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Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 21, Folder 8, Graham, Billy, 1980-1983.

Graham, Billy

January 8, 1980

Rev. Dr. Billy Graham
Montreat, North Carolina 28757

My dear Billy,

First, I want to express to you, Ruth, F.W. Wilson and your other associates my warmest personal good wishes for a healthy and, above all, a peaceful New Year.

While I was not able to view the interview with you on Meet the Press, I was given a transcript of it. I do appreciate very much your kind personal reference to our conversation when you were in Singapore about concern over Indo-chinese refugees. It is simply amazing how many people saw the interview and telephoned me from various parts of the country about their positive reaction to your discussion.

When we met during the funeral service for Archbishop Fulton Sheen, you had mentioned to me that there were "a number of interesting developments" taking place and that you would be interested in our having a chance to talk about them. I would be more than happy to do so. When you have a moment, please do give me a ring and perhaps we can discuss them over the telephone. Of course, I would be more than happy to meet you any place that is mutually convenient.

With every personal good wish and my continued prayers for your health and strength, I am,

Cordially, as ever,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

Enclosures

p/r Cambodian Mtg.
Martin Luther King
d/n- Sheen

BILLY GRAHAM
MONTREAT, NORTH CAROLINA 28757

January 15, 1980

Dear Marc,

Thank you for your letter that arrived on the eve of my departure for Europe. Forgive me for not getting back to you sooner. Unfortunately I have had one emergency situation after another and far more speaking engagements than I should have taken for the last few weeks. In addition, I am giving a series of lectures at Oxford University, and then a more extended series a week later at Cambridge University. Therefore I have had to use every spare minute for preparation. One of my commitments will be before the Oxford Debating Society, which is a rather frightening prospect for me.


The primary thing that I wanted to discuss with you was the situation that I feel is building up in the Mid-East and the greatly increased tensions for both Israel and the United States.

I also wanted to confidentially suggest that you have a meeting with Muhammad Ali. I think a friendship between the two of you could be developed that would be more than worthwhile. In my long conversations with him I have found him to be very warm toward both Jewish people in this country and the State of Israel. I have never used the following term before, but I think if anyone could be called "an Islamic Christian" he is one! He wants his life to be used in the service of the Lord and he wants it to be totally dominated by love for all people. The situation in Iran has greatly shaken him up as far as the Shiite Sect of Islam is concerned.

I think I will be passing through New York after the Enthronement the latter part of March. I know that is a terribly long time away, but I will not be back till then.

I hope that 1980 will be the most wonderful year you have ever had.

Cordially yours,


(Personally dictated
but mailed in absence)

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, NY 10022

The American Jewish Committee



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① Secular
② Graham, Billy

June 10, 1980

Dr. Billy Graham
Montreat, North Carolina 28757

My dear Billy,

I hope this finds you and Ruth in very good health.

This is such a difficult and challenging time for our nation that I think of you often and wish we had some opportunity to chat together as to how we could be more helpful to our country during this difficult period.

My primary purpose in writing to you now is to extend to you a warm personal invitation to address a major national conference of Evangelical and Jewish leaders to be held at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School from December 9th through 11th.

The conference, based on the success of our first national conference several years ago in which Leighton Ford participated, is co-sponsored by Christianity Today, Trinity, and The American Jewish Committee.

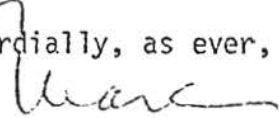
Our co-chairpeople from the Evangelical community, including Ken Kantzer and Marvin Wilson of Gordon College, join me in hoping that you might be free to make a presentation at the opening public evening session on Tuesday, December 9th. The theme would be roughly, "Moral, Ethical and Social Imperatives for the 80s."

This would afford a marvelous opportunity for you to have national impact on the theme of human survival, disarmament, and related concerns about which you have been speaking so effectively in recent months.

I would be most grateful if you could let me know at an early date whether you are free that evening and whether you will be able to accept our heartfelt invitation.

With warmest personal good wishes and my constant prayers for your well-being, I am,

Cordially, as ever,


Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

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BILLY GRAHAM
MONTREAT, NORTH CAROLINA 28757

June 25, 1980

Dear Marc,

Thank you for yours of June 10. I just returned home last night after several weeks abroad, and hasten to send this brief response before the telephone rings too constantly for me to get anything done!

It was good to hear from you again, and I, too, wish that we had the opportunity to chat. Unfortunately however, I have allowed my schedule to get too heavy again this year and have just a short period at home now before being gone for just about the whole of the rest of the year--much of it out of the country. Most of my trips abroad will take me out through the west coast, however if I find myself in New York for a few days unexpectedly, perhaps I can give you a call and we can have a chat.

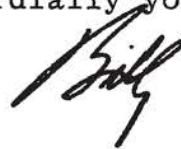
I am interested to know about your conference December 9 through 11. Certainly it will be very timely. Thank you for the invitation to speak at the conference on Tuesday, December 9. However, much as I'd like to I just cannot accept. My doctors have advised me to cut back my schedule as much as possible and therefore I dare not add anything more! I also cannot cut it as they have requested since most of my commitments are major Crusades around the world which have been in preparation for some time. However, I have been for the past few weeks declining and cancelling as many of my "single" commitments as possible. My friends have been most kind and gracious in letting me out of my commitments--and therefore in all fairness to them I must try not to begin adding to the schedule again (which is a tendency I have!).

I will be thinking of you as you meet, and would be interested to hear the results of your conference.

With warmest personal greetings, and thank you for your sympathetic understanding of my scheduling difficulties.

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, NY 10022



The American



Jewish Committee

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① GRAHAM, BILLY
bc: B. Gold, S. Hirsh, B. Jacobs
B. Resnikoff, Z. Shuster

Confidential: Shomron, Blum, Brosh

② EVANGELICAL MTJ *David*

July 2, 1980

Rev. Dr. Billy Graham
Montreat, North Carolina 28757

My dear Billy:

I was very happy to have your thoughtful letter of June 25.

While of course I regret that you will not be able to accept the invitation of the Evangelical and Jewish sponsors of our National Conference, I certainly understand the heavy burden that you carry and hope that you will feel relieved in conscience about not being able to include us in your schedule.

When I read about your brief vacation in Thailand, I was delighted that you finally had a chance to get some respite. As one of your devoted friends, it concerns me very much that you conserve your energies and take care of yourself as much as humanly possible.

I do hope that it will be possible for us to meet when you are next in New York. In addition to some other concerns, I would like very much to talk with you about the latest developments with regard to the status of Jerusalem whose unity appears to be increasingly threatened by pressures from a variety of sources.

It would help me considerably if you could let me have your thoughts about the present situation. A head-on confrontation, God forbid, over Jerusalem would have terrible polarizing effects in American society and God knows that we are fragmented more than enough.

My warmest personal good wishes and my continued prayers for God's richest blessings over you. I am,

Cordially as ever,

Marc
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs Department

MHT:rd

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ELISE D. WATERMAN, New York ■

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*recognition by the Palestinians and the Arab states, as well as the entire world community, of Israel's right to self-determination as a Jewish state with secure and defined borders; and

*public recognition by Israel of Palestinian national rights, coupled with an announcement that Israel will establish no more settlements on the West Bank or Gaza Strip.

At present, the report points out, neither party will consider such major steps without prior action by the other. To break the impasse, third parties such as the U.S. "must play a catalytic role."

As one step, it says the U.S. should "be engaged in open dialogue" with the PLO to bring about the kind of concessions that might eventually lead to negotiations between Israel and the PLO. The report does not advocate U.S. diplomatic recognition of the PLO, however.

James Rudin of the American Jewish Committee, an official observer at NCC Governing Board meetings, read a statement to the board commending the panel for its work but criticizing a number of the positions taken.

"We recognize that the report represents a serious attempt on the part of the NCC to contribute to the cause of peace and reconciliation in the Middle East," Rudin said, "even as we are concerned about its deficiencies." Among those sections criticized by the American Jewish Committee were the call for open dialogue with the PLO and for cessation of Israel's settlements on the West Bank.

In addition, the AJC objected to the panel's characterization of the Camp David accords as "fundamentally flawed" because they do not provide an adequate mechanism for establishing Palestinian self-determination.

In its resolution on El Salvador, the NCC Governing Board not only urged the U.S. to halt military assistance but "to reallocate the recently approved military aid of \$5.7 million to medical, economic and social assistance programs, the benefit of which should be distributed in El Salvador by civilian and international agencies."

The board also urged its member churches to provide emergency help and medical supplies to El Salvador, which has been racked by civil disturbances in recent months, and to support the posthumous nomination of recently assassinated Archbishop Oscar Romero for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Responding to the murder in Iran of Bahram Deghani Tafti, the 24-year-old son of Iran's Anglican bishop, the board sent a message of condolences to the bishop. The cable expressed concern over persecution of religious minorities in Iran.

Rounding out the meeting's first day, the board heard a report from the NCC's recent consultation on disarmament, heard greetings from Indianapolis Mayor William H. Hudnut, III; Harold Statler, executive director of the Indiana Council of Churches; Paul McClure, executive director of the Church Federation of Greater Indianapolis; and Roger Grey, dean of Christ Church Cathedral where the board is meeting.

To open the meeting, former Indiana Governor Matthew Walsh led the delegates in Bible study.

The meeting will continue until noon on Friday, May 9.

NEW GRAHAM CENTER TO PIONEER
IN BEING UNIQUE 'THINK TANK'

By William George Shuster
Religious News Service Correspondent (9-15-80)

WHEATON, Ill. (RNS) -- A world-famous evangelist and an internationally renowned statesman have urged that a unique Christian "think tank" pioneer new strategies in international evangelism education and research.

The occasion was the (Sept. 13) dedication of the \$15.5-million Billy Graham Center at Wheaton College.

Some 6,000 people attended, including officials of international evangelical organizations, as well as Mrs. George Bush, wife of the Republican vice presidential nominee, a long-time friend of the Grahams; and Dr. Robert Maddox, special assistant for religious liaison for President Jimmy Carter. Dr. Maddox brought a letter from Mr. Carter calling the Graham Center "a fitting tribute to Mr. Graham's unique ministry and its enduring service to society."

Mr. Graham and Ambassador Charles Malik of Lebanon, former president of the United Nations General Assembly, were the guest speakers.

In his remarks, Mr. Graham envisioned the center as a "world hub of inspiration" which will "touch the world for Christ and His Kingdom in generations to come" through research, education, seminars, special service, and direct evangelism by Christians from around the world.

Speaking from a podium flanked by flags of the 50 countries where he has preached, Mr. Graham declared that the center could "be the keen cutting edge of a new thrust in Christian strategy and education in the fields of theology, Christian psychology and communications... all dedicated to the advancement of the Kingdom of God."

Dr. Malik, an Eastern Orthodox Christian, started his address with a testimony to Jesus Christ who is "my Lord, God, Savior and Song, without whom I cannot live," and then delivered a stern address. "It isn't enough to be on fire for evangelism alone," he said.

The Graham Center, Dr. Malik said, can help promote unity and understanding among Christians here and overseas, but "Christ's light will not shine in the awful darkness of the world until American evangelicals, on whom so much depends, integrate into themselves and become integrated into the unity and continuity of cumulative Christian tradition."

But the greatest danger facing American evangelicals, said Dr. Malik, is "anti-intellectualism." He held that the mind of Western civilization is "confused and desperately disoriented," as a result of false philosophies taught in universities, which mold Western thinking. Evangelicals, therefore, need to develop creative thinkers who are the equal of "secular, atheistic and naturalistic scholars," he said.

(more)

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"For the sake of greater effectiveness in witnessing through Jesus Christ, as well as our own sakes, evangelicals can't afford to keep living on the periphery of responsible intellectual existence," he declared to loud applause. "Save the university and you save Western civilization, and therewith, the world," said the Lebanese ambassador.

For Mr. Graham, the dedication of the center at Wheaton was "like coming home," he said. It was as a student at Wheaton College that he met his wife, Ruth, had his first pastorate, began his life's work in evangelism and "received the spiritual challenge and intellectual perspective that has influenced my ministry for more than 35 years."

The idea for the center originated about 10 years ago when several groups, including the Library of Congress, suggested to Mr. Graham that his documents and those of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (BGEA) be preserved for future use. Initial plans for an archives developed over the next several years into an international research/resource center where Christians from around the world could study and devise new methods of gospel proclamation.

Several institutions, including Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville and the University of North Carolina, wanted to house Mr. Graham's archives and memorabilia. But Wheaton College officials repeatedly urged its most famous graduate (Class of '43) to establish the center there. In 1974, after a year of debate among BGEA board members, it was decided to locate at Wheaton.

Wheaton College, whose motto is "for Christ and His Kingdom," has a "long history of unswerving dedication to the theological concepts and world vision we hold, and the academic excellence we believe in," said Mr. Graham.

Although funds to build the center were raised through the Graham organization primarily through its World Evangelization and Christian Education Fund (WECEF) in Dallas, the center is a gift from BGEA to the college. It is owned, operated and directed by Wheaton College's board of trustees, of which Mr. Graham and his wife are members. The center's 30 staff members are college employees. The center is the "largest gift in the history of the school," according to Dr. Hudson T. Amending, college president.

It will cost about one million dollars per year to operate the 5-story, 192,000-square-foot building which houses the archives, library, Museum of the History of Evangelism in America since the 1700's, communications laboratories, and a college graduate school. William Walton, former vice-president of Holiday Inns, is heading an 18-month fund drive for BGEA to raise \$15 million in endowment to fund the center's operating budget.

The center has not been without critics. Some faculty and students were concerned when the project began that it would simply become a memorial to Mr. Graham's ministry, or that its stress on evangelism would publicly overshadow the college's outstanding academic reputation, and drain its financial resources. One professor was quoted in a Chicago paper the weekend of the dedication saying the center seemed "more pertinent for a seminary than a liberal arts school." But another professor, Dr. Robert Webber, said the fact that the center is a BGEA gift and will have a \$15 million endowment has alleviated some of the concerns.

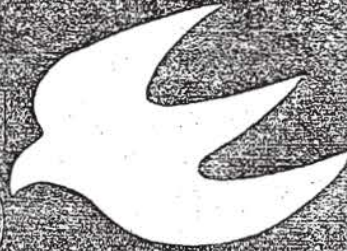
Dr. William Shumaker, the center's director, has been "open and sensitive to the faculty" and sought their advise on center programs, working to allay their concerns, Dr. Webber said. Dr. Webber, himself, like other Wheaton professors, believes the center "signals an academic direction for evangelicalism, and intelligent application of the gospel in contextual ways." For the moment, critics are taking what one teacher called a "wait and see attitude," to see what type of programs the center develops.

What direction that might be isn't clear yet, although a number of evangelical leaders have already proclaimed the center's value as an educational, resource, and research facility for the church. As Dr. Melvin E. Lorenzen, assistant center director, said, "It is hard at this point to describe the Billy Graham Center because there is no prototype for it. This is the prototype." But its purpose, he said, is to be "a catalytic agency for God's church. This isn't an evangelistic center but an international study research center in evangelism of the world."

