



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

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

---

Box  
7

Folder  
4c

Moral Majority/Radical right, 1980-1994.

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

---

April 15, 1981

Dr. Ellis Rivkin  
Hebrew Union College-  
Jewish Institute of Religion  
3101 Clifton Avenue  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45220

Dear Ellis:

Thank you so much for your recent letter and the several papers which you wrote and which I read at once with great interest. I found them all exceedingly instructive, especially your paper on the "Dangers of Extremism" which will be especially useful to me in my efforts vis a vis the Moral Majority. It might not be a bad idea if you were to show it to your colleague Jacob. He tends toward an absolutism in his judgments.

Be that as it may, I would be delighted if you were to send me some of your other writings which you think will be especially helpful to the unaffiliated who are considering conversion to Judaism. There is very little doubt in my mind that this program will be expanded during the year and years ahead and we will be in need of helpful material.

Please share these writings not only with Sandy, but with Danny Syme as well. Both will be involved in the publications effort.

With fondest regards to your dear ones as ever.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Rabbi Sanford Seltzer  
Rabbi Daniel B. Syme





HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

Cincinnati • New York • Los Angeles • Jerusalem

April 3, 1981

3101 CLIFTON AVENUE • CINCINNATI, OHIO 45220  
(513) 221-1875

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

Dear Alex:

It was so good seeing you the other evening, though I regret keenly that there was really no time for a leisurely renewal of our friendship.

I am delighted that you would like a copy of my address, so you will find it enclosed.

I am also enclosing a copy of a paper that I gave several years ago dealing with the Holocaust, entitled "To Heal a Wounded Time," which was presented at the John Courtney Murray Forum series and which aroused deep interest.

I also think that you will find of value three recent papers of mine that deal with sensitive issues affecting the Jewish-Christian relations: (1) "A Jew Looks at the New Testament"; (2) "Anti-Semitism in the New Testament"; and (3) "The Dangers of Extremism" (this is an effort to challenge the moral majority on their own turf, namely Holy Scriptures).

As you know, I am very sympathetic to your outreach program and I would therefore suggest that you take a look at some of my writings which I think would be very helpful to the unaffiliated who are drawn to your program. Should you be interested, I shall be very happy to make available to you and Sandy those studies and papers which might be helpful in your efforts.

With fondest regards to Rhea, and with warmest friendship,

Always,

Ellis Rivkin

ER:yg

Enclosures (5)



## We are how many?

In late November, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, proposed that it is "no coincidence that the rise of right wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since the end of World War II." In Schindler's view—with which we here are in sympathy—it signifies a lack of self-respect among Jews when we rush to ingratiate ourselves with the Christian right, and it demonstrates a misunderstanding of the Jewish self-interest that we seek "to embrace forces that are anathema to every value in the Jewish ethical system."

The proper response of the Jewish community to the Christian right is a subject of very intense debate these days. Many who have expressed themselves on the subject have taken pains to note that the Christian right is hardly monolithic, and there cannot, therefore, be a single response. Others, stressing the commitment of some of the fundamentalist groups to Israel's security, have urged an alliance of convenience. Still others—we among them—have expressed the view that any move to alliance with the Christian right will necessarily further alienate us from moderate Christian groups, and will surely distress many of our own people.

A healthy debate.

Important and complex questions. Now, however, comes Rabbi Abraham Hecht, president of the Rabbinical Alliance of America, who brands Schindler's charge as "scurrilous and inane," and goes on to insist that Schindler's "irreligious policies are a much greater threat to the existence and future of the Jewish people than any other religious group in America, past, present or future."

This is not the first evidence of a dreary and dangerous inability, within the Jewish community, to sustain serious debate on pressing issues. Reckless allegations that this or that spokesman with whom one differs is, in effect, an enemy of the Jewish people are increasingly common—and a disgrace. In the case at hand, our fundamentalists are, apparently, more comfortable with their fundamentalists than they are with us. So be it. If Rabbi Hecht finds the company of Reverend Bailey Smith more congenial than the company of Rabbi Alexander Schindler, he is welcome to that myopia. Quite likely, Rabbi Hecht does not believe that God Almighty listens to Rabbi Schindler's prayers. If that be so, is not Rabbi Hecht's position at least as grave a threat to the welfare of the Jews as Reverend Smith's? And if it is, where are the responsible voices that condemn such boorishness?

## A MOMENT with . . .



Shimon Peres



Yitzhak Rabin

Last month, Israel's Labor Party named Shimon Peres (over Yitzchak Rabin) as its candidate for Prime Minister in the forthcoming elections. Back in 1976, before Mr. Begin's accession to power, when Mr. Peres was Israel's Minister of Defense, we had a lengthy interview with him. (Readers who go back that far will find the interview in the February 1976 issue.) Some of Mr. Peres' remarks at that time remain relevant today and provide a glimpse of the man thought most likely to succeed Mr. Begin.

Photographs by R. Nowitz



March 17, 1981

Mr. Len Evans, Chairperson  
Santa Barbara Coalition for Human Rights  
Box 1501  
Santa Barbara, California 93102

Dear Mr. Evans:

Many thanks for your recent letter in regard to my article in Reform Judaism. I am grateful to you for taking the time to write and share your thoughts and I much appreciate your expression of support.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, as you may know, has been in the forefront in the fight for equal rights for all, for the gay and lesbian community as well as women. We have Resolutions which state our position and in reports to our Board of Trustees I have also articulated our position on many occasions, orally as well as in writing.

While I did not particularly mention Lesbians, gays and women in the recent article, it was because the thrust of my article was anti-Semitism and I had a limit as to the length of the article. Alas, one cannot always articulate each and every aspect of concern in writing such a paper. I do, however, want to assure you that the Union has been, is and continues to be concerned for the rights of all members of the community.

With repeated thanks and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



# Santa Barbara Coalition for Human Rights

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

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I read with interest and enthusiasm your article on the fundamentalist New Right in the February, 1981 issue of "Reform Judaism". I am also very much encouraged by the action of the U.A.H.C.'s Board of Trustees to initiate a broad coalition of forces and organizations on both a national and local level to counter the threat from the religious right. The Santa Barbara Coalition for Human Rights certainly looks forward to working in such coalitions.

But, I must say that while I agree wholeheartedly with the views expressed in your article, I was somewhat disturbed by, what I feel is, a rather significant omission. Women and homosexuals have borne the brunt of the fundamentalist attack for the last few years, and yet their participation is not mentioned as a component of the coalition. I sincerely hope this will not be reflected in the actual building of such a coalition.

As you pointed out in your article, the memory and the history of the holocaust serves as a defense against anti-Semitism. If Lesbian and gays and women must suffer the direct attack without the recognition of those who should be our allies, we are doubly victimized, and are left lacking a very important defense against further attack. Certainly, homosexuals, a group which perished in great numbers in the holocaust but largely ignored by the histories of that nightmare, deserve the same consideration as any other victim of prejudice and violence. To deny us a place in the struggle for our own survival is as demeaning as the slander directed at us by the fundamentalist New Right.

As I am sure the lack of mention of these important groups was merely an oversight, I look forward to building such a coalition and pledge my energy towards its success.

sincerely,

*Len Evans*  
Len Evans,  
chairperson

cc "Reform Judaism"  
B'nai B'rith Temple, S.B.  
Metropolitain Comm Church, S.B.

box 1501, santa barbara, calif. 93102



March 10, 1981

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

Dear Don:

The remark attributed to Bailey Smith appeared in a number of newspapers and magazines. I used as my source an article which appeared in the November 14, 1980 edition of the Dallas Morning News, it was written by Helen Parmley, Religion Editor. The comment about "funny looking noses" was made by Smith in a sermon he delivered to his own congregation in September, 1980. I don't have the article in my files but a copy is being sent to me from our Dallas office and I will send a copy on to you.

Your kind comments about my Board address are much appreciated. And I am delighted to note your own activities in Coral Springs. I am sharing your letter with Al Vorspan so he is apprised of what you are doing as well as your desire to be of assistance. It is gratifying to know that there is an infrastructure in Coral Springs which is ready to act on suggested programs. I am also delighted to note that you are involving members of Beth Orr in outreach programs to seek to educate others and to stem the tide of right-wing extremism. This is very important and we will be eager to have your report as your local programs develop.

For your interest, I enclose herewith an article which appeared in the New York Times on a Moral Majority beachhead in New York, as well as a letter Al Vorspan directed to the Editor of the Times. His letter was published, albeit in an edited version. And, of course, the Rev. Fore retracted his comments about Jews a few days after the article and letter appeared.

With appreciation and with warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.  
cc: Mr. Albert Vorspan



# TEMPLE BETH ORR

Rabbi Donald R. Gerber

February 25, 1981

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

Dear Alex:

I read your speech to the Board of Trustees of the UAHC and saw your reference to Bailey Smith on page 5 talking about, "Funny looking noses". Please send me documentation on that quotation.

Your words were, as they most often are, highly motivational. I meet on a bi-weekly basis with seven or eight young ministers in the Coral Springs community. These gentlemen are moderate in their thoughts and are equally concerned about the issues you raise on right-wing extremism. At least in Coral Springs, one of thousands of American communities, there is an infrastructure ready to act on programmatic ideas from the Union.

I have publicized both resolutions in my Temple bulletin and am asking for volunteers to serve on an outreach committee to the city officials and religious civic groups. I would imagine that within six months I will be able to report to you on how our activities are going. It would be helpful to have a workshop in Southern Florida on such an outreach program. Marc Tannenbaum has recently spoken to a group of clergymen at Merle Singer's place. More such speakers should be brought down to Florida which I believe should be one of your target areas for this program. I'll do all I can to help.

Most sincerely yours,

Rabbi Donald R. Gerber

Encl.  
RDG/ik





איחוד  
ליהדות  
מתקדמת  
באמריקה

# Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS—CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS  
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

February 5, 1981

Editor

Letters to the Editor  
NEW YORK TIMES  
229 West 43rd Street  
New York, New York 10036

To the Editor:

Today's TIMES (Feb. 5) brought dramatic news that the Moral Majority had established a "beachhead" in New York. Reading the battle plans, one feels that New Yorkers need this invasion about as much as we deserved the gypsy moth, Dutch elm disease and the latest blast of Arctic air.

The Rev. Dan C. Fore put down his sword long enough to lament Rabbi Alexander Schindler's recent warning that the Moral Majority is a danger to Jews because it fosters a climate of religious intolerance which is inimical to pluralism and mutual respect. In his rebuttal, the Rev. Fore proved Rabbi Schindler's case even more eloquently than did the rabbi. The Moral Majority spokesman observed that the Jews are a great people, a chosen people, to whom God has given "talents He has not given others." What are these talents? "A God-given ability to make money, almost a super-natural ability to make money." Besides, he said, Jews control the media and also New York City.

As a religious [albeit liberal, God save the mark] Jew, I must find out why God has withheld this money-making talent from me and my [Jewish] friends, despite regular Sabbath observance in the synagogue of my choice. Perhaps, as another preacher from Texas put it recently, God does not hear the prayer of a Jew.

Rev. Fore's melange of old-fashioned anti-Semitic stereotyping and Christian triumphalism tells us more about the Moral Majority than all of its pietistic and arrogant propaganda, which has thechutzpah to claim a lock on God and morality.

Chairman  
Alexander I. Ross  
Director  
Albert Vorspan  
Associate Director  
Rabbi David Saperstein

●  
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF  
TEMPLE SISTERHOODS  
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF  
TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS  
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF  
TEMPLE YOUTH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF  
TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS  
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF  
TEMPLE EDUCATORS



*His pronouncements about Jewish "control" ought to demonstrate to those Jews willing to embrace the Moral Majority, because it is strong on Israel, that a force which cannibalizes American politics, fosters division and exclusivity and promotes reactionary causes is bad for America and bad for Jews.*

Sincerely,

*Albert Vorspan*

Albert Vorspan





# Moral Majority Establishes Beachhead in New York

By JOYCE PURNICK

Last autumn, candidates for office throughout New York State received a two-page questionnaire in the mail. The first page asked the usual questions about some of the usual issues — capital punishment, welfare, the equal rights amendment, abortion.

The second page of questions went beyond the routine. "What is the Bible?" it asked. "Have you ever been born again?" And: "If you stood before Heaven's gate and were asked on what grounds you sought admission, how would you reply?"

Only a handful of these questionnaires were returned, but the man who mailed

them out predicts he will not be so easily ignored from now on. He is the Rev. Dan C. Fore, chairman of New York State's fledgling chapter of the Moral Majority, and he expects only success.

The fundamentalist political movement that spearheaded the new "Christian right" last year is now moving east, to states previously mentioned in the same breath with the Bible Belt only for purposes of contrast. The objective is to find new members and influence elections and legislation on what it calls "pro-life, pro-family and pro-morality" issues.

"Just as God judged Sodom and Gomorrah, just as God destroyed the Roman Empire because of godlessness,

we're dead unless we do something," Mr. Fore said recently to note-taking recruits at the Christian Life Center in Commack, L.I. The meeting was a "training seminar" — one of several that Mr. Fore is conducting statewide.

To some, the idea of what detractors have dismissed as "Bible thumpers" establishing themselves in a state with so generally progressive a political history as New York flirts with the irrelevant. To leaders of the Moral Majority, whose previous triumphs have mainly been in the South and Middle West, New York is just one more state moving to the right.

It was last year that the organization founded 19 months ago by a television

evangelist, the Rev. Jerry Falwell, first dipped into politics and had conservative impact on the Presidential race and other contests. It was also last year that New York State voted for Ronald Reagan and a new Senator, Alfonse M. D'Amato, who ran as the candidate of the Republican, Conservative and Right to Life Parties. Many factors contributed to those victories, but Mr. Falwell sees them as political harbingers.

"People are the same everywhere," he said in a recent interview in his Washington office. The New York metropolitan area is liberal, he suggested, because

Continued on Page B4

## News Summary

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1981

### International

Poland's labor troubles worsened as negotiations between the Government and strike leaders broke off in a southern province. The independent national union told all its chapters to be ready to begin sit-ins if force was used to break the walkout. The province is the only region where strikes were continuing, but other areas where negotiations were still under way remained tense. [Page A1, Column 1.]

Information on two Americans in Iran was reported by the State Department. It said that Mohi Sobhani, an Iranian-born American citizen held since Sept.

few feet away, and amicably urged them to sing louder. [A3:4-5.]

### Energy

Refined oil costs are rising much faster than the Reagan Administration predicted last week when it decontrolled petroleum prices, and analysts say that evidence is mounting that they will rise even further. Many specialists predict that heating oil prices could increase to as much as \$1.40 a gallon by spring, and the problem is generating expressions of anger, confusion and doubt. [A1:2.]

Deep cuts in synthetic fuels projects are planned by the Reagan Administration.

President Reagan is going to the people over the heads of Congress tonight in an effort to gain momentum for the economic program that is to be the keystone of his Administration. His televised speech is set for 9 P.M. [A20:1-2.]

The case against a Marine accused of collaborating with the enemy while he was a prisoner of war in Vietnam was given to a jury of five marine officers after two and a half months of trial testimony. The defendant, Pfc. Robert R. Garwood, has pleaded insanity induced by brainwashing. [A10:1.]

### Metropolitan

G.M. is paring New York operations. The leading American auto maker announced it was transferring two major subsidiaries from the city to Detroit, dealing a sharp and unexpected blow to Mayor Koch's efforts to keep jobs in New York. The move will involve about

## Index

### International

- Stubborn Britons cling to embattled Atlantic islands A2
- State Department stresses experience of new envoy to Salvador A2
- Moslems at U.N. fear move to legitimize Kabul regime A3
- Senior Israeli analyst fears sale of U.S. jet gear to Saudis A4
- Around the World A5
- Filipino cane cutters and planters fight sugar-price controls A8

### Government/Politics

- Diplomat who had no embassy recalls life in Iran A10
- Ex-chairman of Kentucky Demo-



# Preacher Establishes Beachhead For Moral Majority in New York

Continued From Page B1

conservatives have not been well-organized here in the past.

They will be in the future, he pledges.

The Moral Majority is focusing on 17 states that Mr. Falwell calls "not yet mature and developed." It is seeking new members from all religions and backgrounds.

Among those 17 are New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. All three have chairmen now, but little more than that. The Moral Majority is not now a force in the area. It views itself as a potential one — as it was elsewhere a year ago.

Mr. Fore, who was born in Texas and is pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist Church in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn, does not intend to be underestimated. As head of this state's chapter since last spring, he hopes to enlist 60 county chairmen and 100,000 members paying \$15 a year. That will entitle them to the organization's new newspaper, which will report the voting records of state and national legislators. Mr. Fore has garnered the support of a few Hasidic Jewish leaders, and officials of both the Right to Life and Conservative Parties said in interviews that they were willing to work with him.

Mr. Fore, who seems to have made more progress than his counterparts in New Jersey and Connecticut, has recruited only one county chairman and a "few thousand" members so far, but that does not faze him. "I know that you've got to crawl before you walk," said the 43-year-old minister, who came here from his last parish in California nearly four years ago.

The states will have to raise their own money, he said, but the national organization — which has built up a substantial treasury through television appeals and sophisticated direct-mail techniques — helps by providing literature and holding lengthy "workshops" on fund raising, public relations and organizing.

"The name of the game is votes," Mr. Fore said in Commack. "First you get a local chairman. Then you organize a moral action committee. Then you organize your telephone tree. You've got a woman who loves to talk? — and most of them do — you get a woman to be head of the telephone tree."

Once organized, the group's members will pressure candidates and legislators on key issues. They favor a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion and favoring the death penalty, prayers in schools and tuition tax credits for parochial education. They strongly support Israel and oppose the equal rights amendment, sex education and homosexual rights.

Public opinion polls show that on some of those issues, the majority of New Yorkers disagree with the Moral Majority. Recent history demonstrates, however, that so-called one-issue groups can have an effect that far exceeds their numbers.



The New York Times/William E. Sauro

The Rev. Dan C. Fore at Moral Majority headquarters in Brooklyn.

Mr. Fore argues that his lobby is no different from any other. "We aren't doing any more than the A.F.L.-C.I.O. or the United Council of Churches — nobody's ever said anything about them," he said. He is particularly exercised about the comments of some Jewish leaders. Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, stirred some controversy last fall when he said that the group's activities had helped foster a climate in which religious intolerance could flourish.

"I love the Jewish people deeply," Mr. Fore said. "God has given them talents He has not given others. They are His chosen people. Jews have a God-given ability to make money, almost a supernatural ability to make money." He also said, "They control the media, they control this city."

Mr. Falwell, told of those remarks, said: "I don't think you can stereotype any people."

Just as it did nationally, the local organization will not formally endorse — but will oppose — candidates. And in the future, instead of sending out questionnaires, the organization plans to interview candidates personally.

"We are not expecting to stop all the crime, all the homosexuality, all the lesbianism, all the harlotry," explained Mr. Fore. "We are simply here as a savoring influence, preaching what we believe is the truth, which is salvation by faith in Christ."

## LOTTERY NUMBERS

Feb. 4, 1981

New York Numbers — 151

New Jersey Pick-It — 754

New Jersey Jackpot — 14820

Connecticut Daily — 612



IS JERRY FALWELL...  
Jews? Is the Moral Majority a political force with which Israel and her American supporters should make alliance?

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

A more careful consideration of the ends and means of America's new right prompts an entirely different response. Alliances should not be made with only short-term gain in mind; the long-range consequences must also be seen. And once these are weighed, the Moral Majority and those other religious and political organizations with which they are in coalition, reveal themselves to be a threat to American democracy, to America's Jews, and therefore also to Israel.

Let me say at once that I do not speak of all evangelical fundamentalists. They do not constitute a monistic group. They may be bound by a common theology, but they are not of one mind politically. Indeed, many fundamentalists have serious reservations about the policies and programmes of Falwell and his followers. It is only of the latter that I speak, those fundamentalists who join forces with America's radical right to form what has become known as the Christian right.

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

THE MEANS of the Christian right, even more than their goals, are troubling. They disdain the democratic process. Tests of politico-religious purity have been established. Non-conformers are labelled "sinners," "followers of Satan." Hit-lists of candidates targeted for political oblivion are drafted, and slander is a favourite weapon for such assassinations; terms like "pervert," and "communist" are liberally applied; in Idaho the word "Zionist" was used in such a manner, possibly because a good deal of Arab money was commingled with the funds used by the radical right to destroy Senator Frank Church.

It is for these reasons that I labelled the Christian right a threat to

## Friend or foe?

ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, who has been attacked for attacking America's Moral Majority, answers his critics.

Jews. I never called the Rev. Mr. Falwell an anti-Semite. What I did say — and repeat — is that in his exclusivist emphasis on a Christian America and the tools he chooses to build it, he and his associates are creating a climate of opinion which is hostile to religious tolerance. Such a climate, in my judgment, is bad for civil liberties, human rights, social justice, interfaith understanding, and mutual respect among Americans. Therefore, it is bad for Jews.

It is scarcely prudent to make al-

destroy Israel's true and tested friends. The Moral Majority boasts of its recent victory over seven Senators, among them Israel's most devoted and skillful supporters, including Frank Church. One result of the success of the Christian right is the replacement of Frank Church as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Charles Percy, who told the Kremlin last month how important it was for Yasser Arafat to have a state to rule over before he died. Is that good for Israel?

Boasting of their success in the 1980 election, the Christian right published a new hit-list of political targets. It features, among U.S. senators, Edward (Ted) Kennedy and Howard Metzenbaum, and even Henry Jackson. Are we to go to bed with political assassins of our friends?

If we do, we are not only foolish but jacking in all honour.

The author is president of the Union of American Hebrew (Reform) Congregations and past chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

## UNPRECEDENTED OFFER

to

the "knitted kipa" religious public

Har Nof (Givat Shaul B) Jerusalem.

For the first ten people registering for 4 room apartments  
between Sunday, Jan. 25 and Thursday, Feb. 5:

In addition to the very best  
Price and Payment Terms —

- ★ Big (Over 8 sq.m.) Storeroom — free
- ★ Sun heater — complete solar installation — free
- ★ Complete luxury kitchen — free

There are also a few 3 and 5 room apartments left



### DEAL ISRAEL AMERICA

Real Estate and Sales Promotion Ltd.  
Sales Company for Givat Shaul B Contractors

2 Rehov Hasoreg (5th floor)  
94 145 Jerusalem

P.O.B. 1393  
91013 Jerusalem

TEL 232744

free  
80  
vert  
nt) in  
ever,  
ends  
al of  
es  
ank,  
nd  
ies  
d  
Jerusalem Post



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

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

A more careful consideration of the ends and means of America's new right prompts an entirely different response. Alliances should not be made with only short-term gain in mind; the long-range consequences must also be seen. And once these are weighed, the Moral Majority and those other religious and political organizations with which they are in coalition, reveal themselves to be a threat to American democracy, to America's Jews, and therefore also to Israel.

Let me say at once that I do not speak of all evangelical fundamentalists. They do not constitute a monistic group. They may be bound by a common theology, but they are not of one mind politically. Indeed, many fundamentalists have serious reservations about the policies and programmes of Falwell and his followers. It is only of the latter that I speak, those fundamentalists who join forces with America's radical right to form what has become known as the Christian right.

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

THE MEANS of the Christian right, even more than their goals, are troubling. They disdain the democratic process. Tests of politico-religious purity have been established. Non-conformers are labelled "sinners," "followers of Satan." Hit-lists of candidates targeted for political oblivion are drafted, and slander is a favourite weapon for such assassinations; terms like "pervert," and "communist" are liberally applied; in Idaho the word "Zionist" was used in such a manner, possibly because a good deal of Arab money was commingled with the funds used by the radical right to destroy Senator Frank Church.

It is for these reasons that I labelled the Christian right a threat to

## Friend or foe?

ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, who has been attacked for attacking America's Moral Majority, answers his critics.

Jews. I never called the Rev. Mr. Falwell an anti-Semite. What I did say — and repeat — is that in his exclusivist emphasis on a Christian America and the tools he chooses to build it, he and his associates are creating a climate of opinion which is hostile to religious tolerance. Such a climate, in my judgment, is bad for civil liberties, human rights, social justice, interfaith understanding, and mutual respect among Americans. Therefore, it is bad for Jews.

It is scarcely prudent to make al-

liance with those who are sworn to destroy Israel's life and tested friends. The Moral Majority boasts of its recent victory over seven Senators, among them Israel's most devoted and skillful supporters, including Frank Church. One result of the success of the Christian right is the replacement of Frank Church as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Charles Percy, who told the Kremlin last month how important it was for Yasser Arafat to have a state to rule over before he died. Is that good for Israel?

Boasting of their success in the 1980 election, the Christian right published a new hit-list of political targets. It features, among U.S. senators, Edward (Ted) Kennedy and Howard Metzenbaum, and even Henry Jackson. Are we to go to bed with political assassins of our friends?

If we do, we are not only foolish but lacking in all honour.

*The author is president of the Union of American Hebrew (Reform) Congregations and past chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.*

## UNPRECEDENTED OFFER

to

the "knitted kipa" religious public

Har Nof (Givat Shaul B) Jerusalem.

For the first ten people registering for 4 room apartments between Sunday, Jan. 25 and Thursday, Feb. 5:

**In addition to the very best Price and Payment Terms —**

- ★ Big (Over 8 sq.m.) Storeroom — free
- ★ Sun heater — complete solar installation — free
- ★ Complete luxury kitchen — free

There are also a few 3 and 5 room apartments left



### DEAL ISRAEL AMERICA

Real Estate and Sales Promotion Ltd.  
Sales Company for Givat Shaul B Contractors

2 Rehov Hasoreg (5th floor)  
94 145 Jerusalem

P.O.B. 1393  
91013 Jerusalem

**TEL 232744**

free  
8.80  
convert  
nt) in  
ever,  
dends  
al of  
es  
Bank,  
nd  
nies  
nd  
Jerusalem Post



Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

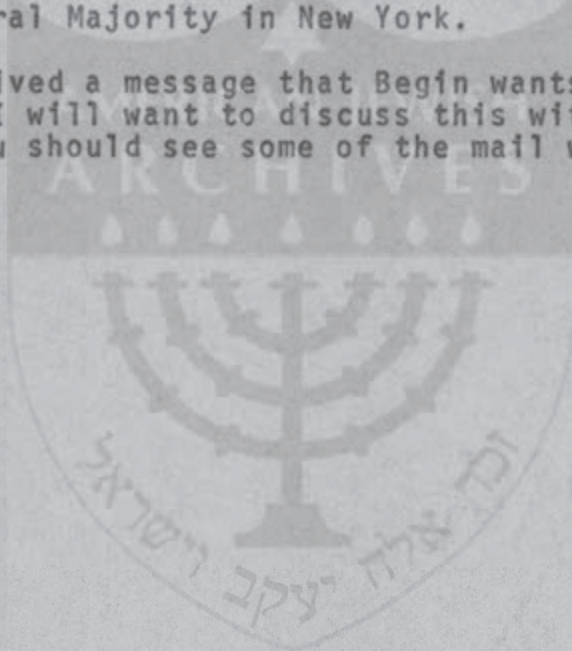
February 26, 1981

Donald S. Day

I am enclosing a sampling of letters we have received in regard to the radical right and Moral Majority. The majority of the mail response has been very positive but, of course, some have been negative and we have also had our fair share of mail from "kooks" and "fanatics." These we have come to expect. I share these so you will be aware of the response to my statements and there was also a positive response to Al Vorspan's letter to the Times in response to the article on the formation of a "beach-head" for the Moral Majority in New York.

Yesterday I received a message that Begin wants me to meet with Jerry Falwell. I will want to discuss this with you and in the meantime felt you should see some of the mail we have received.

Warm regards.





February 26, 1981

Mr. Jeffrey Colman  
24530 Santa Barbara  
Southfield, Mi. 48075

Dear Mr. Colman:

Many thanks for taking the time to write in response to my recent article in Reform Judaism. I am grateful for your thoughtfulness and heartened to know of your concern and your support.

I appreciate your comments in regard to your work on the campaign staff of Senator John Culver. We will be seeing more and more actions by the radical right in seeking to remove from office some of our finest members of the House and Senate. I feel strongly that it is our role to bring the threat to religious freedom in a pluralistic society to our constituency. I also appreciate your having shared with me your column from the Detroit Jewish News. It is very well put.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



February 17, 1981

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

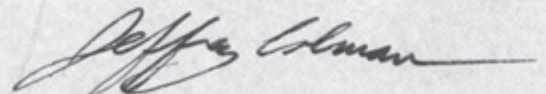
I just read your article in the February 1981 edition of Reform Judaism and wanted to let you know that I concur with your evaluation of the New Right.

