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For Immediate Release

FACT SHEET

Representatives of more than 100 Jewish groups across the country are meeting today (Wednesday, Oct. 8) at a "National Leadership Assembly for Soviet Jewry" to serve -- in the words of Morris B. Abram, assembly chairman -- "as a reminder of concern over the deteriorating condition of Soviet Jews, and of the urgency that their rights be included on the agenda of the summit talks."

Mr. Abram is chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, two of the sponsors of the Leadership Assembly with the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council.

Cooperating agencies are the Coalition to Free Soviet Jews, Council of Jewish Federations and Synagogue Council of America. The day's agenda follows:

10:30 a.m. Secretary of State George Shultz will brief the Leadership Assembly in the Loy Henderson Auditorium of the State Dep't. Mr. Abram will introduce the Secretary.

12:30 p.m.: The Jewish representatives will board buses at the State Dep't. for Capitol Hill. They will gather in the Caucus Room of the Cannon House Office Bldg. for a continuation of the Leadership Assembly. Among the speakers will be:

Senator Dennis DeConcini (Dem., Ariz.).
Rep. Robert Michel (Rep., Ill.), House minority leader.
Rep. William Gray (Dem., Pa.), former chairman, Black Congressional Caucus.
Lane Kirkland, president, AFL-CIO.
Ruth Daniloff, wife of the U.S. News & World Report correspondent.
Rabbi Gilbert Klapperman, vice president, Synagogue Council of America.

3:15 p.m.: In Lafayette Park, opposite the White House, the Jewish representatives will begin a brief prayer vigil led by Rabbi Milton A. Polin, president of the Rabbinical Council of America. The silent prayer vigil will end with the blowing of the shofar (ram's horn), traditionally sounded during this High Holy Day period.

On Thursday some of the same Jewish representatives, also led by Mr. Abram, will fly aboard a chartered plane to Reykjavik, Iceland "to express support for President Reagan's pledge to raise the issues of human rights and Soviet Jewry in his pre-summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev," according to Mr. Abram. Flying to Reykjavik (they arrive Friday morning) will be, in addition to Mr. Abram:

Albert D. Chernin, exec. vice-chairman, Nat. Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council.
Jerry Goodman, executive director, National Conference on Soviet Jewry.
Burton D. Levinson of Los Angeles, chairman, Anti-Defamation League.
Theodore R. Mann of Philadelphia, president, American Jewish Congress.
Michael Pelavin of Flint, Mich., chairman, National Jewish Community Relations Adv. Council.
Alan Pesky, chairman, Coalition to Free Soviet Jews.
Seymour Reich, international president, B'nai B'rith.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
THE SECRETARY

*AJ/C
Speech
Church - State*

For Release
September 17, 1986 7:30 P.M. (EDT)

Contact: Lou Mathis
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ADDRESS BY

WILLIAM J. BENNETT
UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF EDUCATION

RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER
PAINE LECTURE

University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri

September 17, 1986

It is a privilege to speak to you today, exactly 199 years after the signing of the Constitution of the United States. In the coming year, the Bicentennial Commission, chaired by Chief Justice Burger, will coordinate our national commemoration. As part of the Department of Education's participation, I will deliver three bicentennial lectures. I will focus not on constitutional law but on constitutional principles--on the moral and philosophical underpinnings of the document at the base of our republic. I will argue that the Constitution of the United States reflects and supports the constitution of the American people.

I have studied the Constitution as a student of philosophy and as a student of law. So I feel confident when I say that it's time to retrieve the Constitution from the lawyers. For the Constitution belongs to all of us. It was written not only to protect our legal rights but also to express our common values. And we cannot understand ourselves as individuals without understanding the ideas that "constitute" us as a people.

As the emblem of our national values, the American Constitution reflects three distinct and related elements of our common culture: the Judeo-Christian ethic, the democratic ethic, and the work ethic. In fact, the process that produced the Constitution has itself been ascribed to all three of these ethics. To Walt Whitman, "the

Constitution was the product of divine inspiration. He called it a "bible of the free" for the modern world. To John Quincy Adams, the Constitution was the product of democratic compromise. He said that it was "extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant nation." To William Gladstone, the Constitution was the product of hard work. He called it "the greatest work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." In my three bicentennial lectures, I want to discuss these three aspects of our constitutional order. And so I will consider, in turn, the role of religion and the Judeo-Christian ethic, the role of education and the democratic ethic, and the role of commercial and scientific progress and the work ethic in a constitutional democracy.

I have chosen to devote this first lecture, on the anniversary of the signing, to the role of religious belief in American democracy. I speak as someone in sympathy with the religious beliefs of the overwhelming majority of the American people--although I am personally, I would guess, rather average in the degree of my religious observance. I go to church some, but not as much as I probably should, and not as much as the head of my church believes I should. But my upbringing, my experience, and my study have made me sympathetic to religious beliefs. And as a friend of religion, I face this academic audience fully aware that I may be considered a lion in a den of Daniels. Let me be candid. In my encounters with the academic community, I am often struck by the fact that, of all the issues I address, my support of religion seems to inspire the deepest bewilderment and suspicion.

Of course, it is not only members of the academy who disagree with me. A year ago, I gave a speech to the Knights of Columbus on the relationship of our political and social order to religious belief. I stated my position clearly: that the American experience cannot be understood without reference to the Judeo-Christian tradition; and that the First Amendment was not intended to result in the complete exclusion of that tradition from public life. For saying this, I was attacked as an "Ayatollah." It was suggested that merely broaching the subject of religion in public life was an incitement to "Khomeinism and Kahaneism." It was also suggested that I considered myself a messenger "heaven-sent to silence the heathen."

I have described this line of attack as a reductio ad Khomeini. It ignores my reaffirmation in that speech of this nation's commitment to the principles of tolerance and equal rights for all -- for the non-believer as well as for the believer. With its fear of religious intolerance, the attack denies the fundamental strength of the American people--a people at once deeply religious and deeply tolerant. And the attack betrays a misconception that it is somehow improper for public officials in America to speak publicly and positively about the role of religion in American life.

As we prepare for the bicentennial of the Constitution, let us take a serious look at the historical record. The Founders discussed the role of religion in democracy calmly and frankly. Let us follow their lead and reclaim their legacy. There are those who

argue that it is impossible, in the twentieth century, to gauge the intent of the Founders in the eighteenth century. I disagree. On the question of religion and the Constitution, the Framers' intent is explicit and the history is clear. It is true that the Framers of the Constitution were themselves divided by a rich diversity of religious allegiances and personal convictions. But virtually all were united by a common belief in the importance of religion as an aid and a friend to the Constitutional order. As Tocqueville said, "I do not know whether all Americans have a sincere faith in their religion--for who can search the human heart? -- but I am certain that they hold it to be indispensable to the maintenance of republican institutions."

From devout churchgoers to rationalizing deists, the Founders spoke with one voice about the importance of including religion in civic life. Washington, a Virginia Episcopalian, warned in his Farewell Address: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion." John Adams, a Massachusetts Unitarian, agreed in no uncertain terms: "Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other." Madison, another Episcopalian, insisted that "He who would be a citizen in civil society must first be considered a subject of the divine governor of nature." And even Jefferson agreed. Jefferson, the great deist who was always skeptical of sectarianism in any form, asked, "Can the

liberties of a nation be thought secure ... when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God?" Religion, Jefferson concluded, should be regarded as "a supplement to law in the government of men," and as "the alpha and omega of the moral law."

I could go on, quoting source after source, speech after speech. From Sam Adams to Patrick Henry to Benjamin Franklin to Alexander Hamilton, all of the Founders intended religion to provide a moral anchor for our liberty in democracy. Yet all would be puzzled were they to return to America today. For they would find, among certain elite circles in the academy and in the media, a fastidious disdain for the public expression of religious values--a disdain that clashes directly with the Founders' vision of religion as a friend of civic life. That is why, on the bicentennial of the Constitution, it is not enough merely to identify the intent of the Founders. It is also necessary actively to defend the intent of the Founders.

The first question we should ask ourselves is: Why did the Founders see a connection between religious values and political liberty? Tocqueville, as always, points to an answer. "Liberty regards religion ... as the safeguard of morality, and morality as the best security of law and the surest pledge of the duration of freedom. Religion promotes self-restraint, in the rulers and the ruled, and mitigates the individualist tendencies that atomize society." In short, Tocqueville concluded, "religion is much more needed in democratic republics than in any others."

But it is not necessary to go back to Tocqueville to see the connections between religion and liberty in democracy. It's simply common sense: Our commitment to liberty of conscience--including the freedom to believe or not to believe--follows, in good part, from the respect for religion felt by the majority of Americans. It is ironic that anyone who appeals today to religious values runs the risk of being called "divisive," or attacked as an enemy of pluralism. For the readiness of most Americans to defend tolerance and equality does not derive only from an abstract allegiance to Enlightenment ideals. It comes also from a concrete allegiance to the Judeo-Christian ethic.

The connection between religion and liberty is one reason that the Founders considered religion to be indispensable to democracy. I'd like to propose two more reasons. One: At its best, religion deepens politics. It is a wellspring of the civic virtues that democracy requires to flourish. It promotes hard work and individual responsibility. It lifts each citizen outside himself and inspires concern for community and country. At the same time, it offers a sense of purpose and a frame of reference for the claims that transcend everyday politics--claims like our collective responsibility to foster liberty around the globe, and to be kind and good and decent and forgiving in our homes, our schools, and our communities.

Two: Religion promotes tolerance. This sounds like a paradox. Religion, after all, is about absolute truth, and does not the search for absolute truth lead to absolutism and to intolerance? Not necessarily--and, in America, thankfully, not very often. At its most sectarian, religion can indeed be used in the service of intolerance. When religion is "kindled into enthusiasm," as Madison said, it may "itself become a motive to persecution and oppression." But more often in America, religion has had the opposite effect. I am always struck by the way different schools receive me when I speak. I remember starting off a recent speech at a Baptist college--known for its enthusiasm--by stipulating that I spoke as a Catholic. The audience was at first surprised by my frankness, but quickly settled down and courteously listened to what I had to say. Many even liked it. On the other hand, some in the so-called "enlightened" universities--aggressively secular, perhaps even intolerantly so--are more likely to greet me as an ayatollah or to shout down speakers with whom they disagree. In this instance, strongly held religious convictions seem to go hand in hand with respect for the convictions of others.

I think President Reagan put it well when he told an ecumenical prayer breakfast: "Our government needs the church because those humble enough to admit they are sinners can bring to democracy the tolerance it requires in order to survive." I think the President was right. I also think that his proposition cuts both ways. Just as religion moderates the potentially divisive tendencies of democracy, so a properly functioning democracy moderates the potentially

divisive tendencies of religion. When religion is excluded from public life, it can become resentful, extremist, and sectarian. But when religion is included in public life and is subject to public scrutiny, it learns to speak in a language that all sects and all citizens can understand. As Jefferson wrote to Madison, "by bringing the sects together ... we shall soften their asperities, liberalize and neutralize their prejudices, and make the general religion a religion of peace, reason, and morality."

Jefferson was right. In a free democracy, where much depends on broad public sentiment, religious groups must indeed soften their asperities; and they find they must pursue their ends by appealing to a consensus of shared, not particularized, values. This has happened throughout American history, and it happens today.

The question of tolerance, moreover, points to a protection at the very heart of the Constitution: equal justice under law, for non-believers as well as for believers. When Patrick Henry proposed a tax for the "annual support of the Christian religion," Madison successfully opposed it on these grounds: "Whilst we assert for ourselves a freedom to ... observe the religion which we believe to be of divine origin, we cannot deny an equal freedom to those whose minds have not yet yielded to the evidence which has convinced us." And Jefferson agreed, in his Virginia statute for religious freedom: "No man," he said, "shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship place, or ministry whatsoever."

This is an important point, and I will stress it. Absolute freedom of conscience is the first of our freedoms. The American people and this Administration are irrevocably committed to equal rights for all. No one can or should ever be forced in America to assent to any particular religious belief, or even to the general religious beliefs derived from the Judeo-Christian tradition and embedded in our common culture. At the same time, however, religious beliefs do deserve, in our time, common acknowledgment, mutual respect, and public encouragement. And we tend to forget that the Founders saw no conflict between our individual rights and our common values. In their minds, complete neutrality between particular religious beliefs can and should coexist with public acknowledgment of general religious values.