The type of issues the center will address was discussed during a three-day "Forum on the Church's Future" which preceded the dedication. A panel of prominent evangelical Protestants and Roman Catholic thinkers debated such questions as the effect of multi-national corporations on mission work; Christian higher education; effects of the media on perceptions of reality and spiritual truth; church and parachurch relationships; definitions of evangelicals and new models of evangelism. Mr. Graham referred to some of the criticism of the center in his address. The faculty, staff and students "must have at times been mystified and confused as to what this was all about," he said, and thanked them for their "patience, loyalty, and support." He defended the cost of the facility noting it cost no more than "a fighter plane (or) a major championship fight."

The evangelist, who earlier told reporters he had argued against naming the center in his honor, said the building "should not be interpreted as a monument to a man or an organization."

"As Moses charged succeeding generations," said Mr. Graham, "so I charge future generations of Wheaton College trustees, faculty, staff and students: this center has been dedicated to the Glory of God and the advancement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ."



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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES HEARS BILLY GRAHAM, WARNS OF FOOD STAMP CUTOFF

INDIANAPOLIS, MAY 7-----The Governing Board of the National Council of Churches opened its three-day meeting here today with a call for immediate congressional action to save the food stamp program.

In other actions the 266-member board, which sets policy for the nation's largest ecumenical organization, urged a halt in U.S. military assistance to El Salvador and issued a study document on the Middle East to be circulated and discussed among the 32 Protestant and Orthodox communions that make up the council.

Evangelist Billy Graham, whose crusade is also in Indianapolis this week, greeted the board during its morning session. While acknowledging that his denomination does not belong to the NCC, Graham assured the delegates that "our hearts are with you in many of the things that you are doing."

And though he has not always agreed with council politics in the past, Graham singled out the NCC's strong disarmament stands for praise.

"People are not sure we are even going to have a future," he said. "This is why I'm so very interested in what you have to say on the arms race, and what you have to say on these terrible weapons that are being created throughout the world, both biological, chemical and nuclear.

"I hope we get to SALT 10," he added, to warm applause, "when we can sit down and say, 'Let's destroy all of them.'"

In its resolution on the food stamp program, the council noted that unless Congress acts by May 15 to appropriate an additional \$2.5 billion, food stamp distribution will cease on June 1. Congress' failure to act by now "says something very clearly about the way the leaders of this country are willing to treat poor people," Thomas Russell, chairman of the council's Domestic Hunger and Poverty Working Group, told the board.

"Over 21 million people now get food stamps," he added. "A high percentage of those people desperately need them."

In addition to urging Congress to act, the resolution calls upon churches throughout the nation to prepare for the consequences should the program be allowed to lapse. It notes that "U.S. Department of Agriculture data indicates that 87 percent of food stamp benefits go to families living below the poverty line."

The Middle East study document issued by the board was a report from a high-level panel of council leaders who have held hearings and meetings with interested organizations over the past six months, as well as taking a two-week fact-finding tour of the Middle East.

The report calls for urgent new peace initiatives by the U.S. government. To break the current impasse in negotiations over the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the report says, the U.S. must find a way to make reciprocal gestures of conciliation possible between the nation of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Specifically, it singled out the need for:

*a public commitment by the PLO to cease all actions of violence and renounce its rejection of the existence of Israel;

A REVIEW OF TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

ROBERT S. JACOBS, *chairman*
Interreligious Affairs Commission

JUDITH H. BANKI, *editor*

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, *national director*
Interreligious Affairs Department

Vol. 4, No. 1 October, 1980

IS GOD DEAF TO JEWISH PRAYER?

An assertion by the president of the Southern Baptist Convention that "God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew" brought protests from Jews and Southern Baptists alike. The remark, made by Dr. Bailey Smith during the National Affairs Briefing held in Dallas in August, created a stir when it was circularized. Speaking to more than 10,000 people at a two-day meeting devoted to briefing evangelical Christians for greater participation in the political process, Dr. Smith declared:

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

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

Dr. Smith's remarks were heavily criticized on two grounds: first, that it was religiously arrogant for him to presume knowledge of whose prayers God hears, and second, that his statement undermined religious pluralism at best and was conducive to anti-Semitism at worst.

Thus, Dr. Ed Humphrey, professor at Golden Gate (Southern Baptist) Seminary in San Francisco, asked, "Who is he (Dr. Smith) to say what God hears or doesn't hear?"

In a personal letter to Dr. Smith, B. Elmo Scoggin, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, raised the same question:

How can you arrogate to yourself the right to tell God whom he may and may not hear? Where does the Bible say that God does not hear the prayer of a Jew? What kind of God do you worship who would turn a deaf ear to any sincere prayer to him, no matter who the petitioner might be?



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Dr. Scoggin described himself as "a tithing member of a Baptist Church that supports the work of the Southern Baptist Convention by giving a generous portion of its income through the Cooperative Program. Therefore," he continued, "I have a sizable investment of money, time, love, service, and prayer in the enterprise of which you are currently the leader. By virtue of these and other truths, I am a member of the much larger family of God on this earth, a family that includes all who love, trust, and serve Him."

Dr. Scoggin, who wrote and introduced a resolution on Baptist-Jewish relations adopted by the Southern Baptist Convention in 1972, continued: "You have used the word blasphemy. In my judgment you have spoken blasphemously by saying that God would not hear the prayers of one person or another." He called upon Dr. Smith to apologize both to the Jews and to the Southern Baptist Convention, "both of which have been put in a very bad light by your pronouncements."

Dr. Glenn Igleheart of the Southern Baptists' Interfaith Commission in Nashville also questioned the "restrictions on who God hears," and Dr. James Dunn, director of the Texas Baptist Christian Life Commission, called Dr. Smith's statement "an unfortunate expression of anti-Semitism of the worst sort."

Dr. Dunn added, "Baptists and Jews have always been bound together in support of religious freedom. The other side of the coin of religious liberty is respect for the most profoundly held religious convictions of other faith groups."

Mr. William Pharr, regional director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, himself a Southern Baptist, denied that Dr. Smith was speaking for the Southern Baptist denomination; he declared that the statement reflected "a gross and divisive religious prejudice which has no

place in the political life of the United States" and that it represented "a trend at significant levels toward distortion and disfigurement of brotherhood and religious pluralism."

Dr. Smith later insisted, "No prayer gets through that is not prayed through Jesus Christ," but denied his remarks were anti-Semitic. However, Mr. Milton Tobian, executive director of AJC's North Texas Region, who originally recorded Dr. Smith's comments and circularized the text among Jewish leaders, countered that the remarks were anti-Semitic, "because when one places any group outside of contact with God, and says that group is abandoned by God, it's a signal that men should treat the group in the same way."

Mr. Tobian emphasized that Dr. Smith was the only one to express himself in this vein during the two-day meeting, and added that other Southern Baptists had expressed "their horror that the elected head of the denomination would say anything so counter to the spirit and belief of most of its members."

Rabbi Tanenbaum characterized Dr. Smith's remarks as "invincible ignorance," and declared that Smith "probably has never experienced the moving and uplifting prayer life of the Jews ... which has sustained the Jewish people for more than 4,000 years across 30 civilizations," and that he apparently knew "nothing about Judaism nor the high religious culture of Jews."

A direct response to Dr. Smith's comments, issued by six Southern Baptist scholars, came in the form of a "Statement of Christian Concern and Friendship for the Jewish Community," which was written as an "affirmation of Baptist concern for the Jewish community" in the context of the Jewish high holy days. Portions of that statement are reproduced in the Notable Quotables section of this Interreligious Newsletter.

Tommy Espinoza, Executive Director of Chicanos Por La Causa; Mr. Arthur Hamilton, State Legislator, Public Affairs Representative, Salt River Project; Mayor Margaret Hance of Phoenix City; Joan Frazer, Chairman of the Community Relations Interfaith Mission Committee and Speech Clinician, Creighton School; Mr. David Frazer, Partner of Lewis & Roca; and Mr. Harold Ziskin, President of Midas Muffler.

Mr. and Mrs. Frazer organized and led the last two Phoenix missions.

Among community leaders who participated in the Buffalo Federation mission were: The Very Rev. Elton O. Smith, Dean of St. Paul Episcopal Cathedral; Trevor Watt, Ph.D., Professor of Religion and Clergyman; and Dr. Marilyn G. S. Watt, Assistant Professor of Communications at Casisius College and producer and moderator of the radio/TV ministry, Buffalo area Council of Churches.

This mission was led by Morris Rombro for the second year in a row.

At the request of the National Council of Churches, Ms. Gibel coordinated the Israel section of two NCC-related trips to the Middle East, one in March by the NCC's Middle East Panel, and one in September by NCC President William Howard, and two staff associates, the Rev. Joan Campbell, executive director of the NCC's Commission on Regional and Local Ecumenism, and J. Richard Butler, the NCC's Middle East and Europe director.

Sister Ann Gillen, Director of the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, has offered to change places with a prisoner in Siberia. The American Catholic nun asked the Soviet government to allow her to serve the rest of a four-year sentence imposed on

Ida Nudel, a woman called the "Angel of Mercy" because of her support for Jews harrassed or jailed by Soviet authorities. She was sentenced to internal exile after displaying a banner on her apartment balcony demanding permission to emigrate to Israel.

Sister Gillen says she made the offer in the spirit of a religious order of the Middle Ages called the Order for the Ransom or Redemption of Captives. Its members used to exchange places with people serving time on slave ships.

UP AND COMING

WOMEN OF FAITH IN THE 80s November, 1980

Coordinated by Sarah Cunningham, Associate Editor, A.D. Magazine; Inge Lederer Gibel, Program Specialist, Interreligious Affairs, American Jewish Committee; Sister Ann Gillen, Board Member, National Coalition of American Nuns.

This conference will bring together a leadership group concerned with building coalitions and widening understanding of differences. Speakers will include women theologians, scholars and activists within the Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical, Jewish and Muslim communities.

EVANGELICAL-JEWISH CONFERENCE December, 1980

A three-day meeting at which Jewish and Evangelical Christian scholars will explore respective views on the Hebrew Scriptures and the New Testament and such subjects as "Jerusalem in Biblical and Theological Tradition," "The Holocaust and the Reality of Evil," "Sin, Atonement and Redemption" and "The Moral and Spiritual Challenge of the 80s."

NOTABLE QUOTABLES

During these high holy days of the Jewish year ... as Christians we gratefully acknowledge our strong bonds of heritage and faith with the Jewish community in general and our Jewish neighbors and friends in particular Whatever differences there are between Judaism and Christianity, and they must not be denied, Christian faith is nonetheless, to the degree that it is rooted in the Bible, the daughter of Judaism.

As Christians we rejoice over the recovery of the Jewish dimension of our Christian faith on the part of Christian historians and theologians alike. The acknowledgment and affirmation of the Jewishness of Christian faith, although long overdue, is one we regard as extremely significant for the future of Jewish-Christian relations in our own nation and throughout the world. As Christians we are convinced that Christianity cannot be separated from its Jewish roots without doing violence to authentic Christian faith. The very place of Hebrew Scripture in Christian Scripture forever binds Christianity to Judaism and Jewish theology. While we recognize differences between Judaism and Christianity, we affirm the integrity and the identity of the adherents of these historic faiths.

Today, as never before, we are convinced that Jews and Christians genuinely need each other and pledge ourselves to find tangible and visible ways of expressing this fraternal relationship in this community and in the world at large. We yearn for the day when Jews and Christians alike will seize every opportunity to work together for a better world, wherein justice and righteousness, the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man are clearly made manifest.

Finally, we reaffirm the resolution adopted by the Southern Baptist Convention in 1972, which reads in part, "Whereas, Baptists share with Jews a heritage of persecution and suffering for conscience's sake ... Southern Baptists covenant to work positively to replace all anti-Semitic bias with the Christian attitude and practice of love for Jews, who along with all other persons, are equally beloved of God." ... For two thousand years Jews and Christians have uttered the same prayer, "Thy kingdom come!" Zechariah proclaimed, "The Lord shall be King over all the earth; and that day shall the Lord be One and His Name One" (Zech. 14:9). May the God of peace and love be with our Jewish brothers and sisters throughout Yom Kippur and the coming year. Shalom.

This "Statement of Christian Concern and Friendship for the Jewish Community" was issued and signed by Dr. James E. Wood, Jr., Director, J. M. Dawson Studies in Church and State and Simon Bunn Professor of Church-State Studies, Baylor University; Dr. Daniel G. Bagby, Pastor, Seventh and James Baptist Church, Waco, Texas; Dr. Richard Groves, Pastor, Lake Shore Baptist Church, Waco, Texas; Rev. Peter McLeod, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Waco, Texas; Dr. A. Larry Nixon, Pastor, Calvary Baptist Church, Waco, Texas; and Dr. Bob E. Patterson, Professor of Theology, Baylor University. It was read in Yom Kippur services at two synagogues and in the Sunday morning services of various Southern Baptist churches in Waco, Texas.

The publication and distribution of
this issue of the *Interreligious Newsletter* has been made possible
through the generosity of the Milton and Teresa Jackson Weill Foundation.

75th Anniversary 1981
★ Graham

October 13, 1980

Dr. Billy Graham
Montreat, North Carolina 28757

Dear Billy:

I should like to extend to you an invitation in behalf of the American Jewish Committee to address a major national interreligious colloquium which will be held in Washington, D.C., on Friday evening, May 15, 1981.

This colloquium will be held in connection with the Annual Meeting of the AJC which will be observing its 75th anniversary. To heighten its spiritual and moral significance, the interreligious dimension of the meeting will be held in the Washington Hebrew Congregation, the major synagogue in our nation's capital.

We are also inviting His Eminence Jan Cardinal Willebrands, President of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity in Vatican City, to speak on "Catholic-Jewish Relations." His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos has been asked to speak on "Greek Orthodox-Jewish Relations." Professor Krister Stendahl, chairman of the World Council of Churches' Committee on the Church and the Jewish People, has been asked to speak on "Protestant-Jewish Relations."

Our hope would be that you would deliver a twenty- to twenty-five-minute address on "Evangelical-Jewish Relations -- Past, Present, and Future." Your address before the American Jewish Committee in 1978 were so highly acclaimed that I am sure such a statement by you now would carry very great authority. It would be a privilege to have you back again.

We expect an audience of about 1,500 people to fill the synagogue. There will be a Friday night Shabbat service, and these addresses will climax the religious service.

If you will find it possible to be with us, I shall be happy to write you further about additional details. We shall be pleased to provide the payment for all your travel expenses.

continued....

Letter to Dr. Billy Graham
October 13, 1980
Page 2

Please do let me hear from you at your early convenience. With
warmest personal good wishes, I am

Faithfully yours,



Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MT/elk

bcc: ~~_____~~

Robert S. Jacobs
Bert Gold
Selma Hirsh
Mort Yarmon

BILLY GRAHAM
MONTREAT, NORTH CAROLINA 28757

November 10, 1980

My dear Marc,

Thank you for your good letter of October 13.


First, I would like to express my deep appreciation for your invitation to address a major national interreligious colloquium in Washington on Friday evening, May 15, 1981. I will certainly give this priority in my schedule planning--even though it may mean some rearranging. I will give you a definite answer within the next month.

Indeed, you have given me a marvelous topic, though I feel that I am terribly inadequate and that there are many more evangelicals qualified better than I.

I do not know whether you saw the statement I made in response to Dr. Smith of Oklahoma at a press conference in Tokyo. If not, I'll be glad to have my office send it to you. This statement was made in Tokyo in response to a question from an American reporter. It was the first time I had been asked the question and I responded immediately.