I had the rewarding opportunity this past fall of working on Senator John Culver's campaign staff in Iowa. As part of this experience, I had the chance to see the New Right first hand. Much of what I saw in their propaganda and bullyboy tactics I had hoped never to see in American politics. The New Right is indeed a threat to religious freedom and pluralistic democracy in this country. I am proud to have been involved in a campaign that straightforwardly and unapologetically fought back at the New Right. John Culver's fight should serve as an example of how these right-wing crusaders should be confronted in the future.

I am pleased that both you and the UAHC are taking such strong positions in counteracting the New Right threat.

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed article I had published in The Detroit Jewish News a few months ago. Before being edited, the article was much more provocative but the main points are still made in the published form.

Sincerely,



Jeffrey Colman  
24530 Santa Barbara  
Southfield, Michigan  
48075

cc: AV  
DSO

letter & article



## A Detroit's Personal Experience With the 'New Right' Threat

By JEFFREY COLMAN

(Editor's note: Jeffrey Colman spent this fall in Iowa working for the John Culver Senate campaign and the Iowa Democratic Party. Colman is a recent graduate of the University of Michigan who is active in Jewish, Zionist and political affairs.)

*"Our democracy (cannot) agree to a moral majority that makes religious doctrine the test of political opinion. You may have that only where all are alike in thought and root and intent, which America is not."*

— Bill Moyers Journal

The New Right is a well-organized coalition of fundamentalist Christians and right-wing activists who are trying to change the Ameri-

can political system to reflect their own conservative political doctrines and fundamentalist Christian beliefs. They are different from old-time conservatives like Barry Goldwater and William Buckley in that they ignore traditional party politics and invoke the name of God as being on their side in their crusade to radically change the American political scene.

One New Right leader, Paul Weyrich, perhaps describes his movement the best: "We are radicals, working to overturn the present power structure."

The 1980 election provided the New Right with the perfect opportunity to try to secure political power for itself. Not only were New Right leaders jubilant in their belief that one of the



JEFFREY COLMAN

Presidential candidates, Ronald Reagan, mirrored their interests and ideas (although all three major Presidential candidates claimed to be "born-again" Christians), but they were eager to rid the halls of



Congress of their "liberal" enemies.

They concentrated on the U.S. Senate by targeting for defeat six Senators (all Democrats) who they deemed as both liberal and vulnerable. They went to war armed with millions of dollars, sophisticated computers and skillful organizations like the National Conservative Political Action Committee.

I had the opportunity to see the New Right from the front lines, for I spent this fall in Iowa working on the campaign for one of the Senators on the New Right's hit list: John C. Culver.

In John Culver, I found the rare leadership qualities so desperately lacking at all levels of government today: the ability to combine intellect and reason with traditional liberal ideals of compassionate government, and translate them into a workable legislative program.

During his first Senate term, Culver established a reputation as one of the body's most effective members. However, there was only one thing of importance to the leaders of the New Right: John Culver was too liberal and therefore un-Christian.

So New Right groups began working toward the defeat of the Democratic Senator by pouring hundreds of thousands of dollars into a negative media campaign against Culver, even before his Republican opponent had been chosen.

What bothers me is not that these New Right groups helped to defeat Culver, but rather how they helped. Instead of running a straightforward campaign espousing their own values and policies (or those of Republican candidate Charles Grassley), they ran a totally negative campaign.

They did not advocate any positive programs for change; rather they targeted a candidate for defeat because he was a "liberal" and supposedly against the principles they stood for: family, life and God.

I would be less alarmed with the New Right if I believed that its tactics, propaganda and influence were limited to Iowa. But its political crusade is a national one.

New Right groups were deeply involved in several Senate and House races across the country. Already some of the New Right leaders have targeted a Democratic Senator from my home state of Michigan for defeat in 1982.

No state is immune from the polluted politics of this New Right. And no candidate (of either party), so long as he or she does not fully endorse the narrow-minded view of morality of the New Right, is immune from its bullyboy techniques.

The New Right in this country today is perceived as a powerful force by the

press, by lawmakers in Washington and by its own leaders. Whether or not President-elect Reagan perceives the New Right (whom he publicly endorsed during the campaign) as being powerful, we have yet to see.

Although I am uncertain about the current power of the New Right, I am certain about its potential danger. I truly believe that the New Right extremists pose the greatest threat to individual and group freedoms in our country since the demise of McCarthyism and forced segregation.

Our freedoms are only as firm as is our tolerance for those who live, think and worship different from ourselves. The New Right's message is clearly one of intolerance; intolerance for other people's lifestyles, political beliefs and religious values.

If I have learned anything from my studies of American history, it is that an environment of intolerance breeds bigotry and curtailment of liberties. As an American, and as a Jew — a member of a religious minority — I believe the New Right must be prevented from creating such a dangerous environment.

I am not so much bothered by the New Right's contention that religion and religious people should play a part in American politics. Our country, after all, was founded upon certain moral traditions rooted in religion. My own political involvement is due in large measure to the sense of justice and compassion which Judaism has taught me. But it is a totally different matter to try to impose through political involvement a single religious doctrine upon the country. That, in my view, is what the New Right is trying to do.

These New Right crusaders claim that their fundamentalist interpretation of Christianity provides the only hope for America's national salvation. They misuse Scriptures to support their narrow-minded conception of morality and to chastise the positions of their political opponents.

They devise moral litmus tests to determine whether or not a candidate is "Christian" enough to hold public office. And they sentence to political and religious damnation those who fail to pass these ill-conceived tests.

As a Jew, I find such so-called Christianity ratings distressing. For, if the New Right's equation is that to be an American political leader you have to be a good Christian, then the corollary is that you have to be a Christian.

I am not deceived by Rev. Jerry Falwell when he pronounces his support for Israel over and over. He does support a strong Israel but only because it may be part of his particular mission to Christianize the Jews. That is hardly part of the Zionist dream.

I do not believe American Jews should walk a tight-rope with the New Rightists, balancing the "good" things they say about Israel with the "bad" things they say about everything else. We must see the danger which the New Right poses to religious freedom in this country — for Christians and Jews.

We must join with other progressive and ecumenical forces in defending America's pluralistic political tradition from the monolithic tyranny advocated by the New Right. For there cannot be pluralistic democracy or true religious freedom in a society run by a "moral majority."

In this year's election, John Culver and several of his Senate and House colleagues were so-called targets of the New Right. We must realize that we are all targets of the New Right — Jews and Christians — if we do not fully accept its political-religious gospel.

We should follow the example of what John Culver did in Iowa: "I'm a target. Sure I'm a target. But this target is going to fight back."



February 26, 1981

Mr. Kopel Koplowitz  
960 East 26th Street  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11210

Dear Mr. Koplowitz:

It was heartening to receive the letter of February 24 signed by you and members of your group from the Kings Bay 'Y'. I am grateful to you for taking the time to write and express your commendation of my public statements in regard to the radical right and Moral Majority. It is heartening to know that my comments are appreciated.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



February 24, 1981

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

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

We applaud your efforts to expose and isolate the so-called "moral majority". We join with you in your conclusions that this movement is a menace to the Jewish People and Israel and to a Democratic Society as well.

We are concerned that a victory of a sort has already been won by these enemies of the people for they have split the Jewish World. Those who do not see beyond their noses are also enemies even though they do not realize the full significance of their behavior.

The undersigned are only a few of a group of folk who meet at the Kings Bay 'Y' in Brooklyn current events and social problems affecting Jews everywhere. We sometimes feel that your battle is a lonesome fight. We agree with you and express our support. We know that all anti-democratic, anti-civil rights and anti-Semitic movements however disguised must be exposed and fought against. They menace Jews everywhere.

Sincerely yours,

*Kopel Koplowitz*  
Kopel Koplowitz

*Nat Gross*  
*Nary Rosenberg*  
*Frederica Goldsmith*  
*Ruth Teller*  
*Sentuck Falk*  
*Erie Goldspinner*  
*Rose Adelman*  
*Sylvia Koslofsky*  
*Morton Koslofsky*  
*Beatrice Forman*

*Levin Milkman*  
*Sonia Fogel*  
*Granges Weiss*  
*Lil Segal*  
*Ray Hoffman*  
*Adelle Goldberg*  
*Rose Anish*  
*Miriam Glickman*  
*Tauke Schwazentberg*  
*Berta Sedica*  
*Morris Tomasch*



Salie Timasch  
Alfred Feshon  
Max Goldsmith  
Sally Schenker  
Dora Cohen  
Anni Burd  
David Lombson  
Zelma Carter  
Lillian French  
Medea Wasserman  
Ben Wasserman  
Ben Wichter  
Ida Beimer  
Murray Beimer  
Just Shemin  
Nathan Brozinsky  
Jack Kaufman



258





### Silence Is Approval!

Ten years ago, when intermarriages were first beginning to take place on a large scale, people were shocked to hear that one of their relatives was going to marry a non-Jew. They would expend all efforts to try to rescue their child from such a relationship. No expenditure of money or energy would be considered too much to attempt to avert such a crisis. If in fact, such a marriage was performed, parents would often sit Shiva, mourning for their child.

Today, the situation has changed. The figures most commonly given is that over thirty percent out of every three Jews intermarry today. Many "Rabbis" give their consent and even perform such ceremonies. Let us stop and think for a moment. This means that a

third of our people are having their Jewish roots cut out from under them and yet as a whole the Jewish community is complacent over the question!

Silence is a sign of support. Not only the "Rabbi" who stoops so low to perform such a ceremony, but all those who attend and even those who object but do not raise their voices in protest have given their stamp of approval to such a union. They have either willingly or unwillingly shown their consent and acquiescence to an act which will pull the Jewish partner in the wedding, not to mention his children, far away from their Jewish roots.

Can we afford to be silent? The Nazi Holocaust killed off one third of our people. Today, great effort is taken to make our youth conscious of

what happened during that period. However, at the same time, equal percentage of our people are being decimated and very little is being done to prevent it. When a Jewish boy marries a non-Jew, the children resulting from their union are not Jewish. There is no way these souls can be retrieved for our heritage. Even in the case of a Jewish woman marrying a non-Jewish man, when according to Torah law the children are Jewish, it is very difficult for them to grow up with a firm Jewish commitment. If their father is committed to a different faith, then the child will be subjected and torn in a battle between the two religions. Even if, as is the case in many homes, the father has no feelings for his own religion, he certainly can not serve the role of a Jewish parent, communicating the warmth and excitement of our Torah heritage to his children. Within a few years, this problem could claim, G-d forbid, as many Jewish souls as Hitler himself and yet there are "Rabbis" who perform such marriages openly and a Jewish community, who by its silence gives these relationships their tacit approval.

To stem this tide, two courses of action must be taken. They must each be followed vigorously and no



### The Falwell Phenomenon and Schindler's Folly

The last decade has witnessed a role reversal in Judeo-Christian relations. In the early 70's the "in" thing among Reform Jews was interfaith meetings. These were loudly condemned by many Orthodox leaders. Perhaps no one at the time could have visualized that at the beginning of the 1980's the Reform would condemn the Orthodox for the very same thing. Strange as it

seems, that is exactly what has happened.

Rabbi Abraham Hecht, President of the Rabbinical Alliance of America, met with members of the Religious Round Table, a group which is aligned with the Reverend Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority.

What does the Orthodox Rabbi Hecht have in common with a Baptist Fundamentalist Preacher?

Jew, is always a Jew and nothing can destroy the inner G-dly potential that exists within him. However, on a revealed conscious level a Jew who intermarries has broken his ties with his heritage. He may protect, try to rationalize his behavior with this explanation, or another. However, until he breaks the marriage his/her behavior clearly demonstrates which desires motivate him most powerfully. Our Jewish youth must be made aware of the fact that though intermarriage he breaks his tie to his Jewish heritage.

Furthermore, it is necessary to stress Jewish education. A child who is exposed to the glory and the beauty of our Torah and our tradition will naturally desire to share them with his or her spouse. When Judaism is meaningful to a child on a personal level he will want to establish a Jewish home when he is ready to get married. A stitch in time saves nine. If effort is made to educate our youth and communicate Jewish commitment to Jewish children, problems will not arise when they grow up. When a parent complains to a Rabbi that his child is thinking of intermarriage, the Rabbi's first reaction is why didn't you come to me fifteen years ago. One should worry about intermarriage when the child is three not twenty three.

Now is the time when both on an individual and communal level, we must turn our attentions to this issue. Every single Jew and the Jewish community as a whole must work to destroy this problem before it destroys our people.

More, by the Rabbi's own admission, than he does with a Reform Jew. The liberal philosophies prevalent among Reform leaders, says Rabbi Hecht, are anathema to traditional Torah values. A number of Orthodox leaders agree with him and feel that a strengthening of morality in general in this country will, in the long run, strengthen Torah values among Jews. Or, as a prominent Orthodox Rabbi is reported to have said to himself, "I too am a member of the Moral Majority."

To the charge that he is associating with fundamentalist Christian groups who are basically anti-Semitic, Rabbi Hecht replies, "If we don't go to meet with them it's far worse, because they'll say all Jews are liberals, all Jews are leftists. And if we're not at the meetings of the Religious Round Table, who's there to deny that?"

Still, a great question mark looms over the intentions of the Moral Majority and Reverend Falwell. What is he trying to accomplish by involving himself in politics? "I'm not a Democrat. I'm not a Republican," he replies jokingly. "I'm just a noisy Baptist." And what of his relationship with Ronald Reagan? Of this he says, "I know him. I have respect for him. The relationship is that he will run the government and I will run the Thomas Road Baptist Church and somewhere the twain shall meet."

Dr. Dan Fore is pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist Church in Brooklyn and Chairman of the Moral Majority of New York. He is more blunt than Falwell. "We believe that unless America repents of her national sin and turns back to G-d, our days are numbered, just like Rome," he says. What are his chances of instilling fundamentalist religious principles in avant-garde, liberal New York? Optimistically, he proclaims, "I feel that the New York area (will) be a Moral Majority stronghold for this reason. We've had many meetings with the high Jewish leaders in the city... The Jews... have got about a 93 per cent voter registration. They basically believe in the 10 Commandments. They're against the gay

(Continued on Page 16)

## TRIPOMASTERS Presents

# MIAMI'S MOST LUXURIOUS KOSHER HOTEL

## At Prices Everyone Can Afford

Rothenberg's New

# BARCELONA

U GLATT

8 Days/7 Nights Sunday and Monday Departures Only

## \$469-\$593\* INCLUDING AIRFARE

Plus

- 2 gourmet Glatt Kosher meals served daily; 3 on Shabbos
- 3 private tennis courts
- Our own spa complex with sauna, steam and massage facilities



- Luxurious accommodations with private bath and color T.V.
- P.J.'s, our own Kosher nightclub/discotheque
- Fresh water pool, cabana club and private sandy beach

## TRIPOMASTERS

1140 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10001 (212) 689-7600  
Outside N.Y. State Toll Free 800-223-7676

\*Price range based on different room categories and a February surcharge on airfare. All rates are per person based on double occupancy.

## CPA REVIEW

Schedule tailored for Sabbath observers  
BROOKLYN LOCATION

TEMPLE AHAVATH SHOLOM OF FLATBUSH  
Avenue R at E. 16th Street

Classes start Feb. 16th under the direction  
of Mitch Kaplan and Leonard Schultz

FOR INFORMATION CALL

## Person-Wolinsky CPA Review Courses

212-895-5899



## Vigil

(Continued from Page 12)

rights movement, they're against abortion."

And then there is his reply to the charge that Moral Majority opposition to Jewish political leaders is indicative of anti-Semitism. "See, we're not against Javits or Holtzman...in particular," he explains. "We're looking at their voting record. Because, see, we're about as pro-Jew as a person could be. In fact, I've often said I should have been a Jew...I am for Israel as a concept... We know that G-d blesses those that bless the Jews. But if a Jew is in office and he is voting contrary to Biblical morality, he is voting contrary to his own teachings."

Falwell does not see the Moral Majority's influence on American politics as a violation of the separation of church and state. "No where in the constitution," he explains, "are American citizens who happen to be religious, forbidden to wield influence and create a moral climate that will cause government to find it easier to write new law... I do not think Ronald Reagan is the Messiah. I do not think that a conservative House or Senate are the panacea to America's problems. But we

do have some new leaders in Washington who will work with us and not against us."

Clearly, the verdict is still out on the ultimate intentions of Reverend Falwell and the Moral Majority. But Orthodox leaders such as Rabbi Hecht believe that meetings with fundamentalist groups will dispell some of the notions that Jews are anti-morality and thereby will help to somewhat diffuse the anti-Semitic rhetoric that claims the Jews are poisoning the hearts and minds of American youth.

Alexander Schindler, the executive head of Reform congregations in this country has attacked what he calls, "these flirtations with the anti-Semitic Christian Right." He has termed it "suicidal and madness...a pact with the Devil." The Reform rabbi went on to say that the support given by these fundamentalist groups to Israel is no reason to give them recognition. Said he: "This is apocalyptic vision in all its fullness. They seek our extinction as a particular people. Why then in heaven's name should we give them recognition? Have we no honor? Have we lost all self-respect?"

It is truly amazing. Alexander Schindler dons the prophet's robes and points the prophetic finger at fun-

damentalist groups. Schindler, whose reform rabbis perform intermarriages which have resulted in the highest rate of assimilation of any Jewish group is accusing others of "seeking our extinction as a particular people!?" Alexander Schindler who proposed that children of non-Jewish mothers be accepted as Jews is suddenly concerned about our "extinction as a particular people," and is upset because we are giving fundamentalist Christian groups "recognition"! Alexander Schindler whose reform Union of American Hebrew Congregations has given sanction to synagogues whose sexual philosophies are in direct violation of Torah principles is worried about us losing our "honor," our "self-respect"?!

The real dispute is not between Jew and non-Jew, but between liberal and conservative values. The liberal philosophy has tended to do away with the religious value base, while the conservative philosophy has usually sought to retain it.

Personal experience has left me with the impression that Alexander Schindler is basically a mouthpiece to sanction the liberal leanings of American Jewish Congress/Committee types. These groups have the ear and eye of the press and have done little to discourage the

## Remsen Village Wins Senior Citizens Program

City Councilman Ted Silverman (Remsen Village, Flatlands and Canarsie) has announced that the Congregation Beth Israel of East Flatbush, 660 Remsen Avenue, has been approved by the Family and Adult Services of the New York City Human Resources Administration, in conjunction with the Federation of "Y's", as the site for a Senior Citizen Center and Program in Remsen Village.

blatantly fallacious notion that they speak for American Jewry.

And it is this assumption that Jews are all liberal that may be doing severe damage. When the average conservative Christian in the midwest sees his kids watching T.V. programs from New York that suggest that "old fashioned" morality is a joke, and then he sees all the Jewish names in the credits at the end of the show, he is tempted to conclude that "them liberal Jews are poisoning the minds of American youth."

If Rabbi Hecht, in his meetings with Christian fundamentalist groups, can succeed in destroying this image of the Jew, he will have done us a great service.

Work on this program began many months ago when Councilman Silverman's successful efforts to save the Rugby "Y", 555 Remsen Avenue, resulted in the School for Alternative Learning, headed by Rabbi Mondrowitz, becoming the new primary tenant at the "Y". Silverman worked very closely with many parent activists, including Mrs. Sarah Rosenman, and many political figures including Assemblymember Helene Weinstein, Democratic leaders Carl Garritani and Myrna Zisman, former State Committeewoman Sandy Silverman and former Assemblyman Murray Weinstein.

The Beth Israel Senior Citizens Program will service 75 or more seniors, provide hot kosher meals and recreational, educational and cultural programs for all.

## News Digest...

(Continued from Page 4)

reported that a close friend of Abuhatzzeira, restaurant owner Eli Ronen, had hired private investigators to collect evidence against Siegal. Ronen was deluged with calls from hundreds of people offering information. One of these was a former police sergeant who operates a vegetable stall at Tel Aviv's Hacarmel open-air market. He signed an affidavit under oath at the Magistrates Court that he had sold Siegal vegetables at a discount for an entire year. Another stall owner swore that he had several times given Siegal vegetables for free in the presence of others.

The ethnic issue in the Abuhatzzeira affair was raised once again by these charges, which Ronen claims, were triggered by the anger caused by publication of a transcript of a conversation between a police agent and state's witness

Gottlieb in which the former derogatorily referred to the Religious Affairs minister and other National Religious Party members as "Sephardi scum." The ethnic outrage has thus combined with dissatisfaction over police high-handedness into a backlash which the police never expected.

## Tales of the Gaonim...

(Continued from Page 6)

### The Soup Didn't Taste As Good

Rabbi David would study the Torah every day until after midnight. He would then return home to eat. His wife would usually leave a pot of soup on the oven and she and the rest of the family would be asleep when he came home. Rabbi David would then take a piece of bread and together with this soup it would make up his meal for the night. He would then bench, say Krias Shma and retire for the night.

One night his wife was washing the clothes and she forgot to spill out the dirty soap water. She left the pail on the stove near the pot of soup. That night as usual, Rabbi David came home to eat before he retired. He accidentally took the pail of wash water instead of the pot of soup and he drank it all.

The following morning when he saw his wife he said, "Do you know that the soup last night didn't taste so good. I didn't enjoy it at all. It might have had too much salt or other spices."

### Never Enough

When his wife would complain about their extreme poverty, Rabbi David would say, "Do you know why certain people never have enough money? Because they are never satisfied with the amount they have. If they were satisfied with their lot, they would always be content and they would have more than they need."

## When Sarah and Shraga Lifschitz opened their restaurant in Tel Aviv in 1940...



... they never dreamed that their sabra son would be Food & Beverage manager of the Jerusalem Hilton in 1981



Meet Oded Lifschitz at the Jerusalem Hilton. He's one of the people helping to make your Israel dream come true. Oded's expertise and personal attention to detail ensure that dining at the Jerusalem Hilton is a memorable experience. He'll take care of you in the Hamsah Restaurant where you can enjoy an unforgettable sabra buffet breakfast or

a romantic candlelight dinner, the Kerem Restaurant with its rich variety of dairy dishes, the Judea Lounge and Judea Bar which specialize in snacks with a difference and cocktails to match, or around the pool at the Oasis where you can satisfy your taste buds with a light meal or barbeque. Guests at the Jerusalem Hilton always enjoy — that personal touch.

**jerusalem hilton**  
jerusalem's deluxe kosher hotel

Under the Supervision of Rabbi B. Zolti, Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem

**RETACH**  
Parents for Torah for All Children

4612 - 13th Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11219

is proud to announce its

## FIRST ANNUAL FOUNDER'S RECEPTION

tendered in honor of our dear friends and devoted founders

**RABBI AND MRS. BURTON JAFFA**

l'Y Motzei Shabbos Kodesh, 3 Adar 1,  
Saturday Evening, February 7, 1981 - 8:00 P.M.

at  
**THE APERION**

815 Kings Highway,  
Brooklyn, New York

Cocktails - 8:00 P.M.  
Dinner - 9:00 P.M.

Couvert \$36 per couple  
Reservations (212) 436-5125



*file*  
*Colm*

# TRENDS ANALYSES REPORT

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

## THE NEW RIGHT: AN EMERGING FORCE ON THE POLITICAL SCENE

by Milton Ellerin  
and Alisa H. Kesten

Trends Analyses  
November 18, 1980

Discrimination Division,  
Domestic Affairs Department

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

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



## The New Right: An Emerging Force on the Political Scene

No political phenomenon in the past two decades, except perhaps the "Wallace movement," has attracted so much media attention as the so-called New Right. Several books, magazine articles, and countless newspaper feature stories all over the country examined it, attempted to define it and assess its significance, especially during the 1980 presidential race.

A definition of the New Right depends on who defines it; as yet there is no consensus about its ultimate goals despite frequent declarations by its influentials that they seek to take "power" sometime within the next decade, and indeed capture the Presidency of the United States.

It should be stated at the outset that the New Right has little relation, if any, to the so-called Old Right, just as the Old Right had little in common with "conservatives." The Old Right of the late 1950s and early 1960s, frequently called the Radical Right or the Right-Wing Extremists, has for all practical purposes faded away. Intimidation and incitement to violence -- hallmarks of the various "Christian Crusades," the Church League of America "Forums," and the White Citizens Councils -- are the stock in trade of today's Klan, Nazi and other "lunatic fringe" groups.

The John Birch Society, a major component of the Old Right, though tired and ineffective, still exists and still describes itself with some accuracy as an educational rather than a political organization. Probably, individual Birchers embrace New Right causes, and some former members are involved in New Right groups. The Society itself has taken positions almost identical to those of the New Right, the major difference being that while the John Birch Society and the Old Right are still obsessed with the idea that a vast monolithic communist conspiracy is seeking to take over America bit by bit, the New Right -- more pragmatic, realistic and far more astute in working within the system -- sees the "elitist Eastern liberal establishment" as "the enemy."

Conservatives stand somewhere to the right of center in the political spectrum and are distinguished from the New Right, New York Times White House correspondent Steven Weisman has noted, in that they continue "to defend preserving the existing status and privileges as a product of free enterprise, merit, and equal opportunity." And whereas today's conservatives may be described as "talkers and writers," New Right personalities and groups are "doers."

Thunder on the Right, the most recent book on the New Right is purportedly an "insider's report" by Alan Crawford, who worked for several groups generally conceded to be integral to the New Right.\* He defines it as "an institutionalized, disciplined, well financed political network that capitalizes on the passions behind single issue causes and skillfully commands the use of increasingly powerful Political Action Committees. Its leadership, mostly white, mostly middle-class, are using their new found power to tip elections, veto legislation, and initiate referenda."

\*See Appendix B



It should be noted, however, that while the various groups in the New Right "network" have displayed remarkable cooperation for the common good and have voluntarily agreed to allocations of function, each retains its autonomy, meets regularly, and raises its own funds. Each group's key personalities are usually active in several New Right groups.\* "This coziness of New Right leadership," the Democratic National Committee charged in the recent election campaign, "forms a seamless web."

As a movement, the New Right has managed to achieve a rare blend of zealotry and pragmatism: To achieve an objective, it will cooperate with some groups with whom it has little in common. And one of its distinguishing characteristics is negativism; it is against far more than it favors. It is a coalition of anti-establishment rebels and political mavericks who seek to slay the dragon of Eastern elitism after mobilizing the middle-class through social protest. It disdains party labels as no longer relevant. It is dedicated to limited government, free enterprise, and a strong national defense and, according to Crawford, has crafted a populism for the 1980s by "organizing the discontented, mobilizing the disinherited, dislocated and disgruntled against the upper classes."

Although the origins of the New Right may be traced to the 1964 campaign of Barry Goldwater -- a Westerner who, many assumed, would free the Republican Party from Eastern liberal control -- it was only after Watergate in 1974 that it became a new entity. Three men, all experienced in Washington politics and disenchanted with both Nixon and Ford, laid the foundation for the New Right movement: Howard Phillips, chosen by President Nixon to dismantle the "war on poverty" apparatus; Richard A. Viguerie, once active in Texas Senator John Tower's political campaign and today recognized as a fund-raising genius; and Paul Weyrich, former press aide to Colorado's Senator Gordon Allott who, with financial assistance from brewery magnate Joseph Coors, founded the Heritage Foundation, a right-wing think tank.

Phillips, 37 years old, used to be a conventional Republican. At one time he chaired the Republican Party operation in Boston and later headed the Office of Economic Opportunity during the Nixon Administration. Disillusioned by Watergate, he enrolled as a Democrat and ran unsuccessfully for United States Senator from Massachusetts. Although Jewish, he worked with Weyrich in setting up Moral Majority.

Viguerie, the 46-year-old direct-mail fund-raising wizard from Texas, began his career in the 1960s as executive director of Young Americans for Freedom. Because he disliked asking people personally to contribute money to conservative causes, he began to build a direct-mail empire in 1965. Today, the Richard A. Viguerie Company (RAVCO) claims to have on computer the names of 10 million to 20 million conservative donors. He has parlayed his business into a spectacularly successful organization which distributes more than two million pieces of mail a week and has raised millions of dollars for New Right causes and candidates. Among RAVCO's most prominent clients are the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC), Gun Owners of America, and the Committee for Responsible Youth Politics.

\*See Appendix B



A partial list of Viguerie Communications Corporation publications includes Conservative Digest, The New Right Report and Political Gun News. In addition, Viguerie has produced a television film, "The SALT Syndrome," which features Senator Jesse Helms (R.-N.C.) and other leaders who oppose the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties.

Paul Weyrich, 37 years old and a Greek Catholic, has been a television reporter, a press aide to Senator Gordon Allott (R.-Colo.) and special assistant to Senator Carl T. Curtis (R.-Neb.). He is co-founder and first president of the Heritage Foundation, treasurer of the Conservative National Committee and a board member of the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). His efforts, with the cooperation of The Conservative Caucus have involved evangelicals in politics and led to the creation of Moral Majority in September 1979. Weyrich is Joe Coor's political mentor and responsible for getting him involved in politics. In all endeavors, Weyrich demands excellent political organization, and to assure this, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress conducts a thorough, rigorous five-day campaign school.

