. And once they locate them, they must block them in or eliminate them from the earth. This single-mindedness gives them great vision.

5. The new target will be humanism.

In the 1950's even moderate church people made a bogey out of secularism as the all-purpose scapegoat. Today the Christian Right wing is itself so secular in its general mode of existence that it needs a new foe. Watch as the months pass. More and more the leaders will focus on the words *humanism* or *humanist* when they set out on white chargers. That is too bad because there is a noble tradition called Christian humanism. Those of us in the humanities will suffer because we who teach the subjects are called humanists for different purposes.

The Minnesota State Humanities Commission people innocently sent out a teacher of the humanities and called him a circuit-rider for the humanities, (which is what I like to call myself). Confused Christian Rightists all but tarred and feathered him and he soon was off the road. To the rightists, humanism includes people who believe in God but not in the right way, people who do not serve their God their way, people who do not tell you whether they believe in God or not, many kinds of Jews, powers in education and the media, or whatever. It happens that there are many kinds of humanisms, but if you have anything to do with humanities or humanism, better duck.

6. These folks have a right to organize.

I sympathize with them when they are told that the American system allows them no space. We who rejoiced to see Catholic bishops speak up for change in laws having to do with segregation or for ending the war in Vietnam cannot now turn around and say they have no right to use their theological commitments on the issue of abortion. Now it happens that the Catholic bishops are the most moderate force across the front today. Yes, they are critical of abortion, but no one hates bishops more than Catholic fundamentalist fanatics, who want them to be single-issue types, who want them *not* to include issues of justice. The new Christian fundamentalist coalition did not invent single-issue politics, of course. For example, in the 1920's the grandparents of today's liberal Methodists refused to vote for anyone who favored repeal of Prohibition. In the late 1960's many peace-people refused to support any person with whom they might otherwise have agreed, if he or she favored staying in

the war. We cannot change the rules of the game now. We have to change minds, not merely complain.

7. Don't grant the fundamentalists in politics the claim that theirs is the Biblical program.

There are a few lines in the Bible critical of homosexuals. There are a few lines that the rightists can use to support their opposition to pornography or obscenity and their calls for restriction of freedom on that front. There are no lines they can use for their position on gun control, the Panama Canal, and the like. It takes a special reading of the Bible to use it against the Equal Rights Amendment. The Bible says many things about human life, but the case against abortion is not an unambiguous one. So much for their causes. Now look at the yards and meters of Biblical print spent on calls for justice and mercy and righteousness. Give the New Right leaders all they want for ten years and you will not hear these brought up. Concern for equal justice and for the rights of the poor dominates many a prophetic writing and never shows up here. Now that this new force has entered politics frontally, it merits this challenge: If you want a Biblical program, include more of the Bible.

8. They cannot win everything.

This New Right front looks united, but if it won part of its program, its own internal divisions would show. Take the school-prayer amendment. Some advocates say they would be content to have times of meditation in public-school classrooms, times which permit students to fill the silence however they wished. But more of them have other interests in mind. They want their Bible, their Genesis, their New Testament read. They want their children to fashion prayers out of their own sectarian traditions. Suppose a prayer amendment passed. Would that bring back a united, harmonious America? Never. It would make more visible the differences and pluralisms. In every school district in Utah it would be possible and probable that Latter-day Saint prayers would dominate and that the Book of Mormon be a scripture. What would the Baptists transferred there do? Do you think they would take it sitting down? But what could they do? They would be outvoted in that district and have no Constitution to appeal to. What would Jews do when the prayers are in the name of Jesus Christ, or Gentiles in predominantly Jewish classrooms where the New Testament would stand no chance? The disgruntled could only begin to work on repeal. I use that illustration to say that all things being equal, American pluralism has too many counterforces to yield this new fundamentalist right wing all that it wants.

9. Tactic: Counterorganize, confront, woo, win.

While the new fundamentalists will have many successes with their hit-and-run approach, as they did in Republican Alaska, they have to count on sudden action and surprise. Given time there can be counterorganization. People who have been asleep might waken as they see their voices silenced or their rights removed in the name of Christian America. By the way, count on the rise of a new anti-

clericalism and a new antichurchism among many now congenial people who will find their candidates and themselves crowded out. People will not leave the New Right because they are belittled or derided into leaving. Instead they have to be confronted with the need to do fresh and deep thinking about the consequences of their commitments. They have to be challenged to show concern for the larger republic and not only their own absolutist causes. Given time, the counterforces will likely emerge. It is hard to change American consciousness fast enough this year to blunt the attacks of this right wing.

10. The new Christian Right is part of a worldwide turning.

I do not favor self-fulfilling prophecies. And that means just as in 1968 it was valid to oppose those who spelled it Amerika and said we were turning fascist, so now it is premature, and I hope inaccurate, to say that the Christian fundamentalist coalition portends a fascist America. All things being equal, our political pluralism is rich enough and our human resources resourceful and resilient enough that we can keep from being overwhelmed now, as we have kept from such outcomes before. Now not all things are always equal, and the circumstances of life could vastly change. The world is not moving toward toleration but away from it. The age is not, in many ways, a time of ecumenical convergence but of tribal divergence and separation. (And the new American Christian Right did not invent that.) It is not an age of the end of ideology; many liberation theologies are as fanatic and unresponsive to criticism, as theologically sure of themselves as is the force we are talking about today. The future, say many prognosticators, may find the world divided less over nation than over religio-cultural-ethnic-tribal differences. The Enlightenment is long past, and its leaders were not above being tribal either. This all means that we do have to stay alert. The 200-year-old American experiment with religious freedom was late, small, fragile, and perhaps designed to be mortal. The advocates of a Christian America would help put an end to it. They will not begin to do that through the ordinary processes of an ordinary political year. In many campaigns you won't know they exist and won't need to.

Their hour would come in a time when we cannot say, "all things being equal." Should there be a barn-burning, back-busting depression in America in a decade; should there be an outburst of violence and terrorism which citizens would wish to put down by creating a surveillance society; should there be a total social(ist) reorganization of the economy — how would we legitimate the shifts? It never seems likely to me that we would do it through Marx or Mao. We would use Jesus and call the program Christian Democracy. To envision this as a possibility is *not* to predict that it will come tomorrow. There are counterforces.

11. The new situation makes open and mainline churches newly relevant.

This is a time to listen. To see whether we have contributed unthinkingly to a way of life that makes the fundamentalist rightism plausible to so many. Have we indulged only in our

doubts, been simple relativists, unready to hear words of plausible authority? Have we sometimes trampled the rights of others? And on the positive side, does not the republic need what Edmund Burke called little platoons against the new Leviathan? Mainline churches claim to be made up of people with deep Christian commitment who have also learned to be civil and to care about the public order. Energies poured into deepening the commitment to faith *and* civility will run against every trend of the time. But since nothing seems to be going well as we follow those trends, it might be time to try some alternatives. If the mainline churches (and synagogues) are on the one hand wishy-washy and on the other lusting after the *kinds* of authority that the new fundamentalisms assert, they will fail in their own mission.

12. Don't push all theological conservatives into the same camp.

It was stupid for Americans during the 1950's crusade against atheistic communism to make one thing out of all socialisms, *pace* Solzhenitsyn, who tries to do it today. Today we regret having once given a single creed to Mao and Marx when even tactically it would have been wise to play them against each other. Today we regret the death of Tito, though 20 years ago we were asked to see him as a carbon copy of Stalin. It may not be stupid, but it is not fair for the new fundamentalists to lump everyone with whom they disagree into a single category called humanist.

If all that is true, then it is important for other Americans to make distinctions between partisans of conservative camps. Many Roman Catholics are strict constructionists on the abortion issue and advocates of social justice on many other fronts. That's where the bishops are; read their proposals. There are vast differences in conservative Protestantism between mean fundamentalists and non-mean ones. Millions of people simply want to serve God; they love Jesus, they live by the Spirit, and they are not out to get you. Why force them into the same camp with the mean people on white chargers who are out to get you? And why clump evangelicals and fundamentalists? Why overlook the fact that evangelicalism today is highly diverse politically? That it provides some of the most pointed social criticism available in America today? That some of its political advocacies — I think of the sorts embodied in *Reformed Journal* — are rooted in forms of Reformation humanism that are not socially radical but allow for criticism and transformation? And on and on.

