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Moral Majority/Radical right, 1980-1994.

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REPORT

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

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 Ios 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. 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).

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. 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,

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.

Iyndon 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 bettereducated 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 Ios Angeles, expressly to promote the idea that the Holocaust was a myth. Willis Carto, the motivating force behind the rabidly anti-Semitic Liberty Iobby, 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, 1900
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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 conlooking 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.

"I think they got funny-looking: gregation that Jews "have funny-, 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 and hear the prayer of a Jew" because Jews do not accept Jesus as the Messiah.

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 Smith's Sept, 14 sermon was 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."

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 in-

· At the convention of the Lausanne-based neo-Nazi Europaeische 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 Europpeenne 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 is 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, expecially 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 Idalian daily Corriere Della Sera shortly after the bloody Athens attack, on August 5, 1973, on transit passengers from a TWA flights 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 Brahburg, 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 Française 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 rightwing 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 Oktoberfest, in which 12 persons were killed and 213 injured - and the PLO.

Kabbi Balfour Brickner Stephen Wise Free Synagogue

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alex Schuder alex Edie Ide me In he meeting ProKell. 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.

PRSSED NER-CCAR XALLAH 3/19/80

Re.

FROM: Richard Cohen	January 7, 1980
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Heshy Friedman National Coordinator

Rabbi Marvin Friedman

Rabbi Moshe Brown Outreach Director Rabbi Moshe S. Antelman National Decisior 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 decisior 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

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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 unforseen 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 expecially 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." 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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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 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.

the State of Israel, It is not my purpose to feeture 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

Beginning with Jews of the Torah, Christianity's latent doctrine of the non-person 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.





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

Gade Pyr

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 EFIC YOFFIE RABBI DAVID SAPERSTRIN

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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 Mora Magarif

MEMORANDUM

Date 7/15

From

To

Annette Daum

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.:

 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 $\overline{\text{he}}$ 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 Fallwell's intentions.



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 forth-right 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.

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

Sincerely,

Gerry Falwell





"I HAVE SET
THEE A WATCHMAN UNTO THE
HOUSE OF ISRAEL"
EZEK, 33:7



WITH DR. LEE ROBERSON IN ISRAEL



DR. AND MRS. JACOB GARTENHAUS CO-FOUNDERS (61ST ANNIVERSARY)



IN URUGUAY WITH DR. ORMAN NORWOO

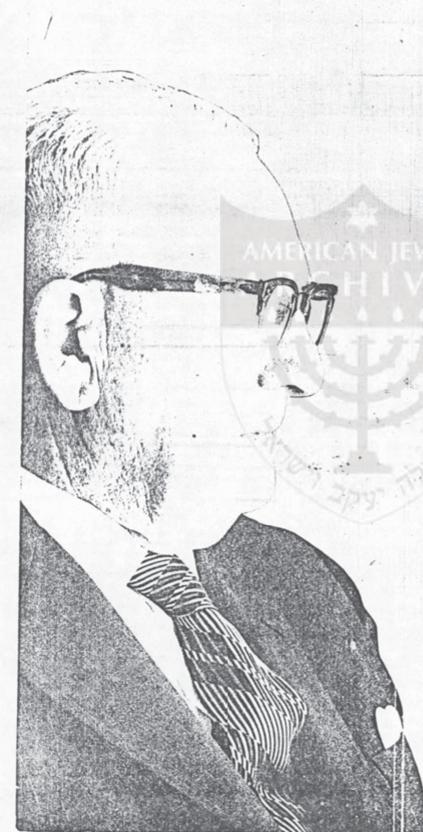


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WORLD HEADQUARTERS

OF JEWISH MISSIONS, INC.
1805 BAILEY AVENUE
CHATTANOOGA, TENN. 37404



4 Mireche

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

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

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

His father mourned his passing as though he were dead, would have nothing to do with him for twenty-five years, mother was brought from Europe to try to convince him to nounce his new faith. However, nothing could shake his restion 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 to from the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, he was gaged by the Southern Baptist Convention to inaugurate a wamong the million Jewish people in the Southland. For so twenty-eight years, he carried on an indefatigable ministry in the field; and during those years, he reaped insults, abuse, beating and even imprisonment at the hands of those who, in their ignance, thought they were pleasing God in persecuting the twentieth-century apostle.