The original plan of these men and other New Rightists was to form a third party which would offer a Reagan-Wallace ticket in the 1976 campaign for President. The party base would be a new organization -- The Conservative Caucus (TCC) -- directed by Phillips and funded by Viguerie. But when Reagan and Wallace went their separate ways, New Right leaders and groups abandoned third-party plans; but although they chose to operate "more or less" within the GOP framework, they wanted TCC to be known and recognized as a new and separate movement, not merely a group of conservative Republicans. They denounced strict party loyalty and refused to support candidates simply because they were Republicans; they were willing to "enlist" anyone -- Democrat or Independent -- who believed in and voted the New Right way.

By the end of 1974 they had built the key components of a political organization: a policy arm or "think tank," the Heritage Foundation; a national campaign committee or CSFC; and a phenomenally successful fund-raising apparatus operated by Richard Viguerie.

CSFC, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, emphasizes campaign organization. Its primary function is to provide funds and services to right-wing candidates in marginal races, and it will spend heavily through its "Fund to Defeat the Big Labor Bosses," to defeat pro-labor candidates.

Its structure consists of six regional offices, with field staff, who provide political consultation and other supportive services to conservative candidates; candidate recruitment and screening operations; training seminars, including the "Building for Victory" sessions all CSFC-supported candidates must attend; and "The Conservative Register," a comprehensive rating of all Senators and Congressmen.



The Heritage Foundation, currently regarded by many political observers as a "solid" research institution which issues studies and analyses to the Congress and the press, has an annual budget of \$3.2 million. According to its promotion brochure, it "supports free enterprise, individual liberty, limited government and a strong national defense."

The Conservative Caucus, headed by Phillips, is a grassroots organizing committee whose primary function is to develop candidates and train campaign volunteers. It claims 300,000 contributors and supporters, maintains coordinates in 40 states and committees in 250 Congressional districts -- sometimes mobilized into broadly-based local district caucuses to bring pressure on legislators. It has an annual budget of close to \$3 million. Ostensibly nonpartisan, TCC has rallied social and economic conservatives and concentrates on various national issues. For example, the Caucus helped lead the fight against the Panama Canal treaties and the opposition to SALT II. It produces a voluminous literature on the voting records of individual Congressmen, "fact sheets" on controversial questions, and summaries on both sides of an issue which leave no doubt about where the Caucus stands. A "fact sheet" on Federal aid to New York City includes a cartoon portraying the city as a prostitute; one on abortion in military hospitals shows a baby being put out to trash with a bayonet.

The New Right's basic strategies are based on several premises: that the Republican / Democratic two-party system is ineffective; that the Federal Government is remote from the people, unresponsive to prevailing public opinion; and that a new conservative coalition of Democrats, Republicans, and Independents is needed to displace the existing governmental elite, and to restore fiscal responsibility, military preparedness and a culture more oriented toward family, church and neighborhood. To achieve their political objectives they have made common cause with a plethora of "single issue" groups -- tax reform, anti-abortion, anti-gun control and so on.

Simply put, the New Rightists' strategy is to capitalize on popular discontent. They are tough-minded pragmatists; if an issue or a campaign does not work, dump it and go on to something else that will. Loyalty to issues takes precedence over loyalty to political parties; they will work with anyone in any party, although most New Right influentials are nominal Republicans. Forsaking the ideological conservative orthodoxy of the Barry Goldwater generation, newcomers on the Right say "pragmatism demands the new alliances." In the past year their strategy has proved effective in three states -- Vermont, New Hampshire and New Mexico -- where through ideological coalitions cutting across party lines they shifted the political center of the legislatures to the right.

"Successful liberals have worked in a coalition style for years," Weyrich notes, adding that "conservatives...were such a small minority" because they had not worked that way. "We have to support Democrats, Democrats who vote with us. It's a question of pragmatism," says John T. Dolan, head of NCPAC. Thus, New Rightists have joined with the League of Conservative Voters, an environmental group, to defeat election law changes by the House of Representatives, and also with Common Cause to oppose



one of President Carter's nominees for the Federal Election Commission. Dave Denholm, director of the Public Service Research Council, says that working with labor doesn't mean working with unions: "Labor is all those people in America that work for a living and that's often confused with unions. The unions have not been able to control the votes of their members since '54."

Although unquestionably anti-Carter, in January 1980 Weyrich attacked Republicans who refused to endorse the President's partial embargo of grain sales to the Soviet Union. "We do not understand the Republican presidential candidates," he said. "They are putting their careers in the Iowa caucuses ahead of the national security." On the same issue, Viguerie warned: "We are not going to ignore some incumbent Republicans if they are a detriment to the interests of the conservative cause."

Primarily by reaching out to various "single issue" constituencies -- advocates of restoring prayer in public schools, anti-abortionists, anti-gun control, anti-busing, anti-communist, anti-tax, and anti-union organizations -- the New Right had expanded significantly by 1975. These special interest groups are encouraged to spend money and urged to organize to re-elect candidates who have endorsed their views or, as is more frequently the case, defeat those who have opposed them. These efforts are helped with staff, research material and funds.

In March 1975, Senator Helms, several of his key aides and some leaders of political groups formed the National Conservative Political Action Committee, an "umbrella organization" to advise candidates all over the country. From the outset, NCPAC opposed "big labor and Washington based left-wing political action groups," but its first major effort was targeted to some 20 contests for the Virginia State Legislature. By its own admission, NCPAC provided \$50,000 "worth of" political services -- campaign advice, detailed voter services in the selected districts, as well as unspecified assistance "more sophisticated than the average legislative candidate could afford on his own."

Today, NCPAC depends entirely on Richard Viguerie for funding. Its head, John "Terry" Dolan, is a media expert who entered politics as a Republican volunteer in Connecticut and at 21 years of age was a paid organizer in the 1972 Nixon campaign. Once a staffer for Senator Helms, he became involved with NCPAC in 1975 through Viguerie. He works independently of both major political parties, openly exhibiting his contempt for their structures and personalities. With help from Phillips and other New Right leaders, Dolan personally directed The Kennedy Truth Squad, a "get Kennedy" group established even before the Senator had announced his candidacy for President.

In addition to his NCPAC work, Dolan is the organizer and chairman of the Washington Legal Foundation, an advisor to the National Conservative Committee and a board member of the Committee for Responsible Youth Politics. About his involvement with Nixon, Dolan says: "I'm ashamed to admit that now. The Republican Party is a fraud. It's a social club where rich people go to pick their noses." Republican Party officials, for their part, have characterized NCPAC as a "loose cannon on the deck."



NCPAC today is one of the most extensive political operations in the country; less strident in tone than CSFC, it has a broader base of constituents. Using up-to-date organizing techniques, it is involved in all levels of electoral politics and is one of the prime sources of funds for conservative candidates. Dolan involved NCPAC in many primaries, reasoning that a well-placed dollar in these traditionally poorly-organized and poorly-financed contests does more good than in a general election where money and technical support are more readily available. Another NCPAC approach is the so-called "independent expenditure" -- not made by a candidate's organization and therefore not limited by the legal maximum campaign expenditure. In early 1978, NCPAC local "independent expenditure ads" in Iowa, Colorado and Kentucky attacked Senators Dick Clark of Iowa, Floyd Haskell of Colorado, and Walter Huddleston of Kentucky -- all Democrats who supported the Panama Canal treaties. It is widely believed that these ads contributed to the defeats of Clark and Haskell.

NCPAC's current program embraces a wide variety of activities: recruiting, including active search for new conservative faces and involvement in state and local races to "breed" candidates for higher offices; research and polling, including regular voter surveys, compilations of demographic statistics, voting records, public opinion polls, the full range of sophisticated campaign advice and services; training, including campaign management schools around the country for hundreds of candidates and campaign managers and other staff peoples; campaign consultation with political experts who frequently play a predominant role in election campaigns; and state service including funding and direction for local groups and a Governor's Fund to help elect conservative governors.

By the end of 1977, the New Right's political strength was manifest in upset victories in all three special elections for the U.S. House of Representatives. In Washington, they elected John E. Cunningham, in Louisiana Robert L. Livingston, and in Minnesota Arlan Strangeland -- all Republicans. In 1978, as their fund-raising capacity became significant,\* they again scored several key upset victories, and backed nearly 40 percent of the candidates elected to the House.

In the 95th Congress, New Right forces helped defeat a bill permitting common situs (secondary) picketing and other proposed legislation, thus considerably undermining big labor's clout. The defeat of "instant voter registration," they claim, blocked massive voting by ineligible or apathetic people mobilized by big labor or the big-city liberal machines.

By the end of 1979, the New Right claimed that 168 members of the House of Representatives could be counted on to vote its position on important issues. According to its own 1979 estimates, a minimum of 24 U.S. Senators would predictably vote the New Right line and 6 more would probably do so -- only 4 short of the votes needed to block treaty ratification, and 11 short of those required to prevent cloture of a filibuster.

\*Based on data released by the Federal Election Commission, 4 of the 5 top fund-raising political action committees were supporters of New Right causes.



While the New Right is far more sophisticated than the Old, and although its tactics and strategies are different, it still occasionally resorts to extremism. To achieve a political objective, some New Rightists are not above distorting an opponent's point of view, or engaging in what some have called character assassination. Campaign material is frequently designed to frighten people, or unjustifiably besmirch liberal Congressmen with such old shibboleths as "left-wing extremist."

With just reason, some New Rightists have been charged with "cheap shots." One example is the tactics in the announced \$1 million "Target 80" campaign launched by the National Conservative Political Action Committee to defeat Senators Frank Church (D.-Idaho), George McGovern (D.-South Dakota), John C. Culver (D.-Iowa), Birch Bayh (D.-Indiana) and Alan Cranston (D.-California). Television and radio spots and mailings of campaign literature were calculated more to give reasons why the targeted Senators should be defeated, than why their opponents should be elected -- a tactic used in virtually every 1980 Congressional contest where NCPAC was involved.

Part of the campaign against Senator Church was to saturate the state of Idaho with TV commercials charging that he "almost always opposed a strong national defense." The clear implication of one spot showing an empty ICBM silo, was that his position was responsible for the void.

In a television commercial against Senator McGovern (he called it "poisoning the wells") a basketball player dribbled a ball as the announcer intoned: "Globetrotter is a great name for a basketball team but it's a terrible name for a Senator. While the energy crisis was brewing, George McGovern was touring Cuba with Fidel Castro." In New Right mailings, all the targeted Senators have been called "political baby killers" who "apparently think it is perfectly O.K. to slaughter unborn infants by abortion." When asked about a possible backlash to such NCPAC materials, John Dolan's pragmatic reply was that if polls showed it was coming, such tactics would immediately be stopped.

Closely allied to the secular New Right, by common political interest, is the so-called "Christian New Right," made up of a dozen or more Protestant ministers whose skillful television evangelism has made them national religious figures -- and formidable political activists.\* Although it is difficult to pinpoint when they began to mobilize for political action, a drive to elect "God fearing" or "born-again" Christians to public office surfaced during the 1974 election campaign. Early that year, several evangelist groups had been concerned over what was "happening in American politics," and decided that the solution was to get "evangelical men and women into politics"; in 1976, the evangelicals made their first concerted political effort. Rallying to "reclaim America from this Watergate era," such groups as the Christian Freedom Foundation, the Christian Embassy and the Intercessors for America, all now extinct, tried in concert to send "Christ-centered candidates" or born-again Christians to Congress. While precise data on their effectiveness is not available, evangelical sources claim that 24 of 58 of the Congressional candidates they sponsored were elected.

\*See Appendix B



Considering the amorphous character of the New Right, its interlocking leadership, and its tactic of joining like-minded groups to achieve common objectives, it was inevitable that the secular and religious right would establish a working relationship.\* It is not known who took the initiative, but it is believed that sometime in 1979, Paul Weyrich and Howard Phillips met with the Rev. Robert Billings and Edward McAteer, a retired industrialist with wide influence in some church circles. Through Billings and McAteer, Weyrich and Phillips were brought together with, among others, Reverends Jerry Falwell and James Robison, two of the most successful and widely known television evangelists preaching political action.

The bonding between the secular New Rightists and the politically conservative evangelicals is a deep involvement in so-called "family issues." Both bitterly oppose any legislation which facilitates abortion, or supports the Equal Rights Amendment, or more permissive legislation relating to homosexuality, and both ardently favor organized voluntary prayer in the public schools and a strong national defense. These shared concerns, coupled with a resolve to take political action to achieve legislative objectives, led to the formation of Moral Majority, primarily through the efforts of Rev. Jerry Falwell. Basically a lobbying and educational organization, Moral Majority has also raised funds to elect or defeat selected candidates for political office. Its former executive director, Rev. Bob Billings, has delineated its criteria for support or opposition of aspirants to elected office: "We look for candidates who are pro-life, pro-American, pro-bible morality and pro-family from either party." And, Moral Majority was an integral part of the massive New Right effort to defeat Senators Church, Bayh, Culver, and Bob Packwood (R.-Or.).

One product of the new working relationship between secular and religious Rightists was the Christian Voice co-founded by California evangelist Rev. Robert C. Grant and formally launched in Washington in June 1979. Its primary goal, as described by Newsweek, is "to fuse the single issue zeal of the nation's religious activists...into broad-gauge support for conservative policies on such general issues as the economy, diplomacy in Africa and SALT II." It shares computerized mailing lists with Moral Majority and boasts of a 15-member Congressional Advisory Committee chosen from dozens of Senators and Congressmen active in New Right groups.

As of late 1980, Christian Voice had lobbied for and against various laws under a legislative director who did the same job for the American Conservative Union. Rep. Larry McDonald (D.-Ga.), a member of the Congressional Advisory group, introduced a bill barring any Federal job protection for homosexuals. And Christian Voice is part of the "Kingston Group," a coalition of active New Right organizations which meet regularly in Washington to coordinate strategies on current legislation and policy issues.

In February 1980, the Dallas Morning News commented on the new religious conservatives: "A political army of Christian Crusaders is emerging from the religious New Right. They are groups of ultra-conservative and fundamentalist church people who in the past have shunned political activism, holding that their mission was to win conversions for the Lord. Now, they are gearing up for a political showdown of their own. Most of them are closely aligned with prominent television evangelists and conservative members of Congress\* and they have a potential constituency of an estimated minimum of 50 million evangelical conservatives."

\*See Appendix B



At a National Affairs Briefing in Dallas, Texas on August 21-22, 1980, under the auspices of the Religious Roundtable, New Rightists and evangelical activists launched a major effort for political action. Founded in Washington by Ed McAteer in September 1979, the Religious Roundtable tries to enlist the clergy in a fight to defeat "liberal" members of Congress. The two-day briefing was attended by as many as 15,000 clergymen who had come to learn the mechanics of organizing for political action, of creating an awareness of "their issues," and promoting these issues within the political system.

Among those who addressed the ministers were the Rev. James Robison, Rev. Jerry Falwell, Congressman Philip Crane, Senator Jesse Helms, John Connally and Phyllis Schlafly of Stop ERA. Paul Weyrich gave lessons in practical politics and participants received material on the "Christian vote" ratings -- how Congressmen had voted on Christian issues as defined by the evangelicals. Their five duties as Christian citizens, participants were reminded, were to Pray, Register, Become Informed, Help Elect Godly People, and Vote.

Political evangelicals are concentrating on grassroots organization, targeted to local and Congressional elections. "If you want to change America," Paul Weyrich has said, "you have to change the Congress." They compile analyses of the voting records of all members of Congress for a published "Morality Index" which rates their performance against "Bible standards." They have formed committees to raise and distribute funds to some candidates and to finance campaigns against others. Falwell has drafted what he terms a "code of minimal moral standards, dictated by the Bible," which he declared will test the candidates on issues such as abortion, homosexual rights and capital punishment. "We will," he pledged, "then be informing the public through mails, publications, on television and radio where each candidate stands. We will judge them in percentile fashion, on the moral issues, and give the Christian public an understanding of how each votes."

Many evangelists are inserting more political content into their daily religious messages over television and radio networks reaching into the homes of an estimated 47 million Americans -- "an audience that is leadership oriented," according to Gary Jarmin of the Christian Voice. "They are true believers, and if their spiritual leaders tell them to register to vote, they are going to do it."

Except for the drive to reinstitute prayer in the public schools, there are no current New Right issues which might fairly be called Jewish. To be sure, most Jews oppose censorship of school textbooks, which is favored by the New Right, and tend to support liberal abortion laws, liberal immigration, ERA, gun control and other legislation which is opposed by the New Right. But these "Jewish" concerns are grounded in political ideology rather than religion.

No known anti-Semites are identified with the New Right, and the principal groups have made no public overtures to the several Klan and Nazi groups who endorse New Right positions on various issues. While the history of American populism is replete with attempts by populist leaders to scapegoat Jews, this latter-day movement is not discernibly anti-Semitic. The aspects of its hatred are the "Eastern elitist establishment," and the Rockefellers.



While zeal and sense of mission have led New Right groups to adopt extremist tactics in political campaigns, the movement itself is not anti-democratic. In fact, New Rightists are ardent advocates of what some feel is direct democracy -- voter initiative and referendum. As yet, they have no recognized leader who can rally the masses blindly for whatever purpose he sees fit and very little in their activity to suggest that the movement is neo-Fascist.

While some New Rightists have spoken out against PLO terrorism, there are also some pro-Arab individuals. The secular New Right, however, has generally ignored Middle East issues and nothing on its agenda directly concerns Israel; It has taken no position on economic and military aid to Israel or any Middle Eastern country, has been silent on the status of Jerusalem, West Bank settlements, and other Camp David issues. Some observers find it strange that given the New Rightists' opposition to Soviet expansionism, they have not urged support for Israel as a bulwark against it in the Middle East. As of this writing, domestic concerns rather than foreign affairs dominate the New Right agenda.\*

In contrast, the religious New Right, usually indifferent to or unfamiliar with Jewish concerns or sensibilities, is pro-Israel. Fundamentalist theology holds that there will be an ingathering of Jews to biblical Palestine, and that the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth is a precondition for the second coming of Jesus. On the air, from the pulpit and in the newspapers, Jerry Falwell and other fundamentalist ministers have supported the State of Israel; many have visited Israel and met with Prime Minister Begin and other leaders. With an estimated following of 50 million, the religious Right is potentially a strong American ally of the Jewish state.

But despite this strong support for Israel, most Jews are uneasy about religious New Rightists. They seek out born-again Christians or Christ-centered politicians to support for public office; given their way, they would, with missionary zeal, force Americans to live under a government based on their interpretation of Christian morality; more important perhaps, they might do violence to the American tradition of religious pluralism. In addition to what Jews see as an attempt to Christianize America, they remember the strong anti-Jewish strain among fundamentalist clergy in the past; out of these ranks came such notorious anti-Semites as the Rev. Gerald K. Smith and the Rev. Gerald Winrod, the "jayhawk" Nazi.

Jewish apprehension was hardly assuaged by Dr. Bailey Smith, President of the Southern Baptist Convention. "It is interesting at great political rallies," he said at the August 1980 National Affairs Briefing, how you have a Protestant to pray and a Catholic to pray, and then you have a Jew to pray. With all due respect to these dear people, my friend God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew. For how in the world can God hear the prayer of a Jew, for how in the world can God hear the prayer of a man who says that Jesus Christ is not the true Messiah. It is blasphemy. It may be politically expedient, but no one can pray unless he prays through the name of Jesus Christ. It is not Jesus among many, it is Jesus and Jesus only, it is Christ only, there is no competition for Jesus Christ."

\*See Appendix C



The New Right is well financed, highly organized, and skilled in organizational tactics. Its leaders are of high caliber, aggressive, and willing to work with each other to achieve common objectives. They have used modern campaign techniques effectively. They are contemptuous of establishment Republicans whom they charge with having backed off from leading the opposition to Carter on such major issues as the Panama Canal, ERA, the amendment to grant statehood to the District of Columbia. They are, according to National Review's William Rusher, "the first conservative group that has gotten down to the electoral and legislative nitty gritty." And they are wooing the blue-collar and ethnic groups the Old Right used to shun.

While the New Right activists have so far focused mainly on social issues, they plan to exploit an economic issue that is growing more heated -- resentment against taxes: says Viguerie, "that's a big, big, area which the conservative movement hasn't done much with." They believe that big increases in Social Security taxes, which hit the middle-class hard, will ripen anti-tax sentiment for exploitation.

Perhaps Viguerie has made the clearest statement on what the New Right is all about: "We are no longer working to preserve the status quo. We are radicals working to overthrow the power structure of this country. We organize discontent and must prove our ability to get revenge on people who are against us." It is readily apparent that the Right's objective is political power from the grassroots to the presidency; how they would use power and to what ends is not so clear.

#### ADDENDUM

On November 4, 1980, Ronald Reagan was swept into office on a projected 489 to 49 electoral college vote over President Carter. And, for the first time in 26 years, the Republican Party gained control of the Senate. The House of Representatives was also affected by this conservative wave, but Democrats maintained control. New Right leaders were quick to claim victory.

Gary Jarmin, the Washington Director of the Christian Voice - Moral Government Fund, which contributed money to several winning candidates, said the election wave "points to the beginning of a new era." Moral Majority's Jerry Falwell called the results "the greatest day for the cause of conservatism and morality in my adult life." Others, however, were far more cautious in measuring New Right impact. Republican Senator-elect Dan Quayle of Indiana, recipient of NCPAC and Moral Majority support, said after his election that such organizations got "more credit than they deserve."

While it may be too early to gauge the impact of the New Right during the 1980 elections, there were some campaigns in which their tactics and ideology played a key role. The most notable of these was the election of 31-year-old Don Nickles as U.S. Senator from Oklahoma. When the freshman GOP State Senator entered the U.S. Senatorial primary against two better-known and better-financed opponents, many observers scoffed at his chances. But with the help of Moral Majority activists, he not only won the primary run-off by a 2-to-1 majority but went on to capture the Senate seat with 53 percent of the vote.



Moral Majority scored again in Alabama with the help of hard-working fundamentalists. Former Viet Nam POW Jeremiah Denton was elected to the U.S. Senate as a Republican. In this, his first bid for public office, Denton won with 51 percent of the vote over Democratic challenger Jim Folsom, Jr.

NCPAC claimed its share of success when 4 of its 6 main Democratic Senatorial targets -- Bayh of Indiana, Culver of Iowa, Eagleton of Missouri, Church of Idaho, Cranston of California, McGovern of South Dakota -- went down in defeat. Cranston and Eagleton won, but of the losers only Church came close to winning.

New Right secular and evangelical groups supported at least 17 Senatorial candidates and 16 Congressional candidates, incumbents and challengers, to varying degrees. Of these, 14 candidates won Senate seats and 11 won House seats.\* It should be noted, however, that other factors in addition to New Right support, were apparent. In the absence of more detailed data, there is no way of knowing at this time how active New Right groups were on the state and local level. For example, in Gainesville, Florida, 42 Moral Majority candidates ran for virtually all seats open on the county Democratic Executive Committee and won. In California, Moral Majority issued a survey of attitudes of candidates for State Assembly and Senate prior to the elections. Of the 28 candidates receiving a Moral Majority rating of 100 percent, 14 won. There is evidence that New Rightists were as active on a grass-roots level in other localities as well.

Some Republicans have charged that New Right groups, especially NCPAC, caused backlash in several states because of aggressive tactics. While Dolan has expressed doubts that these critics are correct, he admits that NCPAC is accused of violating campaign laws in 4 cases now before the Federal Election Commission. This has not prevented NCPAC from announcing a tentative list of 20 Senators targeted for defeat in 1982. This list includes 17 Democrats and 3 Republicans.

Heartened by election successes, the New Right is moving forward on other fronts as well. As Paul Weyrich of CSFC noted, "A really good staff person can determine the administration's policies as well as the Senate's." In light of this, he said the Heritage Foundation began holding meetings in July 1980 to recruit potential staff members in anticipation of a Republican takeover of the Senate.

There are current indications that the New Right's support of the Reagan Administration may not endure. After proposing the nomination of former Texas Governor John Connally for Secretary of State, Richard Viguerie complained that "the transition appointments (of President-elect Reagan) have angered us. There's not a hard-core conservative in the lot....Was it the Ford-Kissinger-Rockefeller wing of the party that has been promoting Reagan for 16 years?"

Although in many cases, it is not at all certain that New Right secular and religious groups were the difference between victory and defeat, there is little doubt that on a grassroots level its members were effective in registering new voters, distributing campaign literature and utilizing the media. Despite mixed interpretations of their effectiveness, New Rightists are determined to continue to be politically active. In reply to a television commentator's assertion that Moral Majority was not a big part of the Reagan landslide, Illinois Moral Majority Director Rev. George Zarris said, "Those people still don't know who we are and what we can do. In a way I hope they never find out. That way we can sneak up on them at the next election, too."

\*See Appendix A



# APPENDIX A

## New Right Support of Congressional Candidates

(November 4, 1980 Elections)

CSFC- Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress

RR- Religious Roundtable

MM- Moral Majority

CV- Christian Voice

NCPAC- National Conservative Political Action Committee

W- Won

L- Lost

\*- Denotes member of CV Congressional Advisory Committee

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>New Right Group</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
<u>Senate</u>		
John P. East (R.-N.C.)	MM, NCPAC	W
Frank H. Murkowski (R.-Alas.)	MM	W
Warren Rudman (R.-N.H.)	MM	W
Jeremiah Denton (R.-Ala.)	MM, NCPAC	W
Paula Hawkins (R.-Fla.)	MM	W
Charles E. Grassley (R.-Iowa)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Don Nickles (R.-Ok.)	MM, NCPAC, RR	W
Dan Quayle (R.-Ind.)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Mack Mattingly (R.-Ga.)	MM, NCPAC	W
James Abdnor (R.-S.D.)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Steven Symms (R.-Ida.)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Gene McNary (R.-Mo.)	NCPAC	L
Paul Gann (R.-Cal.)	MM, NCPAC, CSFC	L
Mary Estill Buchanan (R.-Colo.)	NCPAC, CSFC	L
Bob Dole (R.-Kan.)	MM	W
Jake Garn (R.-Utah)	MM	W
Paul Laxalt (R.-Nev.)	MM	W
<u>House</u>		
Albert Lee Smith (R.-Ala.)	MM	W
Richard Huff (R.-Ariz.)	MM	L
Barry Billington (R.-Ga.)	MM	L
Robert Bauman (R.-Md.)	MM	L
Jim Bradshaw (R.-Tex.)	MM, CV	L
Jack Fields (R.-Tex.)	MM, NCPAC	W
Frank Wolf (R.-Va.)	MM, CV, CSFC	W
Stanford Parris (R.-Va.)	CV	W
Thomas Kindness (R.-Oh.)*	CV	W
John M. Ashbrook (R.-Oh.)*	CV	W
Jim Jeffries (R.-Kan.)*	CV	W
Daniel B. Crane (R.-Ill.)	CV	W
William E. Dannemeyer (R.-Cal.)	CV	W
Larry McDonald (D.-Ga.)*	CV	W
Dawson Mathis (D.-Ga.)	CV	L
John P. Hiler (R.-Ind.)	CV	W

President-elect Ronald Reagan received support, to varying degrees, from MM, CV, and RR.