In sum, America is awakening to the presence of a new militancy, one that is part of a worldwide network of people who have given up on pluralism. The militants want to impose by legal fiat the name Christian on a diverse society. They have won some elections this year and colored others. They will pass some analysts by and lead others to premature panic. They are met best by listeners, by understanders of their grievances, by people who try to draw them from ideology into the zone of political give-and-take. The message again: Don't underestimate them. Don't overestimate them.

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The Christian Right: Some Reflections Ronald B. Sobel

Protestant evangelical beliefs and in recent months particularly Protestant evangelical power, variously described as the Religious Right or the Christian Right, have become the subject of much public attention. In order to understand this phenomenon, a little historical background may be helpful.

In 1919 the World Christian Fundamentals Association was established. In 1925 the Scopes trial took place. Biblical literalism was the major issue on the list of the fundamentalists' "fundamentals." The polemics were often bitter, and the more the parties became polarized the more the fundamentalists became an isolated block within Protestantism. In the 1930's, many second-generation members of the fundamentalist movement, eager to become more open to the general culture of the country, often preferred to refer to themselves as "evangelicals," a term they felt to be less exclusivistic, less implicative of the crusader's spirit.

Support for Israel

Though evangelicals usually tend to be conservative in theology as well as politics, they are far from a monolithic movement. For example, the type of Biblical literalism that has characterized fundamentalist theology has been and continues to be challenged in several of the largest, conservative Protestant denominations. Both the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church and the Southern Baptist Church have been rocked in recent years by what is called the "Battle of the Bible." Furthermore, the "radical evangelical" movement has been gaining strength, especially through the influence of the magazine *Sojourners*. These so-called "radical evangelicals," with whom Senator Mark Hatfield is closely associated, tend to be conservative in theology but liberal in politics.

The priorities in the evangelical agenda have shifted too. While the great issues of the 1920's were tobacco, liquor, theater, dancing and card playing, today they are abortion, homosexuality, pornography, ERA, SALT II. Yet the issue of Darwinian evolution and Biblical creation was still considered serious enough to be introduced into the recent Presidential campaign.

Today's really dramatic change is the one that has taken place among that segment of the evangelicals called the Christian Right, who have sought to translate the power of the pulpit, magnified by TV into a campaign for political votes and power. Enthusiasm for this new strategy is far from universal in evangelical circles, as is evidenced by Southern Baptist leader Jimmy Allen's opposition to fellow Baptist Jerry Falwell. Other internal tensions exist as well. The "evangelical vote" may yet have proven to be as illusive as

the "Catholic vote," the "Jewish vote" or the "black vote."

As for the so-called "electronic church," a term including all who utilize radio or television, whether mainliners or fundamentalists, to communicate their special message, it is difficult, if not impossible, to describe a single set of beliefs as normative. There are, however, a few hallmarks of contemporary evangelical theology which can be identified.

1) Evangelism, the *raison d'être* of the programs, is understood to mean evoking decisions or commitments to Jesus Christ, so as to be saved. The argument runs that if America will ever make a decision for God, it too may be saved from the forces threatening it from within and without.

2) Belief in Satan and demons as personal, active enemies is nearly universal. Satan is the enemy of America, a land raised up by God to be His instrument of order and righteousness in the world.

3) It is America which must battle with the Anti-Christ when he surfaces, with Gog and Magog generally portrayed as the U.S.S.R. and Communism, who will have to be fought in the Middle East and at Armageddon.

4) Satan is also at work inside America, in the forces of secular humanism, socialism, homosexuality, immorality and whatever other forces threaten the traditional, male-dominated nuclear family.

5) Pre-millennialism is defined as Jesus' return to rule the world from Israel.

6) Post-millennialism is referred to as the "big bang" theory of the world's end, with the final battle likely to take place at Armageddon.

Christian Beliefs about Jews

It is perhaps best to retain a healthy sense of skepticism. While none will deny that demagoguery can be dangerous to a democracy's health, right-wrong rhetoric emanating from the right and the left is nothing new. The Reverend Jesse Jackson and others from the left recently engaged in quite a bit of it with respect to Middle East issues, while mainline Protestant leaders seemed blissfully unconcerned. The National Council of Churches issues statements on nuclear energy and the need for the U.S. government to recognize the P.L.O. and calls it "prophetic witness." But when evangelicals oppose government funding for abortions and support the State of Israel, the same National Council of Churches calls it "single-issue politics."

Religion plus political involvement can add up as a threat to civil liberties and civil rights, but not necessarily. A valid Jewish prophetic tradition exists, beginning with Amos, that

through the ages has spoken with passion about social-political issues: a tradition which has been the cornerstone of the work of ADL and like-minded Jewish organizations. The doctrine of church-state separation ought never to be used to silence the voices of those who wish to speak out on issues in the name of their religious convictions and who seek to persuade others to vote accordingly. In the end, all political movements are inspired by a certain faith, a certain metaphysics or ideology. The greatness of the American political system is in its allowing for free interplay among a diversity of beliefs, even at the risk of tolerating the intolerant.

While the doctrine of the separation of church and state does not mean silencing the religious voice or vote in the political process, it does imply resistance to a narrow sectarian approach to politics. And that is precisely where the rub lies; some of the statements made by representatives of the Christian Right arouse profound concern among many Americans. European history clearly teaches that sectarian domination of the political process can in the end be maintained only through oppression. History also shows that the first to suffer from a narrow "Christian" definition of society are invariably the Jews.

Movement Not Monolithic

It is true that some of the staunchest supporters of the State of Israel in the United States are to be found among conservative, evangelical Christians. It is also true that their particularistic, theological views raise questions that cast doubt upon Judaism's authenticity and integrity. There are many thoughtful and informed Jews, however, who do not subscribe to the view that we must first come to an agreement with evangelical Christians on a millennial theology before we can work with them on common concerns and visions. Israel, a survival issue for the Jewish people, needs all the friends it can get in a world where too many people, including too many mainline church leaders, forget all too soon what forces of destruction can be unleashed upon the earth when nations follow the road of expediency and prejudicial propaganda reigns supreme. Our gratitude for voices that speak out in defense of a beleaguered Israel, however, ought not cause us to declare a moratorium on criticism when we believe that not only our Jewish interests and integrities but the interests and integrities of the American people as a whole are at stake.

The answer to narrow sectarianism is not an absolute and valueless secularism. In a sense, both these approaches are simplistic attempts to resolve an inner tension inherent in every society. What is the role of religion in shaping a culture? What are the fundamental values that underlie the ordering of a society? To what extent do Jews and Christians share common perspectives on such questions? We certainly need to talk with each other about such issues.

Instead of panicking about what we perceive to be the growing power of the Christian Right in American politics, we ought to accentuate the pluses we have in our relationships with evangelicals. One of these pluses is our common concern about Israel. It is ironic that the topic of Israel, which in recent years has made our contact with mainline churches and their councils of churches increasingly difficult, is the very subject that opens up opportunities for dialogue with the evangelicals. This is not going to be a painless process. The

recent assertion by the president of the Southern Baptist Convention that God does not hear the prayer of a Jew gives some indication of what we have to cope with.

For such expressions stem from deep and strongly held theological beliefs. The fact is that the statement of the Reverend Bailey Smith does not necessarily reflect hostility towards Jews, but it does mirror a prevalently held mission among Christians, irrespective of political ideology, to bring the "good news" to "unredeemed Christians and Jews." What we must guard against is that religious orthodoxy misunderstood becomes religious imperialism, which creates serious problems.

Healthy Skepticism

We have only to refer to ADL's *Patterns of American Prejudice* series, a monumental study undertaken in cooperation with the University of California, and specifically the volume entitled *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism*. The findings revealed that the acceptance of orthodox Christian beliefs leads to a particularistic religious orientation in which only "right-thinking" Christians are seen as saved and all others damned. These views in turn are associated with hostile feelings towards Jews — which have both an historical dimension (Jews being held responsible for the crucifixion) and contemporary effects (Jews being condemned for their rejection of Jesus as savior). Such religious beliefs, finally, are associated with secular forms of anti-Semitism. Christian lay persons and ministers holding these conceptions, the ADL study found, hold disproportionately prejudiced attitudes toward Jews.