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

Today the work has grown into a ministry to Jews that reach around the world. The exciting history of the International Bos of Jewish Missions, Inc., under the leadership of Dr. Jacob G tenhaus reveals a marvelous account of how this man of G entered church after church, and nation after nation, taking t message of God's redeeming grace to his people Israel. Now our time, Jewish people are turning to Christ in larger number than ever before in history. Jewish sources themselves state that many as 30,000 Jews may have embraced Christianity sin 1965. Hearts long hardened are now softening; doors long clos are now opening and opportunities for mission work among to 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 head-quarters 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 wholehearted 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 pastoremeritus 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

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:

- 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.
- The establishment of "Friends of Israel" fellowships for the purpose of sharing Christ with the Jews, and to pray for their salvation.
- 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.
- The sending out of God-called, capable missionaries to labor in neglected and strategic areas where there is no testimony to israel.
- The establishment of New Testament churches in Jewish communities, and cooperation with existing churches in the evangelization of the Jews in their midst.
- 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.
- 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.
- The distribution of relief to needy Hebrew Christians, including orphanages.
- The rendering of financial assistance to worthy students who are preparing themselves to be missionaries to the Jews.
- 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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YEARS	MISSIONARIES	CONTINENTS





DR. AND MRS. JACOB GARTENHAUS (61ST ANNIVERSARY)



DR. LEE ROBERSON IN ISRAEL (AT SEA OF GALILEE)





WITH DR. ROBERT C. GRAY, JR. (ADVISORY BOARD CHAIRMAN)



WORLD HEADQUARTERS

INTERNATIONAL BOARD OF JEWISH MISSIONS, INC. 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 Chairch 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 lax purposes

Get in touch with us today

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 Weil" 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 pastoremeritus.

Wash Marah

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 abd 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 hechsker 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 the the forst as a whole.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

March Rader Be February 10, 1983 Rabbi Lawrence M. Colton Union Reform Temple 475 North Brookside Agenue 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

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



Margaret Margaret

March 19, 1982

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

Dear Ms. Hamilton: AMERICAN ENVISE

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 certain 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 openess. 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 <u>Jews</u> claim this right for ourselves with a passion, and we will <u>not</u> 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 irst, 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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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 so, even as he does. I beg him to understand, though, that I never speak 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 idealogical alliance which has come to be known, for better or for worse, as the Christian Right.

AMERICAN JEWISH

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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 byproducts 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.

AMERICAN JEWISH

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

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



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 <u>Bulletin</u> which I thought would interest you.

Sincerely,

Anthony 1. Podesta Executive Director

ATP:bb

enclosure

People For The Way

Bulletin

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, <u>Your Child from One to Six</u>, 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," <u>Dixon asserted."Everyone is born a sinner."</u>

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:

Moral Majority		Jerry Falwell
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.) <u>Journal and Guide</u>, 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 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."



PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY

1015 18th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036 • Suite 300 Nonprofit Organization
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PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY is a project of the 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 Connecti**t**ut 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

3

Connecticut Mutual Life insurance company

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

S. Caesar Raboy, CLU, Executive Vice President

Wast Socio.

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 Schinder 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 timeconsuming 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 Gefter. 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



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 Gefters 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/ik 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.



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 "ves." 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 eighed, 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 politicoreligious 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 BHCT 75-6 St

Report of the President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations

to the Board of Trustees

NOVEMBER 21, 1980 SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA



t 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 DOZAT

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.

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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.

OF ALL BYANCIE LIST OR FUNDAMEN MUSS

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 Viguery, 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.

Cat first blood with winin - compared & abolita (see afteraled 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 profamily 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.

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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.



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. 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.

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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.

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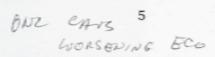
I said, a moment ago, that the new political evangelism just possibly is anti-Jewish. Let me be a bit more definitive: it is precisely that. Our history instructs us that fundamentalism and anti-Semitism invariably go hand in hand.

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.

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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 Gcspel 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-tamily, 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?

In 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, vet 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 nonreligious 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.