This is not merely a question of constitutional principle, though it is that. It is also a question of civic health. My point is not simply that children who go to church are less likely to take drugs, or that empirical studies show an inverse relation between religious belief and teen age pregnancy, although both are true. My point is that we are coming to recognize the extent to which many of our social problems require for their solution the nurture and improvement of character. And for many of us, for most of us, religion is an important part of the development of character. That is not to say that religious faith is necessary for sound character. But that it can help, and that it has helped many--who can doubt? And so, as we move toward a national consensus that, in dealing with

social problems, we must improve the character of our citizenry--of ourselves--we should not, out of a misplaced fastidiousness, spurn the vast resources of ethical precept and practice that are inspired, and reinforced, by religious belief.

In effect, I am calling for a reconstitution of the consensus of the Founders. All of them were comfortable with a public role for religion, as long as there was no preference for one sect over another. To Jefferson, religion was an essential element of education. His "Act for Establishing Elementary Schools" in Virginia permitted religious activity in the classroom, as long it was not "inconsistent with the tenets of any religious sect or denomination." Similarly, as the founder of the University of Virginia, Jefferson made provision for religious instruction with a "professor of ethics" rather than a clergyman. Students were required to take courses that taught the "moral obligations, of those in which all sects agree."

The first United States Congresses, too, saw nothing unconstitutional about some support of religious values. The first three Congresses authorized chaplaincies for the Congress, the Army, and the Navy. And the same Congress that adopted the First Amendment also adopted the Northwest Ordinance, which reads: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of learning shall forever be encouraged." If the Congress had meant to forbid all cooperation between the government and the church, why would it call on the states "to promote religious and moral education"? On the occasion

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of the bicentennial, let us learn again from the wisdom of the Founders. They knew that it is never easy to maintain neutrality between sects. They knew that the preservation of equal rights requires political sensitivity and legal vigilance. But they also knew that, for the sake of liberty, government should acknowledge the religious beliefs on which democracy depends--not one single belief but belief in general.

History shows few other examples of nations that have managed to maintain the delicate balance between religious faith and political tolerance. In the twentieth century, we have seen both atheistic communism and religious fanaticism degenerate into tyranny. The Founding Fathers pledged their lives to avoid tyranny in any form. And the real genius of the Constitution lies in the balance it strikes between unity and diversity, between religious liberty and political equality, to the mutual benefit of both religion and politics.

But to maintain that balance is no easy task. In America today, we face misunderstandings from both ends of the spectrum--from the secularists on one side and from the sectarians on the other. First there is the secularist orthodoxy, which seeks to eradicate all signs of religion from public life. With a reckless disregard for both American history and the American people, some secularists are not content to pursue government neutrality among beliefs, or even government protection of non-belief. Instead they seek to vanquish religion altogether. For as former Supreme Court Justice Potter

Stewart has pointed out, the banishment of religion does not represent neutrality between religion and secularism; the conduct of public institutions without any acknowledgment of religion is secularism.

In my speech to the Knights of Columbus, I offered my opinion that the Supreme Court in recent years has failed to reflect sufficiently on the relationship between our religious faith and our political order. The Court itself has acknowledged the lack of "clarity and predictability" in its decisions. But my purpose here is not to criticize the Court; and the Court does not bear sole responsibility for the shunting aside of religion. A recent study by New York University Professor Paul Vitz found that the overwhelming majority of elementary and high school textbooks go to extraordinary lengths to avoid any references to religion.

Here is a representative item from the study--just one among many. One sixth-grade reader includes a story called "Zlateh the Goat," by Nobel laureate Isaac Bashevis Singer. In the story, a boy named Aaron is told to take Zlateh, the family goat, to a butcher in the next village to be sold. On the way, Aaron and Zlateh get caught in a three-day blizzard and are lost in the snow. At this point, Singer writes, "Aaron began to pray to God for himself and for the innocent animal." But in the reader this has been changed to: "Aaron began to pray for himself and for the innocent animal." Later, after Aaron and Zlateh have found shelter in a haystack, Singer writes, "Thank God that in the hay it was not cold." But in the reader this has been changed to: "Thank goodness that in the hay it was not

cold."

This would be funny if it were not so serious. Has the very mention of God's name in public become not just an offense but a sin? Among orthodox Jews, it has always been considered a religious blasphemy to write the name of God in full. Well, have we come to the point where, in school textbooks, it is now considered a secular blasphemy to write the name of God, even if omitting His name does violence to the original text? Have we come to the point where it is now considered a secular blasphemy to acknowledge the name of God at all? Have we come, in some bizarre way, full circle, from scrupulous piety to fastidious disdain?

The main conclusion of Professor Vitz's study is that many high school textbooks go to extreme lengths to ignore the role of religion in American history. In case after case, the study points to exclusions, misrepresentations, and distortions, ranging from the silly to the outrageous. One world history book completely ignores the Reformation. An American history textbook defines pilgrims as "people who make long trips." Another defines fundamentalists as rural people who "follow the values or traditions of an earlier period." Still another lists 300 important events in American history. Only three of the 300 have anything to do with religion.

Soon after Professor Vitz's conclusions were released, Americans United for the Separation of Church and State conducted a study of its own. This is a group hardly sympathetic to the religious lobby. But it, too, agreed that "most high school social studies and civics textbooks completely ignore religious liberty and give little or no consideration to the religious clauses of the First Amendment." Then Norman Lear's People for the American Way also endorsed the finding. Finally, the Washington Post published an op-ed piece called "A Liberal Case for Religion in School." Well, I'm glad that's settled.

Of course, the findings only remind us of what we already know. In 1749, Benjamin Franklin issued a set of "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania." And he advocated, above all, the study of history which would "afford frequent opportunities of showing the Necessity of a Publick Religion, from its Usefulness to the Publick; the Advantage of a Religious Character among private Persons; the Mischiefs of Superstitions, etc."

Today, almost two centuries after the signing of the Constitution, let us remember Franklin and make a pledge to one another. Let us pledge simply to tell our children the truth, and the whole truth, about our history. The story of America is the story of the highest aspirations and proudest accomplishments of mankind. And it is impossible to understand those aspirations and accomplishments without understanding the religious roots from which they sprang. We should tell our children about the Puritans who

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founded a "shining city" with a sacred mission: to be a beacon unto the nations and to lead a community of saints to the New Jerusalem. We should tell our children about Jefferson and Franklin, who proposed that the Great Seal of the United States depict Moses leading the chosen people from the wilderness to the promised land. We should tell our children about Abraham Lincoln, who saw the Civil War as "a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins to the end that the whole people might be redeemed." And we should tell our children about Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., who carried the "gospel of freedom" to the mountain top and who wrote a letter to the world from Birmingham Jail. "When these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters," he wrote, "they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage."

In recent years, we have shown a reluctance to tell the whole truth. We have excluded religious history from our textbooks. We have excluded religious values from our public life. And we have paid a double price. First, our efforts to deny religious values in the name of religious liberty threaten the very toleration that it affirms. As John Locke reminds us: "Those that by their atheism undermine and destroy all religion, can have no pretence of religion whereupon to challenge the privilege of toleration." Second, we have created, in the words of Richard John Neuhaus, something like a "naked public square." We seem to be unable to celebrate in public the common values that most of us still affirm in private. And so

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our politics, deprived of religion, has threatened to become short-sighted and self-interested. And so, as we might expect, religion, excluded from politics, has threatened to become resentful, extremist, and sectarian.

Ironically, those who seek to exclude religion from politics may end by inciting the dangers they fear. For there are some whose vision of America yields nothing in dogmatic certainty to the opposing vision of the secularists, and who, no less than the secularists, misunderstand the character of our constitutional order. There are those in America today who believe, like Samuel Adams, that America should be a "Christian Sparta." They properly deserve the name "sectarian" rather than "religious." For though they sometimes speak in the name of religion in general, they would promote their own particular brand of religion into a favored position in public life. Not content to bring religious values into the public square, they would deny the government's constitutional obligation to be neutral among particular religious communities.

Like their secular antagonists, these zealots suffer from a misreading of history. If the secularists assert, wrongly, that the Founders meant to exclude all public support of religion, then the sectarians assert, wrongly, that the Constitution was designed, first and foremost "to perpetuate a Christian order." One scholar argues that Christianity was the primary cause of the American revolution. He calls for a "Christian historiography and a Christian

revisionism" to foster a "return to the Protestant restoration of feudalism." A newspaper columnist insists that the Founders intended that all schoolchildren should be taught to acknowledge the divinity of Christ.

This is bad scholarship as well as dangerous politics. In the days of the Puritans, Massachusetts may, indeed, have been an intolerant Calvinist theocracy. But as the "church covenant" evolved into a "half way covenant," so the Calvinist theocracy gave way to a constitutional democracy. By 1787, the Founders were determined at all costs to prevent the national government from establishing any form of religious orthodoxy. This past July, in New York City, all of us celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Statue of Liberty. Tomorrow in New York City, I will speak at the 100th anniversary of Yeshiva University. Throughout the last century, Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Buddhists, Muslims, and many others have flocked from all over the globe to the "shining city on a hill." All, in their turn, have come to find their own peace in this land of religious liberty.

Like the Founders, we must remain vigilant against those who would disturb that peace. A public figure recently said: "Christians feel more strongly about love of country, love of God and support for the traditional family than do non-Christians." This sort of invidious sectarianism must be renounced in the strongest terms. The vibrant families and warm patriotism of millions upon millions of non-Christian and non-religious Americans give it the lie. Its

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narrowness would have disappointed the Founders. And its intolerance clashes with the best traditions of our democracy.

The same public figure was on much firmer ground when he later observed: "I don't think we should invest any candidate with the mantle of God." This point is crucial. On the one hand, religion should never be excluded from public debate. But on the other, it should never be used as a kind of divine trump card to foreclose further debate. Those who claim that their religious faith gives them a monopoly on political truth make democratic discourse difficult. Disagree with me and you're damned, they seem to suggest. In doing so, they insult the common sense and the tolerant spirit of the American people.

In America, the roots of religious liberty and political equality are long and deep. On August 17, 1790, in the first years of our constitutional government, the Hebrew Congregation of Newport, Rhode Island, wrote to President George Washington, expressing thanks that the Government of the United States gives "to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance." This was President Washington's reply: -

The Citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy, a policy worthy of imitation.

All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights.

And President Washington added, in beautiful words:

May the children of the Stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants, while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid.

So to those today who make others afraid by calling America a "Christian nation," this is my reply: You are wrong. Sam Adams was wrong. We are not a "Christian Sparta." But Justice William Douglas was right when he said, "We are a religious people." We are indeed--the most religious free people on earth. A recent survey showed that while 76 percent of the British, 62 percent of the French, and 79 percent of the Japanese said they believed in God, fully 95 percent of Americans said they did. It is noteworthy that in each case, a similar percentage said they were willing to die for their countries. For the virtues that inspire patriotism--hard work, self-discipline, perseverance, industry, respect for family, for learning, and for country--are intimately linked with and strengthened by religious values. In short, the democratic ethic and the work ethic flourish in the context of the Judeo-Christian ethic from which they take their original shape and their continued vitality.

Let me be clear. The virtues of self-discipline, love of learning, and respect for family are by no means limited to the Judeo-Christian tradition alone, or to any religious tradition. My point is that in America, our civic virtues are inseparable from our common values. And values such as courage, kindness, honesty, and discipline are, to a large degree, common to almost all religious traditions. But it is the Judeo-Christian tradition that has given

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birth to our free political institutions; and it is the Judeo-Christian tradition that has shaped our national ideals. Although we should never forget the contributions of a host of people from other religions and cultures who have come to our shores in search of freedom and opportunity, we should also acknowledge that freedom and opportunity have flourished here in a political and social context shaped by the Judeo-Christian tradition.

In a book called The Vietnamese Gulag, a recent immigrant named Doan Van Toai describes his escape to America after years spent in a communist prison. Mr. Toai marvels at the liberty of our society and at our license to take it for granted. "Perhaps," he tells us, "it is the immigrants' function from generation to generation to remind [Americans] of what a treasure it is they own."