While the churches today do not openly preach anti-Semitism and, in fact, officially reflect positions of reconciliation and rapprochement, in reality the orthodox Christianity reflected by some scattered segments of the Christian Right continues to serve as agents in America of anti-Semitic actions. It does so by introducing a set of assumptions that provide reasons for people to dislike Jews. While not everyone who accepts these assumptions draws from them the same hostile conclusions about Jews, the majority of theologically conservative church people do make such connections. Thus, despite the expressions of an American religious pluralism, Christianity continues to have a strong impact upon what people think about Jews.

There will be times when we will feel a deep sense of disappointment with our dialogue partners — or we may find the opportunities for meaningful dialogue temporarily absent. But through it all, the chances of developing greater sensitivity towards each other's views and feelings should not be underestimated.

Tolerance must not become a bad word among us. Yet frustration and fear often lead people to destructive actions. It is therefore important that we recognize the concerns that are alive in broad circles in the country today. For instance, there is a genuine fear abroad that tolerance has come to mean indifference, permissiveness and total relativism. Calling worried people extremists is probably one of the fastest ways to drive them into the arms of extremists, who are eagerly waiting to recruit people for their hate campaigns. For tolerance is best nurtured only in an environment where people listen to each other and learn to respect each other.

Rabbi Sobel, spiritual leader of Temple Emanu-El in New York City, is chairman of ADL's National Program Committee.

Books in Review Theodore Freedman

FORTY YEARS A GUINEA PIG

E. Frederic Morrow. New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1980, 235 pp. \$10.95.

This autobiography describes the efforts of an upwardly mobile black to break through the racism of American society. It begins with the author's admittance, in 1926, to Bowdoin College, and the attitudes he encountered there from students and faculty. Greatest attention is paid, however, to his years spent in the military and working for the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower as well as to his role as a presidential assistant under Eisenhower and to his later efforts in behalf of Richard Nixon's election.

Morrow emerges as a fighter confronting head-on affronts and obstacles that would have turned back a weaker person, and as a self-appointed representative of all blacks. He was outspoken to the point of risk not only of physical attack but also of embarrassing the establishment. While he met each challenge with dignity and talent, his recollections are often strident and bitter, owing in part to his seeing himself as alone in the battle for civil rights. Morrow has proved a loyal worker for the Republican Party, believing and continuing to believe that, in the long run, blacks fare better under its administration. But that does not mean that he fails to recognize the racism within the party's ranks and leadership.

Morrow concludes with a poignant appeal to all Americans — black and white — to get on with the unfinished job of providing full equality for black Americans. But his strongest appeal is directed toward the black community itself, whose achievers he challenges: they can sit on their hands, he says, and let the "zealous but not necessarily knowledgeable persons do the job."

But, one of the dangers is that this offers fertile ground for the rise of false prophets and self-anointed leaders. In so many cities today, anyone who leads a picket line, makes a flamboyant public statement, resists the status quo, or forms a cult to overthrow anything, is deemed and, unblushingly, called "a leader."

Morrow closes with the same hope and tenacity which permeated his years of personal struggle. "Despite the bitter memories of the past," he writes, "I shall not turn back, nor sit in a corner and sulk away my remaining days. I remain a true believer that, with God's help, we shall overcome someday, someday."

REVOLUTION IN JUDAEA: Jesus and the Jewish Resistance

Hyam Maccoby. New York: Taplinger, 1980, 256 pp. \$9.95.

Modern Biblical scholarship has attempted to show that the picture received from Gospel accounts of Palestine in Jesus' time may well be distorted, according to Hyam Maccoby. By omitting everything of political significance from

their accounts, the Gospels present a misleading view of a populist movement led by Jesus.

For example, Judaea's being in a state of seething discontent with Roman rule and constantly erupting with revolutionary or apocalyptic movements is scarcely mentioned in Scriptures. The author argues that Jesus was in fact a leader of the Jewish resistance against Roman occupation; he was a man of action, and his public speaking had strong political implications, i.e., as a preacher of the "kingdom of God" Jesus was in fact announcing the end of Roman rule.

Writes Maccoby:

Jesus tried to bring about the kingdom of God on earth, and he failed; but the meaning of his life is in the attempt, not in the failure. As a Jew, he fought not against some metaphysical evil but against Rome. Yet the movement which denied his life by deifying him misrepresented him as being opposed to the people whom he most loved and on whose behalf he fought. It was an entirely fitting outcome that this movement, Gentile-Christianity, made a successful accommodation with Rome and became the official religion of the Empire which crucified Jesus.

Hyam Maccoby, former Domus Exhibitioner in Classics at Balliol College, Oxford, and currently Librarian of the Leo Baeck College in London, offers a highly readable and provocative view of Jesus' life and times.

Recently Received

A CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY OF JUDAISM

by Clemens Thoma, tr. by Helga Croner. New York: Paulist Press, 1980, 211 pp. \$7.95.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST — 1919-1945

by Phillip J. Baram. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978, 343 pp. \$27.50.

GHETTO IN FLAMES

by Yitzhak Arad. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and ADL, 1980, 500 pp. \$17.50.

JERUSALEM Problems and Prospects

edited by Joel L. Kraemer. New York: Praeger, 1980, 243 pp. \$9.95.

THE LOST JEWS

Last of the Ethiopian Falashas

by Louis Rapoport. New York: Stein and Day, 1980, 264 pp. \$13.95.

THE POPULATION OF ISRAEL

by Dov Friedlander and Calvin Goldscheider. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979, 240 pp. \$19.50.

WHITE TEACHER

by Vivian Gussin Paley. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1979, 140 pp. \$8.95.

JERUSALEM: Problems and Prospects

edited by Joel L. Kraemer; introduction by Teddy Kollek

Jerusalem is one of the oldest cities in the world and has been coveted and conquered by a host of peoples throughout its history. The site of the Temple of the Jews, of the crucifixion of Jesus, and of Muhammad's ascension to Heaven — the reasons why men have fought and died for this city are thousands of years old.

This book looks at the city's history in order to better understand the present situation. The contributors, all experts in the field of contemporary Middle Eastern affairs and Israeli government, examine such topics as Jerusalem under the Ottomans, British and Jordanians; Israeli policy in the city after reunification; the Christian establishment in Jordan; and the demographic and economic developments in the city since 1967. Through a comparison of other heterogeneous cities, such as Brussels, Montreal, and Belfast, the editors discuss various options available for solving the problems of Jerusalem.

Essential reading for students of political science, the Middle East and Jewish studies, as well as the general reader interested in contemporary Jerusalem, this book defines a complex area of study and provides a rich background for formulating new policy.

Joel L. Kraemer is chairman of the Department of Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University.

245 pp./List price: \$9.95

Published by Praeger Publishers in cooperation with The Jerusalem Foundation.

JERUSALEM

Problems and Prospects

Edited by
JOEL L. KRAEMER

Introduction by
Teddy Kollek

IMAGES FROM THE BIBLE

The Words of Elie Wiesel

The Paintings of Shalom of Safed

Introduction by Daniel Doron

A work both unique and traditional, combining the talents of one of America's major writers and Israel's best-known artist, which will be cherished for many years to come.

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Elie Wiesel, foremost writer on Judaism and author of many books — most recently *The Trial of God* — lives in New York City. Shalom of Safed, who died in January, 1980, at the age of 85, attained a reputation as the leading exponent of naive art on religious themes.

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IMAGES FROM THE BIBLE

THE PAINTINGS OF SHALOM OF SAFED

THE WORDS OF ELIE WIESEL



SO IT WAS TRUE The American Protestant Press and the Nazi Persecution of the Jews

Robert W. Ross

How much did American Protestants know about the Nazi persecution of European Jews before and during World War II? Very little, many of them claimed in the postwar years. Robert W. Ross challenges that answer in this comprehensive analysis of the ways in which Protestant journals ranging from *The Christian Century* to *The Arkansas Baptist* reported and editorialized on the subject from 1933 through 1945. Tracing coverage from the time of the Nuremberg Laws to the Kristallnacht and the era of the death camps, Ross finds conflicting reports and disputed evidence, yet, on the whole, a pervasive attempt to inform readers about the persecution. The resultant "Silence" — the fact that so few American Protestants paid attention to these reports or acted upon their knowledge — has created a moral dilemma for theologians in the years since the war.