## APPENDIX B

### Some Secular New Right Organizations and Leaders

American Conservative Union -- David Keene, Director  
American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) -- Kathy Teague, Executive Director  
American Life Lobby -- Judie Brown, President  
Citizens for Constructive Education -- June Larson  
Citizens Committee for the Right to Bear and Keep Arms -- Alan Gottlieb, Executive Director  
Committee for a Positive Change  
Committee for Responsible Youth Politics -- Morton Blackwell, Chairman  
The Conservative Caucus (TCC) -- Howard Phillips, Executive Director  
Freedom of Choice, Inc., The Committee for the New Majority  
Fund for the Conservative Majority -- Robert Heckman, Chairman  
Heritage Foundation -- Edwin Feulner, President  
Kingston Group  
Leadership Foundation -- Martha Rountree  
Life Advocates -- Margaret Hotze  
Life Amendment Political Action -- Paul Brown, Executive Director  
National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) -- John Terry Dolan,  
Executive Director  
National Pro-Life Political Action Committee -- Father Charles Fiore, National Chairman;  
Peter B. Gemma, National Director  
National Right to Work -- Reed Larson, President; Henry (Huck) Walther, Director  
National Tax Limitation -- Lewis Uhler, Chairman  
Pro-Family Coalition -- Connaught Marshner, Chairman  
Pro-Family Forum -- Lottie Beth Hobbs, National President  
Public Service Research Council -- David Denholm, Executive Director  
Richard A. Viguerie Company (RAVCO) -- Richard A. Viguerie, Director and Founder  
Republican Study Committee -- Paul Weyrich, Founder  
Second Amendment Foundation -- Alan Gottlieb  
Stop ERA -- Phyllis Schlafly  
Washington Legal Foundation -- Daniel Popeo, National Executive Director  
Young Americans For Freedom

### Some Evangelical New Right Organizations and Leaders

Christian Action Council -- Rev. Harold O.J. Brown, Chairman  
Christian Coalition for Legislative Action -- Jim Wright, Chairman  
Christian Voice -- Richard Zone, Executive Director  
Christian Voice-Moral Government Fund -- Gary Jarmin, Washington Director  
Coalition for the First Amendment  
Conservative Victory Fund -- Gregg Hilton, Executive Director  
Moral Majority -- Rev. Robert Billings, former Executive Director; Rev. Jerry Falwell,  
Chairman  
National Christian Action Coalition -- Rev. Robert Billings, Executive Director  
National Organization to Involve Concerned Electorate (NOTICE) -- Wayne Allen, Chairman  
Religious Roundtable -- Ed McAteer, Founder  
Television Evangelist -- James Robison  
"Washington for Jesus" Rally -- Jim Bakker, Coordinator



## APPENDIX C

### The New Right Political Agenda

#### ANTI

#### PRO

#### Family Issues

Abortion  
Equal Rights Amendment  
Federal interference in public education  
Homosexuality and gay rights  
Pornography  
School busing for integration  
Sex education in the public schools

Censorship of school textbooks  
Classroom prayer  
Laxalt Family Protection Act  
Scientific creationism

#### Domestic Issues

Affirmative action  
Big government  
Davis-Bacon Act  
D.C. statehood  
Full employment legislation  
Government support of corporations in trouble  
Gun control  
Indian tribal claims to land and water rights  
Instant voter registration  
Labor unions  
Minimum wage  
National health insurance  
Open immigration  
Occupational Safety and Health Administration  
Situa picketing  
Social Security

Death penalty  
Deregulation of airlines, trucking, etc..  
Tax cut  
Western land development

#### International Issues

Detente  
Panama Canal Treaty  
Recognition of Red China  
SALT II  
Trade with Communist bloc

#80-970-16

This report was prepared by Milton Ellerin, Director, and Alisa H. Kesten, Program Analyst, of the American Jewish Committee's Trends Analyses section and based in large measure on the research provided by Julie Kalmus, a member of the A.J.C.  
November 18, 1980



## Religion and Politics

### Religious Responsibility in a Free Society

The Challenge of Democracy	<i>Morris Adler</i>	3
Religious Responsibility for the Social Order	<i>Emil L. Fackenheim</i>	4
Statement by 15 American Church Bodies		6

### Reactions and Response to the Christian Right

A Personal Statement	<i>George G. Higgins</i>	8
A Jewish Perspective	<i>Seymour Siegel</i>	9
How Should We Respond?	<i>Seymour D. Reich</i>	11
The Need for a Moral Minority	<i>Robert McAfee Brown</i>	12
A Lutheran Statement		15

### Voices of Moderation

Twelve Points to Consider	<i>Martin E. Marty</i>	16
The Christian Right: Some Reflections	<i>Ronald B. Sobel</i>	19

Books in Review	<i>Theodore Freedman</i>	21
-----------------	--------------------------	----

**T**he last word on the question of religion and politics is not yet in. An ancient dilemma, disputed and debated over the ages, the relationship between kings and priests, between prelates and presidents, keeps resurfacing in new shapes and forms.

In our own day, thanks to the power of "the electronic church" to magnify and multiply its messages to countless millions, a specific group of evangelicals, lumped together as the Christian Right or Religious Right, has become disproportionately vociferous and visible. While the activities of these and other religious bodies in the political process are in line with the ongoing church-state dialogue, as most of our observers reaffirm, it is the ability to impact on the masses, via television and radio, that is the decidedly new phenomenon. The skilled use of communications media by some of the evangelical preachers, in a period of electronic marvels, cannot but revive many of the old questions anew.

What is or should be the legitimate role of religious bodies in our own free society? To what extent do they, as the moral conscience of our country, have an obligation to speak out on the crucial issues affecting our government and those elected to govern? Should church and state remain separated or are new kinds of coalitions and alliances inevitable?

This issue of *Face to Face* purports to examine afresh, from a cross-section of vantage points, some of these issues as they impinge on American society in the 80's. Thoughtful historical Jewish perspectives are provided by the first two articles, both written more than 20 years ago. In the view of the late Rabbi Morris Adler, an influential figure in the Judeo-Christian dialogue during the 50's and 60's, "a monumental obligation" rests on religious leaders to play an active gadfly role in helping to complete "the unfinished business of our democratic life." He practiced what he preached by helping to pioneer, as chairman of the Review Board of the United Automobile Workers of America, new methods of arbitrating labor-management disputes.

Emil Fackenheim, the well-known theologian-philosopher, warns religious leaders against "innocuous generalities" and insists instead that they transform their moral concerns into concrete, specific deeds. Theological observations on the Religious Right formulated by 15 distinguished Protestant bodies clearly separate what they find acceptable for Christians in the political arena and what they find unacceptable.

Other reactions and responses to the new phenomenon of political activism by the Religious Right follow. Father



George Higgins, the eminent Catholic theologian, presents his personal views, both positive and negative, as does Rabbi Seymour Siegel, an acknowledged expert on Jewish law and lore. While refusing to see the movement as monolithic, Seymour Reich, an attorney and chairman of ADL's Civil Rights Committee, raises some "troubling" questions about the Christian political movement — e.g., its advocacy of prayer in the schools, which, in his view, poses a threat to "the pluralist character of American society" and the time-honored American tradition of separating church and state.

The sharpest critique of the Christian Right, however, comes from within the Christian fold. Robert McAfee Brown, leading Protestant theologian, takes a close look at groups claiming to be moral majorities and finds them dangerous because "they begin to conceive of themselves as moral monopolies." What is more fitting for America's national and cultural pluralism, asserts Dr. Brown, are moral minorities — small units of citizens that can "propose convictions without arrogance, insight without absolutism, commitment without coercion, and democracy without demagoguery."

The statement by leaders of the Lutheran church bodies is equally forceful, with special emphasis on the potential divi-

siveness of bodies seeking to "Christianize" the American government. "To describe one group's political position as 'The Christian Voice' and one movement's political agenda as a movement 'for Jesus,'" it avers, is "an affront to Jewish and other religious advocates whose religions hold social justice as a social form of love of neighbor. Devout Christians and Jews agree and disagree between and among themselves regarding political decisions and can agree and disagree with nonbelievers."

Moderation in reaction to the Christian Right is urged by Professor Martin Marty, the well-known authority on church history. Specifically, he cautions against lumping all the groups together and suggests the need to counterorganize. Above all, he pleads, "don't underestimate and don't overestimate the new force."

Rabbi Ronald Sobel, as chairman of ADL's Program Committee, concludes our round-up by summing up the pluses and minuses. Both Jews and Christians, he asserts, need to share their respective perspectives on the role of religion in shaping American culture and in defining and strengthening "the fundamental values that underlie the ordering of a society."

Lily Edelman

## A Statement of Policy

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith believes that the American democratic system has found much of its inspiration in the ethical and moral concepts of the great religions. Their impact upon American life is evident. The Hebrew Bible and the great religious philosophers influenced the founders of the Republic, and most Americans today agree that these concepts are essential to the fullest realization of the American democratic ideal.

ADL is firmly committed to the centrality of religion in American life. It is equally committed to the separation of church and state as the means whereby the religious freedom of all Americans is safeguarded. ADL, therefore, believes that all religious bodies have not only the right but also the responsibility to play an active part in guaranteeing social

justice, dignity and freedom for every human being.

As for the heightened activism of the Christian Right in recent times, we believe that looking at its components as one monolithic group is every bit as mischievous as viewing Jews or Catholics as one monolithic group. While we shall remain vigilant in our defense of the Jewish people and of the democratic process in our society, we in ADL are always open to dialogue and discussion with any and all groups, confident that no matter our differences and confrontations of the past, the amplitude of reason in the Judeo-Christian heritage will guide us to better understanding.

Nathan Perlmutter

National Director, Anti-Defamation League

Vol. VIII Winter 1981

**FACE TO FACE:** Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, Maxwell E. Greenberg, National Chairman; Nathan Perlmutter, National Director; Rabbi Ronald B. Sobel, Chairman, National Program Committee.

**Editorial Advisory Board:** Rabbi Ben Zion Bokser, Rabbi Martin A. Cohen, Dr. David Evans, Rev. Dr. Stanley Harakas, Rev. Dr. Christian E. Hauer, Jr., Dr. Monika Hellwig, Dr. Joseph L. Lichten, Rev. Dr. Martin Marty, Judith Herschlag Muffs, Rabbi David H. Panitz, Thomas F. Stransky, CSP, Dr. Cynthia Wedel.

**Executive Editor:** Theodore Freedman

**Editor:** Lily Edelman

**Associate Editors:** Rabbi Solomon S. Bernards and Rabbi Leon Klenicki

**Design:** Robin Levy

Annual Subscription — \$5.00

Copies of this issue and back issues ("Jerusalem City of History, City of Eternity," "Women and the Religious Community," "Christian Mission and Jewish Witness," "Liturgy and Better Understanding," "Jewish-Christian Relations," "Religious Education: Issues and Alternatives") are available at \$1.50 per copy from:

**Face to Face**

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017

**FACE to FACE**



# Religious Responsibility in a Free Society

## The Challenge of Democracy **Morris Adler**

Democracy challenges the religions of the land to live with one another in a relationship neither of inferiority nor superiority, domination or subordination — but of parity. To be sure, the adherent of one faith does not, perhaps cannot, believe that all faiths are of equal truth, value, and sublimity. To believe that makes one's commitment to a particular religion a meaningless matter of whim rather than a decision involving one's destiny. Each religion believes that it is in possession of something distinctive, unduplicated — else its persistence is shorn of significance. As a Jew, I want to feel and do feel that the presence of my tradition on the American scene does not simply add to its variety or increase its diversity — but enriches the content and substance of American life.

### Important and Crucial Force

All religions have a common task of combating the corruptions of an amoral, materialistic, success-centered, power-mad world. The religions of democracy have likewise the supremely significant function of maintaining vital and alert those spiritual qualities, ethical sensitivities, and moral disciplines without which the forms of democracy may fall of their own inert weight. Democracy functions best when it is composed of individuals, not merely of citizens. It is in totalitarian societies that the individual contracts into the citizen and is permitted no province of expression and aspiration outside of loyalty and subservience to the state. The extragovernmental, voluntary spheres of life in a free land must be kept free and open. There are areas in a child's life which should always remain beyond the reach of the mechanisms of government and the state. Many church and synagogue leaders are equally concerned about the religious illiteracy of American youth and the adult as well — an illiteracy that is truly interfaith and transdenominational in scope. The responsibility resides with the religious community. Religion is the most important and crucial force functioning in the voluntary areas of American life through instruction, persuasion, and example.

And religions have in common the monumental obligation of serving as the moral conscience of the country. The great social and economic problems we face are deeply grounded in moral issues. Unpartisan, uninvolved in the machinery of

government, speaking out of a large perspective and endowed with a tradition of love and compassion, religion can uphold the social goals to which we must direct our political and economic policies. It can and should foster uneasiness in the American people about the unfinished business of our democratic life — bigotry, segregation, political corruption, foreign policy, and international understanding.

### Passion for Justice and Righteousness

Religion has no technical competence in the fields of politics, economy, and social need. But it does possess the qualities without which no adequate solution of the problem in these areas of our national life can ever be achieved, namely, large humane goals and a passion for justice and righteousness. There are still social obstacles that prevent men from seeing God. There is the danger of machine the instrument becoming machine the ruler. There is still the divisiveness which denies God as Father because it repudiates man as brother. There is the parochial partisanship and denominational exclusiveness which keeps us from seeing the whole man and all of mankind. There are still children deprived of the sunlight of love, the lamp of learning, the shelter of security. The thunder of greed and avarice, the race for gain and fame, the din of the conforming multitude threaten to drown out the still small voice.

Here is a task for religion, as formidable and as basic as it has ever faced. It must transcend its institutionalism by its outgoing love of all men. Our society under the aspect of the Eternal must bring to bear upon the tormenting problems of our age religion's mellow wisdom, its inspired ideals, its sensitive standards — its faith in God, in life, in man.

May religion — all religion — be blessed with the generosity of spirit and the nobility of mind to fulfill the opportunities and to meet the obligations that beckon in a democracy.

The late Rabbi Adler of Detroit participated in many national conferences involving religious leadership, serving for many years as chairman of the Review Board of the United Automobile Workers and pioneering new methods of out-of-court arbitration of labor-management disputes. This article is excerpted from *May I Have a Word with You?*, a collection of his essays compiled by Goldie Adler and Lily Edelman, Crown Publishers, 1967.



# Religious Responsibility for the Social Order

Emil L. Fackenheim

*The following article was part of a Protestant-Catholic-Jewish dialogue, held at the annual board meeting of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Washington, D.C., on November 20, 1961. I have found the topic not only most important but also — if seriously tackled, and tackled in a brief statement — difficult and full of snares. Among the snares which I sought to avoid and expose are: (a) the mistaking of the separation of church and state for a dualism which makes religion otherworldly, and society either amoral or else morally concerned in a way which does not only need religious inspiration but positively rejects it; (b) the belief (found in the various forms of "Biblicism," on the one hand, natural law positions, on the other) that it is the business of religion to offer moral doctrines which are specific and concrete, and yet timelessly valid; (c) the opposite belief that, precisely because religion cannot offer such doctrines, it must confine itself to innocuous generalities, thus leaving the big decisions concerning war and peace, the implementation of social justice, etc., entirely in the hands of religiously and morally neutral "experts."*

E.L.F.

If there is a single religious affirmation which, first coming with Judaism into the world, has remained basic to Jewish belief until today, it is that the God on high loves widows and orphans below; and that He commands men, from on high, to do His will in the social order below. Elsewhere, too, men have had an awareness of the Divine, and a sense of responsibility in the social realm. It was the distinctive contribution of the Hebrew prophets to proclaim that the two cannot be rent apart; that men ought to treat each other as created in the image of a God who challenges them to this task.

It is in the light of this basic affirmation that I must seek to answer the question concerning religious responsibility for the social order. And I must begin by opposing all attempts to tear asunder what the prophetic affirmation joins together: that is, on the one hand, a secularism which bids religion mind its business, of which responsibility for the social order is to be no part, and, on the other hand, an otherworldly religion which, accepting this advice, disclaims all responsibility for the social order. Forms of such divorce have existed in all ages. That they may exist in one and the same person has been terribly illustrated in our own time — by those Germans who thought it possible to be Nazis and Christians at once.

## Religious and Social Realms Not Divorced

I must stress that opposing divorce between the religious and the social realm is by no means equivalent to rejecting the separation between church and state. I must stress, too, that secularist social morality has often put to shame a social morality supposedly religiously inspired; that those rejecting or suspending belief in God have often done His will toward men more perfectly than those professing belief in Him. And this fact must give us pause. Even so, one may question whether secularist morality can, for long, treat men as created in the image of a God in whom it does not believe; whether it can forever resist the temptation to reduce man, from an end in himself, to a mere means, thus degenerating either into a merely relativistic morality, or else — and worse — into one resting on pseudo-absolutes, such as the interests of a deified class, nation or state.

The dangers of divorce between the religious and the social may seem remote to North Americans, who tend to be practical in religion and religiously inspired in their social morality; and indeed, for the worst examples of divorce we must surely look elsewhere. Still, we are by no means exempt from danger. For a religious civilization such as ours invites a secularism assuming a pseudo-religious garb; and hence religion, meant to be openness to the divine imperative, may become a device for avoiding it. Thus, for example, those who begin by responding to the divine imperative, with a dedication to freedom and democracy, may end up deifying their dedication; and to the extent to which they in fact do so their actual dedication — as well as what it is dedicated to — is perverted. Of this danger, there are ominous indications in our time.

## Complex Relationship

So much for the divorce between the religious and the social, which the prophetic imperative bids us oppose. What of their relation, which that imperative bids us affirm? This question, unlike the former, is fraught with great difficulty. And its essential cause is that, while the prophetic imperative is divine, the social world in which it is to find realization is human; and the human world has characteristics which render complex not only any attempt to *realize* the prophetic imperative, but even any attempt — such as the present — merely to *state* it, in terms concrete enough to be applicable. Three characteristics must here be noted.

(1) All social organization involves power. But power is amoral before it can be made moral, and presumably it always retains aspects of amorality or even immorality. This fact confronts those who would heed the prophetic imperative with a dilemma. They may either forswear all use of power, in order to remain true to the prophetic imperative. But then they condemn their own efforts to ineffectiveness, at least beyond the most private relations and in the social order as a whole; and thus they contribute either to total anarchy or else — more likely — to an amoral order based on naked power. Yet most forms of social order are better than anarchy, and a partly moralized order better than one not



moralized at all. Alternatively, they may seek power, for the sake of the prophetic imperative which demands realization. But then they must recognize that they become compromised in its use; and their religious motivation is no protection against such compromise. Indeed, experience shows that power wielded in the name of God is subject to special perversions.

This is why those who are organized by commitment to the prophetic imperative cannot, on the one hand, escape their responsibility of moralizing power, while on the other hand they must resist all temptations to make a bid for direct power, confining themselves to indirect methods of pressure-by-exhortation. Here lies perhaps the deepest justification for the American principle of the separation of state and church.

(2) What must be the content of such exhortation? May religion advocate specific measures in the name of God, leaving to the state and society the task of their enactment? Here I come upon a second complexity of the human condition, which makes such a neat arrangement impossible. This is that concrete moral ends are, in the actual human situation, in conflict both with other ends and with the means required to enact them. I cannot think of a single moral and religious end, concrete enough to be directly applicable, and yet valid without exception. Thus believing all human life to be sacred, I believe all wars to be evil; and yet I must admit that some wars had justly to be fought. But the concept of "just wars" does not supply me with universally applicable criteria. Again, though believing in the Biblical injunction to be fruitful and multiply, I cannot deduce from this belief the universal wrongness of artificial birth control. For I must measure the Biblical injunction against the dangers of overpopulation and mass starvation. In short, I find myself unable to subscribe to what has been called the natural law, supplying us with a knowledge of right and wrong sufficiently concrete to be directly applicable, and yet valid regardless of time and circumstances.

### Limits of Religion

(3) Must religion, then, confine itself to the affirmation of abstract principles, leaving to other forces not merely the task of enactment but also that of specific application? Is religion confined to affirming in general the sacredness of life and liberty, and the evil of exploitation, but barred from taking a specific stand as to when life may be taken and liberty curtailed, and as to what constitutes a just minimum wage? Here we come upon this further characteristic of the human condition, that the moral and religious conscience of a society is manifest, not in an abstract affirmation of liberty or condemnation of exploitation, but in what it protests against, as constituting a case of curtailed liberty, or a case of exploitation. Relevancy lies in the particular. As for the general, this is apt to be invoked not only by the indifferent but even by the enemy; peace has been invoked by the mongers of war, freedom and democracy, by their worst foes. This tendency to hypocrisy is evident throughout human history. But, as George Orwell has shown with such depressing persuasiveness, not until the twentieth century have men made it into a system.

Another neat arrangement of the respective responsibilities of religion and society for the social order has thus

collapsed. A religion which confines itself to general principles condemns itself to ineffectiveness and innocuousness. The Hebrew prophets, in contrast, were neither innocuous nor ineffective. And this was because they asserted the will of God, not in terms of abstract general principles, but in and for the here and now.

In the light of these reflections, how, then, can I link, positively and concretely, prophetic religion to its responsibilities for the social order? The link is found, I think, not in rules or principles but in a believing attitude.

This believing attitude must, first, stubbornly insist that the will of God is to be done in the social world of man, and that we are responsible for our share in it. It must resist the temptation, born of frustrations of all ages and especially of our own, of escaping into dualism, whether into a divine world above, unconcerned with man, or into a human world below, unconcerned with God and hence not really human.

### Believing Attitude Required

This believing attitude must, secondly, face up to the will of God, not in general, or for some other place and time, but here and now. There is no situation which is morally and religiously neutral. There is no power struggle, however necessarily Machiavellian, which is not at the same time a situation in which the prophetic imperative speaks to us. And even the thunder of nuclear tests must not be allowed to drown its voice.

Thirdly, the prophetic imperative, being divine, must be taken with radical seriousness, not given mere half-hearted and niggardly concessions. It is one thing to be forced to compromise in the struggle against war, oppression, discrimination and poverty, and to accept such compromises temporarily and with an aching heart. It is another thing entirely to mistake what are at best incomplete achievements finally and self-righteously, as if they were perfect. This believing attitude can never forget that so long as the divine image is violated even in one single human being, the Kingdom of God on earth is incomplete.

Fourthly, this believing attitude knows that while the prophetic imperative is divine, even our best efforts to respond to it are only human. And this is true not only of our organized forms of acting but also of our organized forms of belief, doctrine and preaching. Society and religion, even at their best, are under the judgment of God.

Finally and most importantly, this believing attitude knows that while we have our responsible share in the doing of God's will in the social world of man, the fate of that world is not in our hands alone. Throughout the ages, those committed to the prophetic imperative have always been threatened by despair when faced with the discrepancy between what ought to be and what is. This danger assumes unheard-of proportions in a world confronted with possibilities of total destruction. Today, more than ever, one can heed the prophetic imperative with any kind of confidence only if one heeds it with an ultimate confidence; with the confidence in a God who, while bidding us to work in His world, is also its absolute Sovereign.

Professor Fackenheim teaches philosophy at the University of Toronto. The present article is reprinted from *Judaism and Ethics*, edited by Daniel Jeremy Silver, Ktav, 1970.



# Christian Theological Observations on the Religious Right

## A Statement by 15 American Church Bodies

The emergence of a politically active movement popularly called "the Religious Right" claiming to represent "the moral majority" or "the Christian voice" has prompted us, a group representing a broad range of traditions and viewpoints in the U.S. Christian community, to issue this statement.

We disagree with many of the political positions of those in the Religious Right, but Christians in this country have traditionally disagreed on many political issues. A common faith does not necessarily produce a political consensus.

Our intent in this statement is not to argue for one ideological stance over against another, but to make some theological observations about certain things now being said and done in the name of Christian morality.

### Areas of Agreement

We want to register our agreement with some things we hear these companions in the U.S. Christian community saying. We agree that:

- Christians ought to be actively engaged in politics and influenced in their political judgments by their faith in God and loyalty to God's cause.
- Church bodies and other groups of Christians have both the right and the responsibility to make their views known on public policy issues.
- Religious leaders have both the right and the responsibility to proclaim the Word of God as they understand it in light of political realities and to interpret political realities in light of the Word of God.
- It is proper for religious bodies or organizations to provide their members and the general public with analyses of political issues and information on the voting records of office holders, and to mobilize their members in support of or in opposition to particular legislation.

We express these agreements because many criticisms of the Religious Right reflect what we judge to be misunderstandings of the role of the Christian community in the common life and the meaning of the constitutional principle of separation of church and state. Christians and Christian groups — whether they be ideologically right, left, or center — have every right to seek to influence public affairs.

### Theological Objections

Nevertheless, apart from any political differences we may have with the Religious Right, we have strong theological objections to some of their positions and tactics.

1. On theological and ethical grounds, we object to the list of issues which the Religious Right has identified as the

moral agenda facing our nation. We do not simply disagree with their stance on particular items on their agenda; we find their selection of issues to be theologically and ethically inadequate. An agenda identified by Christian believers ought to reflect God's concern for the whole world. It ought to be consonant with what God has revealed of Himself through the prophets and Jesus. It ought to be faithful to what Jesus called the "weightier matters of the law." Our study of the Biblical witness convinces us that the God of the prophets and of Jesus calls the people of God to work for peace and things that make for peace, to seek justice for the poor, and to care for the created order. What God wills for our common life is at heart a theological question. We regard the theology of the Religious Right, expressed in their choice of issues for Christian concern, as unfaithful to the fullness of Biblical witness.

2. On theological and ethical grounds, we object to the moral criteria that many in the Religious Right use to evaluate candidates for public office. It is quite appropriate, even morally mandatory, for citizens to choose among candidates for public office in light of their stances on the great public issues of the day. But simple human decency and fairness to the candidates, concern for the common good, and most of all loyalty to the God of Biblical faith surely demand that the instrument by which Christians measure candidates for public office be adequate to the task. We believe the narrow range of issues selected by such groups as the Christian Voice and the Christian Voters' Victory Fund for the purpose of rating members of Congress represents ideological preferences rather than the breadth of responsible Christian positions.

### Impossibility of Knowing God's Will

3. On theological and ethical grounds, we reject the assumption that human beings can know with absolute certainty the will of God on particular public policy issues. Many in the Religious Right seem to have forgotten the clear Biblical witness and central Christian acknowledgment that all of us are finite, fallible, and sinful. They make claims to knowledge of God's will for our nation that no Christian is entitled to make. God wills peace, justice, and liberation for all His children. God works in history to fashion a just, participatory, and sustainable society. And the requirements of God are clear: We are to love God with all that we are; we are to love our neighbors as ourselves; we are to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with our God. But we who are finite and fallible cannot claim to know with certainty the appropriate response to God's requirements at a particular moment in history. We recall and urge others to recall the wisdom of Reinhold Niebuhr:

The sorry annals of Christian fanaticism, of unholy



religious hatreds, of sinful ambitions hiding behind the cloak of religious sanctity, of political power impulses compounded with pretensions of devotion to God, offer the most irrefutable proof of the error in every Christian doctrine and every interpretation of the Christian experience which claim that grace can remove the final contradiction between man and God. The sad experiences of Christian history show how human pride and spiritual arrogance rise to new heights precisely at the point where the claims of sanctity are made without due qualifications.

4. Finally, on theological and ethical grounds, we reject the manner in which some in the Religious Right are engaging in political activity. There is no place in a Christian

(Signed)

Bishop James M. Ault,  
Secretary of the Council of Bishops,  
United Methodist Church

Rev. Charles V. Bergstrom,  
Executive Director,  
Office for Governmental Affairs,  
Lutheran Council in the U.S.A.

Rev. Robert C. Campbell,  
Executive Secretary,  
American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.

Ruth A. Daugherty,  
President,  
Women's Division,  
Board of Global Ministries,  
United Methodist Church

Dr. Milton B. Engebretson,  
President,  
Evangelical Covenant Church in America

Dr. John S. Groenfeldt,  
President,  
Moravian Church, Northern Province

Bishop Nathaniel L. Linsey,  
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church

Rev. C.J. Malloy, Jr.,  
General Secretary,  
Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.

manner of political life for arrogance, manipulation, subterfuge, or holding others in contempt. There is no justification in a pluralistic and democratic society for demands for conformity along religious or ideological lines. St. Paul urges Christians to "let your manner of life be worthy of the gospel of Christ." This applies to political as well as to other forms of social life. All of us stand constantly under divine judgment and mercy. Sensitivity to this common human situation should be reflected in every Christian's political manner of life.

This statement was issued on October 20, 1980, in Washington, by 15 major American church bodies. The names of the signatories appear at the end of the statement.

Dorothea C. Morse,  
Clerk,  
Friends General Conference

Dr. Robert W. Neff,  
General Secretary,  
Church of the Brethren

Rev. Avery Post,  
President,  
United Church of Christ

Dr. Porter W. Routh,  
Interim Executive Director,  
Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs

Rev. Kenneth L. Teegarden,  
President,  
Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)

Rev. George B. Telford, Jr.,  
Director,  
Division of Corporate and Social Mission,  
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.

William P. Thompson,  
Stated Clerk,  
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.



# Reactions and Response to the Christian Right

## Religion and Politics: A Personal Statement George G. Higgins

As a matter of strong personal conviction and not merely for the record, I do not question the right of any organization, secular or religious — whether left, right, or middle of the road — to speak out on matters of public policy on the basis of its own moral and ethical standards and to try to persuade its constituents or members of the general public to think and act and even vote accordingly. To the contrary, I believe that our nation is enriched when its citizens and social groups approach public affairs from positions grounded in strong moral conviction. To put it another way, I share the opinion of a leading Washington journalist who argued recently in a widely syndicated column that “it would be ludicrous [and, I would add, completely contrary to the best of our traditions] to say that to protect religious freedom, we must bar . . . those professing any degree of religiosity from participating actively in politics. . . . We need more political participants, more voters, in this society, not fewer.” The fact that the columnist in question strongly disagrees with the political views of the specific coalition of religious organizations he was referring to makes his argument all the more timely and persuasive.