One of the treasures of America is the treasure that Tocqueville called the "civil religion" and that Jefferson called the "general religion." This is the national creed that distills values common to all sects, in all religions, from all cultures. Neither Tocqueville nor Jefferson could have anticipated the variety of faiths that would eventually find a home in America--more than three hundred denominations at last count. Much divides each of these denominations from the others--small questions of doctrine and large questions of revelation. But what is agreed upon is important. It has content and power. It infuses American life with a sense of transcendence. All profit from it, although none is forced to

assent to it. And, as the Founders predicted, the constitutional order depends on it.

This, then, is the first lesson of the bicentennial. To protect religious liberty, the Founders sought to outlaw religious establishments and to moderate religious passions. At the same time, they recognized that religious values require public acknowledgment, common defense, and mutual respect. And nothing has happened in the past two hundred years to suggest that Washington and Madison and Adams and Jefferson were wrong. All of them envisioned a government neutral between religions in particular but sympathetic to religion in general. For they knew that to be indifferent to the vitality of religious belief is to be indifferent to the vitality of our constitutional order, and of our Constitution. On the occasion of the bicentennial, let us keep faith with our Constitution--the greatest political document ever struck off by the hand of man.

Chances
School

THE MORAL OF THE STORY

How to Teach Values in the Nation's Classrooms

GARY BAUER

In the past decade, it has become the conventional wisdom in the academic establishment that moral education is illegitimate because it constitutes "indoctrination." As a result, teachers have approached the subject in a diffident manner. And our children are growing up with very confused and sometimes dangerous notions of what it means to act morally and responsibly in today's society. The problems of alcoholism, drug abuse, vandalism, promiscuity, and simple lack of common decency which pervade our schools are clearly related to the terrible state of moral education in the American classroom.

Until very recently, the idea that values or morality were part of the educational process was unchallenged. Indeed, it has been at the core of the educational philosophy of Western civilization since the time of the Babylonians. Both Plato and Aristotle believed that virtue was the highest form of wisdom and it was the duty of elders and educators to transmit such knowledge to their students. Irving Babbitt in *Literature and the American College* maintained that a large component of learning is ethical and there is no such thing as education without moral education. These ideas guided American public education from the outset. The governing philosophy was that students should not just be taught about the world but also about themselves—how they could be better persons, how they should behave in a civilized society. The great *McGuffey Readers* embodied the approach of distilling clear moral lessons from texts like Milton and Shakespeare, which children read in the original.

Moral education fell into disrepute for several reasons. The first is that several of the values that were previously taken for granted came to be challenged. For example, many psychologists came to think that sexual restraint was not necessarily the best option for children, that moderate drug use could be salutary, that some forms of destructive behavior served a therapeutic function, or at least constituted "self expression." The second is growth of the fact/value dichotomy, a brainchild of positivism, and the concomitant notion that if education aspired to be a science, it could only teach empirically verifiable propositions and not subjective values. Finally, it was recognized that the values being taught in schools were intrinsically con-

nected with the Jewish and Christian religions; educational philosophers wondered if moral education was simply a means to impose theological beliefs on children.

In recent years, a new system of values education has gained enormous influence in the teacher training schools. "Values Clarification" is rarely taught as a separate course to students; rather, it is a methodology of learning that is aggressively promoted in courses that prospective teachers take. Thus, it greatly influences teacher attitudes toward moral education—attitudes that express themselves in courses ranging from literature to government to history to philosophy. From being a marginal element in values education theory, Values Clarification has become the mainstream. This is alarming, because although it claims to be a theory of moral education, in fact Values Clarification is a repudiation of moral education.

Choosing Dishonesty

The standard Values Clarification text is *Values and Teaching* by Louis Rath, Merrill Harmin, and Sidney Simon. It argues that teachers should not try to "impose values" on students. Even to teach such fundamental values as honesty or compassion is to be oppressive. "All the traditional methods of moral education have the air of indoctrination, with some merely more subtle than others." Teachers should try to "flush out" or clarify students' own value systems; they should "be concerned with the process of valuing and not particularly with the product."

The fact that Values Clarification focuses entirely on procedures and is indifferent to outcomes is part of its appeal. It sounds so scientific, individualistic, and non-judgmental, all phrases congenial to the progressive orthodoxy. And yet what are its practical results?

In one Values Clarification class, students congenially concluded that a fellow student would be foolish to return \$1,000 she found in a purse at school. The teacher's reaction: "If I come from a position of what is right and wrong, then I am not their counselor." In *Values and Teaching* Rath, Harmin, and Simon provide a case to illustrate what

GARY BAUER is the Under Secretary of Education and chairman of the Presidential Task Force on the Family.

happens when Values Clarification conflicts with classroom rules.

Ginger: Does that mean that we can decide for ourselves whether we should be honest on tests here?

Teacher: No, that means that you can decide on the value of honesty. I personally value honesty and though you may choose to be dishonest, I shall insist that we be honest on our tests here.

The problem with this is that it leaves students with the impression that attempts to enforce values such as honesty are totally arbitrary. The teacher is allowed to impose his will only because he is in possession of the means of compulsion. The implicit moral lesson here is that values should be followed not because they are right but because they are backed by coercion.

In fact, the general presumption behind Values Clarification is that there are no reliable standards of right and wrong—each person develops a morality which is right “for him.” But under such a radically subjective approach, how can we justify holding our children to any consistent standards at all? C.S. Lewis in *The Abolition of Man* notes the irony that

We continue to clamor for those very qualities we are rendering impossible . . . We make men without chests and expect of them virtue and enterprise. We laugh at honor and are shocked to find traitors in our midst. We castrate and bid the geldings be fruitful.

Parents vs. Educational Theorists

Undoubtedly parents want values taught in school. The problem is that the confidence of teachers in performing this task is constantly undermined by the educational theorists who write the textbooks and dominate the teacher training profession. Teachers are given the impression that moral education is unscientific, unprofessional, and oppressive. They are constantly reminded that if they teach values they are entering into the unconstitutional domain of religion. Our public school teachers are no longer sure of what values to teach and how to go about teaching them.

The vacuum created by this uncertainty has resulted in the introduction of numerous courses in the public school which amount to little more than political indoctrination. The educational materials distributed by the National Education Association on nuclear war claim to be neutral and unbiased, but in fact they are rife with propaganda for disarmament and the nuclear freeze. The entire enterprise of “peace education” largely consists of political values creeping into the chasm created by the abandonment of moral education. This is ironic, because on political issues there are frequently multiple points of view which should all get a hearing, whereas on many moral questions—especially the basic ones—there is very little ambiguity.

This is not to say that a return to moral education in the public school classroom would be an easy task. Russell Kirk has reminded us that we cannot expect “abrupt reform and speedy results.” And yet “if there is no education for meaning, life will become meaningless for many. If there is no education for virtue, many will become vi-



cious.” We have got to face these difficult questions and come up with satisfactory answers.

As usual, the past provides clues to the solutions that exist. We know from history that all good educational systems, from Roman times, have taught the rising generation loyalty to parents and family, a sense of responsibility to the public order, duties to the community, a high value for human life, respect for nature and its creation, love of beauty and truth. A modern catalog of desired virtues that parents and teachers could agree on would be quite similar.

At a recent conference on education, Clark University professor Christina Hoff Summers was pressed to identify some clear issues of right and wrong by academicians who clearly felt that no such things exist. She replied:

It is wrong to betray a friend, to mistreat a child, to humiliate someone, to torment an animal, to think only of yourself, to lie, to steal, to break promises. And on the positive side, it is right to be considerate and respectful of others, to be charitable, honest and forthright.

She met with a very skeptical reaction.

Of course, exceptions can be found to rules such as these. The problem with modern approaches such as Values Clarification is that they mistake the exception for the rule. A typical model problem that Values Clarification advocates use on children is: what do you do if you have no money and your mother is dying of starvation—is it all right to steal? Another common example is to ask children whom they would throw overboard if they were in a lifeboat with six people and could only stay afloat with five. These are interesting mind-bending dilemmas, but the vast majority of life's situations do not involve starving mothers and sinking lifeboats. They involve such mundane things as learning how to live in a family, showing up on time for work, displaying courtesy to fellow citizens, discharging responsibilities to the community and country. For these tasks, fairly simple rules should suffice.

In a recent speech, Mark Curtis, president of the Association of American Colleges, argued that today "there is a pervasive sense that values are private, personal matters, rising from individual subjective preferences or even prejudices, not from widespread agreement on the basic ends and means to be used on the conduct of our life and dealings with others." But our "commitment to pluralism," Curtis said, should not "obscure the possibility that certain values can unite rather than divide us."

The fables of Aesop, the legends of Hans Christian Anderson, and the works of the Brothers Grimm, all make sharp distinctions between good and evil in a context that the child's mind finds exotic and appealing.

The most important unifying values that our public schools must teach, I believe, are the fundamental principles that are the basis for our free society and democratic government.

Such documents as the Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution embody the values of our Western heritage. They teach such things as the inviolability of the individual, the rule of law, and the rights and duties that citizens incur when they enter into civilized society with the purpose of protecting themselves, promoting the general welfare, and enjoying freedom. In today's society, we are very conscious of "rights," whether they be civil rights or human rights. But as de Tocqueville said, "The idea of rights is nothing but the conception of virtue applied to the world of politics." Ironically, while rights multiply in our society, we have lost our common vision of what values undergird those rights and make them worth having.

Cicero writes in *De Res Publica* that "Our age inherited the Republic like some beautiful painting of bygone days, its colors already fading through great age, and not only has our time neglected to freshen the colors of the picture, but we have failed to preserve its form and outlines." This is our predicament today. We cannot subsist forever on the moral capital of the past. It is not just social continuity or personal happiness—it is the very future of our political system, of democracy and freedom—which require that we be alert to moral values, and pass them on to our children.

Moral education is not the same thing as religious education, and teachers in public school classrooms are not permitted to teach theology. But constitutional prohibitions on promoting sectarian religious beliefs should not be used as an excuse to avoid teaching about the role of

religion in our history and culture. Professor Paul Vitz in an Education Department study documented a shocking bias against religion in textbooks commonly used in our schools. The Pilgrims, for example, are identified as "people who make long trips" and Christmas as "a warm time for special foods." Not only is this a form of censorship, but it severely damages our children's moral development because so many of the values Americans can agree on have as their source the Judeo-Christian ethic.

Here, for example, is a lesson from McGuffey's *First Reader*, a very popular textbook in public schools until quite recently. "Always do to other children as you wish them to do to you. This is the Golden Rule. So remember it when you play. Act upon it now, and when you are grown up, do not forget it." Suspicious lawyers for the American Civil Liberties Union might detect that this sounds alarmingly like something Christ once said. But what if it is? To teach about the values of the Jewish and Christian religions (as distinct from the doctrine) is to teach love, dignity, forgiveness, courage, candor, self-sacrifice—all the highest manifestations of what it means to be alive and to be human.

In our effort to identify values that can be taught in public schools, we should attempt to discover a common body of ethical knowledge that, even if it has a religious origin, serves the purpose of maintaining and strengthening devotion to our country, to democratic institutions, to fellow citizens, to family members, and finally to an ideal of human dignity.

The Role of Literature

Once we can agree on the values that are to be taught, there remains the question of how to teach them. I do not think that the best approach is to preach to students or to ask them to write "I will not lie" a hundred times on the blackboard. Obviously there is a place for propositional teaching—setting forth a set of moral propositions and getting students to memorize them. But there are other ways to transmit values that are more effective over the long term.

Perhaps the method of moral education that would harmonize best with the existing curriculum would be to demonstrate the working out of moral rules through experience. Several courses in the humanities and the social sciences provide teachers with the opportunity to view such principles in action. Sometimes conflict in the areas of history or literature provides a wonderful dramatization of moral ideals set against each other. This not only exposes students to the relevant ethical criteria, but it complicates the issue by making them choose, as indeed in real life we frequently have to do.

In literature, we have the example of Raskolnikov in Dostoyevsky's novel *Crime and Punishment*. Here is a very intelligent young man who has developed a great deal of pride and some very strange theories. He convinces himself that he is justified in murdering an old woman and stealing her money because he is a superior person to her, and because she—being ugly and miserly—does not deserve her possessions. Surely Raskolnikov can do more good with her money than she is doing now, he reasons, his pride leaning on a defiant utilitarianism.

Yet through the fabric of the novel, Dostoyevsky illustrates the disastrous consequences of this thinking. He gives the reader, with great force, a sense of the urgent need for moral norms which transcend cost-benefit analysis, the need for a principle which affirms the moral dignity of the human being above considerations of what they look like and what they are "worth." Because we are creatures of God, Dostoyevsky shows, we are equal in His image. *Crime and Punishment* is many things, but it is an excellent example of moral education.