Ross's meticulous examination of the written evidence reveals that by 1943 Protestant journals had fully reported the Nazi persecution of Europe's Jews: deportation and massacre, gas chambers, crematoria, and starvation, the transport trains and the death camps. Yet the reports were often couched in skepticism, reflecting the editors' fear that they might be fooled by propaganda — false atrocity stories during World War I had taught them to doubt. Even by July 1944, when the Russian army liberated the death camp Majdanek, editor Charles Clayton Morrison of *The Christian Century* was reluctant to part with his assumptions about wartime propaganda. Not till he saw pictures of a death camp in the spring of

1945 was Morrison convinced: "The thing is well-nigh incredible," he wrote. "But it happened."

"So It Was True!" This headline in *The Signs of the Times* is, for Ross, an apt summary of editorial reaction — mingled surprise, despair, and resignation — in the spring of 1945. Analyzing the kinds of neglect that characterized the Silence, Ross points to the absence of moral outrage as a major failing, and contrasts it with the passionate editorial reaction to the dropping of the atom bomb. By late 1945, he notes, European Jews had almost disappeared from the pages of American Protestant journals; they had become part of a larger mass of "displaced persons." Ross's assessment of both the press coverage and the Silence makes *So It Was True* a valuable report on an issue of enduring significance.

Robert W. Ross is an associate professor in religious studies and student affairs at the University of Minnesota, and he writes from the perspective of an active Protestant churchman.

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Published by the University of Minnesota Press



GHETTO IN FLAMES:

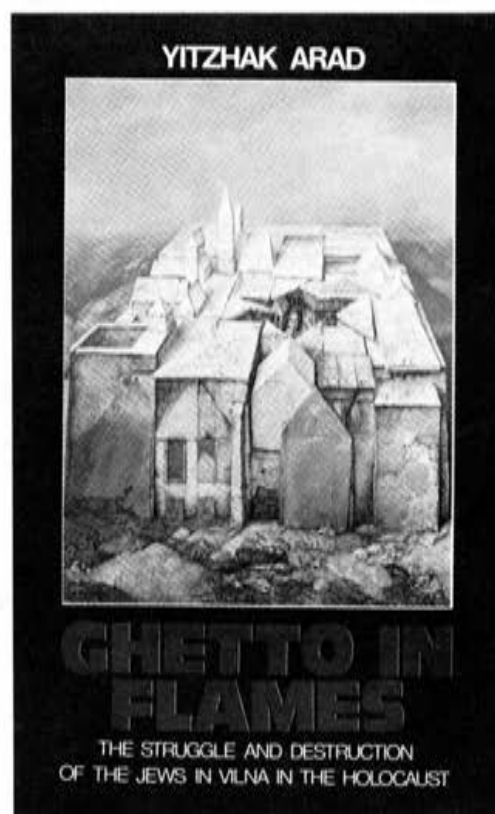
The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust by Yitzhak Arad

Ghetto in Flames is given over to the tragedy of the Jews of Vilna, once famous for its vibrant Jewish cultural life, and known for generations as the "Jerusalem of Lithuania." The author describes the history of the Jews in Vilna from the outbreak of World War II and relates the premeditated destruction of that flourishing community by Nazi Germany between 1941 and 1944. The Jews of Vilna endured most of the edicts and persecutions that the Germans inflicted upon European Jewry at large, from expropriation to deportations and annihilation. Despite this cruel reality, Vilna Jewry attempted to fight back — in the ghetto and the forests — seeking means of rescue and survival. Jewish Vilna endured the majority of the hardships and torments of the Holocaust, and the community's responses sum up most of the options generally available to Jews during this tragic era. The fate of Vilna Jewry was a microcosm of what befell most Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. *Ghetto in Flames* presents a detailed account of the last chapter in the chronicles of Jewish Vilna.

Yitzhak Arad, born near Vilna, is a reserve brigadier in the Israeli army and chairman of the Board of Directors of Yad Vashem.

500 pp./List price: \$17.50

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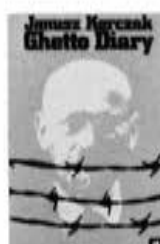
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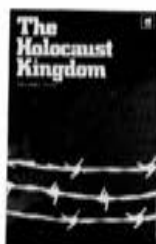
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Gideon Hausner

Introduction by Barbara W. Tuchman

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Center for Studies on the Holocaust**

JOY AND RESPONSIBILITY

Israel, Modernity and the Renewal of Judaism

David Hartman

Today's Jew lives in a technologically advanced secular society. Can *Halakhah*, that body of Jewish laws, ethics and rituals which has sustained traditional Judaism over the centuries help the contemporary Jew face the complex challenges of modernity? The author of this collection of provocative essays, an eminent Jewish thinker of our time, discusses the place of Judaism in the contemporary world and elaborates a possible *halakhic* approach to the dilemmas of "secular man."

In the author's view the *halakhic* tradition is not properly understood in the West. Secular Jews, who do not feel bound by *halakhic* authority, do not even know what it is or what spiritual meaning it may have in their lives. Christian thinkers, too, automatically identify this type of Judaism with dogmatic obedience to merciless legalism. Hartman's conception is that *Halakhah* is not a yoke or burden but an elevation, and that there is "joy and responsibility" in following the commandments. He shows *Halakhah* to be a religious system uniquely responsive to human needs. His philosophy of Judaism is a major contribution towards understanding the psychological and philosophical connections between joy and normative responsibility. The human personality which emerges from his sensitive and profound analysis of Judaism seeks spiritual communion with modern secular man and fully appreciates and shares in the moral opportunities and enlarged responsibilities of technological society today. Particular emphasis is placed on the rebirth of Israel which provides a unique opportunity for a rewarding interrelationship between tradition and modernity.

To Hartman, religious faith is not a ready-made solution to life's problems; it is the perseverance in life's struggle. The truly religious man is not the simple man of blind faith, but the person whose faith is born of serious questioning about the meaning of life. The issues facing the modern Jew confront each and everyone of us, Christian or Jew: the breakdown of the family, secularism and the threat of technology, the crisis of personal identity, moral values in a changing world — these are some of the salient ones. Hartman encourages the individual to explore new options for living, create new life styles, discover new ways of self-expression, embrace the opportunities of modernity without abandoning tradition and, above all, meet the tensions of living in two worlds fearlessly and responsibly. The volume will appeal to rabbis, Jewish educators and knowledgeable lay persons as well as to scholars and students of Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations in the Christian community.

David Hartman has served as rabbi and teacher in the U.S. and Canada and currently lives in Jerusalem where he lectures in Jewish Philosophy at the Hebrew University. He is a popular speaker and is an advisor to the Israeli Ministry of Education.

286 pp./\$12.50

David Hartman

JOY and RESPONSIBILITY

Israel, Modernity and the Renewal of Judaism

ON READING DAVID HARTMAN: A Study Guide to Joy and Responsibility

James Ponet and Bernard Steinberg

This thought-provoking study guide is a companion piece to David Hartman's book *Joy and Responsibility*. Prepared by the co-directors of The Jerusalem Seminar Series of the Shalom Hartman Institute, the study guide is a good introduction to the book and to the world of thought of the popular rabbi and author. It consists of six discussions, each revolving around a central theme of the book, as follows: *Joy and Responsibility*; *Living with Uncertainty*; *Living in Two Worlds*; *Tradition and Modernity*; *Living in Reality*; *The Meaning of Israel*; *On Creation and Idolatry*; *What is Halakhah?*

Each discussion outlines a theme, and then, with the aid of questions for further consideration, directs the reader to the various essays in the book in which this theme is developed. The questions suggest a pathway through the book, although it remains for the individual reader to make his own connections between essays.

Individuals and groups — rabbis, Jewish educators and knowledgeable lay persons, scholars and students of Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations — can use the discussions as vehicles for generating study of some of Hartman's most basic insights.

38 pp./\$1.50 (Free with purchase of book)

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A BULLETIN OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND RESEARCH
IN ISRAEL

Published By
THE ECUMENICAL THEOLOGICAL RESEARCH
FRATERNITY IN ISRAEL

in cooperation with

The Interfaith Affairs Department
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

IMMANUEL aims to meet the considerable academic interest in recent developments in Israel in the religious and theological areas and helps foster a better understanding between Christians and Jews.

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We are how many?