### Danger of “Moral Fascism”

The question before us, then, is not the right of this or that particular organization or coalition of organizations to attempt, in the light of its own moral and ethical convictions, to influence the electorate but rather the manner or the style in which this right is currently being exercised by certain religiously oriented organizations which are widely thought of as belonging to the so-called New Right. I would deem it improper and harmful to the cause of ecumenism — a cause to which I am deeply committed — for a person of my religious background to engage in polemics with these organizations on theological grounds, other than to say that their uncritical use of Biblical citations for partisan political purposes is rather worrisome in that it leaves no room for the give and take rationality of sane politics in a pluralistic society and, when pushed to extremes, as the Jesuit weekly magazine, *America*, recently pointed out, could become “a kind of moral fascism.”

Theology aside, however, now that these organizations have moved over full force into the political arena, they

cannot reasonably object on religious or ecumenical grounds if others, including other Christians, disagree with their political philosophy or with their political strategy and tactics. For my own part, while I think I understand why they are hurting and while I fully respect their sincerity in attempting to make political judgments in the light of their own moral and ethical principles, I disagree with their approach to political activism on several different but related grounds.

First, I am disturbed — and would have good reason to be even more disturbed, I suppose, if I were not a Christian — by their repeated and not very subtle emphasis on getting out what they indiscriminately call “the Christian vote” or, even more ominously, creating in this country “a Christian Republic.” One does not have to be doctrinaire in his interpretation of the principle of religious freedom and the separation of church and state to be put off, indeed to be frightened, by this kind of political extremism. For members of the Jewish faith the very notion of turning this country into “a Christian Republic,” in the ominous sense in which certain New Right spokesmen are using that term, must be a cause of profound anxiety. I fully share their anxiety in this regard.

While I fully respect the right of the organizations in question to speak out on the moral and ethical aspects of public policy issues, nevertheless I find their highly partisan approach to such issues to be strangely selective and extremely simplistic — simplistic in the sense that it makes little if any allowance for the complexity of these issues and for the complexity of the political process itself.

### U.S. Catholic Conference Statement

Let me develop this point in more positive terms by citing a profoundly different approach to religiously inspired political action as outlined by the Administrative Board of the United States Catholic Conference in its recent policy statement on Political Responsibility:

In order to be credible and faithful to the Gospel and to our tradition, the Church’s concern for human rights and social justice should be comprehensive and consistent. It must be formulated with competence and an awareness of the complexity of issues. It should also be developed in dialogue with other concerned persons and respectful of the rights of all. . . .



The application of Gospel values to real situations is an essential work of the Christian community. . . . However, specific political proposals do not in themselves constitute the Gospel. Christians and Christian organizations must certainly participate in public debate over alternative policies and legislative proposals, yet it is critical that the nature of their participation not be misunderstood.

We specifically do not seek the formation of a religious voting bloc; nor do we wish to instruct persons on how they should vote by endorsing candidates. We urge citizens to avoid choosing candidates simply on the personal basis of self-interest. Rather, we hope that voters will examine the positions of candidates on the full range of issues as well as the person's integrity, philosophy and performance.

I fully concur in this statement and would emphasize that, while it was issued by the leadership of my own church, it is not a sectarian statement. To the contrary, it is my impression that it closely parallels the position taken on the subject of

political responsibility by the majority of Protestant and Jewish agencies in the United States. In other words, those religiously-oriented organizations which, in attempting to form a religious voting bloc, have identified themselves in a very partisan manner with one political ideology and are rating candidates for political office according to their conformity to an officially approved "Christian way" to vote on a very selective range of disparate public policy issues represent a minority point of view within the American religious community. While I respect their constitutional right to go their separate way in this regard, I share the opinion of the editors of *America* magazine that their extremism does not make for "either good politics or good religion."

For 36 years Father Higgins served on the staff of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops/U.S. Catholic Conference, retiring on September 1, 1980. He is now associated with The Catholic University of America and Georgetown University. His statement is made in his own name and on his own authority and only for himself.

## A Jewish Perspective Seymour Siegel

During the recent election campaign the proper role of religious groups in the political process became the subject of controversy. Announcements by various church groups and religious bodies urging their members to vote for one candidate or another aroused opposition and fear in the minds of many people.

Such concern regarding the participation of religion in politics is not a new phenomenon. One of the oldest controversies is recorded in the Bible concerning the prophet Amos; after making an impassioned address and denunciation of the evils of the politicians of his time, he was told: "Oh, thou seer, go flee thee away into the land of Judah and there eat bread and prophesy there. But prophesy not again anymore at Bet El for it is the king's sanctuary and it is a royal house." Rulers and politicians have always been uncomfortable with prophetic voices who condemn their immoral and unjust actions.

### Prophetic Tradition Expresses Social Concern

In our own time, religious leaders are frequently told not to "meddle" in politics; their realm is spiritual — concerned with the destiny of the soul and the heavenly and not the affairs of state and who is or is not to be elected. This approach to the relationship between religious teaching and the political process seems to go against the whole thrust of the Judeo-Christian tradition and its theology. The Hebrew Bible after all preaches that there is a God who is concerned with orphans and widows, with this world and how it is governed both politically and economically. Those who pro-

fess a belief, an attachment and commitment to this God are, therefore, expected to be concerned with the state not only of their soul but also of their government and its leaders' ethical and moral standards.

There may be separation of church and state in the U.S., but there cannot be, in any Jewish — or Christian, for that matter — view of things, a separation of religion and state. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibits the establishment of religion and any restriction of the free exercise of religion. The intention of the founders of the Constitution was to prohibit the establishment of a state religion, which had been and still is the situation in many countries of Europe and other parts of the world. The founding fathers wanted to make sure that the institutions of religion would not be controlled by or dependent upon the state, thereby insuring the freedom of both the church and the government. This did not mean, however, that religious teachers — those professing to be the guardians of morality and justice — should not make their views known to those holding political power or organize themselves to try to influence the elective process.

### Obligation of Religious Teachers

In fact, the principle that religious leaders have an interest in the political and moral climate of government was eloquently and effectively expressed in previous decades when American religious personalities spearheaded movements for civil rights, for justice to labor and the right to organize unions, and also participated in the controversies



surrounding the Vietnam war, when clergymen of all faiths expressed strong views and organized effective lobbies, mainly to oppose the war, although there were some who favored it. It would, therefore, seem that religious groups not only have the right but the duty and responsibility to influence the direction of our political life, particularly when moral or ethical questions or issues are involved.

There are, of course, some limitations that should be imposed upon religious groups as they organize themselves and try to influence legislation or the outcome of elections. For example, no claim of exclusiveness should be made — that is, religious traditions are always open to interpretation — and varying ways of looking at the same issue can be found in all the great faith communities. Each religious group has a right and, in fact, a duty to promote its views; but it does not have the right to say that its view is the only valid Jewish, Christian or Muslim one, and that, therefore, those who profess the same religion but come to different conclusions are somehow outside the parameters of acceptable religiosity. In other words, religionists, especially those with a Biblical orientation, have to be committed to what they think is right and, at the same time, to have the charity and humility to accept that others who are equally pious might come to different conclusions.

#### Appropriate Activities

A second limitation is that religious groups, like other citizen groups who participate in the political process, should do so in ways appropriate to politics — and certainly not through bribery or false charges against individuals. Twisting facts or deliberate misinterpretations are, of course, out of bounds.

One of the problems today, which has led to considerable criticism, is that some of the more vocal religious groups are promoting causes not generally popular with the opinion-makers in our society instead of causes that have the general approval of our culture, of the so-called “enlightened” spokesmen for our culture. For example, many of these groups are now against abortion, gay rights, the weakening of American defenses, and various treaties made and ratified by the Senate. Whether they are wrong or right in taking such positions, we must admit that they are not wrong in organizing to make their opinions felt and to influence those listening to them to express those opinions at the ballot boxes. Jews as well as Christians have used the political method to further aims that support their religious views. For example, Jews promote the rights of Israel, not only out of ethnic but also religious considerations; they oppose bills which threaten ritual slaughter (*sh'kta*) and promote legislation making it possible for Sabbath observers not to be penalized for their religious beliefs and practices.

We should not, therefore, it seems to me, complain that the political process is being used by other religious groups to further causes holy to them and commanded by their teachings. Even if we dislike the style or the causes or differ with the religious interpretations offered, this should not prevent us from supporting the greatest amount of freedom for those wishing to express their religious views, both in the pulpit and the political process. Our commitment to this doctrine of freedom to participate in the common life is most effectively tested when the doctrine is applied to views with which we

disagree.

In my view, religious leadership does and should play a role in the political process. In an election campaign, for example, religious leaders should point up to their congregations the moral issues involved in the policies, personalities or characters of various candidates, pointing out why they think certain candidates are closer to the moral teachings of their religious groups but at the same time making it clear that it is possible to be religious and have a completely different opinion. Congregational leaders should be careful, of course, not to be partisan except where it is imperative to be so — that is, in the case of specifically moral issues on which religious groups have a stand.

Another example is the issue of abortion for Catholics, on which the Catholic Church has spoken out clearly and in one voice on its prohibition. I would think that those committed to Catholic teachings have every right to try to promote those teachings wherever they can, including within the political process.

According to Catholic doctrine, which Jews do not share (a fact which must be underscored), abortion is equal to murder, feticide is homicide. In that view, citizens in a society have a duty to prevent murder, which is universally condemned. Of course, Protestants and Jews do not hold these views. It would, therefore, seem to me that a Catholic who is committed to such a view has the right to try through the political process to prevent what he considers to be a universally condemned crime, namely murder. On the other hand, in a pluralistic society, other groups that believe that abortion is not murder, or even that abortion is acceptable and sometimes mandated, have an equal right to use their political influence and persuasion to bring about an opposite result, namely, the legalization and permissibility of abortion.

#### Excessive Politicization to Be Avoided

A caution must be exercised about religious groups becoming too politicized, that is, tied to one political party or another. While the extreme of the separation of religion from life is a bad thing, there is an equal danger of subsuming religion or making it only a political thing — that is, spending all the time preaching about politics, which is a danger not so much to the state as to religion itself. Religious leaders should talk about politics only when there is a clear moral issue involved and about which men of good will cannot differ, as in the case of civil rights. Religious leaders must remember that although the political life is important, it is not the whole content of religion, which is to teach about God and His relationship to the world, which includes politics but is not exhausted by it.

We must also not overlook the prophetic role of religion, which is to criticize. But what we have now is quite different in that it is more of an effort to manipulate instead of bringing the pure voice of religion to bear on the political process. In other words, instead of influencing the culture and politicians to become more moral, what some religious groups are doing is to become politicians themselves. The identity of “altar and sceptre,” as they used to be called in the Middle Ages, of religion and state, must be kept distinct. Just as it is dangerous to separate religion from the affairs of state, it is even more dangerous to unite them. Political judgments have to be



tentative, open to change, new conditions and developments. Religious judgments by nature are absolutist, but for politics to become absolute is disastrous.

What is new today is that religionists are using more intense forms of persuasion, such as television and other media. They are also professing ideas and promoting policies which many Americans do not approve. We have a touchy, delicate situation in which religious leaders as well as political leaders, labor leaders, and intellectual leaders have to

walk the narrow ridge between influencing politics and becoming political, of being the king's prophet but not the king's chaplain. But that it easier said than done. It takes a good deal of good will, intelligence and self-criticism. The task is to help raise the sensitivity so that the narrow ridge can be crossed without falling into the abyss.

Rabbi Siegel is Professor of Ethics and Theology at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

## How Should We Respond? Seymour D. Reich

The problems presented by the new Christian Right political movement pose a dilemma for the Jewish community. The groups making up this movement are strongly supportive of Israel at a time when that land is under heavy threat. Earlier in 1980, a number of prominent leaders of the movement had a breakfast meeting with Prime Minister Begin in Washington, where they presented him with a letter read by Jerry Falwell, the most prominent single spokesman of the Christian political movement. "We proclaim," read the letter, "that the Land of Israel encompasses Judea and Samaria as integral parts of the Jewish patrimony, with Jerusalem as its one and indivisible capital . . . Israel stands as a bulwark of strength and determination against those who, by terror and blackmail, threaten our democratic way of life."

The Christian political leaders also profess a friendly attitude toward American Jews. Jerry Falwell has stated on a number of occasions that "God has blessed America because America has blessed the Jew — His chosen people." He has also publicly stated, "I want to stand with the Jews. If that's where God blesses, I want to walk close by." In the March 14, 1980 issue of the newspaper *Moral Majority*, Falwell wrote a full-page article with the heading "Falwell says America must support Israel." His opening line was "To stand against Israel is to stand against God."

### Some Troubling Aspects

There are also some troubling aspects of the Christian political movements. For example, they advocate prayer in the schools, which would tend to erode the separation of church and state. In many respects, their basic doctrines are in conflict with the pluralist character of American society, which has been a mainstay of the religious and cultural freedoms of Jews and other minorities. Their openly proclaimed goal of creating a "Christian America" and their promotion of "Christian" candidates for public office contain an implication of second-class status for Jews. When pressed for clarification as to the meaning of a "Christian America," the leaders have said they mean a "moral"

America dedicated to "Biblical values." Yet American history teaches that such white Protestant revivalist movements, of which there have been earlier examples, bring with them a strain of narrow-mindedness and intolerance and a climate inhospitable to minority religious and ethnic groups.

We question the proposition that religious views or religious affiliations have any legitimate place in the selection of candidates for public office. As U.S. Senator Robert B. Morgan of North Carolina recently told a Baptist convention in his home state, "Religion and church should not be used as justification for dogmatic political positions propounded from the pulpit, or for condemnation of those who disagree." Warning against those who claim an exclusive morality for their political views, he said, "If a slate for morality is to prevail, what would become of the dissenters? I think the history of religious persecution has the answer to the question. And that is why I think we must be constantly vigilant on the matter of separation of church and state."

### Four Major Groups

The four national groups which, together with some local organizations, make up the Christian political movement, are Moral Majority, Christian Voice, the National Christian Action Coalition and the Religious Roundtable. Each is registered with the Internal Revenue Service as a 501-C4 organization, enjoying tax exemption, although contributions to them are not tax-deductible. They have published scorecards on the voting records of members of the House and Senate, rating them as to their votes on certain so-called moral issues. Their leaders have also organized parallel political arms which have been registered with the Federal Election Commission as Political Action Committees. The committees have solicited funds in the churches and endorsed political candidates.

*Moral Majority*, the largest of the groups, led by Rev. Jerry Falwell, claims chapters in all 50 states; a mailing list of 400,000 (72,000 of them pastors); and a first-year budget of \$1.2 million. Moral Majority representatives claim to have



been responsible for the registration of four million voters, but when asked how their registration figures were arrived at, responded vaguely that they derive from estimates for state affiliates. In two of the most active states — California and Alabama — state directors admit that they merely send voter materials to pastors, but keep no actual records of the number of voters registered.

*Christian Voice*, based in California, with a lobbying office in Washington, DC, claims 190,000 members, including 37,000 ministers and a "projected" first-year budget of \$1.5 million. Its political action arm, Christian Voice Moral Government Fund, formed an avowedly partisan campaign operation entitled "Christians for Reagan."

*The Religious Roundtable*, headed by Edward E. MacAteer and James Robison of Dallas, sponsored the Dallas National Affairs Briefing. With a 1980 income totalling about \$750,000, it has concentrated on leadership training rather than grass roots organizing, and spawned a lobbying arm known as Roundtable Issues and Answers, headed by William C. Chasey, Jr., a former member of the campaign staff of John B. Connally.

*The National Christian Action Coalition* is headed by William Billings, the son of the former executive director of Moral Majority, who was on the campaign staff of Ronald Reagan, in charge of relations with the churches. The Coalition's major concern has been the defense of private Christian schools against the intrusion of government into school policies regarding racial integration and curriculum. The group has engaged in voter education and has a mailing list of

some 1,200 churches and private Christian schools.

How effective the Christian political groups were in the 1980 elections has yet to be fully analyzed and evaluated. While their influence proved slight in 1978, there is no denying the large following that some of their spokesmen enjoy in their capacity as evangelists. Jerry Falwell, the leader of the Moral Majority, for example, has millions of viewers for his Old Time Gospel Hour, which is aired weekly on 300 television stations. Falwell receives some one million dollars in contributions each week from his television and radio audiences.

In reality, the broad social implications of this new phenomenon pose serious questions not only for Jews but also for Christians and Muslims as well as for non-believers. To what extent does its appeal for "Christian" votes and the restoration of a "Christian" America constitute a call for a throw-back to the narrow, exclusionary, nineteenth-century white Protestant America which viewed its city-based immigrant Catholic and Jewish population as an alien menace to the American way of life? Does its influence threaten the pluralistic cultural and religious patterns which through long years of struggle have brought us to the point where Americans of every race and creed feel at home in our land? Does its appeal for the election of "Christian" candidates not constitute an affront to the constitutional provision that there shall be no religious test for holding public office in the United States?

Mr. Reich, an attorney, is chairman of ADL's Civil Rights Committee.

## The Need for a Moral Minority Robert McAfee Brown

In the 60's, and indeed long before that, it was common for Protestant fundamentalists, confronted with "liberal social-activists" in various denominations, to repeat one of their favorite slogans, "Religion and politics don't mix." Sometimes this would be followed with comments about "separation of church and state," and more frequently it would rest on the assumption that there was a wide gap between "the sacred and the secular," or the worldly and the spiritual, and that stepping over the boundary lines between them constituted a particularly heinous form of sin.

It is now a brand new ball game. For whatever reasons, and for good or ill, conservative Protestants have gotten the message that religion and politics *do* mix, and they have invaded the political arena with a zeal engendered by their evangelistic enthusiasm and a desire to make up for lost time.

Many such groups have emerged on the scene and were actively involved in attempts to elect, or usually, more precisely, to defeat a variety of people running for public office. The targets of such efforts were almost uniformly "liberals" (a pejorative term in the fundamentalists' lexicon) who fa-



vored such things as SALT II and "government spending," and were not sufficiently against pornography, homosexuality and the ERA.

The number of successes claimed by these groups has been a heady elixir, and they are already laying plans for the 1982 campaign, in which, backed by considerable media exposure and extensive financial resources, they will oppose candidates who do not conform to their understanding of what is good for America.

Now on one level this is as American as apple pie; it is important that *all* citizens, whatever their religious affiliations, be encouraged to participate in the electoral process. Claiming such rights for one group hardly makes it appropriate to take issue with people who campaign, lobby, speak for, or demonstrate on behalf of those who represent some other group. If people to the left of center can be politically involved, surely those who are to the right of center can claim the same right. And if they wish to do so on the basis of deeply-held religious commitments, that is certainly their right also.

Why, then, should there be any fuss? Why should people be apprehensive about the emergence of the Christian Right, and why should they wonder about the health of the democratic process in the light of these new participants on the political scene? I think there are some legitimate reasons for concern, not because "religion and politics don't mix," but because in this particular case the nature of the mix leaves some things to be desired.

### Case Study of the Moral Majority

Let us look at the attitudes of one particular group from the Protestant right, using Moral Majority as our case study, and examining the text of a letter widely distributed by its head, the Rev. Jerry Falwell. It is a letter of warning, and an appeal for funds. It states succinctly what Falwell believes to be the trouble with our country and what he proposes to do about it. The letter is masterful P.R., playing upon fears and apprehensions, appealing to patriotic instincts, and reducing complexities to the simplest form possible. Here are some of its basic characteristics:

1. The basic appeal is patriotic. Its first lines are, "Is Our Grand Old Flag Going Down the Drain?" The phrase is repeated, with minor variants, eight times within the letter's four pages. The only representation in the letter is the flag, in full color. The message is that the question will have to be answered in the affirmative unless we act and act quickly.

2. To keep the grand old flag from going down the drain, God has singled out Jerry Falwell, the writer of the letter. He tells his readers clearly and unambiguously, "God . . . has called me to take action. I have a divine mandate to go right into the halls of Congress and fight for laws that will save America." There is a crisis in our national life, but God has provided someone to see that we avert it.

3. When one operates under a divine mandate, it becomes clear to such a person that those who side with him are on God's side, and those who do not are against God. Falwell states that there are not only people he must oppose but that those he opposes also oppose God. "Americans," he writes, "are sick and tired of the way the *godless liberals* are running our nation" (italics added). The adjective is crucial in terms

of the tone and appeal. The problem is not just "liberals," who might be political or theological or any other kind of liberals. No, the problem is that the liberals are "godless." (Presumably the list includes Jimmy Carter, who has reasonably certifiable "born again" credentials; George McGovern, who went to a Methodist seminary; Walter Mondale, whose father and father-in-law are both Protestant ministers; and a long list of others.) What is disturbing is that this sort of labeling implies that those who agree with Falwell's politics agree with God, and those who are against those politics are not only against Falwell but against God as well. The God-fearing are on one side, the "godless" on the other. Political opponents are not only wrong, they are evil.

4. The letter goes on to explain *why* the grand old flag is going down the drain. It does so by two devices: (a) a very selective list of national iniquities, and (b) a use of scare words and distortions. The reasons listed are traceable to the increase in homosexuality, pornography and abortion, and a vacillating foreign policy in which we are craven before leftists and Communists. In order to reverse these trends, we need prayer in the public schools and greater spending for military strength. We also need, as Falwell says on numerous occasions elsewhere, to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment.

### Injecting Fear

One is entitled to one's own analysis of what is wrong with society. But the devices to "sell" one's position need to be able to stand up under scrutiny. And Falwell's letter abounds with attempts to inject fear and to offer shallow analyses in order to elicit support. Here are a few examples: (a) frightening verbs: "Homosexual teachers have *invaded* the classrooms and the pulpits" (italics added), suggesting a horde of people virtually battering down the doors to get in and take over; (b) simplistic statements of cause and effect: "We are giving away the Panama Canal *so* we won't 'offend' a leftist government" (italics added), as though all the complexities of that decision are reducible to our cringing before a brutal regime about to destroy us; (c) personal opinions offered as simple statements of fact: "America is the only hope for the Jews today. . . . God has blessed America because America has blessed the Jew." No doubt a Jewish reader can respond to those statements more authentically than a Protestant, but I would have thought that Israel might also be a hope for Jews today, rather than that America was the "only" hope, and I would have thought that it might be news to some Jews that "America has blessed the Jew," it being my understanding that such things as anti-Semitism, discrimination and ghettoization have not been unknown on our shores.

In addition to asking for money to "go into the halls of Congress and fight for laws that will protect the grand old flag," Falwell asks his readers to return a questionnaire so that he can tell the members of Congress just how Americans stand on the issues of abortion, pornography, homosexuals, school prayers and military strength. Once again, what could be fairer than that? Surely every citizen is entitled to do just as Falwell is doing. Agreed. But one has to be more than a little disturbed at the way the questions are framed in regard to the five issues listed. The questions are so designed that they almost force a "no" answer, giving Falwell an arsenal of



petitions, the results of which he has virtually dictated ahead of time. Examples: "Do you believe that smut peddlers should be protected by the U.S. Constitution, so they can openly sell pornographic materials to your children?" Who is likely to answer that question in the affirmative? But who, on the other hand, could believe that the complex issues of what constitutes pornography have been adequately laid out with that sort of wording? "Should school systems that receive federal funds be forced to hire known practicing homosexual teachers?" Who is likely to believe that schools should be "forced" to do that? But who, on the other hand, could feel that the issue of homosexuality has even been fairly considered in such a question? "Do you agree with the President's decision to break the treaty with Taiwan, betray our friends, and give the Russians military superiority by signing the SALT II Agreement?" Who is likely to endorse Presidential actions that "betray"? But who, on the other hand, could feel that the complexity of the text of SALT II has been fairly presented by such wording?

So much for exegesis. If the above paragraphs seem like nit-picking, I insist that in direct mailings, such as the letter represents, every word is chosen with extreme care, and the creation of attitudes is carefully manipulated.

### Troubling Omissions

In broader terms, there are two other things about this position that disturb me deeply. One is contained not in what the letter says but in what it does not say. Falwell is a Christian minister, going into the halls of Congress with a mandate from God, and yet his silences, total silences, in areas where one would presume that a student of the Bible would have special sensitivities, are very disconcerting. We have much talk about things sexual, but we have not a word, not even a whisper, about the great concerns that characterize the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures — concerns for the poor, the oppressed, the victims; concern for the hungry and starving; concern for the issues of social justice that are writ large through the prophets. Where is the message about liberty to the captives, freedom to the oppressed, hope for the widowed and fatherless?

My other concern, not only with this letter but with many other things that Falwell and his friends say and do, is what I can only call a kind of breathtaking theological arrogance. These people on the Christian Right know exactly and unambiguously what God's will is on the most minute matters. A few days before the election, for example, Falwell told a group of 1500 people in Sacramento, California that "God is against the Equal Rights Amendment." Now that may or may not be true, but the notion of claiming that much of an inside track to the mind of the Almighty makes most statements of the doctrine of papal infallibility seem like instances of cringing modesty. When people claim to be mandated by God, one expects that there will be some congruence between what they say and what we have some notion are the things of which God might or might not approve. The total assurance is compounded by the equally total assurance that those who disagree are "godless," a proposition we have already examined. The logic of the position, whether directly articulated or not, unfolds in the following manner: This is what God believes, and God believes it exactly the way I am going

to state it, and if you don't agree with me you don't believe in God, and the problem with the world today is that too many people don't believe in God, and that makes them atheists, which is practically the same as Communists, and we've got to get rid of Communists because they threaten the American way of life and are sending the grand old flag down the drain, so we've got to get rid of you.

What is the alternative to the Moral Majority? It is not to create a precisely similar counterpart on the left that will retain the tactics and simply change the words. A very different mentality is called for. While there is every imperative to speak, lobby, persuade, act, and all the rest, there needs at least to be a kind of modesty about the absolute and total divine sanction resting over the claims of any group in political life. I am very uneasy with attempts to juxtapose words like "moral" and "majority." That seems to me in a fallen world to be almost a contradiction in terms. Truth is much more likely to come in small packages. I have no recollection that the prophets felt that they were speaking for majorities. The odds against Elijah were 400 to 1. Amos, Jeremiah, Ezekiel — they all kept getting run out of town. I do not think the Hebrew Scriptures talk about "moral majorities." I think they talk about "remnants." I do not find evidence that Jews have been more than a minority. And I reflect that when Christians ceased being a minority and became a moral majority (at the time of Constantine), it was bad news for everybody else. Conformism was introduced, conversions were forced, the Pope had armies, pogroms became common.

### Moral Majority vs. Moral Minorities

No, the answer is not "moral majorities." It is more likely that truth will be preserved and even enhanced by moral minorities, those handfuls who refuse to knuckle under to majority opinions, who find and help sustain each other, who do not play the numbers game, and do not seek to get a kind of control that will enable them to suppress those who disagree with them. This means taking seriously the pluralistic situation in which we live which is healthy precisely because no one group or opinion has enough muscle to shove everybody else off stage. The trouble with moral *majorities* is that they begin to conceive of themselves as moral *monopolies*. And that is bad news for everybody else.

There need to be some new ground rules for the engagement of citizens in political life. They would involve such things as honoring the national and cultural pluralism that permits the holding of unpopular views; seeking the good of all and not just small segments of the population; presenting issues without demagoguery or cheating; acknowledging that problems are complex and that simplistic solutions will be wrong; and that ambiguities abound not only in the positions of one's opponents but in one's own positions as well.

With some such way of conducting political life, we might be able to create a moral minority that could propose convictions without arrogance, insight without absolutism, commitment without coercion, and democracy without demagoguery.

Dr. Brown, a leading Protestant theologian, is Professor of Theology and Ethics at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley.



## Religion and Politics: A Lutheran Statement

The American Lutheran Church, The Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches and Lutheran Church in America firmly disagree with Christians or coalitions of Christians who plan political action under the guise of religious evangelism, worship or revivalism — or “in the name of Jesus.” These partner churches in the Lutheran Council support pluralism and freedom of all people in the political process in the United States and maintain that pushing for total agreement on moral issues is *not* the same as advocating for legislation which will enhance the common good. “Religious grounds” should not be used as the exclusive yardstick for determining the quality of candidates for political office. . . .

As Lutherans in the U.S., we recognize that an increasingly complex society has produced growing interdependence and interaction among groups, persons and resources in the governmental, economic and voluntary sectors. The government’s responsibilities to maintain equity and order have led both the churches and the state into greater contact and, at times, into tension. As governmental bodies seek to perform their roles and the churches seek to fulfill their missions, each needs to be aware of the other’s purposes, principles and methods. In their endeavors, both the churches and the government have the task of formulating and clarifying position statements and guidelines for implementation and application when appropriate. . . .