While you have done extensive research on our new President-elect, it has been my privilege to know him for nearly thirty years. As a matter of fact I have had two telephone conversations with him in the last few days. I have the impression that he is going to move rather cautiously until January 20 in any direction. I get the impression from the press that he is going to move rather quickly after January 20, and that his first one hundred days may be similar to Roosevelt's in 1933. However, there will be foreign events that will be beyond his control that will greatly influence the direction of his administration. We must all pray for him and those around him.

With warmest personal greetings. Shalom,


Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director Interreligious Affairs
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, NY 10022

Graham Praises Carter Witnessing for Christ

12.8.80

Sen. Hatfield Also Honors Outgoing President for His Religious Convictions

By Marjorie Hyer
Washington Post Staff Writer **CG**

President Carter went to church in Georgetown yesterday to hear evangelist Billy Graham and found himself the object of bipartisan accolades for his own witnessing for Christ during his presidency.

Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), who as a member of Georgetown Baptist Church was responsible for getting Graham to address the tiny congregation, paid elaborate tribute to Carter's religious convictions. "When the annals of church history in America are written," Hatfield said, "unlike any other president of the United States, the name of Jimmy Carter will stand out as one who so boldly proclaimed his faith and always with great clarity, and for that we shall be always grateful." The congregation responded with applause, which is highly unusual in a Baptist worship service.

Graham developed the theme by quoting the head of a Roman Catholic seminary in Poland who, the evangelist said, told him: "... Your president has made people all over the world ask about being born again." Then addressing himself directly to Carter, Graham said, "That has been one of the many contributions you have made, sir."

The Rev. Dr. Charles Trentham, formerly Carter's pastor at First Baptist Church and the preacher who had been invited to give the pastoral prayer, also praised the Carters. He offered thanks to God "for Jimmy Carter... for his cleanness, his compassion, his courage" and for "the symbolism" Carter demonstrated by "the response of a Democratic president to the invitation of a Republican senator" (to attend the service) because of "their mutual faith in



President Carter shakes hands with Billy Graham after church services yesterday.

By Douglas Chevallier — The Washington Post.

Jesus Christ which transcends all partisan politics."

He asked "the seal of heaven on the efforts of the First Lady for those countless thousands who have peace of mind" as the fruits of "her efforts for mental health." Trentham, who lost his post at First Baptist after a church fuss about his dating the daughter of one of the lay leaders of that congregation, also petitioned divine solace for "those about to depart this city."

Trentham, who never has made any secret of his admiration for Carter, made no mention in his prayer of those who are about to move into the positions of power in this city, even though Vice President-elect George Bush was seated in the pew behind the Carters.

As a further witness to nonpartisanship, the Republican vice president-elect and his wife arrived and were seated with John White, chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

While the worshippers welcomed the distinguished political visitors, it was the appearance of Billy Graham that had swelled the crowd to many times the size of the church's normal Sunday morning congregation. By 10:30, the main sanctuary of the Georgetown Baptist Church at 31st and N Streets NW was packed and worshippers were being directed to the basement to hear the 11 a. m. service over loudspeakers.

Graham preached a typical evangelistic sermon: through sin, men as well as nations have strayed from God; true

peace for both men and nations is possible only by reconciliation with God; repentance and belief in Christ is the path to such reconciliation.

"All our troubles come from the fact that man's heart is not right," the evangelist said. "All over the world there is a thirst for something... people don't know what it is they are thirsting for. They are thirsting for God."

Speaking of the hostages in Iran, Graham said, "I know the president has carried such a heavy load" in the frustrating negotiations for their release. "He and they need our prayers."

At another point Graham said that actor Steve McQueen had accepted Christ "three months before he knew he was sick," a decision which Graham said enabled him to face his death by cancer with equanimity. For those who have become reconciled with God, he continued, "death loses its sting... I look forward to it as an exciting thing to be ushered into [the] presence of God."

Giving the traditional altar call at the end of his sermon, Graham said, "If you would like to say yes to Jesus... after the service is over you may come to the front or come downstairs. Some of us will be available to pray with you."

When the service ended, however, most of the worshippers were preoccupied with catching a closer look at Carter, Graham, Bush and the other distinguished guests who had been invited to a buffet luncheon at the Hatfields, just across 31st Street from the ochre-colored brick church.

Among the guests was former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, who lives nearby. Kissinger, who did not attend the church service, said he was a friend of Graham's.

Leaders of Jews and Evangelical Christians Work for Better Relations Between Faiths

By KENNETH A. BRIGGS
Special to The New York Times

DEERFIELD, Ill., Dec. 13 — Alarmed by growing religious tensions resulting from the activities of the Moral Majority and other conservative Christian political groups, many Jewish and evangelical Protestant leaders are joining in efforts to improve the relationship between their two faiths.

Among their goals is to reaffirm the concept of religious tolerance and to denounce anti-Semitism. In the process, they are touching on several points of unanimity, including strong support for Israel, and moving delicately toward examining their religious differences.

On one level, these efforts focus on legal issues such as religious freedom. In the recent election campaign, the Christian political movements often called for a return to a "Christian" America, which raised fears among Jews and others that the principle of religious pluralism could be endangered.

For example, the Rev. Jerry Falwell, head of the Moral Majority, pressed for a "Christian Bill of Rights." Though Mr. Falwell has rejected his earlier plea for a "Christian republic," the use of the slogan continues to stir Jewish anxieties.

Historic Theological Problems

Beyond the Constitutional issues lie historic, theological problems. For many Jews, the erosion of legal safeguards is linked to the darkest memories of forced conversion and hideous forms of anti-Semitism that arose from certain interpretations of the Bible and theology.

Compounding the difficulties is the fact that Jews and evangelical Christians have had relatively little contact with each other. Although evangelical Christians numbered by a strict definition total at least 30 million and represent the most evangelistic religious movement in the nation, they have been concentrated in parts of the Middle West, South and Southwest where there are few Jews.

Though bonds are developing between the two groups, leaders of both faiths are discovering how easily the ties can be shattered. An uproar was set off among both Jews and Christians because of a recent comment by the Rev. Bailey Smith, head of the 13 million-member Southern Baptist Convention, that "God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew."

Further controversy flared when Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, suggested that Mr. Falwell's activities helped foster a climate in which religious intolerance could flourish. Mr. Falwell flatly denied the suggestion.

45 Religious Leaders Meet

As the debate sharpened, a group of 45 Jewish and evangelical leaders met here at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School to sort out the issues and strive for accommodation.

The group met formally under the sponsorship of the American Jewish Committee and "Christianity Today," a

major evangelical periodical, and discussed a variety of topics including the meaning of the Hebrew scriptures, known to many Christians as the Old Testament, and the causes of anti-Semitism.

While the evangelical participants generally concurred with the theology of the Christian political activists, many made it clear that they disagreed with some of the political positions of the Moral Majority.

Dr. Marvin R. Wilson, a professor of biblical studies at Gordon College in Wenham, Mass., said, "Gradually, Jews are coming to discover that not all Evangelicals think alike when it comes to politics."

Jewish Community 'Perplexed'

"In the face of this rapid rise of the new right, which involves various conservative Christian lobbyist groups," Dr. Wilson said, "the current Jewish community has become perplexed and uneasy."

Dr. Arnold T. Olson, the retired president of the Evangelical Free Church of America, said the influence of the Moral Majority, especially its image of Christian exclusivity, had begun to undo some of the good will that has been growing between Jews and evangelical Christians. "We have some bridges to repair," Dr. Olson said.

The conference spent much time discussing problems caused by the place that evangelical Christians give to the history and role of the Jewish people and the Hebrew scriptures.

The standard evangelical belief is that God prepared the way for Jesus through the experiences and prophecies of the Jews as his "chosen people." Jesus was the final, culminating revelation, the messiah in whom everyone must believe to receive salvation.

Role of the New Testament

Thus, in an evangelical understanding, the New Testament completes the promises made in the Hebrew scriptures. Jews who have not accepted Christ are generally regarded as subjects for evangelism.

Jews contend that Judaism remains a valid, living religion and that Jews are spiritually complete without accepting Jesus as Messiah. Many Jews appeal to Christians to stop trying to convert Jews because of a long history of anti-Semitism grounded in Christian theology and out of respect for the horrors of the Holocaust.

Beneath much Jewish anxiety is the thought that militant attempts at converting Jews could be strengthened, and, as a result, the denigration of Jews as "Christ killers" would be encouraged.

Among the chief aims of the evangelical Christians at the Trinity conference was to pledge a new attack on sources of anti-Semitism in evangelical theology, biblical interpretation and practice. Many also wanted to reassure Jews of their solidarity on the question of maintaining religious pluralism. At the same time, the evangelical Christians maintained that noncoercive, nondeceptive means of evangelism were not neces-

sarily anti-Semitic and they vowed to continue the efforts as a mandate of their faith.

Dr. Vernon Grounds, past president of Denver Conservative Baptist Seminary, said the question was "as undeserving recipients of redemptive love, how can we lovingly share the gospel with Jewish non-Christians?" The requirements are met, he said, "if we share it prayerfully, graciously, tactfully, honestly, sensitively and non-coercively."

Confessing Past Anti-Semitism

Dr. Kenneth Kantzer, editor of Christianity Today, said that the first duty of evangelicals was "to confess their past anti-Semitism and to acknowledge their deep repentance of it as a sin."

"If evangelicals are unwilling to set the record straight," he said, "any mouthing of repentance would come rightly under suspicion."

Dr. Kantzer said evangelical leaders must also avoid any support of or ties with anti-Semitic movements or causes. "I believe contemporary Evangelicals have passed this test fairly well," he said.

Several Jews said that continuing conversion attempts showed disrespect for Judaism and reduce Jews to objects in a missionary numbers game.

'A World Free of Jews?'

Blu Greenberg, of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, said the Holocaust offered "an opportunity for reality testing" for those Christians who say they care about Jews and asked, "Would those who preach conversion want a world free of Jews?"

"The idea that only through faith in Christ will Jews be saved is out of order and obscene," she said.

Inge Gibel of the American Jewish Committee also attacked proselytizing. "If you are talking about winning away our children," she said, "you're talking about cultural genocide."

Both Jews and evangelicals Christians said the conference was an important start of discussions that had helped to clarify their joint support for human rights and underscore their common interest in the Bible and many social issues. "Our culture must learn that to attack the Jews is to attack evangelicals," Dr. Kantzer said.

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee said, "In the 80's we're going to need each other as never before." Reminding the conference that both Jews and evangelical Christians have been guilty of negative stereotypes of each other in the past, Rabbi Tanenbaum said they must work together to avoid "the temptation toward scapegoating" in the years ahead.

Evangelicals denounce anti-Semites as enemies at inter-faith session

By ANDY EDELSTEIN

DEERFIELD, Ill. — An attack on a Jew should be regarded as an attack on an Evangelical Christian as well, an Evangelical leader told a conference here last weekend at which 45 members of both faiths sought to clarify issues of mutual concern.

Dr. Kenneth Kantzer, editor of *Christianity Today*, a leading Evangelical periodical, also urged Evangelicals to share with Jews the ongoing battle against anti-Semitism. While admitting that some Evangelicals may have been anti-Semitic at one time, Kantzer urged them to repent for these actions.

Kantzer also urged Evangelical leaders to avoid direct or indirect support of any anti-Semitic causes. He noted that while the views of some Evangelicals may be unpopular with Jews, they concern social or political, not theological issues. He stressed that some of the most politically conservative Evangelicals also held the most pro-Israel and pro-Zionist convictions.

"Kantzer's speech was a powerful, moving statement of loyalty to Jews, Judaism, and Israel. It was like a Vatican council declaration without the ambivalence," Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, national director of religious affairs for the American Jewish Committee told *The Jewish Week*. Tanenbaum and Kantzer were co-chairman of the conference, which was sponsored by the Committee and *Christianity Today*, and held at the Trinity Evangelical Divinity School.

Background controversy

The conference—the second since 1975—was held against a backdrop of controversial statements made by spokesmen for both faiths. These included the assertion by Rev. Bailey Smith, president of the Southern Baptist Convention that "God does not hear the prayer of a Jew" as well as the comment by Union of American Hebrew Congregations President Rabbi Alexander Schindler indicating that the increased visibility of fundamentalist political groups such as the Moral Majority had fostered a climate conducive to anti-Sem-

itism.

Such statements had created misunderstanding and suspicion in the two camps and had strained the delicate rapprochement that was begun at the first conference five years ago. But Rabbi Tanenbaum suggested that last week's conference had helped re-cement those ties and had laid the groundwork for increased accommodation between the groups.

Theological issues, the cause of anti-Semitism and the role of such groups as the Moral Majority, were among the topics discussed at the conference.

Rabbi Tanenbaum pointed out that those at the conference were mainstream Evangelicals, representing about 40 million people.

"They form the backbone of the Evangelical movement and are deeply troubled by the narrow exclusivist ideological stances of some of those in the so-called electronic church," Rabbi Tanenbaum said.

Rabbi Tanenbaum urged Jews not to indiscriminately lump all Evangelicals together which he said was equivalent to some Christian assertions that "all Jews are the same."

Evangelicals are a diverse, pluralistic movement who almost "completely share our displeasure" at some of the excesses of right-wing fundamentalist movements such as calling for the establishment of a Christian republic, Rabbi Tanenbaum said.

"We've been guilty of negative stereotyping of each other in the past," Rabbi Tanenbaum said. "We must now work together to avoid the temptation toward scapegoating in the years ahead."

Future efforts between the faiths will include additional regional meetings as well as publication, probably by an Evangelical publishing house, of a second volume of position papers by Evangelicals and Jews.

Last weekend's conference was made possible through a grant from the Nathan Appleman Institute for Jewish-Christian relations.

over.....

to counter any further threats the Klan might make against the new pastor.

Bishop Grove has insisted that the threatening incidents would not drive the church out of Doddridge County. He also urged all West Virginia churches to expose the Klan's bogus claims to be a Christian organization.

International group formed to counter religious cults

By Religious News Service

PARIS (RNS) — Calling some religious cults "elitist and totalitarian" and "a threat to freedom," 10 theologians and 50 lay persons from 14 countries have formed a new international association to deal cooperatively with cults worldwide.

The action was taken at a recent conference here sponsored by the Association for the Defense of the Family and the Individual (ADFI), a French organization of parents of youths who belong to these cults.

In a declaration, the conference said some of the new movements often defend themselves from public criticism by claiming to be "religious."

But, warned the conference, these "elitist and totalitarian cults" hide behind "religious freedom," using the concept to attack those who criticize them.

"In the name of loyalty, they preach and enforce an absolute surrender to a 'Fuehrer' figure, who is the characteristic center of such groups," the declaration said. "In the name of liberty, they enslave their recruits. Under the pretext of developing consciousness, they suppress the conscience, intelligence, and the wills of their converts."

The conference called for more widespread information about "the dangerous implications" of such cults, "because some of these groups pose a threat to the democratic political base."

The conference also said that government health authorities should be alerted to the hazards involved by membership in the cults, "because evidence shows that some of them damage their adherents both physically and mentally."

Mormons drop charges against 21 arrested at temple dedication

By Religious News Service

SEATTLE (RNS) — The Mormon Church has decided to "live and let live" and not press charges against 21 Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) supporters who disrupted the dedication of a new \$12 million Temple in suburban Bellevue.