In late November, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, proposed that it is "no coincidence that the rise of right wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since the end of World War II." In Schindler's view—with which we here are in sympathy—it signifies a lack of self-respect among Jews when we rush to ingratiate ourselves with the Christian right, and it demonstrates a misunderstanding of the Jewish self-interest that we seek "to embrace forces that are anathema to every value in the Jewish ethical system."

The proper response of the Jewish community to the Christian right is a subject of very intense debate these days. Many who have expressed themselves on the subject have taken pains to note that the Christian right is hardly monolithic, and there cannot, therefore, be a single response. Others, stressing the commitment of some of the fundamentalist groups to Israel's security, have urged an alliance of convenience. Still others—we among them—have expressed the view that any move to alliance with the Christian right will necessarily further alienate us from moderate Christian groups, and will surely distress many of our own people.

A healthy debate.

Important and complex questions. Now, however, comes Rabbi Abraham Hecht, president of the Rabbinical Alliance of America, who brands Schindler's charge as "scurrilous and inane," and goes on to insist that Schindler's "irreligious policies are a much greater threat to the existence and future of the Jewish people than any other religious group in America, past, present or future."

This is not the first evidence of a dreary and dangerous inability, within the Jewish community, to sustain serious debate on pressing issues. Reckless allegations that this or that spokesman with whom one differs is, in effect, an enemy of the Jewish people are increasingly common—and a disgrace. In the case at hand, our fundamentalists are, apparently, more comfortable with their fundamentalists than they are with us. So be it. If Rabbi Hecht finds the company of Reverend Bailey Smith more congenial than the company of Rabbi Alexander Schindler, he is welcome to that myopia. Quite likely, Rabbi Hecht does not believe that God Almighty listens to Rabbi Schindler's prayers. If that be so, is not Rabbi Hecht's position at least as grave a threat to the welfare of the Jews as Reverend Smith's? And if it is, where are the responsible voices that condemn such boorishness?

A MOMENT with . . .



Shimon Peres



Yitzhak Rabin

Last month, Israel's Labor Party named Shimon Peres (over Yitzhak Rabin) as its candidate for Prime Minister in the forthcoming elections. Back in 1976, before Mr. Begin's accession to power, when Mr. Peres was Israel's Minister of Defense, we had a lengthy interview with him. (Readers who go back that far will find the interview in the February 1976 issue.) Some of Mr. Peres' remarks at that time remain relevant today and provide a glimpse of the man thought most likely to succeed Mr. Begin.

*From MOMENT MAGAZINE
Feb - Mar 1981*

לשכת ראש הממשלה
PRIME MINISTER'S BUREAU

no further

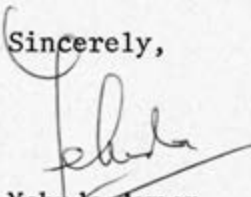
Jerusalem, February 19, 1981

Mr. A. M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex,

The Prime Minister has asked me
to thank you for your note and enclosure
of January 30, in reference to the Moral
Majority.

Sincerely,


Yehuda Avner
Adviser to the
Prime Minister

January 30, 1981

Mr. Yechiel Kadishai
Director
Office of the Prime Minister
Knesset
Jerusalem
ISRAEL

Dear Yechiel:

Enclosed is a copy of Senator Church's reaction to my comments on the Moral Majority. The boss may be interested in this response.

With warmest regards, I am

Fondly,

Alexander M. Schindler

January 26, 1981

Mr. Yechiel Kadishai, Director
The Prime Minister's Office
Knesset
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Yechiel:

Thank you for your many courtesies during my flying visit to Israel. It's always a pleasure to see you. I know you prefer me to come to Israel with Rhea but she chose skiing in Switzerland over you -- that's not my fault is it?

While I chatted with your boss the subject of the Moral Majority came up and I told him I was troubled not just from a long range point of view of how their goals and methodology will impact on American democracy, that is to say the inimical effect it has on it, but also I am troubled that Israel will be seen in alliance with a political force which has made it its business to eliminate some of Israel's staunchest supporters from the Senate. During the last election they targetted ten such Senators and certainly were responsible for destroying Frank Church of Idaho. And, immediately after the last election they published another hit list which includes the names of Metzenbaum, Kennedy and, would you believe, Henry Jackson. On grounds of both honor and pride I feel that Israel should not go to bed with the political assassins of some of our best friends over the decades.

The boss was surprised by all this and said, "I never heard about this Jackson matter." I promised to give him more information and just perchance the enclosed article by Leslie Gelb appeared in this week's Sunday Times, making reference to it. Please show it to him.

Again, my thanks for your kindness. With warmest regards,
I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

January 23, 1981

Dr. Samuel I. Cohen
Executive Vice President
Jewish National Fund
42 East 69th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Dr. Cohen:

Forgive the delay in responding to your letter of December 30. My schedule has had me travelling almost constantly these past weeks, including a visit to Israel.

Thank you for clarifying the situation. I do regret the inclusion of James Robinson in my criticism.

However, I believe my essential point remains. Moreover, I can tell you that I get inquiries about JNF and Falwell in almost every community I visit. No doubt this comes from the publicity JNF gives to this connection in its own publications. If you dismiss the disquiet about the JNF-Falwell connection by attributing it to my speech, you will be making a terrible mistake. Like Senator Church at the Jabotinsky dinner, many of Israel's warmest friends and supporters are uneasy about this new and strange connection with the new right.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

**JEWISH
NATIONAL
FUND**

42 EAST 69TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021
PHONE: (212) 879-9300

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
DR. SAMUEL I. COHEN

*He V
How do I respond?
Am S.*

December 30, 1980

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York City 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I am taking this opportunity to express several reactions to references to the JNF contained in your "Report of the President of the UAHC to the Board of Trustees," November 21, 1980, as well as to statements emanating from the report that appeared in the press.

To quote your report: "And JNF groves are named in honor of them both. It is madness--and suicidal as well," referring to Jerry Falwell and to James Robison, as mentioned in your report (or evangelist Pat Robinson, as mentioned in several published press reports).

Just to keep the record straight, there is a forest in Israel called the Liberty Forest, near Nazareth, which has been endowed by Jerry Falwell as a practical symbol of his support of the State of Israel. As for his fellow evangelist, we have had no communication whatsoever with Mr. Robinson, nor do we know of any grove in Israel bearing his name.

The very clear inference of your comment "And JNF groves are named in honor of both of them" is that the JNF has bestowed upon Reverend Jerry Falwell and his colleague some sort of an honor or honorary recognition. This is simply not true. Jerry Falwell committed himself to a contribution of \$50,000 to sponsor a forest. Yes, we solicited him. He responded. Plain old fashioned fund-raising, nothing more, nothing less. Incidentally, he promised to make good his pledge within one year and so far he's already given us \$30,000. This is public knowledge within JNF circles.

Would you have taken the time to check with us for the facts, you might have avoided your incorrect statement and inference.


To be perfectly frank with you, when I saw your report I was really shocked by the tone of the reference to the JNF. My colleagues and I were discussing and speculating the probable reactions from your office had anyone (in any other Jewish organizational statement) made similar cavalier references to the UAHC.

With regard to Jerry Falwell, he joins a long and distinguished list of Christian clergymen of all political orientations who have expressed their love for the "Holy Land" in a tangible and supportive manner, through the Jewish National Fund. Indeed, to reverse your comment, it is they who honor us through their tree-planting programs for Israel.

So...without debating or even commenting on your overall thesis, I just want to indicate that you could and should have been more judicious in the selection of an illustration to make your point.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,



Dr. Samuel I. Cohen

SIC:dd

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Some counsel for the new man in the Oval Office from an old Washington hand.

By Leslie H. Gelb

By now, you have received a barrelful of memos telling you how to organize the Government, making it very clear who your friends and enemies will be and explaining how you can solve most problems by applying the best business techniques to the business of running the Government. However, if your transition period is anything like that of your predecessors, no one has sent you a memo telling you — given what you said in the campaign and how the transition has gone to date — where you might, just might, have some major misperceptions and be heading toward some major mistakes.

You may wonder why the editors of this newspaper called on me, a former member of the Carter and Johnson Administrations, to give you the bad news. I can only assume that it is partly because of my long experience with observing and committing errors of policy and politics. Also, I am among the very few people in Washington who could not even dream of filling an office in your Administration, and, alas, in the eyes of editors, such hopelessness is often confused with objectivity.