Naturally very young minds might find Dostoyevsky too complex. But there are numerous alternatives. The fables of Aesop, the legends of Hans Christian Anderson, and the works of the Brothers Grimm, all make sharp distinctions between good and evil in a context that the child's mind finds exotic and appealing. Even films like *Star Wars* illustrate the benevolent force and the evil force in conflict. In my own childhood, I remember reading Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Book*. Then, of course, there is Kipling's fascinating and moving poem "If," which consists of wise and timely advice from a father to his son, advice from which all young children could benefit immensely.

Recently *U.S. News and World Report* asked the American Federation of Teachers for some simple moral lessons that could be derived from children's texts. The A.F.T. provided the example of the Bible: "And the Lord said to Cain: where is Abel, thy brother? And he said: I know not. Am I my brother's keeper?" This can be used to teach responsibility. In the *Story of Pinocchio* we read, "Lies, my dear boy, are found out immediately because they are of two sorts. There are lies that have short legs and lies that have long noses. Your lie, as it happens, is one of those that have a long nose." This can be used to teach honesty. Finally, in *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee we read, "You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view . . . until you climb into his skin and walk around in it." This can be used to teach compassion and empathy.

As students grow older and are exposed to more sophisticated works, they can understand moral principles of a higher order. *Hamlet* is not just a morality tale which says you should not commit murder and incest; it is about the paralysis of indecision in the face of moral obligation. *King Lear* is about the ingratitude of the young, but it is also about the imperiousness of the old. Moral principles can be stated with clarity at a young age, then refined in higher grades. Patriotism can be presented in the first grade as a virtue, but later students must be taught not to be uncritical of their country. "For us to love our country, our country ought to be lovely," as Edmund Burke remarked.

Our children will retain their moral principles only when they have been thoroughly explored and students have had an opportunity to see them challenged and successfully defended. Even the good people in the classics didn't always behave well. Achilles was pompous and cruel, Saint Peter was cowardly, Lancelot and Guinevere committed adultery. But these stories leave no doubt about how they should have acted, and the heavy price of their misdeeds is outlined. Children need to see that immoral actions have serious consequences—that virtue is not something you just talk about, but something you do.

I have great confidence in the power of stories to teach. Flannery O'Connor once said that "A story is a way to say something that can't be said any other way—you tell a story because a statement would be inadequate." The literary device of showing instead of telling is a very effective way to convey truths to young minds.


Then there are the lessons of history. Recently I read a very disturbing comment by Richard Hunt, a Harvard professor who teaches a course on the Holocaust. Professor Hunt reports that over half his students felt that Hitler and

From Napoleon and Hitler, who were finally destroyed by their blind ambition, students can see where the totalitarian instinct leads.

the Nazis were not to blame for their atrocities. The students believed that Hitler's rise was "inevitable," that it was impossible for Britain and France to have resisted German imperialism, and that no one was really responsible for what happened in the end. "No-fault history" is the term Hunt used to describe his student's refusal to ascribe moral responsibility to historical actions.

Most of these students seem to have been influenced by theories like determinism and behaviorism, even though they may not know it. It is important for those who teach history in the public classroom to convey clearly the notion that historical events and conflicts are rife with moral meaning, that the human beings who took part in them chose actions which had consequences, and that many similar moral choices are before us today.

From Napoleon and Hitler who were finally destroyed by their blind ambition, students can see where the totalitarian instinct leads. From the Roman wars, students can learn about great valor but also about conceit and cruelty—this great civilization held slaves and treated them inhumanely. Of course, evil is not always extinguished in history—Stalin, after all, died in bed—but by making itself known, it incurs the harsh judgment of posterity and becomes a lesson in what successive generations should abhor and avoid.

Our goal in teaching values is not merely the transmission of a desired set of beliefs. Rather, it is a process, integrated into the general curriculum, which provides students with a clear articulation of the norms and concepts that have sustained this free and democratic society since its founding; which informs the student, at appropriate stages of development, of alternative value systems; which encourages a comparison between them; which gives the student the tools to examine and defend personal beliefs; which brings students into contact with the moral circumstances of the past; which gives the student the justification and the equipment to participate in the conservation and improvement of this civilization of ours. 

ck-gt

★13487★ PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY (Civil Liberties) (PFAW)
1424 16th St., N.W., Suite 601 Phone: (202) 462-4777
Washington, DC 20036 Tony Podesta, Pres.
Founded: 1980. **Members:** 150,000. **State Groups:** 4. A project of Citizens for Constitutional Concerns (see separate entry). Religious, business, media, and labor figures committed to reaffirming the traditional American values of pluralism, diversity, and freedom of expression and religion. Does not engage in political or lobbying activities. PFAW was developed out of concern that an anti-democratic and divisive climate was being created by groups that sought to use religion and religious symbols for political purposes. Encourages Americans to maintain their belief in self; believes that in this society the individual still matters and that, in order to improve the quality of life, we must strengthen the things that unite us as humans and as citizens. Engaged in a mass media campaign to create a positive climate of tolerance and respect for diverse peoples, religions, and values. Maintains speakers' bureau; conducts research programs; compiles statistics. Presents awards. Distributes educational materials, leaflets, and brochures. Operates National Resource Center, a collection of printed and visual materials. **Councils:** National Advisory. **Publications:** (1) News From People for the American Way, monthly; (2) PFAW Forum (newsletter), quarterly; (3) Quarterly Report; (4) Attacks on the Freedom to Learn, annual; also publishes issue papers, reports, and books. **Absorbed:** (1982) Moral Alternatives (formerly Moral Alternatives in Politics); (1985) Citizens for Constitutional Concerns.

he was elected president in 1963. His rhetoric tends to populism, but his economic program, in the hands of his Prime Minister Manuel Ulloa, recognizes that the prodigalities of Velasco need to be atoned for. Ulloa, a man of vast connections who spent his exile as a businessman in Spain, points out that when the General first took power, Peru's inflation was minimal, and the foreign debt less than \$1 billion. "When we took over again, the inflation was at 80 per cent, and the foreign debt \$10 billion. Half of our revenues go to paying interest on that debt and to maintaining the military. And damned if we can find out where the \$10 billion went." Economic recovery is under way, but has a great deal of traveling to do. Inflation is reduced this year to about 60 per cent, and it is hoped next year to reduce it to 45 per cent. Meanwhile, to keep the little merchants from going crazy, prices are commonly posted in U.S. dollars. So that when your bill comes in at the end of lunch, you multiply the dollars by that day's exchange rate. When these words were written, it was 468 soles per dollar. When these words are published it may well be 469 to the dollar.

The general who kicked out the Marxist but took his own time before restoring democracy is General Morales Bermudez. General Morales said an odd thing last week, which caused a little apprehension in Peru. He hopes himself to run for president in 1985, and in discussing the subject rather casually he added, "unless there is a military coup by then."

General Morales is not himself situated to execute such a coup, because retired generals in Peru, like retired Mexican presidents, are powerless. But the mere mention of the possibility sets the teeth on edge. It must be understood by Americans (but isn't) that a military coup in Latin America is something that quite regularly happens. Moreover, it is not always unwelcome. Dr. Belaunde received a smashing popular mandate, winning 47 per cent of the vote in a field of thirty candidates, and swamping the candidate with the next highest figure. He controls the assembly and, with the help of a coalition party, the senate. But even so, he is institutionally insecure because democracy is insecure.

THE BRIGHT editor of Peru's leading news-weekly, *Caretas*, is apprehensive about President Reagan's human-rights policy on the grounds that Reagan's refusal to boycott undemocratic countries could yet prove to be critical for Peruvian democracy. He does not recognize that anything so fragile as to require approval by an American President in order to survive is in organic poor health. But this time around, the thinking is, if a man on horseback is called in he will not be a Marxist ideol-

ogue, but rather someone on the order of Pinochet. God spare them the one-party alternative, but God will have to devote considerable attention to all this, because Peruvians need help. Meanwhile, in Fernando Belaunde Terry, they are singularly blessed. □

Buckley, Wm. F. jr.

THE NIGHTMARE OF NORMAN LEAR

than any he would likely send out if he were to live a thousand years, and this may not be an exaggeration. The purpose of that letter is to raise money for something called People for the American Way. This tax-deductible organization is devoted to sending communications to the American public seeking to undo the terrible mischief being done by the "highly visible" religious figures who have been so vocal in recent months. "The danger of the Religious New Right is not that they are speaking out on political issues, which is their right, if not their obligation; it is the way they attack the integrity and character of anyone who does not stand with them."

One reads on quickly to find examples set by old practices. "Accusations such as 'he voted for the Department of Education' contributed to the defeat of these legislators"—Mr. Lear cites the defeat of John Culver, Birch Bayh, Frank Church, and George McGovern, among others. "If that sounds specious," Lear goes on, "listen to Richard Zone, head of Christian Voice, who said, 'We can talk about a balanced budget as a moral issue because the Bible says "you should not live in debt."'" And so on: Mr. Lear's organization is devoted to our "pluralistic society" and opposed to the current threat to "the very essence of individuality."

It is all, really, quite confusing. For instance, do we understand that it is a threat to the democratic way of life to say about a candidate that he voted for the Department of Education? A moderately resourceful citizen could come up with a hundred reasons for voting against John Culver, Birch Bayh, Frank Church, and George McGovern, and only one of these would be that they gave us the Department of Education. But why is the mere mention of that vote an attack on our pluralistic society?

Mr. Lear made no mention of the National Education Association. This, probably the most powerful lobby in the United States, systematically set out to defeat everyone in Congress who had voted against the Department of Education. And inasmuch as this is an organization of teachers, from whom presumably we non-teachers have much to learn, why

isn't the NEA an object of Mr. Lear's concern, alongside Richard Zone, whoever he is?

And the business about the Bible saying, "You should not live in debt." Well, I am unfamiliar with the passage, and in respect of that particular injunction I am a hopeless sinner—but why should we be angry at its being brought up? The Bible concerns itself with a great many things, and it is not difficult to understand that there is a moral dimension to the matter of a society living beyond its means. A society that goes into debt is engaged in a transfer of income, from those who owe the debt (the whole of American society) to those to whom the debt is owed (a few). That practice of imposing the burden on others one can find, without difficulty, broad strictures against in the Bible. Indeed, one of the Ten Commandments enjoins against coveting one's neighbor's goods. Should that Commandment guide Americans who seek to live according to the word of the Lord? It is one thing for a pluralistic society to tolerate those who scoff at the Ten Commandments. But I see no commitment, in pluralism, to think less of the Commandments because they are regularly abused. And nothing in the Bill of Rights can prevent an individual from voting against those who scoff at the Commandments, right?

NORMAN LEAR, of course, is the man who gave us Archie Bunker. It is, I think, the only television program I ever tried to make a point of viewing, so funny was it. But, of course, it was a parody. Archie Bunker, the political conservative, is stupid, cowardly, avaricious, illiterate, and overbearing. His son-in-law, a political liberal, is bright, brave, generous, literate, and concerned. No conservative hero goes untarnished in *All in the Family*, no conservative tenets unscorned. Young liberals live openly with girls before they are married. They scorn the religious ceremony—Lear seeks, in a word, to shove off all those superstitions that trace to the Old, or the New, Testament. Because you see, they are a laughing matter. Like religion.

Mr. Lear was very active in 1980 in the presidential primaries, seeking to give Jerry Brown to the Republic as its President. Instead, the country elected Ronald Reagan and, on the way, defeated George McGovern. And so Norman Lear sees the very institution of pluralism threatened.

"Dear Mr. Lear: This may be the most important letter I will address to you if I live a thousand years. Haven't you made the mistake of viewing pluralism as one's right to defy the beliefs of others and earn their vote by doing so? Yours cordially, Bill." □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

touches on almost every aspect of life, that formula is one for the permanent parking of religious beliefs altogether. How religious beliefs and symbols can find a place in public life consonant with pluralism remains a complex question. What is relatively simple, however, is that giving school districts the power to endorse prayers, requiring school teachers to proclaim them, and asking school children to join in — voluntarily or not — is an exercise certain to do injury to the deepest conscience of numerous citizens. One hopes that conservatives in particular, since they have the administration's ear, will be clear on this point. Those who have worried about the government's inserting itself between parent and child should recognize here a blatant example of this trend. Those who have raised questions about "value-free" sex education in the classrooms ought immediately to perceive the far more dubious enterprise of dogma-free prayer.