In affirming the principle of separation of church and state, Lutherans in the U.S. respectfully acknowledge and support the tradition that the churches and the government are to be separate in structure. As the Constitution provides, government neither establishes nor favors any religion. It also safeguards the rights of all persons and groups in society to the free exercise of their religious beliefs, worship, practices and organizational arrangements within the laws of morality, human rights and property. The government is to make no decisions regarding the validity or orthodoxy of any doctrine, recognizing that it is the province of religious groups to state their doctrines, determine their politics, train their leaders, conduct worship and carry on their mission and ministries without undue interference from government. . . .

Lutherans in the U.S. affirm the principle of functional interaction between the government and religious bodies in areas of mutual endeavor, so that such interaction assists the maintenance of good order, the protection and extension of civil rights, the establishment of social justice and equality of opportunity, the promotion of the general welfare and the advancement of the dignity of all persons. This principle underscores the Lutheran view that God rules both the civil and spiritual dimensions of life, making it appropriate for the

government and the churches to relate creatively and responsibly to each other.

Lutherans hold that their churches have the responsibility to describe and clarify to their members and to society the mission of the Lutheran churches and to determine, establish, maintain and alter the various forms through which that mission is expressed and structured. The distinctive mission of the churches includes the proclamation of God’s Word in worship, in public preaching, in teaching, in administration of the sacraments, in evangelism, in educational ministries, in social service ministries and in being advocates of justice for participants in the social order. According to Lutheran theology, the civil government’s distinctive calling by God is to maintain peace, to establish justice, to protect human rights and to promote the general welfare of all persons.

It is a misuse of terms to describe government and politics as godless or profane, because God rules both the civil and the spiritual dimensions of life. Thus it is unnecessary and unbiblical for any church group or individual to seek to “Christianize” the government or to label political views of members of Congress as “Christian” or “religious.” It is arrogant to assert that one’s position on a political issue is “Christian” and that all others are “un-Christian,” “immoral” or “sinful.” There is no “Christian” position; there are Christians who hold positions. Government under God employs reason and power for social justice, peace and freedom.

To describe one group’s political position as “The Christian Voice” and one movement’s political agenda as a movement “for Jesus” is wrongly judgmental. It is also an affront to Jewish and other religious advocates whose religions hold social justice as a social form of love of neighbor. Devout Christians and Jews agree and disagree between and among themselves regarding political decisions and can agree and disagree with nonbelievers. Advocacy for social justice is part of the mission of the churches according to Lutheran theology. Such advocacy may often bring disagreement on issues and votes as to how to strive for justice.

So we challenge members of Lutheran churches as evangelical Christians to worship and pray as Christian congregations. All persons need forgiveness. We also challenge all citizens and corporate religious groups to participate in the process of decision-making for the common good, and we encourage cooperation with other religious and voluntary associations in this work of advocacy.

This statement was issued by the Lutheran Council in the USA on behalf of The American Lutheran Church, The Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches and Lutheran Church in America.



# Voices of Moderation

## Twelve Points to Consider about the New Christian Right

Martin E. Marty

### 1. Don't underestimate and don't overestimate the new force.

Northeastern and West Coast urban media have not known how many people of intransigent and belligerent Catholic-Protestant stripe there are out there. They have been learning slowly. There are millions. Don't underestimate them. But don't overestimate them either. You will hear that there are 47 million mobilizable viewers of Right-Wing religious radio-TV alone. Maybe. Don't trust the media people who make the claim. Remember also that the number includes people in nursing homes, shut-ins, politically apathetic folk, unteachables who will never find their way to the polling places. Remember that people vote other self-interests, not merely creed. Fundamentalism in the 1930's (and earlier) had a populist tinge in the backcountry. Not all of that is gone. Not all fundamentalists will take instruction from distant communicators. Americans eventually learn to counter-organize, and sooner or later they will.

### 2. Understand their hurts and resentments.

Not everything in the perceptions of new Christian rightists is inaccurate. Their world *is* changing. Pluralism hits hard. The school-prayer issue from 1962-63 symbolizes its effects. Once communities were homogeneous. Catholics dominated Catholic wards, and a single Protestant ethos predominated in Protestant valleys and towns. More and more people of many faiths now have to share a single turf. California has had a Buddhist Senate chaplain. What is happening to Christian America? People do try to hold on to what they have, and they do not like to see change. The New Right is also correct in its perception that values associated with family, sex, living together, and the like are also changing. Many of these rightists contribute to the change: They have bought into the materialism-consumerism-glamorism. Who more than they want to claim the celebrities of the day? But they do not see their contribution to the changes.

Resentments? They have felt left out in everyone else's liberation. Women's, black, Chicano, gay, and other liberation movements leave them behind. The textbooks have been changed to accommodate the sensibilities of Jews, homosexuals, women, and the like. The only ethnic stereotypes one

can still use and misuse are WASP, redneck, or backwoods and, to a lesser degree, Catholic ethnic. As one such WASP once told me, "In all their exoduses and liberation plots, I'm Pharaoh." The left-out people not only want in, but they want to run the show. We will make no progress on this issue until the larger public sees the new Christian Right as a tribe that feels slighted.

### 3. Don't ever again trust people who say they are nonpolitical in churches or as churches.

They may seem quietistic for a time, but step on them and they will react, or give them some power and they will take more. Congress people do not quake this year because the United Methodist Church or the United Church of Christ has passed some social-action resolutions. These may make the members of those churches feel good (or bad) and may instruct some of them. But legislators fear them not. They pay little attention to the churches that a dozen years ago were constantly under criticism for meddling in politics or mixing church and state.

Today everything is different. Fundamentalists are people who claim an inerrant hold on an inerrant Bible. In 1968 that inerrant Bible told them inerrantly to profess that God and Caesar were to be kept apart and unconfused, and that Satan alone led churches to mingle in the political order. And now they have switched and admit it loudly. How they make that come out right with the same Bible one will not hear. The favorite ploy is to call their political involvements morality and piety, and their opponents mere politics. No way. Any time the program calls for settlement of issues through agitation, media attention, lobbying, election of candidates, balloting on propositions, and constitutional amendments, you have politics. They do not notice that the other side on these issues also claims that theirs is really a moral and theological impulse. There's no place to stand apart from politics.

### 4. Their theological assumption gives them power.

They will run into some fanatic opponents; I have met some of them, on the pro-abortion front, for example. But most of their opponents have a variety of political interests



and motivations, and refuse to focus everything on a particular set of issues. These opponents are ready to live with some measure of ambiguity, doubt, brokenness, partial claims and partial defeats and partial successes. That's politics. Politics is an art designed to minimize the inevitable violence that threatens human relations because societies are made of competing individuals and interest groups. You win some and you lose some. Not so for the Christian Right. Their theology includes a convenient conspiracy theory: The Devil made their enemies do it; God helps them do it, whatever *doing it* comes to mean. And the Devil has his agents on earth. Instead of seeing their complicity in change because they have bought into the system, they have to track down human conspirators. And once they locate them, they must block them in or eliminate them from the earth. This single-mindedness gives them great vision.

#### 5. The new target will be humanism.

In the 1950's even moderate church people made a bogey out of secularism as the all-purpose scapegoat. Today the Christian Right wing is itself so secular in its general mode of existence that it needs a new foe. Watch as the months pass. More and more the leaders will focus on the words *humanism* or *humanist* when they set out on white chargers. That is too bad because there is a noble tradition called Christian humanism. Those of us in the humanities will suffer because we who teach the subjects are called humanists for different purposes.

The Minnesota State Humanities Commission people innocently sent out a teacher of the humanities and called him a circuit-rider for the humanities, (which is what I like to call myself). Confused Christian Rightists all but tarred and feathered him and he soon was off the road. To the rightists, humanism includes people who believe in God but not in the right way, people who do not serve their God their way, people who do not tell you whether they believe in God or not, many kinds of Jews, powers in education and the media, or whatever. It happens that there are many kinds of humanisms, but if you have anything to do with humanities or humanism, better duck.

#### 6. These folks have a right to organize.

I sympathize with them when they are told that the American system allows them no space. We who rejoiced to see Catholic bishops speak up for change in laws having to do with segregation or for ending the war in Vietnam cannot now turn around and say they have no right to use their theological commitments on the issue of abortion. Now it happens that the Catholic bishops are the most moderate force across the front today. Yes, they are critical of abortion, but no one hates bishops more than Catholic fundamentalist fanatics, who want them to be single-issue types, who want them *not* to include issues of justice. The new Christian fundamentalist coalition did not invent single-issue politics, of course. For example, in the 1920's the grandparents of today's liberal Methodists refused to vote for anyone who favored repeal of Prohibition. In the late 1960's many peace-people refused to support any person with whom they might otherwise have agreed, if he or she favored staying in

the war. We cannot change the rules of the game now. We have to change minds, not merely complain.

#### 7. Don't grant the fundamentalists in politics the claim that theirs is the Biblical program.

There are a few lines in the Bible critical of homosexuals. There are a few lines that the rightists can use to support their opposition to pornography or obscenity and their calls for restriction of freedom on that front. There are no lines they can use for their position on gun control, the Panama Canal, and the like. It takes a special reading of the Bible to use it against the Equal Rights Amendment. The Bible says many things about human life, but the case against abortion is not an unambiguous one. So much for their causes. Now look at the yards and meters of Biblical print spent on calls for justice and mercy and righteousness. Give the New Right leaders all they want for ten years and you will not hear these brought up. Concern for equal justice and for the rights of the poor dominates many a prophetic writing and never shows up here. Now that this new force has entered politics frontally, it merits this challenge: If you want a Biblical program, include more of the Bible.

#### 8. They cannot win everything.

This New Right front looks united, but if it won part of its program, its own internal divisions would show. Take the school-prayer amendment. Some advocates say they would be content to have times of meditation in public-school classrooms, times which permit students to fill the silence however they wished. But more of them have other interests in mind. They want their Bible, their Genesis, their New Testament read. They want their children to fashion prayers out of their own sectarian traditions. Suppose a prayer amendment passed. Would that bring back a united, harmonious America? Never. It would make more visible the differences and pluralisms. In every school district in Utah it would be possible and probable that Latter-day Saint prayers would dominate and that the Book of Mormon be a scripture. What would the Baptists transferred there do? Do you think they would take it sitting down? But what could they do? They would be outvoted in that district and have no Constitution to appeal to. What would Jews do when the prayers are in the name of Jesus Christ, or Gentiles in predominantly Jewish classrooms where the New Testament would stand no chance? The disgruntled could only begin to work on repeal. I use that illustration to say that all things being equal, American pluralism has too many counterforces to yield this new fundamentalist right wing all that it wants.

#### 9. Tactic: Counterorganize, confront, woo, win.

While the new fundamentalists will have many successes with their hit-and-run approach, as they did in Republican Alaska, they have to count on sudden action and surprise. Given time there can be counterorganization. People who have been asleep might waken as they see their voices silenced or their rights removed in the name of Christian America. By the way, count on the rise of a new anti-



clericalism and a new antichurchism among many now congenial people who will find their candidates and themselves crowded out. People will not leave the New Right because they are belittled or derided into leaving. Instead they have to be confronted with the need to do fresh and deep thinking about the consequences of their commitments. They have to be challenged to show concern for the larger republic and not only their own absolutist causes. Given time, the counterforces will likely emerge. It is hard to change American consciousness fast enough this year to blunt the attacks of this right wing.

#### 10. The new Christian Right is part of a worldwide turning.

I do not favor self-fulfilling prophecies. And that means just as in 1968 it was valid to oppose those who spelled it Amerika and said we were turning fascist, so now it is premature, and I hope inaccurate, to say that the Christian fundamentalist coalition portends a fascist America. All things being equal, our political pluralism is rich enough and our human resources resourceful and resilient enough that we can keep from being overwhelmed now, as we have kept from such outcomes before. Now not all things are always equal, and the circumstances of life could vastly change. The world is not moving toward toleration but away from it. The age is not, in many ways, a time of ecumenical convergence but of tribal divergence and separation. (And the new American Christian Right did not invent that.) It is not an age of the end of ideology; many liberation theologies are as fanatic and unresponsive to criticism, as theologically sure of themselves as is the force we are talking about today. The future, say many prognosticators, may find the world divided less over nation than over religio-cultural-ethnic-tribal differences. The Enlightenment is long past, and its leaders were not above being tribal either. This all means that we do have to stay alert. The 200-year-old American experiment with religious freedom was late, small, fragile, and perhaps designed to be mortal. The advocates of a Christian America would help put an end to it. They will not begin to do that through the ordinary processes of an ordinary political year. In many campaigns you won't know they exist and won't need to.

Their hour would come in a time when we cannot say, "all things being equal." Should there be a barn-burning, back-busting depression in America in a decade; should there be an outburst of violence and terrorism which citizens would wish to put down by creating a surveillance society; should there be a total social(ist) reorganization of the economy — how would we legitimate the shifts? It never seems likely to me that we would do it through Marx or Mao. We would use Jesus and call the program Christian Democracy. To envision this as a possibility is *not* to predict that it will come tomorrow. There are counterforces.

#### 11. The new situation makes open and mainline churches newly relevant.

This is a time to listen. To see whether we have contributed unthinkingly to a way of life that makes the fundamentalist rightism plausible to so many. Have we indulged only in our

doubts, been simple relativists, unready to hear words of plausible authority? Have we sometimes trampled the rights of others? And on the positive side, does not the republic need what Edmund Burke called little platoons against the new Leviathan? Mainline churches claim to be made up of people with deep Christian commitment who have also learned to be civil and to care about the public order. Energies poured into deepening the commitment to faith and civility will run against every trend of the time. But since nothing seems to be going well as we follow those trends, it might be time to try some alternatives. If the mainline churches (and synagogues) are on the one hand wishy-washy and on the other lusting after the *kinds* of authority that the new fundamentalisms assert, they will fail in their own mission.

#### 12. Don't push all theological conservatives into the same camp.

It was stupid for Americans during the 1950's crusade against atheistic communism to make one thing out of all socialisms, *pace* Solzhenitsyn, who tries to do it today. Today we regret having once given a single creed to Mao and Marx when even tactically it would have been wise to play them against each other. Today we regret the death of Tito, though 20 years ago we were asked to see him as a carbon copy of Stalin. It may not be stupid, but it is not fair for the new fundamentalists to lump everyone with whom they disagree into a single category called humanist.

If all that is true, then it is important for other Americans to make distinctions between partisans of conservative camps. Many Roman Catholics are strict constructionists on the abortion issue and advocates of social justice on many other fronts. That's where the bishops are; read their proposals. There are vast differences in conservative Protestantism between mean fundamentalists and non-mean ones. Millions of people simply want to serve God; they love Jesus, they live by the Spirit, and they are not out to get you. Why force them into the same camp with the mean people on white chargers who are out to get you? And why clump evangelicals and fundamentalists? Why overlook the fact that evangelicalism today is highly diverse politically? That it provides some of the most pointed social criticism available in America today? That some of its political advocacies — I think of the sorts embodied in *Reformed Journal* — are rooted in forms of Reformation humanism that are not socially radical but allow for criticism and transformation? And on and on.

In sum, America is awakening to the presence of a new militancy, one that is part of a worldwide network of people who have given up on pluralism. The militants want to impose by legal fiat the name Christian on a diverse society. They have won some elections this year and colored others. They will pass some analysts by and lead others to premature panic. They are met best by listeners, by understanders of their grievances, by people who try to draw them from ideology into the zone of political give-and-take. The message again: Don't underestimate them. Don't overestimate them.

Reprinted from *Context* by permission of Claretian Publications, 221 West Madison, Chicago, IL 60606.

Dr. Marty is Professor of Church History, University of Chicago Divinity School.



## The Christian Right: Some Reflections Ronald B. Sobel

Protestant evangelical beliefs and in recent months particularly Protestant evangelical power, variously described as the Religious Right or the Christian Right, have become the subject of much public attention. In order to understand this phenomenon, a little historical background may be helpful.

In 1919 the World Christian Fundamentals Association was established. In 1925 the Scopes trial took place. Biblical literalism was the major issue on the list of the fundamentalists' "fundamentals." The polemics were often bitter, and the more the parties became polarized the more the fundamentalists became an isolated block within Protestantism. In the 1930's, many second-generation members of the fundamentalist movement, eager to become more open to the general culture of the country, often preferred to refer to themselves as "evangelicals," a term they felt to be less exclusivistic, less implicative of the crusader's spirit.

### Support for Israel

Though evangelicals usually tend to be conservative in theology as well as politics, they are far from a monolithic movement. For example, the type of Biblical literalism that has characterized fundamentalist theology has been and continues to be challenged in several of the largest, conservative Protestant denominations. Both the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church and the Southern Baptist Church have been rocked in recent years by what is called the "Battle of the Bible." Furthermore, the "radical evangelical" movement has been gaining strength, especially through the influence of the magazine *Sojourners*. These so-called "radical evangelicals," with whom Senator Mark Hatfield is closely associated, tend to be conservative in theology but liberal in politics.

The priorities in the evangelical agenda have shifted too. While the great issues of the 1920's were tobacco, liquor, theater, dancing and card playing, today they are abortion, homosexuality, pornography, ERA, SALT II. Yet the issue of Darwinian evolution and Biblical creation was still considered serious enough to be introduced into the recent Presidential campaign.

Today's really dramatic change is the one that has taken place among that segment of the evangelicals called the Christian Right, who have sought to translate the power of the pulpit, magnified by TV into a campaign for political votes and power. Enthusiasm for this new strategy is far from universal in evangelical circles, as is evidenced by Southern Baptist leader Jimmy Allen's opposition to fellow Baptist Jerry Falwell. Other internal tensions exist as well. The "evangelical vote" may yet have proven to be as illusive as

the "Catholic vote," the "Jewish vote" or the "black vote."

As for the so-called "electronic church," a term including all who utilize radio or television, whether mainliners or fundamentalists, to communicate their special message, it is difficult, if not impossible, to describe a single set of beliefs as normative. There are, however, a few hallmarks of contemporary evangelical theology which can be identified.

1) Evangelism, the *raison d'être* of the programs, is understood to mean evoking decisions or commitments to Jesus Christ, so as to be saved. The argument runs that if America will ever make a decision for God, it too may be saved from the forces threatening it from within and without.

2) Belief in Satan and demons as personal, active enemies is nearly universal. Satan is the enemy of America, a land raised up by God to be His instrument of order and righteousness in the world.

3) It is America which must battle with the Anti-Christ when he surfaces, with Gog and Magog generally portrayed as the U.S.S.R. and Communism, who will have to be fought in the Middle East and at Armageddon.

4) Satan is also at work inside America, in the forces of secular humanism, socialism, homosexuality, immorality and whatever other forces threaten the traditional, male-dominated nuclear family.

5) Pre-millennialism is defined as Jesus' return to rule the world from Israel.

6) Post-millennialism is referred to as the "big bang" theory of the world's end, with the final battle likely to take place at Armageddon.

### Christian Beliefs about Jews

It is perhaps best to retain a healthy sense of skepticism. While none will deny that demagoguery can be dangerous to a democracy's health, right-wrong rhetoric emanating from the right and the left is nothing new. The Reverend Jesse Jackson and others from the left recently engaged in quite a bit of it with respect to Middle East issues, while mainline Protestant leaders seemed blissfully unconcerned. The National Council of Churches issues statements on nuclear energy and the need for the U.S. government to recognize the P.L.O. and calls it "prophetic witness." But when evangelicals oppose government funding for abortions and support the State of Israel, the same National Council of Churches calls it "single-issue politics."

Religion plus political involvement can add up as a threat to civil liberties and civil rights, but not necessarily. A valid Jewish prophetic tradition exists, beginning with Amos, that



through the ages has spoken with passion about social-political issues: a tradition which has been the cornerstone of the work of ADL and like-minded Jewish organizations. The doctrine of church-state separation ought never to be used to silence the voices of those who wish to speak out on issues in the name of their religious convictions and who seek to persuade others to vote accordingly. In the end, all political movements are inspired by a certain faith, a certain metaphysics or ideology. The greatness of the American political system is in its allowing for free interplay among a diversity of beliefs, even at the risk of tolerating the intolerant.

While the doctrine of the separation of church and state does not mean silencing the religious voice or vote in the political process, it does imply resistance to a narrow sectarian approach to politics. And that is precisely where the rub lies; some of the statements made by representatives of the Christian Right arouse profound concern among many Americans. European history clearly teaches that sectarian domination of the political process can in the end be maintained only through oppression. History also shows that the first to suffer from a narrow "Christian" definition of society are invariably the Jews.

### Movement Not Monolithic

It is true that some of the staunchest supporters of the State of Israel in the United States are to be found among conservative, evangelical Christians. It is also true that their particularistic, theological views raise questions that cast doubt upon Judaism's authenticity and integrity. There are many thoughtful and informed Jews, however, who do not subscribe to the view that we must first come to an agreement with evangelical Christians on a millennial theology before we can work with them on common concerns and visions. Israel, a survival issue for the Jewish people, needs all the friends it can get in a world where too many people, including too many mainline church leaders, forget all too soon what forces of destruction can be unleashed upon the earth when nations follow the road of expediency and prejudicial propaganda reigns supreme. Our gratitude for voices that speak out in defense of a beleaguered Israel, however, ought not cause us to declare a moratorium on criticism when we believe that not only our Jewish interests and integrities but the interests and integrities of the American people as a whole are at stake.

The answer to narrow sectarianism is not an absolute and valueless secularism. In a sense, both these approaches are simplistic attempts to resolve an inner tension inherent in every society. What is the role of religion in shaping a culture? What are the fundamental values that underlie the ordering of a society? To what extent do Jews and Christians share common perspectives on such questions? We certainly need to talk with each other about such issues.

Instead of panicking about what we perceive to be the growing power of the Christian Right in American politics, we ought to accentuate the pluses we have in our relationships with evangelicals. One of these pluses is our common concern about Israel. It is ironic that the topic of Israel, which in recent years has made our contact with mainline churches and their councils of churches increasingly difficult, is the very subject that opens up opportunities for dialogue with the evangelicals. This is not going to be a painless process. The

recent assertion by the president of the Southern Baptist Convention that God does not hear the prayer of a Jew gives some indication of what we have to cope with.

For such expressions stem from deep and strongly held theological beliefs. The fact is that the statement of the Reverend Bailey Smith does not necessarily reflect hostility towards Jews, but it does mirror a prevalently held mission among Christians, irrespective of political ideology, to bring the "good news" to "unredeemed Christians and Jews." What we must guard against is that religious orthodoxy misunderstood becomes religious imperialism, which creates serious problems.

### Healthy Skepticism

We have only to refer to ADL's *Patterns of American Prejudice* series, a monumental study undertaken in cooperation with the University of California, and specifically the volume entitled *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism*. The findings revealed that the acceptance of orthodox Christian beliefs leads to a particularistic religious orientation in which only "right-thinking" Christians are seen as saved and all others damned. These views in turn are associated with hostile feelings towards Jews — which have both an historical dimension (Jews being held responsible for the crucifixion) and contemporary effects (Jews being condemned for their rejection of Jesus as savior). Such religious beliefs, finally, are associated with secular forms of anti-Semitism. Christian lay persons and ministers holding these conceptions, the ADL study found, hold disproportionately prejudiced attitudes toward Jews.

While the churches today do not openly preach anti-Semitism and, in fact, officially reflect positions of reconciliation and rapprochement, in reality the orthodox Christianity reflected by some scattered segments of the Christian Right continues to serve as agents in America of anti-Semitic actions. It does so by introducing a set of assumptions that provide reasons for people to dislike Jews. While not everyone who accepts these assumptions draws from them the same hostile conclusions about Jews, the majority of theologically conservative church people do make such connections. Thus, despite the expressions of an American religious pluralism, Christianity continues to have a strong impact upon what people think about Jews.

There will be times when we will feel a deep sense of disappointment with our dialogue partners — or we may find the opportunities for meaningful dialogue temporarily absent. But through it all, the chances of developing greater sensitivity towards each other's views and feelings should not be underestimated.

Tolerance must not become a bad word among us. Yet frustration and fear often lead people to destructive actions. It is therefore important that we recognize the concerns that are alive in broad circles in the country today. For instance, there is a genuine fear abroad that tolerance has come to mean indifference, permissiveness and total relativism. Calling worried people extremists is probably one of the fastest ways to drive them into the arms of extremists, who are eagerly waiting to recruit people for their hate campaigns. For tolerance is best nurtured only in an environment where people listen to each other and learn to respect each other.

Rabbi Sobel, spiritual leader of Temple Emanu-El in New York City, is chairman of ADL's National Program Committee.



## Books in Review Theodore Freedman

### **FORTY YEARS A GUINEA PIG**

E. Frederic Morrow. New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1980, 235 pp. \$10.95.

This autobiography describes the efforts of an upwardly mobile black to break through the racism of American society. It begins with the author's admittance, in 1926, to Bowdoin College, and the attitudes he encountered there from students and faculty. Greatest attention is paid, however, to his years spent in the military and working for the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower as well as to his role as a presidential assistant under Eisenhower and to his later efforts in behalf of Richard Nixon's election.

Morrow emerges as a fighter confronting head-on affronts and obstacles that would have turned back a weaker person, and as a self-appointed representative of all blacks. He was outspoken to the point of risk not only of physical attack but also of embarrassing the establishment. While he met each challenge with dignity and talent, his recollections are often strident and bitter, owing in part to his seeing himself as alone in the battle for civil rights. Morrow has proved a loyal worker for the Republican Party, believing and continuing to believe that, in the long run, blacks fare better under its administration. But that does not mean that he fails to recognize the racism within the party's ranks and leadership.

Morrow concludes with a poignant appeal to all Americans — black and white — to get on with the unfinished job of providing full equality for black Americans. But his strongest appeal is directed toward the black community itself, whose achievers he challenges: they can sit on their hands, he says, and let the "zealous but not necessarily knowledgeable persons do the job."

But, one of the dangers is that this offers fertile ground for the rise of false prophets and self-annointed leaders. In so many cities today, anyone who leads a picket line, makes a flamboyant public statement, resists the status quo, or forms a cult to overthrow anything, is deemed and, unblushingly, called "a leader."

Morrow closes with the same hope and tenacity which permeated his years of personal struggle. "Despite the bitter memories of the past," he writes, "I shall not turn back, nor sit in a corner and sulk away my remaining days. I remain a true believer that, with God's help, we shall overcome someday, someday."

### **REVOLUTION IN JUDAEA: Jesus and the Jewish Resistance**

Hyam Maccoby. New York: Taplinger, 1980, 256 pp. \$9.95.

Modern Biblical scholarship has attempted to show that the picture received from Gospel accounts of Palestine in Jesus' time may well be distorted, according to Hyam Maccoby. By omitting everything of political significance from

their accounts, the Gospels present a misleading view of a populist movement led by Jesus.

For example, Judaea's being in a state of seething discontent with Roman rule and constantly erupting with revolutionary or apocalyptic movements is scarcely mentioned in Scriptures. The author argues that Jesus was in fact a leader of the Jewish resistance against Roman occupation; he was a man of action, and his public speaking had strong political implications, i.e., as a preacher of the "kingdom of God" Jesus was in fact announcing the end of Roman rule.

Writes Maccoby:

Jesus tried to bring about the kingdom of God on earth, and he failed; but the meaning of his life is in the attempt, not in the failure. As a Jew, he fought not against some metaphysical evil but against Rome. Yet the movement which denied his life by deifying him misrepresented him as being opposed to the people whom he most loved and on whose behalf he fought. It was an entirely fitting outcome that this movement, Gentile-Christianity, made a successful accommodation with Rome and became the official religion of the Empire which crucified Jesus.

Hyam Maccoby, former Domus Exhibitioner in Classics at Balliol College, Oxford, and currently Librarian of the Leo Baeck College in London, offers a highly readable and provocative view of Jesus' life and times.

### **Recently Received**

#### **A CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY OF JUDAISM**

by Clemens Thoma, tr. by Helga Croner. New York: Paulist Press, 1980, 211 pp. \$7.95.

#### **THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST — 1919-1945**

by Phillip J. Baram. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978, 343 pp. \$27.50.

#### **GHETTO IN FLAMES**

by Yitzhak Arad. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and ADL, 1980, 500 pp. \$17.50.

#### **JERUSALEM Problems and Prospects**

edited by Joel L. Kraemer. New York: Praeger, 1980, 243 pp. \$9.95.

#### **THE LOST JEWS**

##### **Last of the Ethiopian Falashas**

by Louis Rapoport. New York: Stein and Day, 1980, 264 pp. \$13.95.