This memo is intended to caution you about: (1) the misperceptions you might be entertaining about the general political and governmental setting in Washington, and (2) the policy mistakes that might be inherent in the actual and political baggage you and your team carry.

TING

ism for all those
ake it very difficult
In particular, it's
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that they are

only Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to your Hamlet and about the institutions that will survive us all.

Liberals And Conservatives

Doubtless you believe that liberals are going to give you a lot of trouble. For sure, they will not agree with most of your policies and will say so. But the fact of the matter is that most of these people are far more interested in disputing points of philosophy with one another than in fighting conservatives.



Ronald Reagan with the Rev. Jerry Falwell, founder of the Moral Majority.

They cannot operate without a political philosophy, and right now they have nothing but a political hodgepodge. Most have been reduced to muttering some new-conservative incantations and to defending old-liberal (and now unpopular) causes like the rights of blacks and illegal aliens and the need for détente with the Soviet Union. Editorial writers refer to this as being in disarray, but we know it's worse than that.

When you think about it, your real problems will come from your conservative friends — from conflicts between the Old Right and the New Right, the ones who were with you from the start fighting the new boys — and from those who simply know what God wants better than you do. A lot of these people

actually believe that you were elected on the strength of their philosophy. To them, you are a means and not an end. Such people are most concerned with doctrinal purity, and you never will be able to live up to their standards.

Just look at whom the National Conservative Political Action Committee, those friends of the Moral Majority, put on their hit list for the next senatorial elections — Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, a decidedly moral and anti-Communist man. If Henry Jackson is next, can Ronald Reagan be far behind? Hell hath no fury like an ideological purist scorned.

The Bureaucracy

Among conservatives, The Bureaucracy is often cited as the enemy. They see it as filled with Democrats, people who have never met a payroll and other ne'er-do-wells. Actually, about 95 percent of The Bureaucracy consists of people who work from 9 to 5 doing the routine chores mandated by laws they do not make. The Bureaucracy is more blob than enemy.

As for that other 5 percent, it is made up of a combination of high civil servants and political appointees. Most of the high civil servants are not Democratic spies but professionals who will do what they are told. Don't listen too hard to those conservative legislators who like to malign Foreign Service officers. Just the other day, some of your closest associates in the Senate were calling for your nominee for Secretary of State, Alexander M. Haig Jr., to clean out the State Department. But I can attest to endless cases of these professionals simply saluting and implementing Jimmy Carter policies that they felt were nothing short of bizarre.

If you're worried about public brawling within your Administration, be advised that such skywriting about internal differences will almost always be the work of your political appointees. These are the highfliers, fighting for power, position and policy, tearing one another apart and denying it all the while. Reflect on two facts. All the serious struggles in the Carter Administration were within this group and not among or with the professional civil servants. Most of the trouble you have had so far, for example, has stemmed from the transition teams you ap-

pointed to the various departments and agencies. These people have spent the months since the election leaking horrible stories to the media about one another ("The Kissinger people are trying to take over" is one variant, answered by "The right-wing crazies are in charge") and trying to force your hand on policy by announcing or leaking their own policy-position papers. You should also note that most of these leaks have emanated from your most conservative allies.

The sub-Cabinet appointments that you are now making are a critical factor in being able to control the internecine warfare. These dozens of men and women, from deputy secretary to assistant secretary, work at the point where policy and operations come together. The central question is: Should the people you appoint to these posts in Commerce, say, represent a single, cohesive point of view, or should they represent the various ideological views in your Administration? If they reflect a single strain of thought, that may be politically dangerous, and it will certainly not provide you with all viewpoints on any given issue. On the other hand, if they reflect a variety of approaches, they're likely to eat each other up. Whichever way you decide you'll pay a penalty.

Governmental Reorganization

You have promised that you are going to rid the executive branch of the Departments of Energy and Education. On the face of it, who could argue? And yet ... I have no special brief for the Department of Education, but it has to go somewhere. The functions that come under its wing have to be performed pretty much as a package, whether they're put back in Health, Education and Welfare or left where they are. As to the Department of Energy, another monstrosity: It's so diverse, any way you split it up would lead to separate pieces going into different agencies just as it was more than three years ago.

Leslie H. Gelb is a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and previously served as Senate aide and a senior official in the Departments of Defense and State.

Jabotinsky Award To Falwell Only Gives Him Legitimacy

Editor, POST and OPINION:

As president of the Veterans of the Jewish Legion, the group of Jewish volunteers from the United States, Canada, and Palestine who served in the British Army in the Middle East in World War I, I was invited, along with my fellow surviving veterans, to be honored at the recent gala celebration in New York City commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Zev Jabotinsky, founder of the Jewish Legion.

On the list of honorees, along with my fellow veterans, were 100 prominent American politicians and Jewish leaders who had made outstanding contributions to the cause of Israel and Zion. Included in that list was evangelist Jerry Falwell, founder of the right-wing "Moral Majority".

These 100 men and women received the Jabotinsky Medal from Israeli Prime Minister Begin at a gala celebration that must have cost in the neighborhood of \$100,000.

My personal inclination, before I learned that Rev. Falwell was included among the honorees, was to decline the invitation. I have never been in sympathy with the sponsors of the event, Revisionist Incorporated, Herut USA, who have always advocated a super-patriotic, expansionist policy for Israel. And I have always felt that supporters of Israel could do better things with \$100,000 than to give a party honoring one another.

But, not knowing of Falwell's planned participation, I did attend along with my fellow Legion veterans who felt that we should put aside past differences within the Zionist movement.

I am deeply disturbed at the decision to honor Falwell with the Jabotinsky Award, the highest citation the Israeli government bestows on non-citizens of Israel, and to have the award, with the attendant pomp and publicity, presented to him by Prime Minister Begin.

Jerry Falwell is an opportunistic demagogue who attempts to merge a simplistic version of fundamentalist

Christianity with a simplistic version of right-wing American politics, in order to acquire political power for himself and a few of his fellow radio preachers.

Israel and her supporters in America cannot stop such people from espousing our cause when they feel it suits their purpose to do so. But by what measure does Falwell's contribution to the cause of Israel and Zion compare with the contributions of Jacob Javits, Frank Church, or Daniel Patrick Moynihan, three of Israel's best friends in the U.S. Senate, who were among the honorees.

Church and Moynihan, along with New York's Mayor Koch, boycotted the event when they learned of Falwell's participation.

There is no such thing as a "good" or "useful" opportunist or demagogue. When it's in their interest to support you, they do. When it becomes in their interest to denounce you, they denounce you. Good causes do not use such people. Such people use good causes to give themselves legitimacy and popularity.

And when our good cause welcomes and honors such support, it gives Rev. Falwell legitimacy in some eyes, and calls our legitimacy into question in other eyes.

As one who has devoted 65 years to the cause of Israel, I wish to state for the record that, just because Mr. Falwell agrees with me at the moment, do not assume that I agree with the likes of Mr. Falwell, now or ever.

To paraphrase someone who found himself in a similar situation let me state the following: "So Rev. Falwell will be a blessing with an Israeli Citation to hang on his chest alongside those he has picked up for his position as head of the Moral Majority and we shall account ourselves fortunate if we come out of this with our self-respect in modest tatters and a new set of rules for selectivity those on whom we bestow our honors."

WILLIAM BRAITERMAN
506 Tower Bldg.
Baltimore MD 21202

Normal Jurot Post
12/12/80

"Don't Leave Home Without It!"

Moral Majority Seeking "ID" Cards For Married People To Halt "Immoral" Dates In Motel Rooms!

By Nadine Johnson

The Reverend Jerry Falwell of Lynchburg, Virginia, and a group called the "Moral Majority" announced recently a plan which would require married couples to carry a card similar to a Social Security card, and be required to show them before renting a hotel or motel room in the United States.

Also a member of the Senior Saints group of the Thomas Road Baptist Church, Rev. Falwell said, "We're for the monogamous, traditional family. No fornication... no foolishness. Back to fidelity."

The proposal, which Falwell hopes will be passed by both houses of Congress, calls for the Department of Health and Human Services to pass out marriage cards to all legally married couples which must be shown to hotel and motel clerks in order to register. If couples show up without cards or cards that don't match, they will be refused admittance.