The president's school-prayer amendment comes at a bad time — at least for getting any serious scrutiny and debate. The administration has put a proposal before the world on reducing nuclear arms. It continues to push a distinctive economic policy that promises either redemption or ruin, depending upon your point of view. Its foreign policy still must meet the challenges of Central America, the Middle East, Poland — and now the Falklands. These are the issues on which its performances should be judged in the coming congressional elections. And in terms of constitutional amendments, the Hatch amendment, dealing with the crucial issue of unborn human life, deserves far greater attention than prayer in schools. It would be a shame for a school-prayer amendment, like the recent tuition tax-credit proposal, to serve only as a political IOU to a religious constituency, a debt that may prove ultimately uncollectible but meanwhile be eminently distracting from the pressing issues of the hour.

THE AMERICAN WAY?

Norman Lear is to politics pretty much what Jerry Falwell is to theology. They are both television preachers with a natural capacity for packaging the pieties of their separate worlds.

Lear, in fact, is far and away the more successful "prime-time preacher" of the two of them; perhaps it was inevitable that he would square off against upstart Falwell. In any case, he has organized "People for the American Way," a group dedicated to using the media to counter the influence of the new religious right.

Lear spoke about this effort not long ago at a luncheon sponsored by the National Council of Churches' Information Committee, and he didn't do a very good job. He was amiable, to be sure, but in good liberal fashion he eschewed challenging the substance of the religious right's platform and complained, instead, about the way that Falwell and Company went about their business. Said Lear: the right employs emotion and fear to manipulate people. Yet by the end of his address, Lear was himself arguing in favor of a "visceral" appeal to people in defense of all the good causes (of course). People are too beset with their everyday lives, he explained, to deal with complexity. The message had to be delivered suitably coated with emotion and entertainment.

This was probably said in defense of his "I Love Liberty" television extravaganza, a kind of "Let Poland Be Poland" for the First Amendment. But it may also explain the unfortunate character of People for the American Way's recent advertizing. Those advertisements are aimed at "the moral majoritarians," a group that is never identified but is held accountable for the most outrageous examples of book-burning and even found guilty of wanting to establish a dictatorship in America. The ads combine tabloid-style headlines and a few shocking examples or quotations with a list of vague charges that might apply to a much wider group of Americans. It is a technique that a clever copywriter could use against the woman's movement or the nuclear disarmament movement. It is, in fact, very much like the technique that the religious right employs against "secular humanists" or "atheistic liberals." The only excuse for this sort of thing is the old line about fighting "fire with fire," and we don't think that's good enough. Some of the fair-minded people that Lear has signed onto his Board of Advisors — Theodore Hesburgh, Martin Marty, Marc H. Tanenbaum, and others — ought to raise objections.

Of several minds: *Abigail McCarthy*

PRAYER & PEOPLE

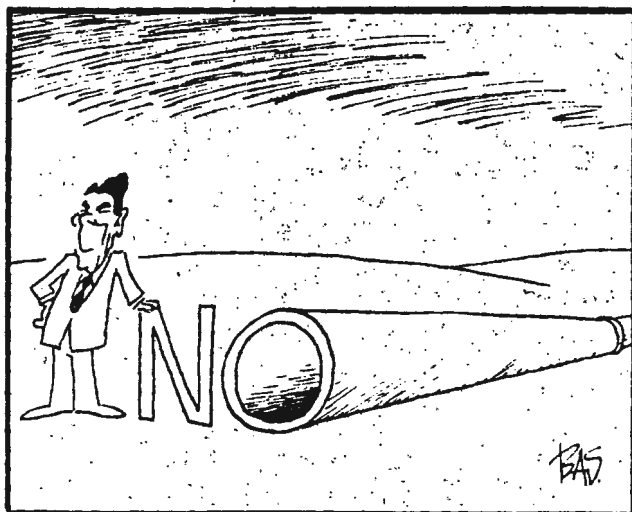
MORE CONGRESSMEN ARE PRAYING THAN PARTYING

THE DELEGATE from United States Samoa — new to the House of Representatives — was humorously describing his discoveries. Life for a congressman was not full of the wild parties he had read about in the sensa-

tional revelations of Rita Jenrette, wife of the ill-fated former congressman. The first invitation he himself had received was to a prayer breakfast! It is, in truth, a little reported fact but on any given day here in the nation's capital there are

probably as many congressmen meeting in prayer groups as there are partying. And not all of them are members of the New Right or inspired by the Moral Majority.

One such prayer group of long standing includes liberal Republican Senator Mark Hatfield, Senator Lawton Chiles, a Democrat, Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, also a Democrat, and Senator Pete Domenici, a Republican. The first three are Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist respectively. Senator Domenici is a Catholic. These men are not eccentrics of the right and new on the scene but men of some stature in the Senate and respected



tration would like to wage total economic war on the USSR in an effort to bring the Communist system down, and they think there was a suggestion of this in Mr. Reagan's London speech. They are simply not persuaded that such a course is anything but a dangerous and ill-conceived idea which could well lead to international catastrophe. They certainly do not want such a course to be followed without ample consultation among the allies, and this condition they feel has not been given even lip-service.

So there the matter stands at this moment. Mr. Reagan is clearly trying to go far beyond the normal limits of an embargo, endeavoring to nullify sales that were perfectly legal when they were made. And to make matters worse from a European and Canadian point of view, he is trying to enforce American decrees on foreign companies through their American owners or through their licenses for American technology—in short, to make such companies compliant instruments of U.S. foreign policy inside their host country. How can our allies be expected to tolerate such a procedure?

In sum, what the Reagan administration has managed to do is to create what may be the most serious crisis inside the Atlantic alliance since its creation—and this after already alienating most of our Latin American allies by our policies in that area. All it needs to do now is drive China back into the Soviet Union's arms and it will have come full circle to what it may really want—back to a Fortress America, armed to the teeth and alone in the world.

DISAPPEARING PRIESTS

It is underlining the obvious, but let us do it anyway. The new official Catholic Directory, published by P.J. Kenedy & Sons of New York, is out, and the figures make plain the fact that the shortage of priests in the United States will in the not so distant future reach the crisis stage. By the end of this century—only eighteen years away—there will be fifty per cent fewer active priests than there are today.

The seminaries reflect the problem. In 1966 there were 48,000 seminarians. Six years later that figure had declined to just short of 23,000. Today there are 11,500—down 800 from

a year ago. Chicago, the largest archdiocese in the country, is more or less typical. This year it will ordain only seven priests, far fewer than the number who will die or retire. The diocese of Brooklyn, with thirteen men retiring, will ordain only three.

Going by past indications, about half of those ordained this year may be expected to resign from the priesthood by the year 2000. The chief reason, as indicated in research by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago: rejection of the policy of celibacy. According to the Kenedy directory, there are now 58,085 religious and diocesan priests in the United States. The prediction by the NORC is that there will be fewer than 25,000 by the end of the century.

All of this is happening at a time when the Catholic population is increasing. Last year there were 51,207,579 Catholics in the U.S., up 57,737 from the year before. Infant baptisms were up 38,954 to 982,586 and there were 92,861 adult conversions. The meaning of these figures, obviously: a greater need for priests, not lesser.

Church leaders customarily refer to the declining number of priests as a crisis caused by a shortage in the number of vocations. But this way of describing the problem, of course, ignores any question of permitting married priests and of reconsidering the question of women priests. It simply presumes that the only ones who can be called to the priesthood are male and celibate. How many churches will have to be without priests, we wonder, and how many Catholics without the Eucharist before the leadership in the church is willing to re-examine this assumption?

MORE ON PAW

At the beginning of the summer, this journal criticized a series of newspaper ads run by People for the American Way. That organization's Executive Director quickly wrote to say that the PAW ads are only deploying "facts"; his letter is printed in this issue. We don't think the matter is that simple.

First, even on the most elementary level, PAW's "facts" are deceptive. One ad, for example, quotes the Rev. Charles Stanley as saying, "We do not want a democracy in this land because if we have a democracy a majority rules." Professor Jeffrey K. Hadden, author of *Prime Time Preachers*, kindly brought to our attention the source of this quotation. In a sermon (preached four years ago), Rev. Stanley contrasted a *republic* ("rule by law . . . the Constitution . . . a Bill of Rights") with a *monarchy* ("rule by one"), an *oligarchy* ("rule by a few"), and a *democracy* ("rule by a majority"). It was in this context—the familiar one of warning against the limits of majority rule—that the preacher said, "In our country we have a republic. We do not want an oligarchy. Nor do we want a democracy in this land because if we have a democracy a majority rules . . . and a majority oftentimes becomes mob rule."

Political philosophers might not be satisfied with the Reverend Stanley's distinction between republic and democracy; nor are we satisfied with many of the other things he said in the same sermon. But the context clearly shows that his intent was

quite different, and far less ominous, than the impression given by People for the American Way's truncated version. Evidently there are facts and there are facts.

Are all the other quotations provided in the ads or in Mr. Podesta's letter similarly denatured? We doubt it. The leaders of the new religious right are capable of saying some pretty fantastic and frightening things. But that only leads us to our second objection—the central one of our original editorial—that the PAW ads played up a number of outrageous statements and acts to discredit a large, undefined group of “moral majoritarians” who had no responsibility for such matters. Now Mr. Podesta names several people who, he says, claim to work together and head a movement—and therefore should be held accountable for one another's statements. We are not sure exactly why Jerry Falwell should be held accountable for Phyllis Schlafly's every statement, or vice versa; but if that's what PAW means, it should simply say so explicitly in its ads. The fact is that the shadowy “they” featured in the ads could include anyone opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment (“If you're a woman, they want to keep you ‘in your place.’”) or to abortion (“They want to involve the government in your decision to have children. Or not to.”). Is every constitutional scholar who is cool toward the E.R.A. (and there are some quite respectable ones) to be lumped with Phyllis Schlafly? Is this what PAW means by promoting diversity and pluralism?

The fact is that PAW confuses defense of pluralism and of the Constitution with its own liberal leanings. The Religious Roundtable, for example, thinks that Social Security should be abolished in favor of a private pension system. That strikes us as a highly unsound (and also quixotic) political position. But, *pace* PAW, Social Security is *not* a constitutional right. Likewise, issues like what textbooks should be adopted by public schools, or what books belong in school libraries, or what degree of state intervention in family life is legitimate to protect children, are not all cut-and-dried. Many conservative positions on these issues deserve to be debated on their merits, not summarily branded as assaults on constitutional freedoms.

One final objection to the PAW campaign is its weakness for the slippery half-truths and stock slogans of moral relativism

In keeping with *Commonweal's* usual summer schedule, only one issue is published during the month of August. The next issue will be dated Sept. 10, after which regular biweekly publication will be resumed.

and unthinking individualism. “The American Way,” declare the ads, “is the freedom to hold your own opinions and practice your beliefs. Not somebody else's.” Well, not quite—as believing racists, wife-beaters, sweat-shop owners should (we hope) know. The PAW ads slur the difference between “belief” and “practice,” not acknowledging society's right to set certain standards of behavior. Thus they can loosely talk of “forcing” and “imposing” beliefs on everyone, and appear to reinforce the liberal tendency to see any religiously inspired civic position as an imposition of “particular religious beliefs.” Furthermore, when PAW promotional material counters the New Right claim to represent the one true Christian or American position with a pledge “to affirm the right of every American to hold any opinion,” it unfortunately contributes to another widespread confusion. The New Right seems to slide from the proposition that its adversaries' positions are wrong to the proposition that its adversaries' positions should be suppressed. PAW seems to slide from the proposition that Americans have a right to hold any opinion to the proposition that no one can claim some opinions much worthier of being held than others.

These are complicated matters, and it is easy to imagine that, distressed by the demagoguery of the New Religious Right, citizens might feel justified in shrugging off these distinctions. Are we asking PAW to abide by unrealistic standards of thoughtfulness in this age of media overload and “negative campaigning”? We think not. The talent that Norman Lear can command should be able to live up to what he originally announced as the goal of the organization: “appealing to the best instincts in our people—not to their fears and anxieties.” Appealing to fears and anxieties, however, is precisely what the recent newspaper campaign was calculated to do. We repeat our belief that PAW's distinguished Board of Advisors ought to set the group back on the right track.