Six of the protesters, including excommunicated Mormons for ERA founder Sonia Johnson, were found guilty of trespassing and given \$25 fines and 90-day suspended sentences. The others pleaded innocent.

The demonstrators — 20 women and one man — were arrested by Bellevue police and charged with trespassing after some of them chained themselves to the temple gates to protest the anti-ERA stand of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon).

In a letter to Bellevue city officials, the Mormon temple leaders said, "We of course have felt that these demonstrations were out of order, but we certainly have no desire to take punitive action against the persons involved and thus, in the spirit of 'live and let live,' we would suggest that all charges be dropped."

"We hope that this action will not be misunderstood by the demonstrators and that they will accept it as we intend it to be — as evidence of good will on our part — and that they will reciprocate by refraining from further interference with our Constitutional rights of religious freedom," said the letter.

Cleo Kocol, 53, one of the protesters who had chained herself to the gate, said the church's decision to not press charges was an indication that it feared "what we may make public."

Earlier, in Ogden, Utah, the local chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) held a candlelight vigil in front of the Ogden Mormon Temple to express support for the arrested demonstrators here, and to protest "the anti-female biases perpetuated by the Mormon Church."

Graham, Ramsey score World Church Council neglect of mission

By Religious News Service

CAMBRIDGE, England (RNS) — In a dialogue on Christian mission for the 1980's, evangelist Billy Graham and former Archbishop of Canterbury Michael Ramsey agreed that the job included both evangelism and service but that mission as they knew it was ignored by the World Council of Churches.

The Anglo-Catholic churchman, who headed the worldwide Anglican communion from 1961 to 1974, declared that the service of "a caring Christian fellowship" was not just a "corollary of proclamation, but a necessary part of it."

Asked whether the World Council of Churches might recover an emphasis on Gospel evangelism, the archbishop said that by placing Third World countries at the center of its theology, the WCC "involved itself in social issues more and more, and in evangelism less and less."

Mr. Graham, who was completing the last leg of a 24-day evangelistic crusade through Europe, confirmed the archbishop's assessment and asserted that the WCC proclaimed a hazy theology which contained little about the atoning work of Christ. He also recalled that John Mott, the father of the modern ecumenical movement, had wished to be remembered as an evangelist.

The two Christian leaders talked for more than an hour and a half before an audience which packed the Church of Great St. Mary's at Cambridge University here.

Partly in jest, the archbishop said that the Kingdom of God was not a "kind of sanctified American way of life." And he commended his Southern Baptist colleague for recent efforts to disabuse Americans of that notion.

When the 76-year-old primate asked whether Mr. Graham's theology had changed over the years, the evangelist acknowledged that during the 1950's he tended to lump American and Christian values together. Although this had changed, he stressed that his basic Gospel message had not.

In response to a question from the floor about the validity of other religions, Mr. Graham said they all possessed an element of truth, but that the Bible proclaimed salvation exclusively through Jesus Christ.

Taking a slightly different tack, Archbishop Ramsey said that God also had revealed his truth through other literary forms besides the Bible.

Wycliffe Bible aide abducted in Colombia; guerrillas are blamed

By Religious News Service

HUNTINGTON BEACH, Calif. (RNS) — Guerrillas in Bogota, Colombia, have kidnapped an American staff member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), an affiliate of the Wycliffe Bible translators, a Wycliffe official said here.

"They broke into the house where we have our staff and took Chester (Tip) Vitterman, one of our linguists," said William Key, Wycliffe's assistant to the director for Latin America.

Mr. Key said the guerrillas were looking for the Bogota SIL director, who lived in another building, and apparently took Mr. Vitterman when they couldn't find the director.

Details of the Jan. 19 incident are still unclear, Mr. Key said. "We're not sure who these guerrillas are, or what they want." Bogota police said no one had claimed responsibility yet for the kidnapping nor demanded any ransom.

Mr. Vitterman, 29, of Lancaster, Pa., is married with two children and has been in Bogota for two years, Mr. Key said.



Denver Post Photos By Ed Maker

JEWISH LEADER ASSESSES CHRISTIAN RIGHT

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum sees political growth.

Rabbi: Religious Right's Influence on Reagan Low

By VIRGINIA CULVER
Denver Post Religion Editor

Ronald Reagan won't be swayed by the new Christian right as much as some persons thought, one of the country's leading Jewish spokesmen said this week.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, who has criticized the new evangelical right, said that before the election "our great concern was that Reagan was going to bed with" the new Christian right. But Tanenbaum said he hasn't seen that happening, and, in fact, sees some political "growth" on the part of the new Christian right.

Tanenbaum, director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee and possibly the best known Jewish leader in the country, several months ago criticized the new right for its reported plans to "Christianize America," to work only for the election of born-again Christians, and for the "militant apocalyptic" style of some new right spokesmen.

He and other religious leaders from mainline Christian and Jewish organizations were concerned that the new right would have an undue influence on Reagan, that the president might turn a deaf ear to issues long pushed by religious organizations.

IN AN address last August to the Religious Roundtable, a national meeting in Dallas of most of the new Christian right groups, Reagan endorsed the group. That statement worried many in the religious community.

Tanenbaum now seems to have moderated his criticism of the new Christian right and his earlier criticism of the Rev. Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority, the largest organization within the new right.

Falwell and Tanenbaum had a meeting in October at which Tanenbaum outlined what bothered him about the new right.

Falwell told Tanenbaum he disavowed the infamous statement by the head of the

Southern Baptist Convention that "God doesn't hear the prayer of Jew."

Affirming his support of Israel, Falwell also said he believes in the religious pluralism of the country and that the relationship between the Jewish and evangelical communities transcends any political campaign.

Tanenbaum asked Falwell to put it in writing, which the minister did, and it was released to the media.

Tanenbaum now describes Falwell as "bright and intelligent, a man who shouldn't be discounted. He's becoming increasingly politically sophisticated, and he has the intel-

ligence to make necessary accommodations."

Until Falwell, pastor of Thomas Road Baptist Church, Lynchburg, Va., "talked to me, I don't think he'd ever had more than a 10-minute conversation with a Jew," said Tanenbaum.

HE PRAISED Falwell for sticking with his October statements and said it is encouraging that not all evangelicals have the feeling of some that whoever disagrees with them is un-American and un-Christian.

He also sees a realization among some

evangelicals that other issues exist besides abortion, pornography, prayer in public schools and the Equal Rights Amendment.

"The country is faced with massive domestic problems — inflation, recession, energy, unemployment, problems of the poor, nuclear war and many others," said Tanenbaum, adding that religious agencies can coalesce on these issues and be a factor in helping solve many of them.

As an example, 75 percent of the quarter of a million Southeast Asian refugees in this country were resettled by churches and synagogues, he said.

Referring again to Reagan, Tanenbaum said he still is worried that budget cuts by the Reagan White House might affect those least able to bear the brunt of them.

"There will still have to be a lot of 'jockeying and sorting out' over the budget, he said, adding meetings have been set up between religious leaders and Vice President George Bush concerning these issues.

"REAGAN AND the Republican National Committee are in a serious process of a new massive political realignment, one of moderate centrist ideology. It will be fatal for them to be ultraconservative. That's not mainstream America," said Tanenbaum.

He also thinks there is another leadership area in this country that isn't mainstream American either — church bureaucracies in the East, a group with which he often has been aligned.

"They aren't paying attention to our people," he said. "That's one of the reasons the evangelical churches are growing. They are paying attention to people and their families and their children and their schools. They're offering a large support system. The Moral Majority has perfect pitch when it comes to the moral climate in this country."

Billy Graham's 30 Years As the Evangelist's Evangelist

N. P. B1 1-29-81
By Megan Rosenfeld

Billy Graham has learned a lot since the first time he visited the White House. He spent 30 minutes with Harry Truman, he said in an interview yesterday, and then was besieged by reporters on his way out. "I didn't know you were never supposed to quote the president, so I told them everything we said. Then they said they hadn't gotten a picture of the president and me praying, and asked if I would reenact it. Like a fool I went over and knelt on the White House lawn and posed. That picture was on the front page of newspapers all over the place."

It was the start of what has become a long and visible career of ministering to the powerful. He'll be returning to Washington next week, he said, for a prayer breakfast and will spend the night at the home of Vice President George Bush, "an old friend." He was here during the inauguration, saying a prayer at the church service attended by the Reagans. Graham, a registered Democrat, won't say who he voted for last November—"I voted by absentee ballot in Tokyo. I stayed away until just a few days before the election. I came back to see Steve McQueen before he died, at his request."

Last night Billy Graham became part of the National Religious Broadcasters Hall of Fame, an honor that seems almost redundant. He doesn't see it this way, but he is considered by many to be the father of modern "electronic evangelism," a growth industry that has spawned not only 1,400 Christian-owned radio stations and three television networks, but adjunct political lobbies as well.

He is not entirely enthusiastic about all this activity. He stayed away from the much-heralded movement of conservative Christians into politics, exemplified by groups like the Moral Majority, because he did not think that some of the issues—like opposition to the Panama Canal treaty—were spiritual or moral questions. He is concerned that "you don't hear much [from them] about the hungry masses, the inner-city ghettos or the nuclear arms race." He turned down a request to address a "summit conference" the emerging forces held last summer, he said.

He's worried too that too many of the "Christian programs" on the air present a "caricature of Christianity," an overemphasis on gimmicky pleas for money.

"This is not the way the gospel should be presented," he said.

"When I started years ago [in 1949]," he said, "I had to face the Elmer Gantry image. The emotionalism, the anti-intellectualism, anti-church, big money, money put in people's pockets." He consulted a friend, who advised: incorporate, and get a board of trustees. He did, and now almost every evangelist does the same.

Billy Graham is an American classic. For all his troubles over the years—the Elmer Gantry image, being criticized for not condemning the war in Vietnam, remaining loyal to his friend Richard M. Nixon during Watergate, hassles with the IRS and the black community—Graham is still the evangelist's evangelist, role model and international celebrity. New religious stars are heralded as "the new Billy Graham," and while he may be surpassed in total viewers or donations

by some of his imitators, his television specials are admired and his "crusades" around the world are still setting attendance records.

He is now 62, and his blond hair is turning gray in a way that makes him look as though his roots were showing. His face is bronzed. He talks in a vigorous twang (he lives in his home state of North Carolina, combining a steady flow of self-deprecating anecdotes with mentions of important names. He has a way of anticipating potentially unpleasant questions.

"I haven't announced this before, but the IRS did a 10-month audit of us last year and did not have a single suggestion in the letter they sent us," he said. "Our treasurer has been treasurer of Harvard for a number of years. We have 25 men and women on our board of directors, both black and white . . . We have the best lawyers and accountants in Minneapolis, Washington, New York and Atlanta, to be sure we don't have a penny out of place."

Billy Graham Evangelistic Enterprises, which includes a television production company and a movie company, has a budget of about \$30 million a year, he said, all funded by donations. Graham's enterprises started making their accounts public only in 1977. "A lot of people did things after Watergate they had never done before," he laughed.

He was a small-town boy, referred to in *The Charlotte Observer* as "the son of Mr. and Mrs. W.F. Graham of Pard Rd." even into the 1950s, when he was becoming the best-known evangelist in the country. Graham spent three months at

See GRAHAM, B3, Col. 4

GRAHAM, From BI

Bob Jones University but left because he did not agree with their brand of Christian "separatism." The Bob Joneses, father and son, look upon Graham as something close to an instrument of the devil.

Graham became president of a small college in Minneapolis, where his enterprises are still headquartered. He was asked to hold a series of "tent meetings" in Los Angeles, and it was there his career took off—thanks to a flood of favorable publicity from William Randolph Hearst, who wired all his newspapers to "puff Graham."

"I met Hearst's son on a plane once, and I asked him, 'What happened?'" Graham recalled. "I'd never met his father or written him or had any exchange with him whatsoever. He said he'd heard a story that Hearst's maid had come to one of the meetings and told him about me, and that he had disguised himself and with Marion Davies come to see me. They liked what they heard and felt that

Billy Graham

America needed a spiritual awakening."

From that point on he has been a media star. "I remember one headline in *The Boston Traveler*. I had a little cold, but the headline said "Graham Carries On in Spite of Death Threat!"

Graham has changed in more ways than his understanding of how to handle the media, at which he is expert. The nuclear arms race, for example. He now supports the idea of "Salt 10"—the destruction of all nuclear weapons and biochemical weapons.

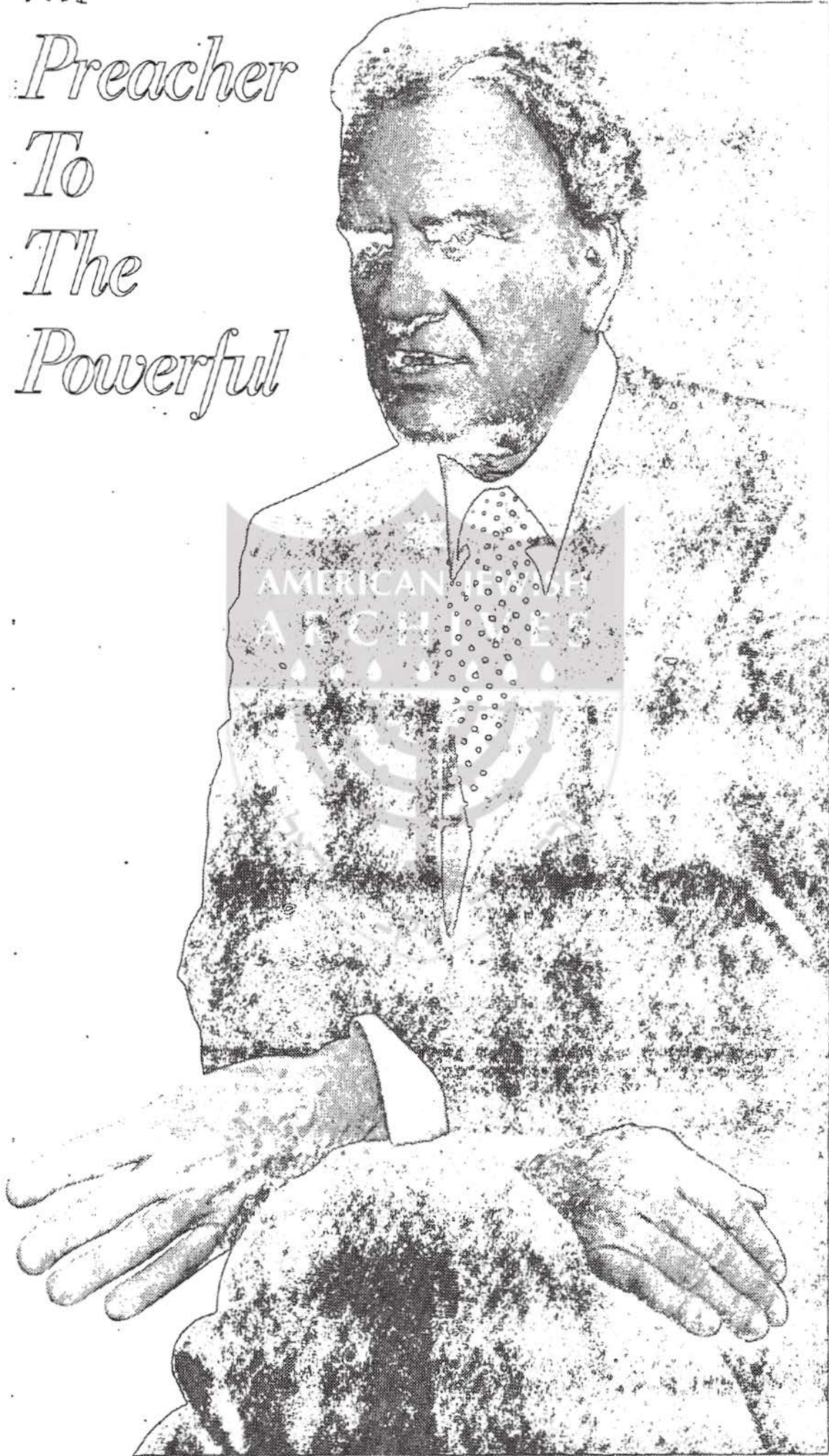
"I'd never thought it through before," he said of his change of heart (discussed for the first time publicly in March, 1979—on television). "We have the ability to destroy the

whole world ... we're spending \$550 billion on nuclear arms around the world. It's already costing millions of lives because of the millions who are living on the knife edge of starvation ... I'm not a pacifist. I think we have a right to defend our country ... Jesus said when they came to capture him, and Peter pulled out his sword, 'If I were going to build a kingdom here on earth, my friends would fight for me. But I have not come to build my kingdom on earth by force' ... We do have the hope that God is not going to let man blow himself up. But in the meantime we are to be peacemakers."