Many people, although not opposed to the idea of a more moral society, consider

the idea a radical one that infringes on an individual's constitutional rights.

A View From Harlem

Ralph Zanders, who along with his brother, Roosevelt, owns and operates a hotel in Harlem called the "Drive-In Hotel," said:

"I think they're absolutely stupid. They have no legal grounds to force someone to carry a registration card as a means of admittance to a hotel. It's unconstitutional and would be a very difficult thing to enforce."

"I think that's a violation of the first Amendment," said Hazel Dukes, NAACP State President. "A lot of people who are married don't go by their marriage names for professional reasons. It's in violation of civil and human rights."

A spokesman from the Kew Motor Inn, in Kew Gardens Hills in Queens, which features waterbeds among other things, said, "It sounds a little ridiculous to me. I suppose it would work if you want to have a

police state, giving out cards to people for every little thing."

"The Moral Minority"

However, Baptist minister, the Reverend Timothy Mitchell agrees in part with the Moral Majority. "I think as a Black Christian, I look upon myself as a part of the Moral Minority, a Biblical concept. My position is not adverse to what the so-called Moral Majority is suggesting," said Rev. Mitchell.

"I would hope, however, that the Moral Majority would fight against the immoral act of racism which manifests itself in the killing of Black people. They are concerned about people registering in hotels and not being married, while Blacks have to live day to day where whites kill Black men with impunity."

"Their moral priorities are off-center, the real concern would be to deal with the moral issue of racism which they never do," said Rev. Mitchell, adding that the town where Rev. Falwell comes from,

Lynchburg, Virginia, is named for the first lynching of a Black man in the South.

Ex-Hotel Man

Bill Brown who was formerly manager of the Theresa Hotel in Harlem said, "the Moral Majority has utilized a popular subject matter to propose one of the most radical doctrines ever presented to government. Doctrines like this are harmful to the underprivileged, especially Blacks, in that when you talk about conservatism on one subject, it carries over into another, such as economics."

"You cannot legislate morality," added Brown.

Queens Minister

The Reverend Robert Ross Johnson, pastor of the St. Albans Congregational Church in Queens said, "It's a terrible intrusion of privacy. It's unconstitutional and un-American. I am terribly opposed to it. Sounds like we're back in Hitler's Germany."

*for
Moral
majority*

THE PRESIDENT of Israel pays an uncomfortable price for the rarefied air of his lofty post: he has to refrain from making political pronouncements. He is presumed to speak always for the whole house of Israel.

President Navon indeed did so at the World Jewish Congress assembly last Sunday, when he re-emphasized the importance of aliya and of Jewish education in the Diaspora.

When, however, the president ventures to give advice on the sensitive subject of the Jewish people's relations with other peoples, he has to be particularly careful to ensure that the picture he conveys of those relations is credible and that the advice he offers is feasible and at least dignified. This Navon failed to do.

He called on Diaspora Jews, through the WJC "to establish a dialogue with Islam, so that Israel and the Moslem world could better understand each other." Year in, year out, Israel and the Jewish people are subjected to a flood of insults, denigration and mortal threats from the "Moslem world." Israel ever since her birth has been the object of a fiercely operated economic and social boycott, with which nations friendly to her are coerced to conform, on pain of economic sanctions; Israeli sportsmen and sports teams are barred from many international competitions — under pressure from the Moslem world.

In addition to the terrorism sponsored and financed by its affluent members, the Moslem world flaunts all the elements of belligerency. In an unrelenting diplomatic campaign it leaves no doubt of its determination to bring about the extinction of the Jewish State.

It is the Jews, then, says Navon, who must now take the initiative and (wiping the spittle from their faces) "establish a dialogue with Islam." So much for dignity. What of feasibility? Should they write a letter to "Dear Islam"? "Please speak to us"? "Please let us explain ourselves"? Perhaps something like this: "We are not really the scum of the earth, or the pest and plague cursed like Satan, who was expelled by God from the realm of his mercy; and truly we do not deserve to be 'humiliated and restored to our previous miserable conditions,' as your theologians and politicians claim in the name of the Koran." (This is only a small part of the catalogue of barbaric vilification disseminated by the Moslem in the year 700 or 1300 but today.)

Maybe Navon does not seriously

The existential fact

SHMUEL KATZ questions the feasibility and usefulness of the proposed dialogue with Islam.

believe that a dialogue is possible and was merely dreaming aloud. With the mounting evidence that the Jews of the Diaspora are facing a fresh period of embattlement by a reawakened anti-Semitism — much of it powered by the Moslem world — must the only advice that Israel can offer them be either degrading or fatuous, or both?

PRESIDENT NAVON'S thoughtless remark might be disregarded if it did not add a strain to the chorus of disinformation and misinformation so prominent in the campaign against our people. The relations between the Jewish people and Islam do not stem from some mutual misunderstanding but from a historic, deep-rooted, unbridled Islamic hostility, now reinforced by great wealth.

Indeed, one of the most critical tasks of the Jewish people is to ensure that at least its friends should absorb the fact — bleak, uncomfortable but existential — that the Islamic world, if it were prepared to accept Israel's collective existence at all, would only tolerate it as a subject community under Moslem sovereignty. Jews are not the only objects and potential victims of this sovereign purpose, as Christian communities have found to their cost; but they are the only ones who have had the temerity to proclaim their national independence on their own territory in the "heart of the Arab world," and — worse — have successfully resisted the Arab attempts to destroy them.

Ignorance, and consequently misdirection, about the content and the systems of Islamic thought, is rife in the West — to its own peril as well as Israel's. Bland, off-the-cuff, "even-handed" advice such as Navon's only helps to foster that ignorance.

A STARTLING and more flagrant example of disinformation (however unintentional) was provided only two days before Navon's speech. In an article in *The Jerusalem Post* (16

January) Chaim Herzog describes a meeting with President Sadat in which Dr. Anis Mansour participated. He introduces Mansour to his readers as "a philosopher and poet of stature." Who could guess from this impressive cultural attribution that Mansour has a specific philosophy on Israel and the Jewish people, and that his philosophy as published could easily have graced the pages of the *Nazi Stürmer*?

Editor of *October* magazine, and a confidant of his President, Mansour (who, by Herzog's description, appears as an amiable personality) was in the forefront of the Egyptian media campaign against Begin, Israel and the Jewish people in early 1978 when Sadat first broke off the talks on Begin's peace plan. This was not, however, a single-shot outburst. Mansour's record is a long one.

In February 1972 he wrote in *Al Akhbar*: "They have what they call Passover, the feast of unleavened bread, which is celebrated by bleeding a non-Jew... The rabbi himself does the butcher's work. This is the nature of our enemy."

Then, for example (again in *Al Akhbar* and as reported in *Le Monde*, August 21, 1973) Mansour denounced the Jews as the "enemies of mankind. They have no principles. They respect no religion except their own and they are traitors to the countries that offer them shelter." He went on to defend the killing of Jews by Hitler, a "genius, the value of whose anti-Semitic policy history is beginning to prove..."

In *Akher Sa'ah*, a mass circulation Egyptian magazine (April 10, 1974), Mansour described the Jewish religion as "cruel and crude." "Their own Bible," he wrote, "declares that they are wild beasts and deserve all the suffering and pain that they have endured throughout the ages." And so on.

CHAIM HERZOG, who at the UN represented Israel with resource

and much dignity, is a candidate to head an Information Ministry in an Alignment government. His visit to Egypt was one of a series by Alignment leaders with the obvious purpose of "establishing relations." Do his words on Mansour suggest the nature of such projected relations — kowtowing to crude anti-Semites and whitewashing them?

The implications of Herzog's performance are not mitigated by the fact that his publicistic massage of Mansour is in keeping with the precedents set by the Likud government. Mansour himself has been received in Israel as an honoured guest. The Likud government's historic surrenders to Egypt were accompanied on the personal plane by self-abasement and uncouth flattery towards the Egyptian leaders. The agreements reached were also distinguished by a suppression of historic truth on the origins of the conflict.

HERZOG seems willing to follow the example of the government also in befuddling the public by hinting at, and then withholding from his readers, his sense of truth of the relations between Israel and Egypt. He writes: "One cannot avoid a number of unanswered questions, and an uncomfortable feeling that in this historic and vital process we are being outmaneuvered." No less; but he then proceeds to refrain from telling his readers what the "unanswered questions" are.