Of several minds: *Abigail McCarthy*

THE LONE COWBOY GALLUP-ING TO A DIFFERENT DRUMMER

IN MAY OF THIS YEAR the Gallup organization, in cooperation with CARA, a Washington-based Catholic research organization, held a press conference to report on the findings of the “American phase of its multi-nation

values study. The findings caused something of a stir.

AMERICANS WILLING TO FIGHT, PROUD OF U.S. trumpeted a headline in the *Washington Post*; SURVEY FINDS WORK RATED HIGH IN U.S.—“Suggests

Americans Are Most Willing to Fight for Country,” announced the *New York Times*. Gordon Heald, Gallup's London director, clearly thought the American results somewhat surprising and certainly significant. The people involved in the values study consider it an important and unprecedented investigation of the fundamental attitudes that determine human behavior. The Reverend Cassian Yuhaus, president of CARA, called the project “the most exciting study that's been done in modern times.”

There is one at every press conference, of course, and there was a reporter at this one who was moved to ask “Who

A Super Headache

From the baby shampoo with a "no more tears formula" to the ubiquitous Band-Aid, the products of Johnson & Johnson have long been associated with gentleness and safety, and the company's carefully cultivated image of responsibility has made it one of the most trusted in America. When people started dying from cyanide-laced capsules of Extra-Strength Tylenol—manufactured by a Johnson & Johnson subsidiary, McNeil Consumer Products—the company moved with commendable swiftness to keep the tragedy from spreading. But although Johnson & Johnson was praised by investigators and the Federal Drug Administration, it is clear that the company has suffered a devastating blow.

Within hours of the first report of fatalities from Chicago, Johnson & Johnson announced an immediate nationwide recall of all bottles bearing the lot number involved—and sent out some 500,000 Mailgram messages to doctors, hospitals and distributors. Johnson & Johnson chairman James Burke soon began round-the-clock strategy sessions with top aides to control the damage. Twenty-five public-relations specialists were recruited from

Burke: Salvaging an image

Brownie Harris



J&J's other companies to help McNeil's regular staff of 15. Early last week, the company announced plans to develop a new tamper-resistant package for Tylenol capsules. Later it pledged to exchange all full or partially used bottles of Extra-Strength Tylenol capsules for Tylenol tablets, which are more difficult to adulterate. That offer came too late to stop a class-action lawsuit of a Highland Park, Ill., woman in behalf of all those who had already turned in—or destroyed—bottles of Tylenol without compensation. The cost to Johnson & Johnson could reach \$600 million by some estimates—not counting any claims filed by survivors of those who died.

Beyond that, Johnson & Johnson now faces the difficult task of rebuilding Tylenol's image while maintaining its own. "Things have definitely deteriorated" for the company, says David Saks, a vice president and drug specialist for the investment firm A. G. Becker, who now estimates the company's sales losses during the last quarter of 1982 will be \$75 million. To try to regain Tylenol's 35 percent share of the pain-reliever market, the company may boost advertising of Tylenol tablets or even give the product a totally new name. Whatever strategy Johnson & Johnson pursues, it is clear that the company will have an extra-strength headache for years.

Tylenol capsules strewn around the parking lot of a suburban motel several days before the deaths occurred. None of the capsules was found to contain cyanide, and Fahner said they appeared to have been left by local narcotics dealers who might have been using the red halves of the capsules to package street drugs.

Agatha Christie: The dwindling leads left Fahner's task force of more than 100 state, local and federal agents to pursue old-fashioned gumshoe tactics—and strains were beginning to show in the massive investigation. Fahner, a novice investigator and an underdog for re-election next month, came under criticism for haphazard tactics, and a team of crack Chicago detectives stepped in once the seventh victim was found in the city itself. They dispatched medical examiners to Tylenol factories and flatly ruled out the possibility of accidental contamination at the plants. They conducted background checks on the victims themselves and discounted one notion—straight out of Agatha Christie—that the multiple poisonings might have been an elaborate plot to disguise a single, premeditated murder. They even checked parking tickets issued in the North Side neighborhood near a drugstore where one deadly bottle of Tylenol was purchased. But at the weekend, Chicago police superintendent Richard J. Brzeczek declared, "We don't have any suspects . . . based on my definition." And Fahner, wearily, was forced to agree. "To suggest that there is a break around the corner," he said, "would be misleading."

MELINDA BECK with SYLVESTER MONROE in Chicago, RICHARD SANDZA in San Francisco and HOWARD SHAPIRO in Philadelphia

TV's Latest Listing: Archie Vs. Jerry

"All in the Family" it's not. Sitcom mogul Norman Lear's latest production is a far cry from the social-issue satire that he and Archie Bunker pioneered 12 years ago. Instead, Lear and a group of associates have reverted to the point-of-view realism of 1950s documentaries in making "Life and Liberty . . . for All Who Believe," a 30-minute TV film attacking religious-right pressure groups such as the Rev. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. The film, which made its debut in Philadelphia last week, is narrated in part by actor Burt Lancaster, who accuses the fundamentalist political groups of trying to "mix religion with partisan politics so they can force, and I mean force, their narrow doctrine on

Lancaster narrates: *Attacking 'intolerance'*

Jacques M. Chenet—Newsweek



People For The American Way

all of us." The goal, says "Life and Liberty" executive director Tony Podesta, is to use the fundamentalists' own best weapon—television—to demonstrate that "this is a dangerous movement that is having an impact on schools, libraries and the country."

The film shows fundamentalist leaders exhorting followers to use their votes to "Christianize" America—and it follows through with examples of what, to Lear and his collaborators, that born-again fervor implies. One is the statement by a Southern Baptist leader that God does not hear the prayers of Jews. Another is a southern California Moral Majoritarian saying that a God-fearing government would execute homosexuals. A third shows an organized book burning. "What is new and frightening," Lancaster sums up, "is the technology. From their satellites and computers [fundamentalists] broadcast intolerance to tens of millions of homes every week."

Lancaster asks for donations to People for the American Way, a group organized by Lear and other liberals to fight the Falwellian right. (Celebrities such as Paul Newman, producer Jerry Weintraub and Lear himself paid for the air time for the film in about 40 cities over the next few weeks.) In Philadelphia the management of WPHL-TV said response to last week's broadcast was surprisingly positive—but there was no escaping Falwell's Old Testament wrath. "This is the typical dishonest, irresponsible-type programming that has become vintage Lear," he thundered. "We are hopeful that it gets on every station so that we can have equal time . . . to expose Lear for the hypocrite he is." Stay tuned.

God abused in U.S. elections, says group

Pointing to an upsurge of religious bigotry in U.S. politics, the public-interest group People for the American Way, last week launched a project to prevent the abuse of religion and God in the 1986 elections.

Organizers said the project is designed to counter increasing claims by some conservative Christian candidates that "God is on their side" and to try to rid the electoral process of anti-Semitism. Project leaders cited moral report cards on candidates put out by the fundamentalist group Christian Voice, and one politician's promise to "take territory for our Lord Jesus Christ" as clear examples of the dangerous exploitation of religion for political ends.

"Religion has been abused or misused in political campaigns since 1979," said project cochairman Jesuit Father Robert Drinan, a former U.S. congressman. "The whole idea is to monitor people who misuse religion," he said. Other project officials include former Texas congresswoman Barbara Jordan; Rabbi David Saperstein of the Union of American Hebrew Congregation's Religious Action Center; and the Reverend John Buchanan, a Baptist minister and former Alabama congressman.



DRINAN



BART BARTHOLOMEW—BLACK STAR

Who speaks for God? Lear announcing plans to monitor local campaigns

Trouble on the Far Right

Has success spoiled political fundamentalism?

Suddenly it's hard times for America's far right. Televangelists Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell are cutting staff and killing programs; fund raiser Richard Viguerie has been mired in money trouble. Enemies ranging from gay activists to Norman Lear's People for the American Way are scoring hits on evangelical politicians. Like breakaway movements from the Populists to the silent majority, the religious right seems to be playing out a political drama destined to end as others have: in the mainstream.

"There are peaks and valleys, and this has been a valley," says Viguerie, the struggling wizard of direct mail. Viguerie himself is digging out of a pile of legal claims that once totaled more than \$2 million; he hopes to make a profit this year, in part by going commercial, expanding the nonideological portion of his business from 10 percent to 60 percent. Elsewhere on the right:

- Falwell's operation last week announced layoffs of 225 workers, about 10 percent of its total staff, and cut off its toll-free phone line to save a total of \$7.2 million. Revenues are still rising, to an expected \$100 million this year, but the increase is short of budget and Falwell's Liberty University had to borrow \$14 million last year to protect its academic accreditation. "Jerry Falwell got in way over his head and prayed that God

would provide," says Gary W. Jarmin, head of the Christian Voice. "Well, it looks like he might not be ready to."

- Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network also cut off its toll-free number and announced a cutback of 41 staffers; a new half-hour nightly news show was abandoned recently when advertising sponsorship couldn't be found. The total budget has been cut to \$200 million, with savings targeted at \$24 million.

- The American Coalition for Traditional Values (ACTV) says it expects to spend only \$250,000 on grass-roots politics this year, a mere 10 percent of its 1984 invest-

ment. "We've skimmed the cream," says ACTV chairman Tim LaHaye. "Now we have to work that much harder."

Nobody thinks the movement is dead. Activists see 1986 as a year to redeploy the nation's 60 million evangelicals as a political force and prove their strength in key Senate and House races. But the opposition is also mustering: People for the American Way (PAW) last week announced a project to enlist moderate clergy of all denominations to monitor local campaigns and defend candidates who are accused of taking "ungodly" positions. And the religious right is itself split into rival factions.

In part, the far right has been a victim of its own success. Ronald Reagan is in the White House, a conservative establishment is in power in Washington and the entire political spectrum has shifted to the right; moderate conservatives see their concerns addressed—even if not always enshrined in law—and are drifting back to the mainstream. Conservative bogymen are fading from the scene: Teddy Kennedy has bowed out of presidential politics and Tip O'Neill plans to retire. Even the "hot button" issues that used to trigger reliable floods of contributions—traditional education, abortion, school prayer, homosexuality—are losing their shock value. The new hot causes—aid for the Nicaraguan contras and the Star Wars nuclear defense—don't have the same ring of righteousness.

Waiting game: There are signs, too, that the right may have overworked its mailing lists. At best, the direct-mail funds come from a limited pool. "There may be a limit to the amount of money people are willing to give without seeing results," says Merle Black, a political scientist at the University of North Carolina. "Reagan has been in office six years now and they still haven't seen much success with their agenda."

And the active opposition has surely played a major role. The closing of the toll-free phone lines, for instance, was directly forced by gay activists who organized a national campaign to tie up the lines with requests for help and phony orders for Bibles. But the chief enemy has been PAW, with its insistence that nobody can speak for God in politics. Falwell acknowledged PAW's complaints when he changed his organization's name from the Moral Majority to the somewhat tamer Liberty Federation, and ACTV's LaHaye conceded last week: "We've begun to realize that there are wonderful Americans who don't agree with us."

LaHaye would not include PAW in that category. The group originated five years ago



ARTHUR GRACE—NEWSWEEK

Hard times for Falwell: Cutting staff and the toll-free phone line

longer hold Texas science education hostage to know-nothings and zealots." Similarly, the California Board of Education last year rejected all elementary and junior-high-school science texts submitted for approval because they contained little or no evolution.

Nevertheless, liberal watchdogs say fundamentalists are escalating their efforts to censor textbooks, library books and school curricula around the country. Increasingly, the targets are classroom discussions of such things as career options, value systems, suicide—even home economics. At hearings in Colorado this year, one house-

wife complained she felt "edited out of existence" by the school's choice of books. Elsewhere, parents have complained about texts describing the lifestyles of rock musicians, designed to interest unmotivated youngsters, and to programs discouraging drug abuse, because they didn't want drugs mentioned in any context.

Many such censorship efforts never get past local school officials, much less to the courts, which is why both sides are watching the Tennessee and Alabama cases closely. "If a precedent is set down allowing people to go to the court to conform the public-school curriculum to their religious beliefs,

then nothing is safe," says Michael Hudson, Texas director of PFAW. "Fundamentalists, then, will attack curricula in every state because it conflicts with their narrow views." Clarence Darrow never did get to bring the Scopes matter to the U.S. Supreme Court, but one or both of the current cases may land there. Still, no high-court ruling will end this debate. As H. L. Mencken wrote at the end of the Scopes trial: "The fire is still burning on a far-flung hill, and it may begin to roar again at any moment."