He remembers the '50s and '60s, when "I almost identified this country as the Kingdom of God." Now that his early saber-rattling has mellowed into what he describes as an amalgam of conservative, moderate and liberal views, he seems to view his younger colleagues with avuncular tolerance.

"It took me a long time to get to this point," he said.

.....
*Preacher
To
The
Powerful*



Billy Graham; by Harry Naltchayan — The Washington Post

What Brought About The Rise Of 'Moral Majority' In Today's Politics?

By DORIS SKY

IJN Managing Editor

Scarcely 20 months ago, only a handful of people knew that Jerry Falwell even existed. The words "Moral Majority" had barely been formed, much less become a household word.

The Moral Majority is perhaps the most significant development to have taken place in America since WWII. And make no mistake, it may have an effect upon American society for decades to come.

What brought about the rise of such a phenomenon? What changed the image of the South? What is the magnitude and impact of this transformation?

These were a few of the questions Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, the eloquent, internationally recognized spokesman of the American Jewish community attempted to answer. Rabbi Tanenbaum was the keynote speaker at the 75th anniversary observance of the American Jewish Committee by the Colorado Chapter.

The election of Jimmy Carter in 1976 was seen by millions as the well spring from which came the emergence of the South as a political factor in America.

In reality, Rabbi Tanenbaum told his audience, exactly the reverse was true. Carter's election was not the start but the culmination of a transformation.

It was as a result of the demands of the US in the WWII war effort that the South began to undergo an extraordinary transformation. They began to develop technologies, nuclear exploration, rapid industrialization and a resurgence of academic growth. Southern cities began to grow at an unprecedented rate. This economic development naturally led to a sociological change. Predictably, growth in one area would subsequently lead to growth in other areas, certainly in politics and religion.

The growth of technology and industrialization brought with it wealth heretofore not available. Many of the churches suddenly had access to millions of dollars. There was a white, upper middle class group with access to money, institutional structures and knowledge.

Thus it was that there was unexpected power and money behind the Carter

hold high positions on key committees.

That is why, Rabbi Tanenbaum stressed, it is absolutely essential to examine this culture, its world view, its positive features as well as its problematic side.

There are 40-50 million evangelical Christians and it is through them that the Moral Majority has emerged, led by Jerry Falwell and his alliance with the ultra conservative politicians in America.

1980 isn't the first time America has seen the emergence of such beliefs, however. In the 1920s they were the ones who attempted to bring full prohibition to America by imposing their personal morality on an entire society.

That victory was short lived when it led to a response of speakeasies, which in turn gave birth to a whole pattern of gangsterism. The collapse of prohibition led to a vast demoralization among the fundamentalists. Liberal Protestants then emerged in a violent, polemic debate with the fundamentalists. They claimed the latter had "degraded Christianity, degraded us, and have no right to represent American Christianity at the highest level of political power."

Subsequently, there was a withdrawal of fundamentalist churches from the American scene. It is only now that they have joined hands and become a dominant force.

In an exclusive interview following his presentation, the IJN asked if the various campus crusades for Christ held eight or nine years ago were being felt now.

"Indeed they are," he answered. Those young men and women now are out of college and engaged in business and professions. They are the young politicians, the young community leaders.

Please see Page 35



Rabbi Tanenbaum campaign. Rabbi Tanenbaum, the Interreligious Director of the AJC, cautioned his listeners the defeat of Carter is not the end of the line, but the beginning of a movement of political candidates who are born again evangelical Christians moving into the center of American life.

Americans must be aware that one of the prime areas in which these men and women are making themselves felt is through our political system. A number of them have been elected to office, ranging from local city positions to seats in the Senate and House of Representatives. Several of them

What Brought About The Rise Of 'Moral Majority'?

Continued from Page 1

The coalition of about 30 fundamentalist groups today have access to millions through the incredible media exposure. They are taking advantage of such exposure by addressing themselves to a deep and pervasive need in America. They pinpoint their message to those who feel there is a vast demoralization taking place in America and "somebody has to put this country together and make it right again."

The Moral Majority, recognizing the moral malaise in society, has been saying to the American people what Carter said in the primaries: "trust me. We've got the answer."

Then, in the last election the Moral Majority began to launch campaigns to vote for born again Christians only. This led to single-issue politics. There was indeed a "hit list" and a list of "pros," generally pro-life and pro-family issues.

Every candidate for public office was checked in terms of evaluating their role in Congress by how they voted . . .

- 1 . . . on Medicaid for abortions for welfare mothers
- 2 . . . on religion in the public schools
- 3 . . . on tax credits for private schools
- 4 . . . on ERA
- 5 . . . on the Panama Canal.

A congressional leader would have an exemplary record on all major issues confronting our society, but if he voted wrong on abortion or ERA, he was to be driven from office.

As an example, John Buchanan of Alabama, a Southern Baptist with an exemplary record, according to this list voted wrong on ERA and abortion. Certain fundamentalist groups organized all the evangelical churches and John Buchanan was sacrificed. He was attacked as being a bad American and a bad Christian.

After the campaign he was asked to comment on what happened.

"I think they killed me with Christian love."

It is just as important for Americans not to be misled into believing that all in the evangelical community follow the Falwell line. He represents only the rightwing element. There are mainstream evangelicals who also are watching the Moral Majority with a cautious eye.

Despite Barley Smith, the Southern Baptist convention is committed to mainstream democratic purposes. Jimmy Allen of the Southern Baptist Convention called Rabbi Tanenbaum last October, remarking, "I am scared to death by what I see. These people are cutting through the country."

Even Falwell, at a meeting with Rabbi Tanenbaum denounced Smith's views by saying "I believe G-d loves everybody and G-d hears the prayers of everyone who prays to him in sincerity."

In response to a question from Rabbi Tanenbaum regarding the

development of an evangelical America, Falwell answered, "I am opposed to it."

Evangelical Christians have been devoted supporters of the State of Israel and we must recognize and appreciate their support. On one hand they are with us and support the core of what is the liberal, Jewish, democratic ethos. Yet, how can we call our ally some who urge us to support the PLO — a movement that has vowed to destroy freedom and kill our brothers and sisters?

Like every religious and ethnic group in America, it is now clear we do not have permanent friends. We have permanent interests. Americans participate in this society by virtue of a social theory that speaks of selective participation. We realize some things in church or synagogue, others in civic life, still others in cultural institutions.

Hopefully he concluded, there will come a time when there will be a commitment to the common welfare.



BALTIMORE
FYI

The Rev. Billy Graham, hair blown askew by the wind, opened his Baltimore religious crusade with an appeal for in-

terracial harmony. Some 32,500 people attended the first service, and 1,300 of them made a commitment to Christ.

Graham shepherds his flock into the fold

By Mark Parrent

Billy Graham has not lost the appeal that's made him a preacher to more of the world's Protestants than anyone else in history.

He proved his popularity again yesterday when 32,500 people decided that listening to Mr. Graham's message at Memorial Stadium was more important than picnicking, going to the ocean, playing golf or anything else they could do on a beautiful Sunday.

Not only can Mr. Graham still attract thousands to hear his message, he can persuade hundreds of those to publicly "come forward" and dedicate or rededicate their lives to Jesus Christ.

Some 1,300 persons did that yesterday by filing down from the stadium stands onto the baseball field when Mr. Graham called for them to accept Christ one hour and 22 minutes after the program began at 3 p.m.

Trained counselors from local churches met those people on the field and arranged to give them assistance in their newfound commitment.

Yesterday's service was the first of the Baltimore crusade. The revival will continue every night throughout the week at 7:30 o'clock until Sunday, when the crusade will conclude with a final service at 3 p.m.

Before the evangelist delivered his message yesterday, soloists Myrtle Hall and George Beverly Shea as well as a joint choir from local churches performed.

Mayor Schaefer was on hand to officially greet the crusade on behalf of the city. Remarking that Memorial Stadium has played host to many athletic stars, the Mayor said, "We got God's superstar in Billy Graham when he walked out on this field today."

The Mayor said the Graham revival represented "a spiritual rebirth, and that's what we're looking for in this city."

When Mr. Graham finally stood at the podium located on a platform over second base, he delivered a down-home basic Bible sermon.

The preacher, wearing a dark suit, white shirt and a Baltimore-Is-Best tie given to him by the Mayor,

spoke briefly on a variety of subjects in this first of eight sermons.

He will address more specific topics, including the second coming of Christ, a successful home life and happiness, later in the week.

In yesterday's sermon on the feast of Pentecost, Mr. Graham emphasized the importance to Christians of the Holy Spirit, which he said inspired the writing of the Bible.

He also spoke of a revival of religious interest in this country before proceeding to the customary emotional explanation of the importance of salvation that leads to his appeal to the uncommitted.

"In order to get into that kingdom [of God], you have to be born again," Mr. Graham said. "If you don't repent, there's judgment . . . and hell," the evangelist warned with a jab of his hand, abandoning the easy tempo and the peppering of jokes that had been present earlier in his sermon.

[Continued, Page A 4, Col. 1]

Graham attracts a faithful flock and shepherds it into the fold

(Continued from Page A1)

"For every person that made a commitment, it was instantaneous . . . just like that," he said with a snap of his fingers.

Then it was finally time to lead the repentant onto the playing field.

"This is the holy moment," Mr. Graham said in a booming voice, "and for many it may never come again."

An elderly woman, unsuccessfully trying to stem a flow of tears with a handkerchief, was among the first to reach the field as she stumbled over the on-deck circle on her way to the platform.

Hundreds of drier-eyed believers followed her, as the aisles became clogged with persons attempting to reach the field. Inspirational music filled the air. Mr. Graham remained at the podium, swaying back and forth as he surveyed the growing crowd below him.

"It'll only take a moment or two to come," he said in a word of encouragement to those who remained in their seats.

About 10 minutes later, as the crowd swelled into center field, Mr. Graham turned and offered them encouragement and a prayer before the volunteer counselors talked to them individually.

Mr. Graham then left the field.

The stadium was virtually empty when the Manning family arrived at 11 a.m. It was a long four-hour wait for their second row seats just behind the Oriole on-deck circle.

Lee Manning, 37, his wife, Camilla, 35, and their children, Dave, 13, and Sharie and Ricky Furman, 14 and 11 respectively, sat munching snacks and drinking soda with their friend, Velma Keck, as they waited for their favorite evangelist.

It was almost as if they were waiting for an Orioles game to begin. But Camilla had been to a game once and that was enough for her. "It was awful, people smoking pot and everything," she said.

There was no pot in Memorial Stadium yesterday.

Way up in Section 34, usually the domain of Wild Bill Hagy and his loyal Oriole followers, Bob Magnuson sat surrounded by a sun-drenched sea of empty seats.

Most of the audience was seated in the lower deck and closer to the infield, where they had a better view of the pro-

ceedings. But Mr. Magnuson, an institutional sales manager for Proctor and Gamble during the week, had volunteered to be an usher and his assignment was Section 34.

Even his daughter Carol made the long climb only to tell him that "We're going to sit below, O.K.?"

"I'm told the last 30 minutes is when you really get the big crush of people," he said hopefully as he was left by himself once again.

William and Mary Gabriel along with their daughter, Robin, 14, had spent four weeks in training at Annapolis Evangelical Presbyterian Church so they could serve as spiritual counselors at the Graham revival.

Daughter Sonya, 19, was also along with her husband, Carl Letwinski Jr., 23. But Mr. Letwinski was not quite as involved in the church or as enthusiastic about Mr. Graham.

"I don't know enough about the guy yet. I'm here to find out," he said.

Could he see himself being part of the crowd that would "come forward" to be saved?

"If it becomes emotional enough, yes," he said.

Out in center field near the 387-foot



Evening Sun photo—Jed Kirschbaum

Betty Michalek, right, unites with an unidentified friend during the final prayer as the Rev. Billy Graham begins his Baltimore crusade. The revival extends through Sunday.

marker, counselor Deborah C. Cusick from St. Paul's Lutheran Church was patiently explaining the significance of Christ to Cathy Rohlfing, 7.

While explaining a comic book version of the Gospel of John to Cathy, Mrs. Cusick said she hoped the children would "pray that Jesus will be their

friend." Tiny Cathy explained that she had come onto the field "to accept Jesus into my heart."

AUG -31-81

Graham, Billy

Mellowed Billy Graham has world view

CHARLOTTE, N.C. (UPI) — Both Billy Graham and some of those who know him say America's most famous evangelist has softened his tone, showing less dogmatism and more concern for how his views are perceived worldwide.

"My gospel hasn't changed, but the application of the gospel in social and political areas has changed," Graham said in a copyright Tar Heel Magazine interview printed in Sunday's Charlotte Observer.

"You know, Eisenhower once said publicly that I was the greatest ambassador that America had," he said. "Of course at that moment when he said it in the 1950s, I was pleased. Now I would not be pleased because I feel that my ministry today is a world ministry."

"I THINK now when I say something, 'How is this going to sound in India? How is it going to sound to my friends in Hungary or Poland?'" he said.

Then he added: "I don't ever want to dodge the truth, and I don't ever want to back down on what my convictions are. But I'm beginning to see that there are more sides to some of these questions than I once thought. I am not as dogmatic."

When he burst onto the national scene during a Los Angeles crusade in 1949, Graham played the Red Scare theme by proclaiming that America represented God's hope "to evangelize the world."

In subsequent years Graham became a friend of presidents and many contend — an apologist for

them, particularly with Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam War policies and Richard Nixon's Watergate scandal.

TODAY HE IS speaking out more on the danger of nuclear weapons and on a wider variety of social topics.

"I've developed a great admiration for Billy Graham," said Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum of the American Jewish

Committee, a former Graham critic. "Just look at him today and the way he's grown."

During the '50s and '60s, Graham was America's preeminent evangelist. But by the middle 1970s, ministers like Jerry Falwell and Jim Bakker had exploited the television evangelism Graham first developed and then be-

gan to usurp the fundamentalist Christians in Graham's audience.