#### **THE POPULATION OF ISRAEL**

by Dov Friedlander and Calvin Goldscheider. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979, 240 pp. \$19.50.

#### **WHITE TEACHER**

by Vivian Gussin Paley. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1979, 140 pp. \$8.95.



## **JERUSALEM: Problems and Prospects**

edited by Joel L. Kraemer; introduction by Teddy Kollek

Jerusalem is one of the oldest cities in the world and has been coveted and conquered by a host of peoples throughout its history. The site of the Temple of the Jews, of the crucifixion of Jesus, and of Muhammad's ascension to Heaven — the reasons why men have fought and died for this city are thousands of years old.

This book looks at the city's history in order to better understand the present situation. The contributors, all experts in the field of contemporary Middle Eastern affairs and Israeli government, examine such topics as Jerusalem under the Ottomans, British and Jordanians; Israeli policy in the city after reunification; the Christian establishment in Jordan; and the demographic and economic developments in the city since 1967. Through a comparison of other heterogeneous cities, such as Brussels, Montreal, and Belfast, the editors discuss various options available for solving the problems of Jerusalem.

Essential reading for students of political science, the Middle East and Jewish studies, as well as the general reader interested in contemporary Jerusalem, this book defines a complex area of study and provides a rich background for formulating new policy.

Joel L. Kraemer is chairman of the Department of Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University.

245 pp./List price: \$9.95

Published by Praeger Publishers in cooperation with The Jerusalem Foundation.

## **JERUSALEM**

### **Problems and Prospects**

Edited by  
**JOEL L. KRAEMER**

Introduction by  
**Teddy Kollek**

## **IMAGES FROM THE BIBLE**

The Words of Elie Wiesel

The Paintings of Shalom of Safed

Introduction by Daniel Doron

A work both unique and traditional, combining the talents of one of America's major writers and Israel's best-known artist, which will be cherished for many years to come.

In this splendid example of the bookmaker's art, biblical tales — from the creation of the world and Adam and Eve, through the stories of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, to Moses and the Israelites — are portrayed in the counterpoint of Shalom's paintings and Elie Wiesel's writings. The celebrated artist painted the vision closest to his heart in a pictorial narrative celebrating the glory of God and the story of a people. The magnificent illustrations — set off by the relevant biblical text — are reproduced for the first time in this book. Wiesel's interpretive commentary on Old Testament tales inspires and heightens the reader's awareness. "Excellent paintings manage to do what is close to the impossible — express traditional religious belief in a contemporary way." *The New York Times*

Elie Wiesel, foremost writer on Judaism and author of many books — most recently *The Trial of God* — lives in New York City. Shalom of Safed, who died in January, 1980, at the age of 85, attained a reputation as the leading exponent of naive art on religious themes.

144 pages/9-3/8" x 12-1/2"

Over 50 full-color and black-and-white illustrations

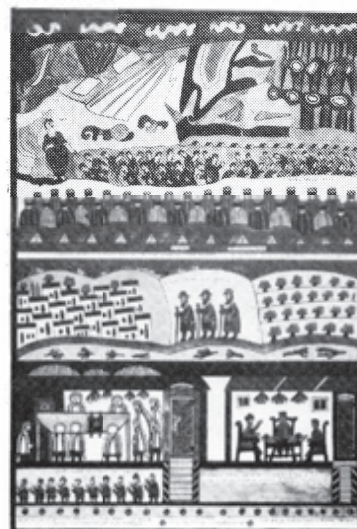
List price: \$35.00

Available to Face to Face subscribers at a special 15% discount: \$29.75

## **IMAGES FROM THE BIBLE**

THE PAINTINGS OF SHALOM OF SAFED

THE WORDS OF ELIE WIESEL





## SO IT WAS TRUE

### The American Protestant Press and the Nazi Persecution of the Jews

Robert W. Ross

How much did American Protestants know about the Nazi persecution of European Jews before and during World War II? Very little, many of them claimed in the postwar years. Robert W. Ross challenges that answer in this comprehensive analysis of the ways in which Protestant journals ranging from *The Christian Century* to *The Arkansas Baptist* reported and editorialized on the subject from 1933 through 1945. Tracing coverage from the time of the Nuremberg Laws to the Kristallnacht and the era of the death camps, Ross finds conflicting reports and disputed evidence, yet, on the whole, a pervasive attempt to inform readers about the persecution. The resultant "Silence" — the fact that so few American Protestants paid attention to these reports or acted upon their knowledge — has created a moral dilemma for theologians in the years since the war.

Ross's meticulous examination of the written evidence reveals that by 1943 Protestant journals had fully reported the Nazi persecution of Europe's Jews: deportation and massacre, gas chambers, crematoria, and starvation, the transport trains and the death camps. Yet the reports were often couched in skepticism, reflecting the editors' fear that they might be fooled by propaganda — false atrocity stories during World War I had taught them to doubt. Even by July 1944, when the Russian army liberated the death camp Majdanek, editor Charles Clayton Morrison of *The Christian Century* was reluctant to part with his assumptions about wartime propaganda. Not till he saw pictures of a death camp in the spring of

1945 was Morrison convinced: "The thing is well-nigh incredible," he wrote. "But it happened."

"So It Was True!" This headline in *The Signs of the Times* is, for Ross, an apt summary of editorial reaction — mingled surprise, despair, and resignation — in the spring of 1945. Analyzing the kinds of neglect that characterized the Silence, Ross points to the absence of moral outrage as a major failing, and contrasts it with the passionate editorial reaction to the dropping of the atom bomb. By late 1945, he notes, European Jews had almost disappeared from the pages of American Protestant journals: they had become part of a larger mass of "displaced persons." Ross's assessment of both the press coverage and the Silence makes **So It Was True** a valuable report on an issue of enduring significance.

Robert W. Ross is an associate professor in religious studies and student affairs at the University of Minnesota, and he writes from the perspective of an active Protestant churchman.

xxii + 374 pages/paper 9.95

Published by the University of Minnesota Press



## GHETTO IN FLAMES:

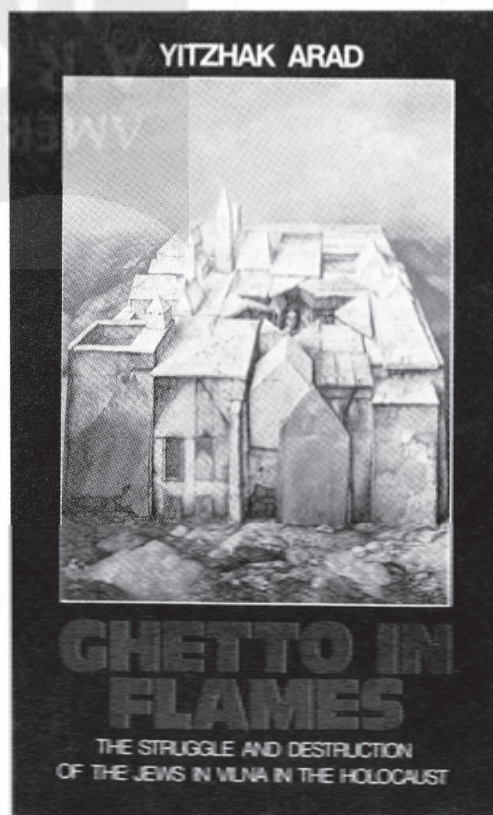
## The Struggle and Destruction of the Jews in Vilna in the Holocaust by Yitzhak Arad

**Ghetto in Flames** is given over to the tragedy of the Jews of Vilna, once famous for its vibrant Jewish cultural life, and known for generations as the “Jerusalem of Lithuania.” The author describes the history of the Jews in Vilna from the outbreak of World War II and relates the premeditated destruction of that flourishing community by Nazi Germany between 1941 and 1944. The Jews of Vilna endured most of the edicts and persecutions that the Germans inflicted upon European Jewry at large, from expropriation to deportations and annihilation. Despite this cruel reality, Vilna Jewry attempted to fight back — in the ghetto and the forests — seeking means of rescue and survival. Jewish Vilna endured the majority of the hardships and torments of the Holocaust, and the community’s responses sum up most of the options generally available to Jews during this tragic era. The fate of Vilna Jewry was a microcosm of what befell most Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. **Ghetto In Flames** presents a detailed account of the last chapter in the chronicles of Jewish Vilna.

Yitzhak Arad, born near Vilna, is a reserve brigadier in the Israeli army and chairman of the Board of Directors of Yad Vashem.

500 pp./List price: \$17.50

Published and distributed by Yad Vashem, Martyrs' and  
Heroes' Remembrance Authority, Jerusalem, The Anti-  
Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and KTAV Publishing  
House.





# Holocaust Library



## THE WARSAW GHETTO REVOLT Reuben Ainsztein

"We may single out Ainsztein's history of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising as the best yet written." — Choice. "Major contribution to both Jewish and European history." — Milton Meltzer. Map and 53 photographs, 248 pp., \$4.95 paperback.



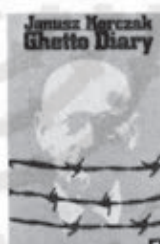
## THE DEATH TRAIN Luba Krugman Gurdus

"Words are insufficient to describe the depths of the abyss and the sheer courage in writing about it. Your book is the story of one child in one family, your family, that is the tale of countless of our children. You, a mother, have built a monument to the millions that perished." — Menachem Begin. 61 drawings by the author, 164 pp., \$10.00 cloth.



## THE PARTISAN From the Valley of Death to Mount Zion Yitzhak Arad

Yitzhak Arad's daring exploits and adventures make exciting reading. His memoirs follow his progress from the misery of the Ghetto through the atrocities of the Nazi terror and his odyssey as a Jewish partisan, to his heroic ascent as a freedom fighter. 288 pp., 56 photos, \$4.95 paperback.



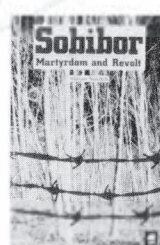
## GHETTO DIARY Janusz Korczak/Introduction by Aaron Zeitlin

The legendary Janusz Korczak was a great physician, a great writer, and a great educator. Despite many offers of personal rescue, Korczak refused to desert the children of the orphanage he headed, and accompanied them to his and their death at Treblinka; this is the diary of his last years. 192 pp., \$8.95 cloth.



## THE HOLOCAUST KINGDOM A Memoir Alexander Donat

This unique memoir reaches beyond the story of one man to tell the saga of a doomed people. "Extraordinary — marvelous. So fair, so balanced, so just, so true. It moved me greatly. It should be read by everyone." — Saul Bellow. "Recognized classic of Holocaust literature." The Sewanee Review. 368 pp., \$4.95 paperback.



## SOBIBOR Martyrdom and Revolt Presented by Miriam Novitch Preface by Léon Poliakov

Thirty survivors of the death camp Sobibor tell the incredible story of the martyrdom and revolt in this hell on earth. The details of the heroic uprising of the prisoners on October 14, 1943 are told by the participants. 168 pp., 41 photographs, \$4.95 paperback.



## THEIR BROTHERS' KEEPERS The Christian Heroes and Heroines Who Helped the Oppressed Escape the Nazi Terror Philip Friedman

"Well-documented and deeply moving recital of the rescue of prospective Jewish victims by Christians . . . itself a major document of human solidarity." — Salo W. Baron. 240 pp., \$4.95 paperback.



## HARVEST OF HATE The Nazi Program for the Destruction of the Jews of Europe Léon Poliakov

"The best available survey. Brief, concise, yet still comprehensive, with quotes from the original sources." — ADL Publications Bulletin. "One of the finest introductions to the history of the Nazi persecution of the Jews." — The Sewanee Review. Revised and expanded edition. \$4.95 paperback.





## THE DEATH BRIGADE

Leon W. Wells

Interned by the Nazis in the Janowska concentration camp, Wells escaped, was recaptured and assigned to the Death Brigade, which worked to obliterate any trace of the mass executions. "An overpowering classic of survival." — Detroit Free Press. 320 pp., \$4.95 paperback.



## JUSTICE IN JERUSALEM

Gideon Hausner

Introduction by Barbara W. Tuchman

"The enormous Israeli effort that went into the preparation of the case against [Eichmann], the painstaking attention to legal detail and justification, the wrenching attempt to be fair while partisan in judging and convicting the man — all of it is replayed in Hausner's tautly written pages." — Time Magazine. 560 pp., 19 photographs, \$6.95 paperback.



## THE DEATH CAMP TREBLINKA

A Documentary

Edited by Alexander Donat

Treblinka's hell is presented for the first time in its awesome detail. Introductory essays, historical analysis, eyewitness accounts, statistical and biographical data, excerpts of trials, the heroic revolt of August 2, 1943, full list of survivors. "Strongly recommended for college, university, and public libraries." — Choice. 320 pp., 32 photographs, \$4.95 paperback.



## A VOICE FROM THE FOREST

Memoirs of a Jewish Partisan

Nahum Kohn and Howard Roiter

The path of Nahum Kohn, a small-town watchmaker from a religious family, led him from his native Sieradz in Western Poland to the forests of Volhynia where, after many adventures and narrow escapes, he joined the detachment of the famous Soviet partisan, Medvedev. 288 pp., illustrations, \$5.95 paperback.



## THE POLITICS OF RESCUE

The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945

Henry L. Feingold

"Feingold's book is neither an apologia for nor an indictment of the Roosevelt Administration, but rather a balanced and persuasive account of what it did and might have done about rescuing Europe's Jews." — American Historical Review. Expanded and updated edition. 432 pp., \$7.95 paperback.



## ON BOTH SIDES OF THE WALL

Vladka Meed/Introduction by Elie Wiesel

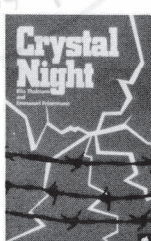
Feigle Peltel became "Vladka" when she was called upon to work on the Aryan side by the Jewish underground. "As one of the handful of survivors who not only shared the Jewish agony, but participated in the Jewish armed struggle, Vladka brings us an eyewitness account, the more hair-raising and heart-rending because it is so straightforwardly factual." — Elie Wiesel. 304 pp., 43 photographs, \$4.95 paperback.



## AND THE SUN KEPT SHINING . . .

Bertha Ferderber-Salz/Foreword by Menachem Z. Rosensaft

On September 1, 1939, Bertha Ferderber lived quietly in Cracow, untouched by the course of world events. On April 15, 1945 when the British troops liberated the emaciated inmates of Bergen-Belsen, she became a survivor. 240 pp., 24 photographs, \$5.95 paperback.



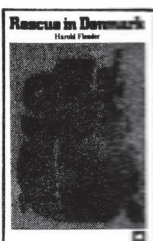
## CRYSTAL NIGHT

9-10 November 1938

Rita Thalmann and Emmanuel Feinermann

Translated by Gilles Cremonesi

This powerful documentary history recreates the night of November 9-10, 1938 — the Crystal Night — when Nazi terrorization of the Jews climaxed in nationwide riots, a foretaste of the Holocaust. Based on contemporary documents from both the Nazis and their victims, **Crystal Night** is the only complete account now available of these events. 192 pp., 17 photographs, \$4.95 paperback.



## RESCUE IN DENMARK

Harold Flender

Recounts the innumerable acts of individual heroism and sacrifice that made it possible to save all but a handful of Denmark's 8,000 Jews from the Germans. "Flender brings out the risks and agonies, the drama and heroism, in straight, professional reporting." — The New York Times Book Review. 280 pp., 8 pp. of illustrations, \$5.95 paperback.

The complete Holocaust Library series — seventeen volumes which are valued at \$101.20 — is available at a special discount price of \$75.00.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith  
Center for Studies on the Holocaust



# JOY AND RESPONSIBILITY

## Israel, Modernity and the Renewal of Judaism

David Hartman

Today's Jew lives in a technologically advanced secular society. Can *Halakhah*, that body of Jewish laws, ethics and rituals which has sustained traditional Judaism over the centuries help the contemporary Jew face the complex challenges of modernity? The author of this collection of provocative essays, an eminent Jewish thinker of our time, discusses the place of Judaism in the contemporary world and elaborates a possible *halakhic* approach to the dilemmas of "secular man."

In the author's view the *halakhic* tradition is not properly understood in the West. Secular Jews, who do not feel bound by *halakhic* authority, do not even know what it is or what spiritual meaning it may have in their lives. Christian thinkers, too, automatically identify this type of Judaism with dogmatic obedience to merciless legalism. Hartman's conception is that *Halakhah* is not a yoke or burden but an elevation, and that there is "joy and responsibility" in following the commandments. He shows *Halakhah* to be a religious system uniquely responsive to human needs. His philosophy of Judaism is a major contribution towards understanding the psychological and philosophical connections between joy and normative responsibility. The human personality which emerges from his sensitive and profound analysis of Judaism seeks spiritual communion with modern secular man and fully appreciates and shares in the moral opportunities and enlarged responsibilities of technological society today. Particular emphasis is placed on the rebirth of Israel which provides a unique opportunity for a rewarding interrelationship between tradition and modernity.

To Hartman, religious faith is not a ready-made solution to life's problems; it is the perseverance in life's struggle. The truly religious man is not the simple man of blind faith, but the person whose faith is born of serious questioning about the meaning of life. The issues facing the modern Jew confront each and everyone of us, Christian or Jew: the breakdown of the family, secularism and the threat of technology, the crisis of personal identity, moral values in a changing world — these are some of the salient ones. Hartman encourages the individual to explore new options for living, create new life styles, discover new ways of self-expression, embrace the opportunities of modernity without abandoning tradition and, above all, meet the tensions of living in two worlds fearlessly and responsibly. The volume will appeal to rabbis, Jewish educators and knowledgeable lay persons as well as to scholars and students of Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations in the Christian community.

David Hartman has served as rabbi and teacher in the U.S. and Canada and currently lives in Jerusalem where he lectures in Jewish Philosophy at the Hebrew University. He is a popular speaker and is an advisor to the Israeli Ministry of Education.

286 pp./\$12.50

David Hartman

# JOY and RESPONSIBILITY

## Israel, Modernity and the Renewal of Judaism

### ON READING DAVID HARTMAN:

#### A Study Guide to Joy and Responsibility

James Ponet and Bernard Steinberg

This thought-provoking study guide is a companion piece to David Hartman's book *Joy and Responsibility*. Prepared by the co-directors of The Jerusalem Seminar Series of the Shalom Hartman Institute, the study guide is a good introduction to the book and to the world of thought of the popular rabbi and author. It consists of six discussions, each revolving around a central theme of the book, as follows: *Joy and Responsibility*; *Living with Uncertainty*; *Living in Two Worlds*; *Tradition and Modernity*; *Living in Reality: The Meaning of Israel*; *On Creation and Idolatry*; *What is Halakhah?*

Each discussion outlines a theme, and then, with the aid of questions for further consideration, directs the reader to the various essays in the book in which this theme is developed. The questions suggest a pathway through the book, although it remains for the individual reader to make his own connections between essays.

Individuals and groups — rabbis, Jewish educators and knowledgeable lay persons, scholars and students of Judaism and Jewish-Christian relations — can use the discussions as vehicles for generating study of some of Hartman's most basic insights.

38 pp./\$1.50 (Free with purchase of book)



# imanuel

עִמְנוּאֵל

A BULLETIN OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND RESEARCH  
IN ISRAEL

Published By  
THE ECUMENICAL THEOLOGICAL RESEARCH  
FRATERNITY IN ISRAEL

in cooperation with  
The Interfaith Affairs Department  
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

IMMANUEL aims to meet the considerable academic interest in recent developments in Israel in the religious and theological areas and helps foster a better understanding between Christians and Jews.

IMMANUEL publishes relevant translations of material written in Hebrew which would otherwise be inaccessible to interested readers abroad. Also included, for its international audiences, are original contributions, summaries of articles, book reviews and descriptions of current Biblical scholarship and Judaic studies.

A partial listing of contributors to previous issues of IMMANUEL:

Shemaryahu Talmon, Professor of Bible, Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Binyamin Uffenheimer, Professor of Bible, Tel Aviv University

Joshua Amir, Lecturer in Hellenistic Judaism, Tel Aviv University and Hebrew University

David Flusser, Professor of the Second Temple Period, Hebrew University

Shlomo Pines, Professor of Philosophy, Hebrew University

Shmuel Safrai, Professor of Jewish History, Hebrew University

Rev. Marcel J. Dubois, Chairman, Philosophy Department, Hebrew University;  
editor of *Lettre aux amis*

David Hartman, Professor of Jewish Philosophy, Hebrew University;  
director, Shalom Hartman Institute

Eliezer Schweid, Professor of Jewish Philosophy, Hebrew University

Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, Professor of Islamic Civilization, Hebrew University

Rev. Coos Schoneveld, Theological Adviser in Jerusalem of the Netherlands  
Reformed Church; Executive Secretary of the Ecumenical Theological  
Research Fraternity, Israel.

IMMANUEL is published twice a year.

Subscription rate \$10.00 or equivalent in local currency.

All inquiries related to IMMANUEL in the United States and Canada should be directed to:

**IMMANUEL**

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith  
823 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017

Other countries, inquiries should be directed to:

**IMMANUEL**

Ecumenical Theological Research Fraternity in Israel  
P.O. Box 249, Jerusalem, Israel

☐ Yes, I wish to subscribe to *Immanuel*. I enclose \$10.00 for the next 2 issues.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

(PLEASE PRINT)

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

If you would like to send gift subscriptions of *Immanuel* to friends, and colleagues, please print their names and addresses on a separate sheet of paper. Each additional *Immanuel* subscription is \$10.00 per individual or institution.



Use Order Form to subscribe.

Enclosed is check for \$\_\_\_\_\_

NON-PROFIT  
ORGANIZATION  
U.S. POSTAGE  
**PAID**  
NEW YORK, N.Y.  
PERMIT NO. 7480



## We are how many?

In late November, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, proposed that it is "no coincidence that the rise of right wing Christian fundamentalism has been accompanied by the most serious outbreak of anti-Semitism in America since the end of World War II." In Schindler's view—with which we here are in sympathy—it signifies a lack of self-respect among Jews when we rush to ingratiate ourselves with the Christian right, and it demonstrates a misunderstanding of the Jewish self-interest that we seek "to embrace forces that are anathema to every value in the Jewish ethical system."

The proper response of the Jewish community to the Christian right is a subject of very intense debate these days. Many who have expressed themselves on the subject have taken pains to note that the Christian right is hardly monolithic, and there cannot, therefore, be a single response. Others, stressing the commitment of some of the fundamentalist groups to Israel's security, have urged an alliance of convenience. Still others—we among them—have expressed the view that any move to alliance with the Christian right will necessarily further alienate us from moderate Christian groups, and will surely distress many of our own people.

A healthy debate.

Important and complex questions. Now, however, comes Rabbi Abraham Hecht, president of the Rabbinical Alliance of America, who brands Schindler's charge as "scurrilous and inane," and goes on to insist that Schindler's "irreligious policies are a much greater threat to the existence and future of the Jewish people than any other religious group in America, past, present or future."

This is not the first evidence of a dreary and dangerous inability, within the Jewish community, to sustain serious debate on pressing issues. Reckless allegations that this or that spokesman with whom one differs is, in effect, an enemy of the Jewish people are increasingly common—and a disgrace. In the case at hand, our fundamentalists are, apparently, more comfortable with their fundamentalists than they are with us. So be it. If Rabbi Hecht finds the company of Reverend Bailey Smith more congenial than the company of Rabbi Alexander Schindler, he is welcome to that myopia. Quite likely, Rabbi Hecht does not believe that God Almighty listens to Rabbi Schindler's prayers. If that be so, is not Rabbi Hecht's position at least as grave a threat to the welfare of the Jews as Reverend Smith's? And if it is, where are the responsible voices that condemn such boorishness?

## A MOMENT with . . .



Shimon Peres



Yitzhak Rabin

Last month, Israel's Labor Party named Shimon Peres (over Yitzchak Rabin) as its candidate for Prime Minister in the forthcoming elections. Back in 1976, before Mr. Begin's accession to power, when Mr. Peres was Israel's Minister of Defense, we had a lengthy interview with him. (Readers who go back that far will find the interview in the February 1976 issue.) Some of Mr. Peres' remarks at that time remain relevant today and provide a glimpse of the man thought most likely to succeed Mr. Begin.

Photographs by R. Nowitz

*From MOMENT MAGAZINE  
Feb - Mar 1981*



לשכת ראש הממשלה  
PRIME MINISTER'S BUREAU

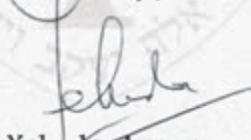
Jerusalem, February 19, 1981

Mr. A. M. Schindler  
President  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex,

The Prime Minister has asked me  
to thank you for your note and enclosure  
of January 30, in reference to the Moral  
Majority.

Sincerely,

  
Yehuda Avner  
Adviser to the  
Prime Minister



January 30, 1981

Mr. Yechiel Kadishai  
Director  
Office of the Prime Minister  
Knesset  
Jerusalem  
ISRAEL

Dear Yechiel:

Enclosed is a copy of Senator Church's reaction to my  
comments on the Moral Majority. The boss may be inter-  
ested in this response.

With warmest regards, I am

Fondly,

Alexander M. Schindler



January 26, 1981

Mr. Yechiel Kadishai, Director  
The Prime Minister's Office  
Knesset  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Yechiel:

Thank you for your many courtesies during my flying visit to Israel. It's always a pleasure to see you. I know you prefer me to come to Israel with Rhea but she chose skiing in Switzerland over you -- that's not my fault is it?

While I chatted with your boss the subject of the Moral Majority came up and I told him I was troubled not just from a long range point of view of how their goals and methodology will impact on American democracy, that is to say the inimical effect it has on it, but also I am troubled that Israel will be seen in alliance with a political force which has made it its business to eliminate some of Israel's staunchest supporters from the Senate. During the last election they targetted ten such Senators and certainly were responsible for destroying Frank Church of Idaho. And, immediately after the last election they published another hit list which includes the names of Metzenbaum, Kennedy and, would you believe, Henry Jackson. On grounds of both honor and pride I feel that Israel should not go to bed with the political assassins of some of our best friends over the decades.

The boss was surprised by all this and said, "I never heard about this Jackson matter." I promised to give him more information and just perchance the enclosed article by Leslie Gelb appeared in this week's Sunday Times, making reference to it. Please show it to him.

Again, my thanks for your kindness. With warmest regards,  
I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.



January 23, 1981

Dr. Samuel I. Cohen  
Executive Vice President  
Jewish National Fund  
42 East 69th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Dr. Cohen:

Forgive the delay in responding to your letter of December 30. My schedule has had me travelling almost constantly these past weeks, including a visit to Israel.

Thank you for clarifying the situation. I do regret the inclusion of James Robinson in my criticism.

However, I believe my essential point remains. Moreover, I can tell you that I get inquiries about JNF and Falwell in almost every community I visit. No doubt this comes from the publicity JNF gives to this connection in its own publications. If you dismiss the disquiet about the JNF-Falwell connection by attributing it to my speech, you will be making a terrible mistake. Like Senator Church at the Jabotinsky dinner, many of Israel's warmest friends and supporters are uneasy about this new and strange connection with the new right.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



**JEWISH  
NATIONAL  
FUND**

42 EAST 69TH STREET  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021  
PHONE: (212) 879-9300

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT  
DR. SAMUEL I. COHEN

*He V  
How do I respond?  
Am S.*

December 30, 1980

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

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I am taking this opportunity to express several reactions to references to the JNF contained in your "Report of the President of the UAHC to the Board of Trustees," November 21, 1980, as well as to statements emanating from the report that appeared in the press.

To quote your report: "And JNF groves are named in honor of them both. It is madness--and suicidal as well," referring to Jerry Falwell and to James Robison, as mentioned in your report (or evangelist Pat Robinson, as mentioned in several published press reports).

Just to keep the record straight, there is a forest in Israel called the Liberty Forest, near Nazareth, which has been endowed by Jerry Falwell as a practical symbol of his support of the State of Israel. As for his fellow evangelist, we have had no communication whatsoever with Mr. Robinson, nor do we know of any grove in Israel bearing his name.

The very clear inference of your comment "And JNF groves are named in honor of both of them" is that the JNF has bestowed upon Reverend Jerry Falwell and his colleague some sort of an honor or honorary recognition. This is simply not true. Jerry Falwell committed himself to a contribution of \$50,000 to sponsor a forest. Yes, we solicited him. He responded. Plain old fashioned fund-raising, nothing more, nothing less. Incidentally, he promised to make good his pledge within one year and so far he's already given us \$30,000. This is public knowledge within JNF circles.



Would you have taken the time to check with us for the facts, you might have avoided your incorrect statement and inference.

To be perfectly frank with you, when I saw your report I was really shocked by the tone of the reference to the JNF. My colleagues and I were discussing and speculating the probable reactions from your office had anyone (in any other Jewish organizational statement) made similar cavalier references to the UAHC.