MELINDA BECK with GINNY CARROLL in Greenville, LYNDIA WRIGHT in Washington, BARBARA BURGOWER in Houston and bureau reports

Timid Texts: Short Shrift for Religion

Errors of omission: "Pilgrims are people who make long trips." Fundamentalists are rural folk who "follow the values or traditions of an earlier period." Christmas is "a warm time for special foods." These are among the more flagrant examples of textbook timidity cited by New York University psychology Prof. Paul C. Vitz in his recent study, "Religion and Traditional Values in Public School Textbooks." A key witness for the plaintiffs in the "Scopes II" trial, Vitz accuses the publishing industry of systematically deleting religious references from elementary and high-school textbooks. Coming from a political conservative and self-styled Roman Catholic convert from "secular humanism," such conclusions are hardly astonishing. But the liberals agree. In two separate textbook surveys, People for the American Way (PAW) and the research arm of Americans United for Separation of Church and State reach remarkably similar conclusions. "While history textbooks talk about the existence of religious diversity in America, they do not show it," writes PAW president Anthony T. Podesta. "Religion is simply not treated as a significant element in American life."

For his federally funded study, Vitz combed through scores of books, from primary readers to high-school history



BETTMANN ARCHIVE

'People who make long trips': The Massachusetts Pilgrims

texts. His finding: it may be easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a religious figure to get into the pages of a history book. One world-culture text for sixth graders manages to discuss Joan of Arc without mentioning God, religion or her canonization, leading Vitz to conclude that her inclusion was a sop to feminists. Another has 20 pages on Tanzania but none on the Protestant Reformation. An Isaac Bashevis Singer story appears in a sixth-grade reader with "Thank God" changed to "Thank goodness."

Deep fear: While Jews and Catholics receive inadequate treatment in most texts, says Vitz, they fare better than Protestants because at least they are perceived as minority groups. Fundamental-

ists "get total short shrift." Writes Vitz: "Those responsible for these books appear to have a deep-seated fear of any form of active contemporary Christianity, especially serious, committed Protestantism." The PAW study, examining religion as only one aspect of the overall quality of history textbooks, departs from Vitz on the point of ideological bias: "Left and right in the world of religion are ignored equally. When there is no Billy Graham, there is no Reinhold Niebuhr."

What concerns textbook publishers is not religion as such, but controversy. "Publishers don't act in bad faith," says Frances Fitzgerald, author of "America Revised," a well-received analysis of history texts. "They're trying to produce something that will

be bought and be acceptable" to a wide range of consumers. School boards worry equally about believers and nonbelievers; publishers, in turn, pressure textbook writers to avoid antagonizing either group. Moreover, the spate of legal cases involving church-and-state issues seems to have put the fear of God into educators and editors. "The Supreme Court clearly said we should encourage teaching about religion in the schools," says Charles C. Haynes, author of the Americans United report and a former religion professor. "But the distinction between teaching religion and teaching about religion got lost in all the controversy."

No taboo: Until recently, says O. L. Davis Jr., chairman of the PAW report, "there has been no serious climate of opinion to support texts that present a balanced and sensitive treatment of religion in American life." But the simultaneous emergence of critical studies from both left and right suggests that there is now broad interest in breaking the taboo on the subject. California, the nation's largest textbook purchaser, plans to advise publishers to improve their treatment of the role of religion in America in time for the state's next adoption of history books. For a market-driven industry like publishing, such demands may be all it takes to get discussion of the Good Book back into textbooks.

ELOISE SALHOLZ

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1986

NOTE TO LINAS, MAX, RUDY, RITA, JULI

FROM: MATT

Just to recap two DFP procedural changes-

1. Staff meetings every Tuesday and Friday at 9:30 a.m. These meetings are set in concrete and everyone must be there. Mark these times on your calenders to hold the times open.
2. We need to designate a "weekend duty officer" each week. This person needs to be near a phone most of the weekend and needs to know where everyone else is that weekend. I will coordinate this - let me know when you will be in town anyway, so that no one will have to change their travel plans.

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we'll take our case to the people. I want to remind you, in 1980 the American people were in a mood to win, and they did win. And in 1984 they're in a mood to win again, and they will.

My friends, it's good to be here, all of us together. I've just never seen anything like this. And I keep wondering, are those sheets? Going to be a lot of sleeping on the mattress tonight. [Laughter]

But our nation is more than 200 years old. But somehow, America has never been newer, never been younger, and never been more full of hope. We've been truly blessed. And for this we must be truly thankful.

May God bless you, and may He continue to bless our beloved country. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 4:22 p.m. in Atrium I of the Loew's Anatole Hotel following remarks and an introduction by Vice President George Bush. Prior to the rally, the President met at the hotel with former President Gerald R. Ford.

Later in the evening, the President and the Vice President viewed the television coverage of the 1984 Republican National Convention, including the convention's tribute to the First Lady and the nominating speeches. They were joined in the hotel suite by Mrs. Reagan and Mrs. Bush for the roll call of the States.

The President remained overnight at the hotel, where he stayed during his visit to Dallas.

Dallas, Texas

*Remarks at an Ecumenical Prayer
Breakfast. August 23, 1984*

Thank you, ladies and gentleman, very much, and, Martha Weisand, thank you very much. And I could say that if the morning ended with the music we have just heard from that magnificent choir, it would indeed be a holy day for all of us.

It's wonderful to be here this morning. The past few days have been pretty busy

for all of us, but I've wanted to be with you today to share some of my own thoughts.

These past few weeks it seems that we've all been hearing a lot of talk about religion and its role in politics, religion and its place in the political life of the Nation. And I think it's appropriate today, at a prayer breakfast for 17,000 citizens in the State of Texas during a great political convention, that this issue be addressed.

I don't speak as a theologian or a scholar, only as one who's lived a little more than his threescore ten—which has been a source of annoyance to some—[laughter]—and as one who has been active in the political life of the Nation for roughly four decades and now who's served the past 3½ years in our highest office. I speak, I think I can say, as one who has seen much, who has loved his country, and who's seen it change in many ways.

I believe that faith and religion play a critical role in the political life of our nation—and always has—and that the church—and by that I mean all churches, all denominations—has had a strong influence on the state. And this has worked to our benefit as a nation.

Those who created our country—the Founding Fathers and Mothers—understood that there is a divine order which transcends the human order. They saw the state, in fact, as a form of moral order and felt that the bedrock of moral order is religion.

The Mayflower Compact began with the words, "In the name of God, amen." The Declaration of Independence appeals to "Nature's God" and the "Creator" and "the Supreme Judge of the world." Congress was given a chaplain, and the oaths of office are oaths before God.

James Madison in the Federalist Papers admitted that in the creation of our republic he perceived the hand of the Almighty. John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, warned that we must never forget the God from whom our blessings flowed.

George Washington referred to religion's profound and unsurpassed place in the heart of our nation quite directly in his Farewell Address in 1796. Seven years earlier, France had erected a government that

was intended to be purely secular. This new government would be grounded on reason rather than the law of God. By 1796 the French Revolution had known the Reign of Terror.

And Washington voiced reservations about the idea that there could be a wise policy without a firm moral and religious foundation. He said, "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man (call himself a patriot) who (would) labour to subvert these . . . finest [firmest]¹ props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere Politician . . . (and) the pious man ought to respect and to cherish (religion and morality)." And he added, ". . . let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion."

I believe that George Washington knew the City of Man cannot survive without the City of God, that the Visible City will perish without the Invisible City.

Religion played not only a strong role in our national life; it played a positive role. The abolitionist movement was at heart a moral and religious movement; so was the modern civil rights struggle. And throughout this time, the state was tolerant of religious belief, expression, and practice. Society, too, was tolerant.

But in the 1960's, this began to change. We began to make great steps toward secularizing our nation and removing religion from its honored place.

In 1962 the Supreme Court in the New York prayer case banned the compulsory saying of prayers. In 1963 the Court banned the reading of the Bible in our public schools. From that point on, the courts pushed the meaning of the ruling ever outward, so that now our children are not allowed voluntary prayer. We even had to pass a law—we passed a special law in the Congress just a few weeks ago to allow student prayer groups the same access to schoolrooms after classes that a young Marxist society, for example, would already enjoy with no opposition.

The 1962 decision opened the way to a flood of similar suits. Once religion had been made vulnerable, a series of assaults

were made in one court after another, on one issue after another. Cases were started to argue against tax-exempt status for churches. Suits were brought to abolish the words "under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance and to remove "In God We Trust" from public documents and from our currency.

Today, there are those who are fighting to make sure voluntary prayer is not returned to the classrooms. And the frustrating thing for the great majority of Americans who support and understand the special importance of religion in the national life—the frustrating thing is that those who are attacking religion claim they are doing it in the name of tolerance, freedom, and openmindedness. Question: Isn't the real truth that they are intolerant of religion? [Applause] They refuse to tolerate its importance in our lives.

If all the children of our country studied together all of the many religions in our country, wouldn't they learn greater tolerance of each other's beliefs? If children prayed together, would they not understand what they have in common, and would this not, indeed, bring them closer, and is this not to be desired? So, I submit to you that those who claim to be fighting for tolerance on this issue may not be tolerant at all.

When John Kennedy was running for President in 1960, he said that his church would not dictate his Presidency any more than he would speak for his church. Just so, and proper. But John Kennedy was speaking in an America in which the role of religion—and by that I mean the role of all churches—was secure. Abortion was not a political issue. Prayer was not a political issue. The right of church schools to operate was not a political issue. And it was broadly acknowledged that religious leaders had a right and a duty to speak out on the issues of the day. They held a place of respect, and a politician who spoke to or of them with a lack of respect would not long survive in the political arena.

It was acknowledged then that religion held a special place, occupied a special territory in the hearts of the citizenry. The climate has changed greatly since then. And since it has, it logically follows that religion

¹ White House correction.

needs defenders against those who care only for the interests of the state.

There are, these days, many questions on which religious leaders are obliged to offer their moral and theological guidance, and such guidance is a good and necessary thing. To know how a church and its members feel on a public issue expands the parameters of debate. It does not narrow the debate; it expands it.

The truth is, politics and morality are inseparable. And as morality's foundation is religion, religion and politics are necessarily related. We need religion as a guide. We need it because we are imperfect, and our government needs the church, because only those humble enough to admit they're sinners can bring to democracy the tolerance it requires in order to survive.

A state is nothing more than a reflection of its citizens; the more decent the citizens, the more decent the state. If you practice a religion, whether you're Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or guided by some other faith, then your private life will be influenced by a sense of moral obligation, and so, too, will your public life. One affects the other. The churches of America do not exist by the grace of the state; the churches of America are not mere citizens of the state. The churches of America exist apart; they have their own vantage point, their own authority. Religion is its own realm; it makes its own claims.

We establish no religion in this country, nor will we ever. We command no worship. We mandate no belief. But we poison our society when we remove its theological underpinnings. We court corruption when we leave it bereft of belief. All are free to believe or not believe; all are free to practice a faith or not. But those who believe must be free to speak of and act on their belief, to apply moral teaching to public questions.

I submit to you that the tolerant society is open to and encouraging of all religions. And this does not weaken us; it strengthens us, it makes us strong. You know, if we look back through history to all those great civilizations, those great nations that rose up to even world dominance and then deteriorated, declined, and fell, we find they all had one thing in common. One of the significant forerunners of their fall was their turning away from their God or gods.

Without God, there is no virtue, because there's no prompting of the conscience. Without God, we're mired in the material, that flat world that tells us only what the senses perceive. Without God, there is a coarsening of the society. And without God, democracy will not and cannot long endure. If we ever forget that we're one nation under God, then we will be a nation gone under.

If I could just make a personal statement of my own—in these 3½ years I have understood and known better than ever before the words of Lincoln, when he said that he would be the greatest fool on this footstool called Earth if he ever thought that for one moment he could perform the duties of that office without help from One who is stronger than all.

I thank you, thank you for inviting us here today. Thank you for your kindness and your patience. May God keep you, and may we, all of us, keep God.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:26 a.m. at the Reunion Arena following remarks and an introduction by Martha Weisand, co-chair of the Texas Reagan-Bush campaign.