Graham has shied away from Falwell's conservative Moral Majority activism, and many believe this has hurt him. His 1980 crusades drew the smallest crowds since his first in 1949. And as of May his organization had a deficit of more than \$2.5 million.



Billy Graham: Still the friend of the powerful

By HELEN PARMLEY

Dallas Morning News

DALLAS — Evangelist Billy Graham says it's time for the nation to forget the mistakes of Watergate and welcome back Richard Nixon for his knowledge of foreign affairs.

Nixon's recent return to the limelight, when he attended the funeral of Anwar Sadat last month, was



Graham



Nixon

heralded by Graham.

"Enough time has passed (since Watergate)," Graham said.

"He has a greater grasp on foreign affairs than any other living American.

And in this day of problems and dilemmas of what to do, his advice should be sought.

"I don't think you can forever hold the mistakes of Watergate against him. On the trip to Egypt with all three former presidents (Nixon, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter), hatchets were buried. Jimmy Carter told how well he got along with Nixon, and Rosalynn Carter talked about how nice he was and what a pleasant surprise that was for her.

"NIXON IS one of the most charming persons I ever met. He is so thoughtful.

"I have a great respect and admiration for Richard Nixon. I think he went through a terrible period that even he doesn't know what happened. I certainly don't.

Graham, 63, reminiscing about his 30 years in the evangelistic ministry, said he agrees with most of the goals of Moral Majority, although he never takes stands concerning such issues as homosexuality and women's rights because he maintains he wants to preach to all of God's people without prejudices.

He said there must be a moral reversal in the country today, but God did not call him to get into the political arena.

THERE WAS A TIME, however, when Graham was considered very much in the center of Washington politics.

His political reputation began in 1950 with his much-publicized visit with President Harry Truman. Naive about the ethics of politics, Graham was confronted by newsmen after his visit with Truman and proceeded to relate details of the meeting.

"I didn't know you were never supposed to quote the president," he said. "So I told them everything."

Because his friendships have extended to people with sharply varying philosophies, Graham's own philosophy has been enigmatic at times.

"I would call myself a very conservative theological evangelical," Graham said. "But when it comes to social issues, I am a liberal in such areas as race, world hunger and poverty."



RL 56/82

February 3, 1982

TRIBULATIONS OF PENTECOSTALS IN THE USSR*

Lidiya Vashchenko, a young woman of the Evangelical-Pentecostal faith who has been living in the United States embassy in Moscow for over three years, was taken to the Botkin hospital on January 30 in a severely weakened physical condition resulting from a hunger strike she began in late December, 1981. Two days after being admitted to the hospital, she was reported to have accepted solid food and to be in stable condition.¹ Vashchenko and her mother, Avgustina, went on the hunger strike to pressure the authorities into taking some action towards relieving their plight. In a dramatic bid to obtain help in their efforts to emigrate from the USSR, Lidiya Vashchenko, her sisters Lyubov' and Liliya, her parents Petr and Avgustina, and two other Pentecostals--Mariya Chmykhalova and her son Timofei--had rushed past the Soviet security guards and entered the US embassy compound in June, 1978. From their refuge there, they continued to request exit visas for themselves and their relatives--twenty-two persons in all. In the case of the Vashchenko family, these requests have gone unheeded for twenty years.²

The hunger strike undertaken by Lidiya and Avgustina Vashchenko is not the first action of this kind to be taken by Soviet Pentecostals. In recent years, several groups have fasted with the aim of bringing to the world's attention the difficulties confronting members of their faith in the USSR, especially those Pentecostals who want to emigrate.³ Some 30,000 Pentecostals and Baptists have

* Translation of RS 18/82.

1. UPI, AP, January 31, 1982; International Herald Tribune, February 1, 1982.

2. See, for example, UPI, January 5, 16, and 22, 1981. In addition to the many short reports on "The Siberian Seven," as the Vashchenkos and the Chmykhalovs are known in the West, two books by John Pollock have been published on the plight of the Pentecostals: The Christians from Siberia, London, Hodder and Stoughten, 1964; and The Siberian Seven, London, Hodder and Stoughten, 1979.

3. AP, November 30, 1980; February 23, 1981; March 8 and 9, 1981.

applied for exit visas.⁴ Only a few families have received permission to emigrate,⁵ while the rest continue to wait--some, like the Vashchenko family, for as long as twenty years.

The first Pentecostals appeared in Russia as early as 1911. The movement began to gain strength there with the arrival, in 1921, of Pentecostal preacher Ivan Voronaev from the United States. In Odessa, Voronaev founded the Union of Christians of the Evangelical Faith in an attempt to bring together the isolated and scattered Pentecostal congregations already in existence. By 1927, there were more than 350 such congregations in the Soviet Union, with a total membership of about 17,000 believers.

The campaign of religious persecution unleashed by Stalin soon thereafter prevented the Pentecostal movement from spreading any further, and the Church communities were forced to go underground. During World War II, when many of the restrictions on religious activity were lifted, the situation of the Pentecostal Church improved. In 1944, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian-Baptists was founded. Because the Soviet authorities did not tolerate the Pentecostal Church, individual congregations were urged to register as part of the All-Union Council. According to sources in the West, between 400 and 500 groups of believers were registered in 1945, while the remainder refused to join the Council for various reasons and thus were still considered illegal.⁶

In an article on Pentecostals in the USSR that was published in early 1980, English journalist Michael Rowe notes that "it is only possible to make conjectures about the number of Soviet Pentecostals." He cites data from official Soviet sources, which claim that 33,000 Pentecostals are registered in congregations belonging to the All-Union Council and that 22,000 remain unregistered. The data from unofficial sources quoted by Rowe sets the number of Pentecostals in the USSR at 100,000 to 150,000. Furthermore, it is pointed out, if children of believers and nonbaptized adult adherents are added to the count, there could be as many as 500,000 Pentecostals in the Soviet Union.⁷

Soviet Pentecostals have described in numerous documents the various forms of repression they are subjected to by the authorities. In an interview with senior pastors Grigorii Vashchenko and Evgenii Bresenden of the Pentecostal congregation in Nakhodka in 1974, foreign correspondents were told that not only representatives of the Pentecostal faith are persecuted, but all who

4. AS 4455.

5. For instance, Evgenii Bresenden, pastor of the congregation in Nakhodka, was allowed to leave the USSR in October, 1975. Vasilii Gorelkin emigrated in February, 1980, with his wife, ten children, and parents. In August of the same year, Stanislav and Nadezhda Zherdev and their children were able to leave the USSR.

6. Trevor Beeson, Discretion and Valour: Religious Conditions in Russia and Eastern Europe, Glasgow, Fontana Books, 1974, p. 103.

7. Keston News Service, No. 92, February 18, 1980.

refuse to comply with the demands of the authorities.⁸ Because, the Pentecostals stated, believers are told upon registration that the law forbids: any charitable activities by religious groups; any preaching of the Bible outside the confines of the prayer house; and any religious instruction for children and their attendance at worship services, deferring to the wishes of the state "in essence: reduces any religious teachings to zero."

A document on freedom to emigrate for religious reasons, compiled by the Moscow Public Group to Further the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreements in the USSR and addressed to the world public and to the heads of state who signed the Final Act at the Conference on Security and Economic Cooperation in Europe, contains a pamphlet on the situation of Pentecostals in the USSR. The texts of various appeals, complaints, open letters, court verdicts, and autobiographies in this pamphlet provide, according to the Moscow Helsinki group, "a convincing picture of why these patient, religious people have made the decision to leave the USSR."⁹ In a "Statement Requesting Help," spokesmen for the Pentecostals list thirty-three types of persecution they have undergone as a way of describing "the outrage committed by the Soviet authorities against our faith, conscience, and conviction."¹⁰

During the past two years, the persecution of Pentecostals in the USSR has intensified. A large number of them, including believers actively seeking to emigrate, have been arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment.¹¹ Worship services have been disturbed and religious gatherings disbanded, and many Pentecostals have been made to pay fines or have had their homes searched.¹² These measures have been accompanied by a campaign in the Soviet press, in which both the teaching of Pentecostal doctrine and the actions of individual believers have been condemned.¹³ An article entitled "God's People" that appeared in Turkmenskaya iskra last summer illustrates the attitude of the Soviet authorities towards the beliefs and practices of the Pentecostals:

8. Vestnik Russkogo Khristianskogo Dvizheniya, II-III, pp. 297-300. Grigorii Vashchenko is the cousin of Petr Vashchenko, one of the Pentecostals living in the US embassy in Moscow.

9. AS 2833.

10. AS 3379.

11. See Appendix.

12. See, for example, AS 4264, AS 4275, AS 4420, AS 4442, and AS 4455.

13. On March 21, 1981, for example, the local newspaper Znanya in Kaluga Oblast carried an article criticizing Pentecostal Bishop Ivan Fedotov. Another article entitled "The Fedotovs Get Paid for Everything" appeared in the newspaper Mayak just days before Fedotov was arrested for the third time, on April 21, 1981 (see AS 4423). A letter of protest sent by Enokh Goretoi to the newspaper Kuban' in connection with its publication, on July 22, 1977, of an article slandering his father, Pentecostal Bishop Nikolai Goretoi, appeared in samizdat last June (see AS 4054).

They have cut themselves off from general, real life with mournful prayers and observances, with senseless and sometimes harmful rituals; they have poisoned mind and spirit with the narcotic of unrealizable fantasies....I won't even mention the Pentecostals' "teachings" themselves--reactionary; fanatical; crippling the minds and hearts of people; leading them away from active life in society; cultivating apoliticism, obscurantism, superstition, and the renunciation of everything worldly.¹⁴

In September, 1981, Komsomol'skaya pravda carried a report by a correspondent who visited a Pentecostal community in the town of Nikolaev.¹⁵ The Church there is said to be a good example of a religious community that is expanding, primarily owing to recruitment of young people. In Nikolaev, the original group of Pentecostals has grown from 60 to 200, and the pastor is described as all of twenty-seven years old. He is reported to work at a factory producing paneling and tiles, together with twenty-four other believers all under the age of thirty. The correspondent notes that the pastor of another "sect" in the raion is twenty-nine years old. As a way of counteracting this tendency, the author proposes stepping up atheist propaganda in the city. Clearly, the attraction of Pentecostal teachings for young people is one of the main reasons the Soviet regime has condemned this denomination so severely.

In order to protect their rights, Soviet Pentecostals have founded a number of organizations in recent years. The Council of Evangelical Christian Pentecostals was formed in September, 1979,¹⁶ and in May, 1980, a "Rights Protection Group" and a "Fund to Aid the Evangelical Christian Pentecostals of Russia" appeared on the scene.¹⁷ The Rights Protection Group has published a number of documents, including a declaration of its aims and a special edition of the almanac Krasnoe i chernoe (Red and Black) to commemorate the founding of the group.¹⁸ At the present time, most of the members of these Pentecostal organizations are in confinement. The chairman of the aid fund, Stanislav Zherdev, who was allowed to emigrate with his wife and children in August, 1980, described the difficult situation of the Soviet Pentecostals in an article in the émigré press.¹⁹ The extent of the difficulties for those Pentecostals who want to leave the USSR in order to practice their religion without interference by the state is most dramatically illustrated by the fate of the Vashchenko and Chmykhalov families.

--Oxana Antic

14. Turkmenskaya iskra, June 10, 1981.

15. Komsomol'skaya pravda, September 28 and 30, 1981.

16. AS 3990.

17. Russkaya mysl', March 26, 1981.

18. AS 4084 and AS 4455.

19. Russkaya mysl', March 26, 1981.

APPENDIX

List of Soviet Pentecostals under Prosecution in
the Period from January, 1980 to December, 1981

Note: The name of the Pentecostal is followed by the date and location of his trial, the article of the criminal code under which he was charged, the sentence he received, and the source of the information. A few entries include additional biographical data and the specifics of the defendant's case.

Fedor SIDENKO: tried on January 18, 1980, in Novorossiisk, Krasnoyarsk Krai, on charges of "dissemination of knowingly false fabrications discrediting the Soviet political and social system" (Article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code); found by the court not responsible for his actions and forcibly interned in the psychiatric hospital of the Novorossiisk prison (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 9-10, 1980).

Yaroslav SOKOL: tried on June 26, 1980, in Ternopol', on charges of "resisting a police officer" (Article 188-1 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code); sentenced to one year in ordinary-regime camps. Sokol had objected when Inspector of the Ternopol' Department of Internal Affairs R. N. Kupchak tried to disband a prayer meeting on April 3, 1980 (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 19-12, 1980).

Nikolai GORETOI: tried on August 5, 1980, in Krasnodar, on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code) and "infringement of person and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious ceremonies" (Article 227 of the RSFSR Criminal Code); sentenced to seven years in strict-regime camps and five years of internal exile, with confiscation of property. A Pentecostal bishop and leader of a nonregistered congregation, Goretoi was accused of having compiled documents demanding for his parishioners the right to emigrate and of passing the documents on to foreign journalists and American diplomats (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 22-1, 1980).

Filipp AKHTEROV: tried in the summer of 1980, on charges of "evading regular call to active military service" (Article 72 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code); sentenced to two and a half years deprivation of freedom (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 19-2, 1980).

- Teofil KUMA:** tried in October, 1980, in Riga, on charges of "dissemination of knowingly false fabrications discrediting the Soviet political and social system" (Article 183-1 of the Latvian Criminal Code); the penalty received by Kuma is not known in the West, but he is known to be in the criminal camps. Kuma distributed more than 600 leaflets of religious content in a school, at bus stops, and at truck stops (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 2-11, 1981).
- Mikhail BONDARCHUK:** tried on November 21, 1980, in Rovno, Ukrainian SSR; sentenced to two years in the camps (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 4-12, 1981).
- Boris PERCHATKIN:** tried in Nakhodka, on charges of "dissemination of knowingly false fabrications discrediting the Soviet political and social system" (Article 190-1 of the RSFSR Criminal Code); sentenced to two years in ordinary-regime camps. Perchatkin was arrested on August 13, 1980 (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 7-11, 1981).
- Ivan SHABURA, Pavel PAVLYUK, Semen TKACHENKO, Leonid LITVINENKO, and Arnol'd TATARENKO:** tried on July 17, 1981, in Dnepropetrovsk; Shabura was sentenced to five years in strict-regime camps and five years of internal exile; Pavlyuk, Tkachenko, and Litvinenko--to five years in ordinary-regime camps and five years of internal exile; and Tatarenko--three years in ordinary-regime camps and three years of internal exile. Ivan Shabura's son Vladimir was arrested in late 1973 and sentenced to three years in ordinary-regime camps for evading military service (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 15-7, 1981).
- Ivan FEDOTOV and Vladimir MURASHKIN:** tried on July 28, 1981, in Maloyaroslavets, Kaluga Oblast, on charges of "infringement of person and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religious ceremonies" (Article 277 of the RSFSR Criminal Code); Fedotov was sentenced to five years in strict-regime camps and ordered to pay 1,000 rubles in court costs, while Murashkin was sentenced to five years in ordinary-regime camps and made to pay 500 rubles in court costs. A bishop of the Pentecostals of the RSFSR, Fedotov had already spent thirteen years in confinement for his religious beliefs. Murashkin is pastor of the Pentecostal congregation in Maloyaroslavets (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 13/14-6, 1981).
- Aleksei SEMERYANOV:** trial pending; charged with "misappropriation of state or public property committed by open stealing" (Article 90 of the RSFSR Criminal Code). Semeryanov was arrested in August, 1981, in Maloyaroslavets, when he tried to retrieve his own collection of slides on religious themes that was being exhibited with a number of items confiscated during searches of Pentecostals' homes. He is currently in investigatory confinement in Kaluga (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 20-13, 1981).