It is not unfair to conclude that he does so because he knows the answer to the "unanswered questions": that the peace treaty is in fact a sham treaty and, when the entirety of Sinai is in Egypt's cosy embrace, Sadat and Mansour, and Ghali and Tohami, will be in the lead of a renewed and ever fiercer international campaign to press Israel into the indefensible 1948 Armistice lines — there to await the combined Arab onslaught, for which Egypt has kept open all her options, political, strategic and logistic.

In the meantime, the Israel government, in somnambulant imperturbability, continues to mumble about a "peace process" as though it existed: the Opposition leaders suppress their uncomfortable feelings and wave the tattered remnants of a "Jordanian option" as though it existed; and even the President conjures up, out of the thin air, dialogues with an unheard, militant Islam.

COMING TO ISRAEL on a friendly visit of goodwill accompanied by my 15-year-old son, welcomed warmly by so many friends — was for me an act of self-purification: I was purifying my soul of prejudice, of bitterness and hate.

It was an act of individuation. I was actualizing the meeting of opposites — an ancient culture reborn and an ancient culture aspiring for rebirth; a small population trying to secure itself by further ingathering and an expanding population trying to deflate itself by emigration; and more.

Our immediate concern now is to share this experience on more restricted levels, on axes such as Egypt-Israel; Israel-Palestine; Egypt-Palestine; Egypt-Arabs; Arabs-Moslems; Moslems-Jews; Christians-Moslems; and so on. The question is, where do we place our priorities?

My own belief is that our newly born peace must have a chance to grow out of its infancy, lest it succumb to the storms around it, or by virtue of its vulnerability, die before it has had any chance to develop. Yet, simultaneously, whatever bonds we Egyptians had developed with our Arab brethren must also be salvaged, if, for anything, to save that peace.

The key to such a solution is the defusing of the explosive Palestinian question. It is a key that Israel holds physically and Egypt morally. When the physical holder of the key is strong, he alone can initiate a magnanimous move that will unlock the door of hope for a real solution.

A gesture on the part of Egypt, a visit to Jerusalem and a public proclamation of recognition of the other's right to be, was highly valued and led the way to responses that no amount of political pressure or military threat could achieve.

Can we not envisage the effectiveness of a parallel gesture on the part of Israel? I know that such a move on the part of Mr. Begin cannot possibly occur without disrupting his political and personal identity. Nor do I expect that the opposition would do that overnight. Yet governments, even autocratic ones, seldom do anything that does not in some way, at least in their own minds, reflect the will of the people.

I feel that it is our responsibility to reinforce such consciousness among the public. On our part, with our own people in Egypt, with those Palestinians whom we have access to, as well as with the Arabs; and you with the Palestinians with whom you share as much history as geography.

WHEN I plagued my Israeli friends with the crucial importance of ac-

LETTER TO AN ISRAELI FRIEND

MOHAMMED SHAALAN, an Egyptian psychiatrist who visited Israel last October, asks Israelis to accept the Palestinians, who are their polar opposite — and mirror image.

cepting their polar opposite — and their mirror image — the Palestinians, of accepting them as a people seeking nationhood just like they themselves did only 30 years ago; and seeking it by whatever means they found, including "terrorism," again just as they did only 30 years ago. I feared that I might have been touching an explosive issue and provoking the irrational. But perhaps because I did it out of empathy, an empathy for them also as Israelis, the response and generosity were beyond my expectations.

I was not seeking charity or pity for the Palestinians, but respect and empathy, and, as I said, for the Israelis as much as the Palestinians. For Israelis, such a recognition of the other's right to exist is a great act of self-purification, too, of individuation.

That recognition is a spiritual act. It is different from the legalities or wordings of governmental agreements, Camp David or otherwise. Rather it is an expression of faith in the humanity of the other; and through that an affirmation of a faith in one's own humanity. For humanity entails transcending good and evil, whether that good is mine and the evil is the other's, or vice versa. Accepting the Palestinian means accepting that he, too, is human, not only satanic, or evil; and therefore that I, too, am human, not only angelic or good.

YET THAT might sound evangelic. It might repel the hard pragmatist. Then to him I can appeal on the basis of self-interest: of what value is a separate peace with Egypt? How would Israel break its isolation by simply including Egypt in its

walls of isolation? How would a combined Egyptian-Israeli ghetto in the region help create peace and harmony with the rest of the region?

I do not, for my pragmatist friend, mention the existential bonds such as common language, culture, religion, fate that bind Egypt to its Arab neighbours. Yet such bonds do have pragmatic consequences, and do push towards a renewed balance in favour of an Egyptian-Arab reconciliation, regardless of what could be mutually detrimental.

My compassion for my fellow Egyptians, my fellow Palestinians and my fellow Arabs is the only reliable basis of my compassion for my Israeli friends. Sympathy for one in exchange for hate of the other can only be a temporary swing in the balance, one that will unavoidably swing back to the reverse position. Out of the respect you have for me and the respect you have for yourself, respect them as well.

I NEED NOT apologize for hammering on this point. Yet I almost feel it is unfair to preach to you, my friends, what you already know and believe. Nevertheless I do so because it bothers me that your voice, perhaps like any voice of conscience, is a quiet voice. That in the tumult of everyday politics your voice is unheard, your vision unseen. As a result, the deeds that my people see and not that quiet voice they do not hear, push them into disillusionment, and almost to despair. They see signs of intransigence, procrastination, displays of power, military rule and occupation; and those deeds are unfortunately louder than the good words and intentions that intelligent humans like you have.

Public dialogue tends to become propagandistic and rhetorical. This seems to be a disadvantage, but on the other hand, it does have advantages. For while, in private, people can relate as humans, their public image, like their clothes, differentiates them. Indeed, in order for them to maintain their public image, they might have to accentuate some features and minimize others like caricature art.

Perhaps such accentuation and minimization can enrich the private dialogue by enlarging its scope, so that it is no mere sharing of personal feelings; rather it becomes the dialogue of two peoples. On the other hand, it may preserve the constructive, communicative nature of the dialogue, that it be through individuals who have established personal bonds of friendship.

Dr. Shaalan is professor of psychiatry at Al Azhar University in Cairo.

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Friend or foe?

ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, who has been attacked for attacking America's Moral Majority, answers his critics.

Jews. I never called the Rev. Mr. Falwell an anti-Semite. What I did say — and repeat — is that in his exclusivist emphasis on a Christian America and the tools he chooses to build it, he and his associates are creating a climate of opinion which is hostile to religious tolerance. Such a climate, in my judgment, is bad for civil liberties, human rights, social justice, interfaith understanding, and mutual respect among Americans. Therefore, it is bad for Jews.

It is scarcely prudent to make al-

liance with those who are sworn to destroy Israel's true and tested friends. The Moral Majority boasts of its recent victory over seven Senators, among them Israel's most devoted and skillful supporters, including Frank Church. One result of the success of the Christian right is the replacement of Frank Church as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Charles Percy, who told the Kremlin last month how important it was for Yasser Arafat to have a state to rule over before he died. Is that good for Israel?

Boasting of their success in the 1980 election, the Christian right published a new hit-list of political targets. It features, among U.S. senators, Edward (Ted) Kennedy and Howard Metzenbaum, and even Henry Jackson. Are we to go to bed with political assassins of our friends?

If we do, we are not only foolish but lacking in all honour.

The author is president of the Union of American Hebrew (Reform) Congregations and past chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

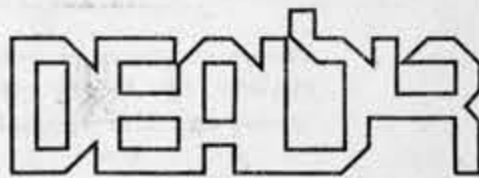
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THE MEANS of the Christian right, even more than their goals, are troubling. They disdain the democratic process. Tests of politico-religious purity have been established. Non-conformers are labelled "sinners," "followers of Satan." Hit-lists of candidates targeted for political oblivion are drafted, and slander is a favourite weapon for such assassinations; terms like "pervert," and "communist" are liberally applied; in Idaho the word "Zionist" was used in such a manner, possibly because a good deal of Arab money was commingled with the funds used by the "radical right to destroy Senator Frank Church."

It is for these reasons that I labelled the Christian right a threat to