Retirement Equity Act of 1984

*Statement on Signing H.R. 4280 Into Law.
August 23, 1984*

I am pleased to sign into law H.R. 4280, the Retirement Equity Act of 1984. This important legislation is the first private pension bill in our history to recognize explicitly the importance of women both to the American family and to the Nation's labor force. It contains significant measures to enhance women's ability to earn pensions in their own right. It improves and protects the vital role of pensions as retirement income to widows.

An end to inequities in the provision of pension benefits to women has been a top priority of my administration. In September 1983, I sent to Congress our own pension equity bill. I am pleased that most of that

NEWS

FROM THE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

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

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Chuan-Jah

NEW YORK, October 28...The American Jewish Committee declared today that radio ads sponsored by the Republican Senate Campaign Committee crossed the lines of permissible sectarianism by relating voters' political interests to a personal relationship to Christ.

Theodore Ellenoff, President of the American Jewish Committee, criticized the Republican Senate Campaign Committee for sponsoring ads in a number of Southern states that, according to Mr. Ellenoff, "had a good cause in mind -- that is, to get more voters to come out on election day, but was marred by a narrow and religiously sectarian message designed to appeal specifically to born-again Christians and others."

"In religiously pluralistic America," Mr. Ellenoff declared, "we have to be especially vigilant about protecting the political process from an improper use of religion or religious terminology."

"While it is perfectly proper to appeal to voters' sentiments that may be shaped by either their secular or religious values," Mr. Ellenoff concluded, "this particular ad flirts with the kind of religious exclusivism that makes minority religious groups like Jews and other non-Christians very uncomfortable. This is especially so in an election in which a number of candidates have already begun to identify their particular religious loyalties as superior to those of their opponents. This is neither good politics, good religion nor good sense."

Mr. Ellenoff appealed to the Republican Senate Campaign Committee to withdraw their radio ad and revise it to exclude any sectarian references.

Theodore Ellenoff, President; Leo Nevas, Chair, Board of Governors; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, National Executive Council; Edward E. Elson, Chair, Board of Trustees;
David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

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CSAE 1/87

Church
State

An Open Letter to the Rabbis of the Denver Jewish Community

Dear Rabbis,

I have lived in this community since 1948. Not only is Denver a magnificent place to live, but I do not believe there is a Jewish community similar to Denver's in our country. Jewish leadership in Denver is not only involved in Jewish causes, but has taken a leading role in every outstanding community effort and has the respect of the non-Jewish community because of its accomplishments.

In addition to this, regardless of whether one is Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform, there has been broad-based support by all elements of our Jewish community for all of our causes. It is not unusual, in the least, to see a Reform Jew chairing a function for an Orthodox Jewish day school. In addition to our community effort, we have been blessed with an outstanding group of rabbis who have had a great deal to do with keeping the Jewish community as viable as it has been.

Until ten years ago, the Jewish community was not active to any degree in the political arena. In the last ten years, we have seen a considerable change in this aspect of our life in Denver. It is interesting to note that the moving forces behind the Kramer and Wirth Senate campaigns are both Jewish. Jews have become very active in both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party and their effectiveness has had a positive impact on the community and for Jewish life in general.

During the last few years, we, as Jews, have become increasingly concerned with the church-and-state issue. We have become worried about this very delicate balance, and while we believe the religious resurgence in this country is a healthy phenomenon, we have carefully watched the increasing involvement of evangelical church leaders, such as the Jacksons and the Falwells, in the political process. History has taught us that we must be concerned over this issue.

Notwithstanding our concern, however, many rabbis in our community have now made politics a great part of their personal agenda. And while they preach about the importance of the separation between church and state, they themselves are violating some, and I repeat *some*, of these concerns that they have about the evangelical leaders.

Let me give you a few examples. On Rosh Hashonah, a local rabbi not only attacked the actions of certain politicians, but I felt, went out of his way to label his targets as Republicans as proof of his indictment, which was totally improper. In addition to that, he preached to his congregation that he hoped that they would always vote for the liberal candidate when there was a race with one involved.

As I sat with astonishment and was told how to vote, I couldn't help but think what the reaction would be if I were a guest from Pittsburgh where moderate Senator Arlen Specter, a very courageous Jew, is running against a very liberal congressman. I further thought, what would my reaction be if I were a guest from Binghamton, New York, and heard the rabbi tell me to vote for an off-the-wall liberal candidate even though moderate Senator D'Amato, the present incumbent, behind the scenes and on the record has done nothing short of a remarkable job for the State of Israel.

As I listened to the rabbi's diatribe, and even heard him label a Supreme Court Justice as a member of the New Right, I realized how far this unfortunate situation has gone.

As we all know, the Iceland Summit was concluding around the time of Yom Kippur. I served in the Reagan administration and am a great admirer of the President. I have frankly, privately discussed Yiddishkeit with him and have heard a leading Israeli and former Cabinet officer tell me personally that there never has been a better friend for Israel in the White House than President Reagan.

But with all his accomplishments, I felt that the President had his finest hour in Iceland when he refused to give away the store to Russia. Politically, if he had agreed to an arms treaty, it would have been helpful to the Republicans running on November 4. But this President was more concerned with the future of this nation than with a few political victories a few weeks hence.

Fortunately, the American public has realized since that time that the President did the right thing. But during the Yom Kippur service, his actions were criticized from the pulpit. (Incidentally, I don't believe I have ever heard a warm word about President Reagan from *that* pulpit.) Not only were his actions criticized, but the congregation was told erroneously that in the history of warfare, there never has been a time when defensive weapons have not been turned into offensive ones. During World War II, I served in the South Pacific and was involved with anti-aircraft weapons. Our only mission was to spot enemy planes and to shoot them down when they came over friendly soil. Anti-aircraft guns are purely a defensive weapon, and yet the rabbi used this example to prove to his congregation how wrong President Reagan has been on the entire SDI matter.

As I listened to the sermon, I wondered, "Is it appropriate for a rabbi to be criticizing our President from the pulpit on issues that have no connection with Jewish theology or community matters with which the rabbi may claim some expertise?"

I have played a very active role as Co-chairman and Finance Chairman of the Kramer for Senate campaign. It is well known in the community that I feel very comfortable with my politically conservative views and with my role as an active Jew in our community. I see no contradiction between the two. The ultra-liberal left in our community, which includes some outstanding leaders plus many of you rabbis, obviously do not agree with my political convictions.

I wrote a letter recently to the leadership of the Jewish community and in that letter, I stated that the Wirth campaign has done an excellent job in positioning their candidate to appear extremely pro-Israel, and, by innuendo, have indicated that Congressman Kramer is not. To illustrate that this was misleading as well as wrong, I presented four votes on foreign aid involving Israel where Kramer voted "yes" and Wirth had voted "no." Let me emphasize: the Kramer votes supported \$10 billion in aid for Israel; Wirth voted against them. In a spirit of fairness, I also mailed in my packet to the leadership the voting record for Kramer and Wirth on Israel from April of 1979 to June of 1985, so the readers could draw their own conclusions.

I obviously expected a response from the liberal left and a response including an "explanation" of these "no" votes did come from Wirth supporters. The explanation, however, contradicted the one that I had heard when I had originally criticized Congressman Wirth for these particular anti-Israel votes.

The pro-Wirth letter responding to me concluded that Wirth is far more pro-Israel than Kramer is, notwithstanding the Wirth opposition to the \$10 billion in aid to Israel. As I examined the voting records, I could not follow this reasoning at all. The letter, however, was a typical political letter and I was not offended by its contents in the least, except for the fact that the letter was signed by three rabbis! I raise this question to you all: "Is this an appropriate role for rabbis; should they be endorsing political candidates?"

My liberal Jewish friends are convinced that Wirth should be elected. My conservative Jewish friends think that Kramer should be elected. We are very pleased with Kramer's voting record on Israel; they are pleased with Wirth's. But I firmly believe that before rabbis sign any letter, especially a political letter, they should precisely examine its factual accuracy, which they did not do in this case. Notwithstanding that, I do not think that it is appropriate to use the pulpit to endorse one candidate over another.

Many in our community are concerned, as I am, and wanted to join me in this letter. I felt, however, that it is my battle to fight and I am paying for the space because I believe our magnificent Jewish community is being seriously divided by certain rabbis in our midst who are taking sides in the political scene, usually because of their liberal views.

I firmly believe that morals, ethics, and issues affecting Jews generically are appropriate items to be discussed from the pulpit. But I do not believe that it is the role of the rabbinate to openly favor and endorse candidates or attack others who are running for public office. I believe adding theological overtones to a political campaign has been divisive and nothing but detrimental to our Jewish community.

Sincerely,



Philip D. Winn

Soviet Religious Council head:

USSR 'would consider' sending rabbinical candidates to US

By SUSAN BIRNBAUM
NEW YORK (JTA) — The Soviet Union might consider sending rabbinical candidates to the US for

training and ordination in response to a shortage of rabbis in the USSR. Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs in

the USSR, said such an arrangement would depend on the "climate between the two countries. As you know, relations between our countries right now are quite bad."

Kharchev, whose position in the USSR is equivalent to that of Minister of Religion, is visiting the US at the invitation of the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, an ecumenical coalition of Jewish and Christian religious and lay leaders, whose president is Rabbi Arthur Schneier of the Park East Synagogue in Manhattan. This is the first time in the history of the Soviet Union that an individual holding such a high religious ministerial position is visiting the US.

Addressing a press conference at the Overseas Press Club, Kharchev said the USSR is moving in the direction of democratizing government policy toward religion. He said cheerfully that he himself is "a non-believer, a Communist" but that nevertheless "I treat believers with respect."

But the Soviet official became evasive or denunciatory when he was pressed for specific answers by the reporters about the treatment of Jews in the USSR. He denied any allegations of mistreatment of

Jews or Jewish places of worship, and hewed to the official Soviet line regarding the proscription of religious study and possession of religious books. He professed to have no knowledge of specific cases of Jews who were being mistreated or harassed.

Kharchev claimed that Soviet law forbids religious study prior to adulthood, the possession of more than one religious book "brought over international borders," and forbids Soviet prisoners to have religious books in their possession "because they broke the law."

In answer to a question by the JTA about religious study and a reportedly destroyed mikveh in the Marina Roscha Synagogue in Moscow, Kharchev appeared to become angered, demanding to know what the news sources were, and denouncing persons in the West who, he claimed, spread lies given them by Soviet citizens.

Kharchev did not answer the question of why Jewish children cannot study Judaism or Talmud, as they are mandated to from the time they can read according to Jewish religion. Nor did he answer the charge that Jewish study groups are harassed.

Kharchev said he knew nothing until now of the case of Piotr (Pinchas) Polanski, a Moscow refusenik who was formally warned to stop his activities, which allegedly consisted of organizing an unregistered religious community at the Marina Roscha Synagogue, active participation in Talmud study at the end of morning services, and the wearing of yarmulkes by his guests.

Jonathan Wolf, a New York teacher of Jewish studies who just returned from the Soviet Union, confronted point-by-point Kharchev's denials and evasions. Wolf told Kharchev that Soviet Jews "live in fear and harassment. The freedom you talk about does not exist."

Wolf persistently asked why he had been denied entry into a church by a policeman, why Leningrad Hebrew teacher Miriam Furman told him she was unable to get dictionaries, and why a group of students spending the Sabbath with Leonid (Elimelech) Rakhlin and his wife Golda outside Leningrad in January had been beaten up, two of them seriously. Wolf asked if the "process of democratization" will affect this, as well as members of study groups who are harassed.

"I met people," answered Kharchev, "who paid \$500 for those who could bring such fairytales from the Soviet Union." In this and other instances, he said, "enemies of the Soviet State propagate lies."

When asked why the mikveh (ritual bath) at the Marina Roscha Synagogue had been destroyed last week, during the night, by throwing in stones, Kharchev said alternately that the mikveh was constructed against the "building code" and that it wasn't true that the mikveh had been destroyed. He claimed that someone visiting could verify this.

He also said that Polanski should have spoken to the proper authorities first about his study group, although he initially claimed to not know anything about the issue.

Kharchev, speaking about the Marina Roscha Synagogue, said, "You have the wrong information. If I am right, you are wrong. I never heard about it. We have no plans to close any synagogue in the USSR."



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