February 3, 1982

Eduard BULAKH: tried on September 9, 1981, in Vilnius, on charges of "evading regular call to active military service" (Article 211 of the Lithuanian Criminal Code); sentenced to one year's deprivation of freedom. Bulakh is active in the Pentecostal emigration movement (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 18-4, 1981).

Anatolii KABINOV: tried in Nakhodka on charges of "evading regular call to active military service" (Article 80 of the RSFSR Criminal Code); sentenced to three years in ordinary-regime camps. Kabinov was arrested in 1981 (Vesti iz SSSR/USSR News Brief, No. 19-2, 1981).

Pavel AKHTEROV: tried in December, 1981, in Donetsk, on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code); sentenced to seven years in strict-regime camps and five years of internal exile. Akhterov, a writer of religious texts, is the father of Filipp Akhterov (AP, January 13, 1982; AFP, January 14, 1982).



I too get more support from good Christians than leaders or rabbis. Yaakov Riz.

Billy Graham A Great Friend Of The Jewish People

NEW YORK, ... Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Interreligious Affairs Director of the American Jewish Committee, today lauded Billy Graham, the world-famed evangelist, as "one of the greatest friends of the Jewish people and of Israel in the entire Christian world in the 20th century."

Speaking at the Church Centre at the United Nations, at which Dr. Graham was named recipient of the prestigious Templeton Foundation Prize for Progress in Religion, Rabbi Tanenbaum hailed him as "the world's most noted evangelist who has reached more people in more places than probably any other religious personality in our lifetime." He added:

"It is not generally known among either Jews or Christians that Dr. Graham has been present to the Jewish people in virtually every moment of trial, threat and testing, as well as in celebration. The American Jewish Committee can tell in moving chapter and verse how Dr. Graham came time and again to the aid of the embattled people of Israel, when his voice and influence in high places made a crucial and, at times, a decisive difference."

Dr. Graham will receive the \$200,000 prize at a ceremony in London's Queen Elizabeth Hall on Tuesday, May 11. The Award was inaugurated ten years ago by the Presbyterian layman, John M. Templeton, to highlight the pioneering breakthroughs in religion around the world.

The announcement of the award was made by the Rt. Reverend John Allin, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. Also taking part in addition to Rabbi Tanenbaum, were Archbishop Takovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, and Archbishop John Gerety of the Catholic Diocese of Newark, New Jersey.

During his remarks, Rabbi Tanenbaum stated that "on the basis of my personal experience and friendship with Dr. Graham since the mid-1960's, I can testify that the growth in mutual appreciation between Evangelicals and Jews in many parts of the United States and abroad, was in very large measure due to the attitudes, convictions and personal influence of Dr. Graham." He said that his intervention led to the freeing from Soviet labor camps of Jews who might otherwise have

perished.

Referring to Dr. Graham's public statements and his films condemning anti-Semitism and his repudiation of proselytizing of the Jewish people through the deceptive techniques of such groups as "Jews for Jesus," Rabbi Tanenbaum described them as "expressions of his friendship and respect for Judaism and for the Jewish people, in addition to his deep love and support for Israel."

"While not overlooking for a moment our authentic theological and other differences as Christians and Jews which we have discussed frequently, freely and openly," Rabbi Tanenbaum said, "I do not believe that it is an exaggeration for me to declare — based on nearly 20 years of our association with Dr. Graham — that next to Pope John XXIII, and Professor Reinhold Niebuhr, that towering genius and philo-Semite of America Protestantism, Dr. Billy Graham has been and continues to be one of the greatest friends of the Jewish people and of Israel in the entire Christian world in the 20th century."

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cc. SIM RODIN
Graham

February 26, 1982

Dr. Sterling Huston
Director of Crusades - North America
Billy Graham Evangelistic Association
P.O. Box 9313
Minneapolis, MN 55440

Dear Dr. Huston:

I am most pleased to review our recent telephone conversation which served as a follow up to our meeting on February 9.

The Greater Boston Chapter of the American Jewish Committee cordially extends an invitation to Dr. Graham to address the Boston Jewish community in connection with the Crusade planned for New England this spring. We believe that such an address would give Dr. Graham an opportunity to speak to questions of concern to our community. We share a great deal in common; there are also deep seated misunderstandings between our communities. The opportunity to clarify some of the issues and to demonstrate our common cause in such an appearance would be most productive for the relationship between Jews and Evangelical Christians throughout New England.

As I indicated, the most convenient date, from our perspective, is Sunday evening, April 25th. We anticipate a gathering that evening of over 300 leaders of the Jewish community at the Colonnade Hotel.

If this date is not feasible then certainly we can discuss other dates, preferably late in May or early in June.

As you may remember this office of AJC serves all of the New England communities in which Dr. Graham will be appearing. We have both membership units and other contacts in each of these major Jewish communities and can well serve as the vehicle for presenting Dr. Graham to the community.

I also indicated that our office will be preparing a packet of materials to be distributed to the Anglo-Jewish press in New England and to key clergy and lay leaders. The purpose of this packet is to provide opinion makers within the Jewish community with accurate and relevant information concerning the Evangelical Christian community which Dr. Graham represents and to discuss issues of mutual concern. In this connection, at your invitation, I will be submitting a list of questions similar to those which provided the background for discussion at our February 9 meeting which you indicated Dr. Graham will bespond to. These questions and answers will form the central document for this packet of materials.

- con't -

Further, through our contacts with the Evangelical Association of New England and Don Gill, its Executive Director, as well as from our contacts with other Evangelical leaders such as Dr. Marvin Wilson and Reverend Monty Burnham, we will try to arrange a dialogue meeting between representatives of the Jewish community here, in Boston and Evangelical Christians from this area.

I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience concerning Dr. Graham's presentation. In addition I welcome the opportunity to continue to work with you in this project.

Shalom,

Herman J. Blumberg, Rabbi
Director
New England Region

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

P.S. - Would it be possible to receive a biography and a glossy photo of Dr. Graham which we might use for publicity purposes. In the event that the April 25 date is satisfactory, I would like to be able to move quickly with appropriate publicity.



HJB/tfy

NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE

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

NEW YORK, March 10....Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Inter-religious Affairs Director of the American Jewish Committee, today lauded Billy Graham, the world-famed evangelist, as "one of the greatest friends of the Jewish people and of Israel in the entire Christian world in the 20th century."

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Maynard I. Wishner, President; Howard I. Friedman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert L. Pelz, Chairman, Board of Trustees.
Bertram H. Gold, Executive Vice President

Washington Office: 818 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem, 95149, Israel
South America hq.: (temporary office) 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. E. National 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707

U.S.A. Also taking part in addition to Rabbi Tanenbaum, were Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, and Archbishop John Gerety of the Catholic Diocese of Newark, New Jersey.

During his remarks, Rabbi Tanenbaum stated that "on the basis of my personal experience and friendship with Dr. Graham since the mid-1960's, I can testify that the growth in mutual appreciation between Evangelicals and Jews in many parts of the United States and abroad, was in very large measure due to the attitudes, convictions and personal influence of Dr. Graham." He said that his intervention led to the freeing from Soviet labor camps of Jews who might otherwise have perished.

Referring to Dr. Graham's public statements and his films condemning anti-Semitism and his repudiation of proselytizing of the Jewish people through the deceptive techniques of such groups as "Jews for Jesus," Rabbi Tanenbaum described them as "expressions of his friendship and respect for Judaism and for the Jewish people, in addition to his deep love and support for Israel."

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Billy Graham in Moscow?

For 40 years, evangelist Billy Graham has doggedly pursued the Apostles' "great commission" to carry the Gospel to the ends of the earth. But there is one country where Graham has never been allowed to preach: the Soviet Union. Now Billy has that chance.

NEWSWEEK has learned that several weeks ago Graham received an unprecedented invitation from Patriarch Pimen, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, to preach in Moscow's Patriarchal Cathedral on May 9. The church service will open a Soviet-sponsored conference on "the preservation of life from nuclear destruction," which Graham has also been invited to attend as an American observer. Since such conferences are always tightly controlled by the Kremlin, Reagan Administration officials believe the Soviets are trying to manipulate the evangelist for propaganda purposes. At the behest of White House national-security adviser William Clark, Vice President George Bush personally telephoned Graham while he was in London recently to urge him not to go. At the same time, a number of influential evangelicals in Congress, including Senators Mark Hatfield of Oregon and Jesse Helms of North Carolina, have been encouraging him to make the trip—and Graham intimates predict that he will go. The evangelist spent last weekend at his mountain-top home in North Carolina weighing the pros and cons of the Russian offer. He promised to announce his decision at a news conference this week.

'The Devil': The considerations Graham will have to weigh are spiritual as well as political. "To preach in communist Russia would be the capstone of his career," says one longtime intimate. In his younger days, Graham espoused militant anti-communism. "Either communism must

die, or Christianity must die," he warned in 1954. "The Devil is their God, Marx their prophet, Lenin their saint..." But Graham's chauvinistic cold-war views began to hurt his credibility as a spiritual leader, and by the late '60s he began to adopt a more global—and Biblical—perspective. Since Graham's 1977 evangelical crusade in Hungary, he has increasingly identified himself with Christians and Jews in Eastern Europe—and he has been quietly pressing for an invitation from Moscow. At the same time, Graham has broken with his more conservative evangelical brethren by outspokenly condemning the nuclear-arms race. His private visit with Pope John Paul II last year was devoted almost exclusively to one theme: world peace and the prevention of a nuclear Armageddon.

"If I go to Moscow, I will preach only the



Graham with Reagan: The White House is worried

Gospel," Graham insisted to NEWSWEEK late last week. But that is not what worries U.S. Government officials. They point out that if he accepts the Soviet invitation, he will be preaching on a national holiday that commemorates Russian military victories in World War II. What's more, State Department officials claim that the peace conference Graham would attend has, as always, been rigged. A final resolution praising Soviet peace efforts has already been drafted, and conference rules will prevent delegates from making significant alterations in the text once the meeting is under way.

Soviet Willingness: Graham's advisers insist that he recognizes the dangers of Soviet manipulation of his appearance. But they say he believes he can make his Biblical message heard above the Soviet propaganda. More important, they add, the trip would give Graham the opportunity to pursue an agenda of his own in Moscow. He is anxious to make contact with persecuted Baptist, Pentecostal and other Christian minorities there, as well as with Orthodox,

Catholic and Muslim leaders. Graham may also try to meet with Soviet Jews as a gesture of solidarity. As his intimates tell it, Graham is eager to make the visit to test Soviet willingness to let the voices of its religious minorities be heard.

Will Graham actually go to Moscow? He clearly wants to. At a press conference last week in New York, held to announce that he had been awarded the annual \$200,000 Templeton Foundation Prize for Progress in Religion, Graham said cryptically that he "might have news" soon about religion in the Soviet Union. He also announced that he will tour New England in April, lecturing to students at Harvard, Yale and six other universities, as well as to a number of community groups. His theme: world peace and nuclear war. It is the same theme that he hopes to present—from a pulpit—in Moscow. In fact, the first draft of his Moscow sermon is already written.

KENNETH L. WOODWARD

TRANSITION

DIVORCE SOUGHT: From comedian Richard Pryor, 41, by his sixth wife, Jennifer Lee Pryor, 30; on the ground of irreconcilable differences, in Los Angeles, March 8.

DIED: Lord Butler of Saffron Walden, 79, often called the best Prime Minister Britain never had; of heart failure, in Great Yeldham, Essex, March 8. An urbane intellectual, Richard Austen (Rab) Butler served as Home Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Foreign Secretary and Deputy Prime Minister. He shepherded through Parliament the Education Act of 1944, which became the master plan for

Britain's modern school system. Once described as a man "whose hooded eyes masked the devious machinations of his considerable brain," Rab Butler reshaped the Conservative Party after its 1945 election disaster; by accepting some elements of the welfare state, he helped the Tories shed their aristocratic image. Twice, however, in 1957 and 1963, his fellow Conservatives denied him a place at the top of the greasy pole. The second time Butler observed mildly, "I ought to have pushed more and got it for myself." In 1965 he accepted a life peerage and became master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Edward L. Patton, 65, who directed construction of the Trans-Alaska oil pipeline; in Bellevue, Wash., March 5. Patton jostled with environmentalists, Eskimos and members of Congress to lay the groundwork for the pipeline, then supervised the 27-month, \$7.7 billion project, which was completed on schedule in June 1977.

Dr. Lazar Margulies, 87, who invented the flexible plastic intrauterine coil for birth control; in New York City, March 7. The Margulies IUD, created in 1958, was the first made from molded polyethylene, which is well tolerated by the body.

AJC Boston

→ Graham, Billy

March 11, 1982

Herman Blumberg

Marc H. Tanenbaum

Dr. Billy Graham's Visit to Boston

Yesterday I took part in the Templeton Foundation Award Ceremony honoring Dr. Billy Graham.

I discussed with Dr. Graham the importance of his meeting with Jewish leaders in Boston and he has agreed to do so. The date is Friday, April 2nd, at 2 p.m.

Lawson Swearingen, president of the Commercial Union Insurance Companies, which is headquartered in Boston, is chairman of the Graham crusade there. I talked with Lawson a few minutes ago and he confirmed the April 2nd date on Graham's calendar which he is handling.

I suggest you call Mr. Swearingen as soon as possible at 617-725-7001 in order to make the necessary arrangements. I also suggest that you call me so that we can discuss the entire matter.

I agreed with Dr. Graham that I would come to Boston that day in order to introduce him to the Jewish leaders with a view toward allaying some of their anxieties.

Enclosed is a copy of a press release which deals with some of these concerns about Dr. Graham's evangelistic campaign. I suggest that you make every effort to have this placed with the religion papers and the dailies as well as with the Jewish newspapers as soon as possible. This story could signal to our people - especially those who are skeptics and doubters - that Dr. Graham deserves a more sympathetic response. Please do keep in touch with me.

MHT:mr

- Enc. -

cc: Lawson Swearingen

bcc: B. Gold, S. Hirsh, M. Yarmon, B. Jacobs

ATC Interfaith

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3-11-82

Notes on People

Billy Graham to Get \$200,000 Religion Prize

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SWEARINGEN

A B

GRAHAM

March 12, 1982

Mr. Lawson Swearingen
Commercial Union Insurance Companies
1 Beacon Street
Boston, Mass. 02108

Dear Lawson:

It was good speaking with you yesterday.

Enclosed please find a copy of my memorandum to Herman Blumberg. I plan to work closely with him organizing the April 2 meeting for Dr. Graham in order to assure its maximum effectiveness.

Thanks very much for all your helpful cooperation. I look forward to meeting you on April 2.

With warmest personal good wishes from Georgette and myself, I am,

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:mr

- Encls. -

Templeton
→ Graham, Billy

March 12, 1982

Mr. John Templeton
Templeton Foundation Inc.
Bahamas Office
Box N7776
Nassau, Bahamas

My dear Mr. Templeton,

What a joy and privilege it was to meet you last Wednesday at the press conference and luncheon honoring our dear friend, the Rev. Dr. Billy Graham.