With regard to Jerry Falwell, he joins a long and distinguished list of Christian clergymen of all political orientations who have expressed their love for the "Holy Land" in a tangible and supportive manner, through the Jewish National Fund. Indeed, to reverse your comment, it is they who honor us through their tree-planting programs for Israel.

So...without debating or even commenting on your overall thesis, I just want to indicate that you could and should have been more judicious in the selection of an illustration to make your point.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

  
Dr. Samuel I. Cohen

SIC:dd



# MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Some counsel for the new man in the Oval Office from an old Washington hand.

By Leslie H. Gelb

**B**y now, you have received a barrelful of memos telling you how to organize the Government, making it very clear who your friends and enemies will be and explaining how you can solve most problems by applying the best business techniques to the business of running the Government. However, if your transition period is anything like that of your predecessors, no one has sent you a memo telling you — given what you said in the campaign and how the transition has gone to date — where you might, just might, have some major misperceptions and be heading toward some major mistakes.

You may wonder why the editors of this newspaper called on me, a former member of the Carter and Johnson Administrations, to give you the bad news. I can only assume that it is partly because of my long experience with observing and committing errors of policy and politics. Also, I am among the very few people in Washington who could not even dream of filling an office in your Administration, and, alas, in the eyes of editors, such hopelessness is often confused with objectivity.

This memo is intended to caution you about: (1) the misperceptions you might be entertaining about the general political and governmental setting in Washington, and (2) the policy mistakes that might be inherent in the actual and political baggage you and your team carry.

## ENDING

hemism for all those  
ake it very difficult  
In particular, it's  
the stage with  
that they are

only Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to your Hamlet and about the institutions that will survive us all.

### Liberals And Conservatives

Doubtless you believe that liberals are going to give you a lot of trouble. For sure, they will not agree with most of your policies and will say so. But the fact of the matter is that most of these people are far more interested in disputing points of philosophy with one another than in fighting conservatives. They cannot operate without a political philosophy, and right now they have nothing but a political hodgepodge. Most have been reduced to muttering some new-conservative incantations and to defending old-liberal (and now unpopular) causes like the rights of blacks and illegal aliens and the need for détente with the Soviet Union. Editorial writers refer to this as being in disarray, but we know it's worse than that.



Ronald Reagan with the Rev. Jerry Falwell, founder of the Moral Majority.

When you think about it, your real problems will come from your conservative friends — from conflicts between the Old Right and the New Right, the ones who were with you from the start fighting the new boys — and from those who simply know what God wants better than you do. A lot of these people

actually believe that you were elected on the strength of their philosophy. To them, you are a means and not an end. Such people are most concerned with doctrinal purity, and you never will be able to live up to their standards.

Just look at whom the National Conservative Political Action Committee, those friends of the Moral Majority, put on their hit list for the next senatorial elections — Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, a decidedly moral and anti-Communist man. If Henry Jackson is next, can Ronald Reagan be far behind? Hell hath no fury like an ideological purist scorned.

### The Bureaucracy

Among conservatives, The Bureaucracy is often cited as the enemy. They see it as filled with Democrats, people who have never met a payroll and other ne'er-do-wells. Actually, about 95 percent of The Bureaucracy consists of people who work from 9 to 5 doing the routine chores mandated by laws they do not make. The Bureaucracy is more blob than enemy.

As for that other 5 percent, it is made up of a combination of high civil servants and political appointees. Most of the high civil servants are not Democratic spies but professionals who will do what they are told. Don't listen too hard to those conservative legislators who like to malign Foreign Service officers. Just the other day, some of your closest associates in the Senate were calling for your nominee for Secretary of State, Alexander M. Haig Jr., to clean out the State Department. But I can attest to endless cases of these professionals simply saluting and implementing Jimmy Carter policies that they felt were nothing short of bizarre.

If you're worried about public brawling within your Administration, be advised that such skywriting about internal differences will almost always be the work of your political appointees. These are the highfliers, fighting for power, position and policy, tearing one another apart and denying it all the while. Reflect on two facts. All the serious struggles in the Carter Administration were within this group and not among or with the professional civil servants. Most of the trouble you have had so far, for example, has stemmed from the transition teams you ap-

pointed to the various departments and agencies. These people have spent the months since the election leaking horrible stories to the media about one another ("The Kissinger people are trying to take over" is one variant, answered by "The right-wing crazies are in charge") and trying to force your hand on policy by announcing or leaking their own policy-position papers. You should also note that most of these leaks have emanated from your most conservative allies.

The sub-Cabinet appointments that you are now making are a critical factor in being able to control the internecine warfare. These dozens of men and women, from deputy secretary to assistant secretary, work at the point where policy and operations come together. The central question is: Should the people you appoint to these posts in Commerce, say, represent a single, cohesive point of view, or should they represent the various ideological views in your Administration? If they reflect a single strain of thought, that may be politically dangerous, and it will certainly not provide you with all viewpoints on any given issue. On the other hand, if they reflect a variety of approaches, they're likely to eat each other up. Whichever way you decide you'll pay a penalty.

### Governmental Reorganization

You have promised that you are going to rid the executive branch of the Departments of Energy and Education. On the face of it, who could argue? And yet... I have no special brief for the Department of Education, but it has to go somewhere. The functions that come under its wing have to be performed pretty much as a package, whether they're put back in Health, Education and Welfare or left where they are. As to the Department of Energy, another monstrosity: It's so diverse, any way you split it up would lead to separate pieces going into different agencies just as it was more than three years ago.

Leslie H. Gelb is a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and previously served as Senate aide and a senior official in the Departments of Defense and State.



## Jabotinsky Award To Falwell Only Gives Him Legitimacy

Editor, POST and OPINION:

As president of the Veterans of the Jewish Legion, the group of Jewish volunteers from the United States, Canada, and Palestine who served in the British Army in the Middle East in World War I, I was invited, along with my fellow surviving veterans, to be honored at the recent gala celebration in New York City commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Zev Jabotinsky, founder of the Jewish Legion.

On the list of honorees, along with my fellow veterans, were 100 prominent American politicians and Jewish leaders who had made outstanding contributions to the cause of Israel and Zion. Included in that list was evangelist Jerry Falwell, founder of the right-wing "Moral Majority".

These 100 men and women received the Jabotinsky Medal from Israeli Prime Minister Begin at a gala celebration that must have cost in the neighborhood of \$100,000.

My personal inclination, before I learned that Rev. Falwell was included among the honorees, was to decline the invitation. I have never been in sympathy with the sponsors of the event, Revisionist Incorporated, Herut USA, who have always advocated a super-patriotic, expansionist policy for Israel. And I have always felt that supporters of Israel could do better things with \$100,000 than to give a party honoring one another.

But, not knowing of Falwell's planned participation, I did attend along with my fellow Legion veterans who felt that we should put aside past differences within the Zionist movement.

I am deeply disturbed at the decision to honor Falwell with the Jabotinsky Award, the highest citation the Israeli government bestows on non-citizens of Israel, and to have the award, with the attendant pomp and publicity, presented to him by Prime Minister Begin.

Jerry Falwell is an opportunistic demagogue who attempts to merge a simplistic version of fundamentalist

Christianity with a simplistic version of right-wing American politics, in order to acquire political power for himself and a few of his fellow radio preachers.

Israel and her supporters in America cannot stop such people from espousing our cause when they feel it suits their purpose to do so. But by what measure does Falwell's contribution to the cause of Israel and Zion compare with the contributions of Jacob Javits, Frank Church, or Daniel Patrick Moynihan, three of Israel's best friends in the U.S. Senate, who were among the honorees.

Church and Moynihan, along with New York's Mayor Koch, boycotted the event when they learned of Falwell's participation.

There is no such thing as a "good" or "useful" opportunist or demagogue. When it's in their interest to support you, they do. When it becomes in their interest to denounce you, they denounce you. Good causes do not use such people. Such people use good causes to give themselves legitimacy and popularity.

And when our good cause welcomes and honors such support, it gives Rev. Falwell legitimacy in some eyes, and calls our legitimacy into question in other eyes.

As one who has devoted 65 years to the cause of Israel, I wish to state for the record that, just because Mr. Falwell agrees with me at the moment, do not assume that I agree with the likes of Mr. Falwell, now or ever.

To paraphrase someone who found himself in a similar situation let me state the following: "So Rev. Falwell will be a blessing with an Israeli Citation to hang on his chest alongside those he has picked up for his position as head of the Moral Majority and we shall account ourselves fortunate if we come out of this with our self-respect in modest tatters and a new set of rules for selectivity those on whom we bestow our honors."

WILLIAM BRATTERMAN  
506 Tower Bldg.  
Baltimore MD 21202

*Normal Jurot Post*  
*12/12/80*



**"Don't Leave Home Without It!"**

## Moral Majority Seeking "ID" Cards For Married People To Halt "Immoral" Dates In Motel Rooms!

By Nadine Johnson

The Reverend Jerry Falwell of Lynchburg, Virginia, and a group called the "Moral Majority" announced recently a plan which would require married couples to carry a card similar to a Social Security card, and be required to show them before renting a hotel or motel room in the United States.

Also a member of the Senior Saints group of the Thomas Road Baptist Church, Rev. Falwell said, "We're for the monogamous, traditional family. No fornication... no foolishness. Back to fidelity."

The proposal, which Falwell hopes will be passed by both houses of Congress, calls for the Department of Health and Human Services to pass out marriage cards to all legally married couples which must be shown to hotel and motel clerks in order to register. If couples show up without cards or cards that don't match, they will be refused admittance.

Many people, although not opposed to the idea of a more moral society, consider

the idea a radical one that infringes on an individual's constitutional rights.

### A View From Harlem

Ralph Zanders, who along with his brother, Roosevelt, owns and operates a hotel in Harlem called the "Drive-In Hotel," said:

"I think they're absolutely stupid. They have no legal grounds to force someone to carry a registration card as a means of admittance to a hotel. It's unconstitutional and would be a very difficult thing to enforce."

"I think that's a violation of the first Amendment," said Hazel Dukes, NAACP State President, "A lot of people who are married don't go by their marriage names for professional reasons. It's in violation of civil and human rights."

A spokesman from the Kew Motor Inn, in Kew Gardens Hills in Queens, which features waterbeds among other things, said, "It sounds a little ridiculous to me. I suppose it would work if you want to have a

police state, giving out cards to people for every little thing."

### "The Moral Minority"

However, Baptist minister, the Reverend Timothy Mitchell agrees in part with the Moral Majority. "I think as a Black Christian, I look upon myself as a part of the Moral Minority, a Biblical concept. My position is not adverse to what the so-called Moral Majority is suggesting," said Rev. Mitchell.

"I would hope, however, that the Moral Majority would fight against the immoral act of racism which manifests itself in the killing of Black people. They are concerned about people registering in hotels and not being married, while Blacks have to live day to day where whites kill Black men with impunity."

"Their moral priorities are off-center, the real concern would be to deal with the moral issue of racism which they never do," said Rev. Mitchell, adding that the town where Rev. Falwell comes from,

Lynchburg, Virginia, is named for the first lynching of a Black man in the South.

### Ex-Hotel Man

Bill Brown who was formerly manager of the Theresa Hotel in Harlem said, "the Moral Majority has utilized a popular subject matter to propose one of the most radical doctrines ever presented to government. Doctrines like this are harmful to the underprivileged, especially Blacks, in that when you talk about conservatism on one subject, it carries over into another, such as economics."

"You cannot legislate morality," added Brown.

### Queens Minister

The Reverend Robert Ross Johnson, pastor of the St. Albans Congregational Church in Queens said, "It's a terrible intrusion of privacy. It's unconstitutional and un-American. I am terribly opposed to it. Sounds like we're back in Hitler's Germany."

*free  
Moral  
majority*



THE PRESIDENT of Israel pays an uncomfortable price for the rarefied air of his lofty post: he has to refrain from making political pronouncements. He is presumed to speak always for the whole house of Israel.

President Navon indeed did so at the World Jewish Congress assembly last Sunday, when he re-emphasized the importance of aliya and of Jewish education in the Diaspora.

When, however, the president ventures to give advice on the sensitive subject of the Jewish people's relations with other peoples, he has to be particularly careful to ensure that the picture he conveys of those relations is credible and that the advice he offers is feasible and at least dignified. This Navon failed to do.

He called on Diaspora Jews, through the WJC "to establish a dialogue with Islam, so that Israel and the Moslem world could better understand each other." Year in, year out, Israel and the Jewish people are subjected to a flood of insults, denigration and mortal threats from the "Moslem world." Israel ever since her birth has been the object of a fiercely operated economic and social boycott, with which nations friendly to her are coerced to conform, on pain of economic sanctions; Israeli sportsmen and sports teams are barred from many international competitions — under pressure from the Moslem world.

In addition to the terrorism sponsored and financed by its affluent members, the Moslem world flaunts all the elements of belligerency. In an unrelenting diplomatic campaign it leaves no doubt of its determination to bring about the extinction of the Jewish State.

It is the Jews, then, says Navon, who must now take the initiative and (wiping the spittle from their faces) "establish a dialogue with Islam." So much for dignity. What of feasibility? Should they write a letter to "Dear Islam"? "Please speak to us"? "Please let us explain ourselves"? Perhaps something like this: "We are not really the scum of the earth, or the pest and plague cursed like Satan, who was expelled by God from the realm of his mercy"; and truly we do not deserve to be 'humiliated and restored to our previous miserable conditions,' as your theologians and politicians claim in the name of the Koran." (This is only a small part of the catalogue of barbaric vilification disseminated by the Moslem not in the year 700 or 1300 but today.)

Maybe Navon does not seriously

## The existential fact

SHMUEL KATZ questions the feasibility and usefulness of the proposed dialogue with Islam.

believe that a dialogue is possible and was merely dreaming aloud. With the mounting evidence that the Jews of the Diaspora are facing a fresh period of embattlement by a reawakened anti-Semitism — much of it powered by the Moslem world — must the only advice that Israel can offer them be either degrading or fatuous, or both?

PRESIDENT NAVON'S thoughtless remark might be disregarded if it did not add a strain to the chorus of disinformation and misinformation so prominent in the campaign against our people. The relations between the Jewish people and Islam do not stem from some mutual misunderstanding but from a historic, deep-rooted, unbridled Islamic hostility, now reinforced by great wealth.

Indeed, one of the most critical tasks of the Jewish people is to ensure that at least its friends should absorb the fact — bleak, uncomfortable but existential — that the Islamic world, if it were prepared to accept Israel's collective existence at all, would only tolerate it as a subject community under Moslem sovereignty. Jews are not the only objects and potential victims of this sovereign purpose, as Christian communities have found to their cost; but they are the only ones who have had the temerity to proclaim their national independence on their own territory in the "heart of the Arab world," and — worse — have successfully resisted the Arab attempts to destroy them.

Ignorance, and consequently misdirection, about the content and the systems of Islamic thought, is rife in the West — to its own peril as well as Israel's. Bland, off-the-cuff, "even-handed" advice such as, Navon's only helps to foster that ignorance.

A STARTLING and more flagrant example of disinformation (however unintentional) was provided only two days before Navon's speech. In an article in *The Jerusalem Post* (16

January) Chaim Herzog describes a meeting with President Sadat in which Dr. Anis Mansour participated. He introduces Mansour to his readers as "a philosopher and poet of stature." Who could guess from this impressive cultural attribution that Mansour has a specific philosophy on Israel and the Jewish people, and that his philosophy as published could easily have graced the pages of the *Nazi Sturmer*?

Editor of *October* magazine, and a confidant of his President, Mansour (who, by Herzog's description, appears as an amiable personality) was in the forefront of the Egyptian media campaign against Begin, Israel and the Jewish people in early 1978 when Sadat first broke off the talks on Begin's peace plan. This was not, however, a single-shot outburst. Mansour's record is a long one.

In February 1972 he wrote in *Al Akhbar*: "They have what they call Passover, the feast of unleavened bread, which is celebrated by bleeding a non-Jew... The rabbi himself does the butcher's work. This is the nature of our enemy."

Then, for example (again in *Al Akhbar* and as reported in *Le Monde*, August 21, 1973) Mansour denounced the Jews as the "enemies of mankind. They have no principles. They respect no religion except their own and they are traitors to the countries that offer them shelter." He went on to defend the killing of Jews by Hitler, a "genius, the value of whose anti-Semitic policy history is beginning to prove..."

In *Akher Sa'ah*, a mass circulation Egyptian magazine (April 10, 1974), Mansour described the Jewish religion as "cruel and crude." "Their own Bible," he wrote, "declares that they are wild beasts and deserve all the suffering and pain that they have endured throughout the ages." And so on.

CHAIM HERZOG, who at the UN represented Israel with resource

and much dignity, is a candidate to head an Information Ministry in an Alignment government. His visit to Egypt was one of a series by Alignment leaders with the obvious purpose of "establishing relations." Do his words on Mansour suggest the nature of such projected relations — kowtowing to crude anti-Semites and whitewashing them?

The implications of Herzog's performance are not mitigated by the fact that his publicistic massage of Mansour is in keeping with the precedents set by the Likud government. Mansour himself has been received in Israel as an honoured guest. The Likud government's historic surrenders to Egypt were accompanied on the personal plane by self-abasement and unctuous flattery towards the Egyptian leaders. The agreements reached were also distinguished by a suppression of historic truth on the origins of the conflict.

HERZOG seems willing to follow the example of the government also in befuddling the public by hinting at, and then withholding from his readers, his sense of truth of the relations between Israel and Egypt. He writes: "One cannot avoid a number of unanswered questions, and an uncomfortable feeling that in this historic and vital process we are being outmaneuvered." No less; but he then proceeds to refrain from telling his readers what the "unanswered questions" are.

It is not unfair to conclude that he does so because he knows the answer to the "unanswered questions": that the peace treaty is in fact a sham treaty and, when the entirety of Sinai is in Egypt's cosy embrace, Sadat and Mansour, and Ghali and Tohami, will be in the lead of a renewed and ever fiercer international campaign to press Israel into the indefensible 1948 Armistice lines — there to await the combined Arab onslaught, for which Egypt has kept open all her options, political, strategic and logistic.

In the meantime, the Israel government, in somnambulant imperturbability, continues to mumble about a "peace process" as though it existed: the Opposition leaders suppress their uncomfortable feelings and wave the tattered remnants of a "Jordanian option" as though it existed; and even the President conjures up, out of the thin air, dialogues with an unheard, militant Islam.

COMING TO ISRAEL on a friendly visit of goodwill accompanied by my 15-year-old son, welcomed warmly by so many friends — was for me an act of self-purification: I was purifying my soul of prejudice, of bitterness and hate.

It was an act of individuation. I was actualizing the meeting of opposites — an ancient culture reborn and an ancient culture aspiring for rebirth; a small population trying to secure itself by further ingathering and an expanding population trying to deflate itself by emigration; and more.

Our immediate concern now is to share this experience on more restricted levels, on axes such as Egypt-Israel; Israel-Palestine; Egypt-Palestine; Egypt-Arabs; Arabs-Moslems; Moslems-Jews; Christians-Moslems; and so on. The question is, where do we place our priorities?

My own belief is that our newly born peace must have a chance to grow out of its infancy, lest it succumb to the storms around it, or by virtue of its vulnerability, die before it has had any chance to develop. Yet, simultaneously, whatever bonds we Egyptians had developed with our Arab brethren must also be salvaged, if, for anything, to save that peace.

The key to such a solution is the defusing of the explosive Palestinian question. It is a key that Israel holds physically and Egypt morally. When the physical holder of the key is strong, he alone can initiate a magnanimous move that will unlock the door of hope for a real solution.

A gesture on the part of Egypt, a visit to Jerusalem and a public proclamation of recognition of the other's right to be, was highly valued and led the way to responses that no amount of political pressure or military threat could achieve.

Can we not envisage the effectiveness of a parallel gesture on the part of Israel? I know that such a move on the part of Mr. Begin cannot possibly occur without disrupting his political and personal identity. Nor do I expect that the opposition would do that overnight. Yet governments, even autocratic ones, seldom do anything that does not in some way, at least in their own minds, reflect the will of the people.

I feel that it is our responsibility to reinforce such consciousness among the public. On our part, with our own people in Egypt, with those Palestinians whom we have access to, as well as with the Arabs; and you with the Palestinians with whom you share as much history as geography.

WHEN I plagued my Israeli friends with the crucial importance of ac-

## LETTER TO AN ISRAELI FRIEND

MOHAMMED SHAALAN, an Egyptian psychiatrist who visited Israel last October, asks Israelis to accept the Palestinians, who are their polar opposite — and mirror image.

cepting their polar opposite — and their mirror image — the Palestinians, of accepting them as a people seeking nationhood just like they themselves did only 30 years ago; and seeking it by whatever means they found, including "terrorism," again just as they did only 30 years ago. I feared that I might have been touching an explosive issue and provoking the irrational. But perhaps because I did it out of empathy, an empathy for them also as Israelis, the response and generosity were beyond my expectations.

I was not seeking charity or pity for the Palestinians, but respect and empathy, and, as I said, for the Israelis as much as the Palestinians. For Israelis, such a recognition of the other's right to exist is a great act of self-purification, too, of individuation.

That recognition is a spiritual act. It is different from the legalities or wordings of governmental agreements, Camp David or otherwise. Rather it is an expression of faith in the humanity of the other; and through that an affirmation of a faith in one's own humanity. For humanity entails transcending good and evil, whether that good is mine and the evil is the other's, or vice versa. Accepting the Palestinian means accepting that he, too, is human, not only satanic, or evil; and therefore that I, too, am human, not only angelic or good.

YET THAT might sound evangelic. It might repel the hard pragmatist. Then to him I mean appeal on the basis of self-interest: of what value is a separate peace with Egypt? How would Israel break its isolation by simply including Egypt in its

walls of isolation? How would a combined Egyptian-Israeli ghetto in the region help create peace and harmony with the rest of the region?

I do not, for my pragmatist friend, mention the existential bonds such as common language, culture, religion, fate that bind Egypt to its Arab neighbours. Yet such bonds do have pragmatic consequences, and do push towards a renewed balance in favour of an Egyptian-Arab reconciliation, regardless of what could be mutually detrimental.

My compassion for my fellow Egyptians, my fellow Palestinians and my fellow Arabs is the only reliable basis of my compassion for my Israeli friends. Sympathy for one in exchange for hate of the other can only be a temporary swing in the balance, one that will unavoidably swing back to the reverse position. Out of the respect you have for me and the respect you have for yourself, respect them as well.

I NEED NOT apologize for hammering on this point. Yet I almost feel it is unfair to preach to you, my friends, what you already know and believe. Nevertheless I do so because it bothers me that your voice, perhaps like any voice of conscience, is a quiet voice. That in the tumult of everyday politics your voice is unheard, your vision unseen. As a result, the deeds that my people see and not that quiet voice they do not hear, push them into disillusionment, and almost to despair. They see signs of intransigence, procrastination, displays of power, military rule and occupation; and those deeds are unfortunately louder than the good words and intentions that intelligent humans like you have.

Public dialogue tends to become propagandistic and rhetorical. This seems to be a disadvantage, but on the other hand, it does have advantages. For while, in private, people can relate as humans, their public image, like their clothes, differentiates them. Indeed, in order for them to maintain their public image, they might have to accentuate some features and minimize others like caricature art.

Perhaps such accentuation and minimization can enrich the private dialogue by enlarging its scope, so that it is no mere sharing of personal feelings; rather it becomes the dialogue of two peoples. On the other hand, it may preserve the constructive, communicative nature of the dialogue, that it be through individuals who have established personal bonds of friendship.

Dr. Shaalan is professor of psychiatry at Al Azhar University in Cairo.

## Friend or foe?

ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, who has been attacked for attacking America's Moral Majority, answers his critics.

Jews. I never called the Rev. Mr. Falwell an anti-Semite. What I did say — and repeat — is that in his exclusivist emphasis on a Christian America and the tools he chooses to build it, he and his associates are creating a climate of opinion which is hostile to religious tolerance. Such a climate, in my judgment, is bad for civil liberties, human rights, social justice, interfaith understanding, and mutual respect among Americans. Therefore, it is bad for Jews.

It is scarcely prudent to make al-

liance with those who are sworn to destroy Israel's true and tested friends. The Moral Majority boasts of its recent victory over seven Senators, among them Israel's most devoted and skillful supporters, including Frank Church. One result of the success of the Christian right is the replacement of Frank Church as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Charles Percy, who told the Kremlin last month how important it was for Yasser Arafat to have a state to rule over before he died. Is that good for Israel?

Boasting of their success in the 1980 election, the Christian right published a new hit-list of political targets. It features, among U.S. senators, Edward (Ted) Kennedy and Howard Metzenbaum, and even Henry Jackson. Are we to go to bed with political assassins of our friends?

If we do, we are not only foolish but lacking in all honour.

The author is president of the Union of American Hebrew (Reform) Congregations and past chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

## bank leumi le-israel b.m.

Notice under Section 23 of the Securities Law 1968.  
A prospectus has today been published regarding: —

### RIGHTS ISSUE

482,797,200 registered Ordinary Shares of IS.0.1 and 160,932,400 Warrants (Series 10) are offered in 16,093,240 Units. Each Unit comprises 10 Ordinary Shares and 30 Warrants (Series 10) at the price of IS.18.80 per Unit (at IS.0.50 per Share and IS.0.38 per Warrant).

The Units are offered to those entitled to rights in the proportions of one Unit for every 300 outstanding Ordinary Shares or for such amount of securities of each of the outstanding series as confers the right to convert into or subscribe 300 Ordinary Shares.

### EMPLOYEES AND PENSIONERS

are offered 160,000,000 Warrants (Series 10) at the price of IS.0.38 per Warrant.

### REGISTERED WARRANTS (SERIES 10)

- exercisable during the period from 1st May, 1981, to 28th February, 1982.
- each Warrant confers the right to subscribe one registered Ordinary Share of IS0.1 (subject to adjustment) in consideration of the payment in cash of the exercise price of IS.0.37.
- a Warrant which is not exercised by 28th February, 1982 will not confer on its holder any rights whatsoever, and will be void after the said date.

The Ordinary Shares of this Issue will not confer upon their holders the right to participate in the cash dividends to be paid in respect of 1980 nor in the distribution of capitalisation shares to be submitted for the approval of the Extraordinary General Meeting of the Bank to be held on 5th February, 1981. Such capitalisation shares will not entitle their holders to the right to participate in the present rights issue.

The last day for the exercise of rights is 20th February, 1981, and Letters of Rights, together with the full amount due in respect of the Units applied for, should be lodged with the Banking Services Centre of the Bank, Shalom Tower, 9 Achad Ha'am Street, Tel Aviv, through any branch of the Bank or through other banks and brokers, members of The Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

Copies of the Prospectus and of the permit for its publication have been filed with the Registrar of Companies. Copies of the Prospectus may be obtained from branches of Bank Leumi, Union Bank, Arab-Israel Bank and Aliya-Leumi Bank and from other banks and brokers, members of The Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

This advertisement should not be viewed as an invitation to subscribe the securities offered.

23.1.81.



בנק לאומי bank leumi

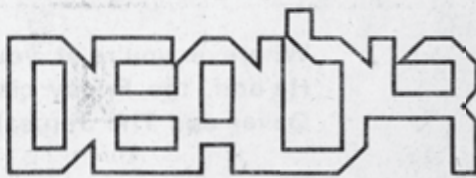
## UNPRECEDENTED OFFER

to the "knitted kipa" religious public  
Har Nof (Givat Shaul B) Jerusalem.  
For the first ten people registering for 4 room apartments between Sunday, Jan. 25 and Thursday, Feb. 5:

In addition to the very best Price and Payment Terms —

- ★ Big (Over 8 sq.m.) Storeroom — free
- ★ Sun heater — complete solar installation — free
- ★ Complete luxury kitchen — free

There are also a few 3 and 5 room apartments left



DEAL ISRAEL AMERICA

Real Estate and Sales Promotion Ltd.  
Sales Company for Givat Shaul B Contractors

2 Rehov Hasoreg (5th floor)  
94 145 Jerusalem

P.O.B. 1393  
91013 Jerusalem

TEL 232744

THE MEANS of the Christian right, even more than their goals, are troubling. They disdain the democratic process. Tests of politico-religious purity have been established. Non-conformers are labelled "sinners," "followers of Satan." Hit-lists of candidates targeted for political oblivion are drafted, and slander is a favourite weapon for such assassinations; terms like "pervert," and "communist" are liberally applied; in Idaho the word "Zionist" was used in such a manner, possibly because a good deal of Arab money was commingled with the funds used by the "radical right to destroy Senator Frank Church."

It is for these reasons that I labelled the Christian right a threat to