I have been blessed to know Dr. Graham and to count him as a personal friend and confidant since 1965. Ever since that time I have felt that he deserved the kind of international recognition that your prestigious award conferred upon him.

You are to be congratulated for lifting up to public consciousness in this dramatic way the importance of faith and religious life in the public arena. Were other leaders in business and finance to share your vision and ideals, they could surely help transform the world to conform more truly to the ideals of the Kingdom of God on earth. Bless you for your good works!

Should you be in New York in the near future, I sincerely hope you will honor us with your presence. It would be my privilege to host a luncheon in your honor.

With my prayers for God's richest blessings over you, Mrs. Templeton, and your family and associates, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:mr

- Encs. -

03-23-82

Graham agrees to attend Moscow peace conference; calls chance 'God-given'

By Religious News Service

MINNEAPOLIS (RNS) — Billy Graham has accepted an invitation to preach at two Moscow churches May 9 and to attend a peace conference sponsored by Patriarch Pimen, primate of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The evangelist said he will be attending the conference of world religious leaders as an observer.

"I will be speaking from the Bible on the Christian understanding of peace in a nuclear age," he said. "The official title of the conference is 'World Conference: Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life From Nuclear Catastrophe.'"

Mr. Graham said he accepted the invitation because he felt "it is a God-given opportunity for me to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ in a country where I have not had this privilege before."

He said he will preach and extend fraternal greetings at the morning liturgy of the Orthodox Cathedral in Moscow May 9 and that evening will preach at the Moscow Baptist Church.

The evangelist explained that the leadership of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists of the USSR had joined with Patriarch Pimen in extending the invitation.

"I look forward with great anticipation to these opportunities to proclaim the gospel and to have discussions with some of my fellow Christians in the Soviet Union, as well as with Jews, and others who live in the Soviet Union," Mr. Graham said. "In addition, I also look forward to meeting with government leaders.

"Since receiving this invitation I have been thinking and praying a great deal about it, and consulted with a number of my friends both in America and Europe. When I accepted it, I felt a great peace in my heart that I was making the right decision. I have sensed what St. Paul said, 'For a great and effectual door is opened unto me,' (I Corinthians 16:9).

"This has involved some changes in previously scheduled commitments in New England, and I am deeply appreciative of the understanding of those who have been planning those meetings.

"It is my sincere prayer that this visit will make at least a small contribution to better understanding between the peoples of the Soviet Union, the United States, and other countries of the world. We trade with each other, we have

cultural exchanges, and have continued political negotiation in spite of our differences. I think it is now time that we move into a spiritual dimension as well.

"My purpose in going to the Soviet Union is spiritual, and it is not my intention to become involved in political or ideological issues. I'm especially looking forward to the opportunity I will have to observe state and church relations and religious life in the Soviet Union.

"There are many religious bodies in the Soviet Union, including the Russian Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Georgian Orthodox, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists (composed of Baptists, Mennonites, and Pentecostals), Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Jews, Moslems, Buddhists, and others."

Mr. Graham said he will be joined by several of his colleagues on the trip, including Dr. Walter H. Smyth, Dr. John N. Akers, and Dr. Alexander S. Haraszti.





THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GREATER BOSTON CHAPTER • 72 Franklin Street • Boston, Massachusetts 02110 • (617) 426-7415

March 26, 1982

Dr. Sterling Huston
Boise/Treasure Valley
Billy Graham Crusade
6550 Emerald Suite 108
Boise, Idaho 83704

Dear Sterling:

The enclosed memo provides information concerning the details of our meeting with Dr. Graham next Thursday, April 1. Enclosed also is a list of the participants as we have determined them to date.

After reviewing the notes from our earlier meeting and consulting with several colleagues, I have generated a series of questions which we hope Dr. Graham will address informally. You may well have anticipated these questions.

My sense is that the discussion must begin with some reference to these basics before moving on:

1. What is the nature and purpose of the Graham Crusade?
2. What are Dr. Graham's perceptions of the Jews as a separate faith community? Is the Covenant with the Jewish people seen by him as ongoing and valid?
3. What are the bases for Dr. Graham's deep interest in and love for Israel and his support for the Jewish State. (The common belief is that "Evangelicals support Israel primarily because it is evidence of the Second Coming of the Messiah.")
4. How does Dr. Graham distinguish himself from the political activism of the New Christian Right as represented by Rev. Falwell and the Moral Majority? Has Dr. Graham reevaluated his own past involvement and close identification with political leaders?
5. What is Dr. Graham's vision of American society, its strength and problems today? We are particularly interested in his views on pluralism, religion in public schools, the teaching of "scientific creationism" and the place of religion in public life.

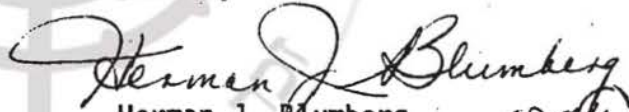
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6. How does Dr. Graham regard Evangelical efforts which⁽¹⁾ are directed against Jews specifically?⁽²⁾ use coercive and/or deceptive proselytizing techniques, including the style of groups like the Hebrew Christians and Jews for Jesus?
7. How can Christians best respond to anti-Semitism in contemporary society?
8. What role should government (Federal, State and Local) play in ameliorating social problems, correcting injustice and inequality and resolving social conflicts?
9. Please comment on current issues such as Human Rights and Nuclear Arms Limitations.

Surely this is more than enough for one hour, particularly given our mutual desire for two-way conversation. Let the questions reflect the mood of the group assembled, rather than specific questions that must be answered. I know Dr. Graham will respond accordingly.

I look forward to our meeting and to the opportunity to see you again.

Shalom,


Herman J. Blumberg
Director
New England Region

HJB/jmg
encs.

c.c. Lawson L. Swearingen
Elwyn Cutler

b.c. Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum ✓

Dictated but not read.

Graham

Rabbi Tanenbaum Calls Billy Graham 'the greatest'

NEW YORK—Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Inter-religious Affairs Director of the American Jewish Committee, lauded Billy Graham, the world-fame evangelist, as "one of the greatest friends of the Jewish people and of Israel in the entire Christian world in the 20th century."

Rabbi Tanenbaum hailed him as "the world's most noted evangelist who has reached more people in more places than probably any other religious personality in our lifetime." He added:

"It is not generally known among either Jews or Christians that Dr. Graham has been present to the Jewish people in virtually every moment of trial, threat and testing, as well as in celebration. The AJC can tell in moving chapter and verse how Dr. Graham came time and again to the aid of the embattled people of Israel, when his voice and influence in high places made a crucial and, at times, a decisive difference."

Dr. Graham will receive the Templeton Foundation prize for Progression Religion \$200,000 at a ceremony in London's Queen Elizabeth Hall on Tuesday, May 11. The Award was inaugurated ten years ago by the Presbyterian layman, John M. Templeton, to highlight the

growth in mutual appreciation between Evangelicals and Jews in many parts of the United States and abroad, was in very large measure due to the attitudes, convictions and personal influence of Dr. Graham." He said that his intervention led to the freeing from Soviet labor camps of Jews who might otherwise have perished.

Referring to Dr. Graham's public statements and his films condemning anti-Semitism and his repudiation of proselytizing of the Jewish people through the deceptive techniques of such groups as "Jews for Jesus," Tanenbaum described them as "expressions of his friendship and respect for Judaism and for the Jewish people, in addition to his deep love and support for Israel."

While not overlooking for a moment our authentic theological and other differences as Christians and Jews which we have discussed frequently, freely and openly," Tanenbaum said, "I do not believe that it is an exaggeration for me to declare—based on nearly 20 years of our association with Dr. Graham—that next to Pope John XXIII, and Professor Reinhold Neibuhr, that towering genius



Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

and philo-Semite of American Protestantism, Dr. Billy Graham has been and continues to be one of the greatest friends of the Jewish people and of Israel in the entire Christian world in the 20th century."

Graham Opens Antinuclear Crusade

By DUDLEY CLENDINEN

Special to The New York Times

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Commitment to Christ Urged

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GREATER BOSTON CHAPTER
NEW ENGLAND REGION

*Participants - Discussion Meeting/Dr. Billy Graham
Thursday, April 1, 1982

Paul R. Aronson	Treasurer, Boston Chapter, AJC
Mrs. Naomi J. Banks	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC
Hon. Matthew Brown	Past Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC Past President, New England Region, AJC Member, National Board of Governors, AJC
Dr. Harriette L. Chandler	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC
Mrs. Ruth Fein	President, Combined Jewish Philanthropies
Mrs. Joan S. Goldweitz	Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC Member, National Board of Governors
Alvin S. Hochberg	President, New England Region, AJC Past Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC Member, National Board of Governors
Robert L. Horowitz	Member, National Board of Governors, AJC
Warren B. Kahn	President, Jewish Community Council of Greater Boston
Leonard Kaplan	Past Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC Past President, Combined Jewish Philanthropies Past President, Jewish Community Center
Richard A. Kaye	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC
Mrs. Charlotte D. McGhee	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC
Rabbi Bernard Mehlman	Representing Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Boston Area Northeast Council New England Region, Central Conference of American Rabbis
Simon M. Roberts	Past Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC Member, National Board of Governors, AJC
George M. Romm	Administrative Committee, Boston Chapter, AJC
Rabbi Murray I. Rothman	Chairman, Interfaith Committee, Jewish Community Council of Greater Boston Temple Shalom, Newton, Ma.
James K. Seder	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC

Dr. David G. Stahl	Chairman, New Hampshire Unit, AJC
Sherman H. Starr	Past Chairman; Boston Chapter, AJC Past Treasurer, National Board of Governors, AJC Past President, Jewish Community Center
Mrs. Jamie E. Stolper	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC
Norman D. Tilles	Chairman, Rhode Island Unit, AJC
Arthur D. Ullian	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC
S. Douglas Weil	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC
Lester Wernick	Chairman, Springfield Unit, AJC
Maurice Zilber	Chairman-Elect, Boston Chapter, AJC

*List Complete to-date.



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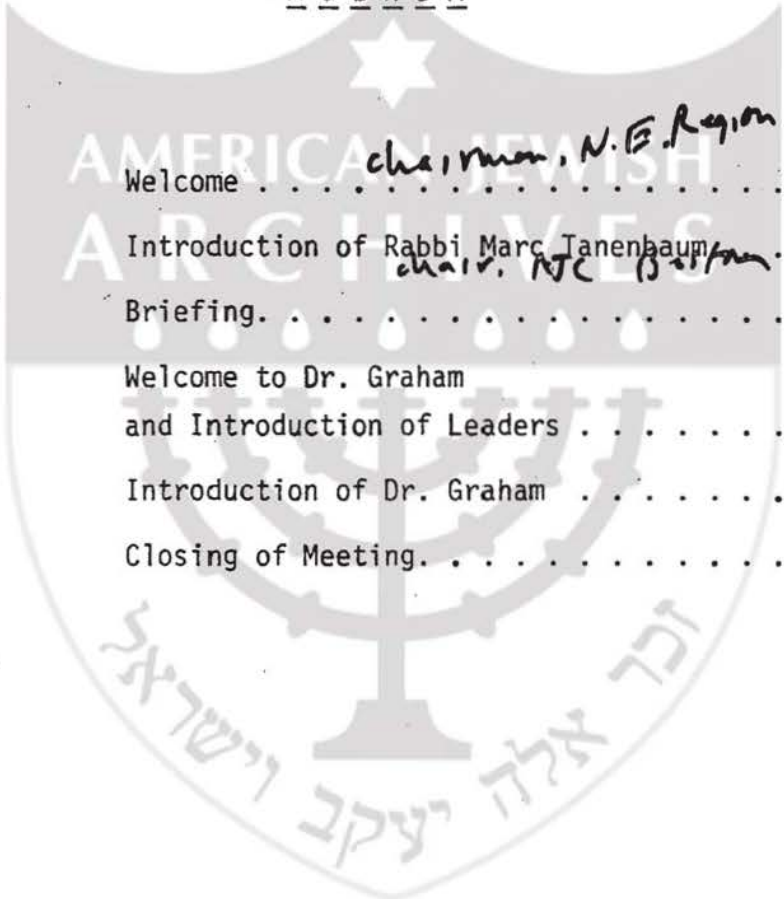
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
GREATER BOSTON CHAPTER
&
NEW ENGLAND REGION

Meeting with Dr. Billy Graham

April 1, 1982

A G E N D A

2:20 p.m.	Welcome <i>chairman, N.E. Region</i>	Alvin S. Hochberg
2:25 - 2:50	Introduction of Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum Briefing. <i>chair, N.E. Boston</i>	Joan S. Goldweitz Marc Tanenbaum
3:00	Welcome to Dr. Graham and Introduction of Leaders Introduction of Dr. Graham	Joan S. Goldweitz Marc Tanenbaum
4:00 - 4:15	Closing of Meeting.	Alvin S. Hochberg



AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GREATER BOSTON CHAPTER
and
NEW ENGLAND REGIONParticipants - Discussion Meeting with Dr. Billy Graham
Thursday, April 1, 1982

Representing

Boston

Joan S. Goldweitz	Chairman, Boston Chapter AJC Member, National Board of Governors
Alvin S. Hochberg	President, New England Region, AJC Past Chairman, Boston Chapter, AJC Member, National Board of Governors
Ruth Fein	President, Combined Jewish Philanthropies
Warren B. Kohn	President, Jewish Community Council of Greater Boston
Rabbi Murray I. Rothman	Chairman, Interfaith Committee, Jewish Community Council

Hartford, Connecticut

Brian L. Hollander	Chairman, Hartford Chapter, AJC
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Manchester, New Hampshire

Dr. David G. Stahl	Chairman, New Hampshire Unit, AJC
Rabbi Arthur Starr	Jewish Community Relations Committee, Manchester, New Hampshire Rabbi, Temple Adath Yeshurun, Manchester, N.H.

Providence, Rhode Island

Norman D. Tilles	Chairman, Rhode Island Unit, AJC
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Springfield, Massachusetts

Lester B. Wernick	Chairman, Springfield Unit, AJC
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Portland, Maine

Sumner Bernstein	Member, Portland area, AJC Past President, Jewish Federation of Greater Portland
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Rabbinical Community

Northeast Council, Union of American Hebrew Congregations
New England Region, Central Conference of American Rabbis

Rabbi Bernard Mehlman

New England Region Rabbinical Assembly
United Synagogue

Rabbi Harold Kushner

Massachusetts Board of Rabbis

Rabbi Terry Bard

Hillel Council of Greater Boston

Rabbi Richard Israel

Officers and Past Chairman, American Jewish Committee

Paul R. Aronson	Treasurer, Boston Chapter
Naomi J. Banks	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter
Hon. Matthew Brown	Past Chairman, Boston Chapter Past President, New England Region Member, National Board of Governors
Dr. Harriette L. Chandler	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter (Worcester)
Richard A. Kaye	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter
Charlotte D. McGhee	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter
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Jamie E. Stolper	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter
Arthur D. Ullian	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter
S. Douglas Weil	Vice Chairman, Boston Chapter
Maurice Zilber	Chairman-Elect, Boston Chapter

AJC Staff

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum	Director, Interreligious Affairs Department, AJC
Rabbi Herman J. Blumberg	Director, New England Region
Nancy Blecher	Assistant Area Director, New England Region
Lawrence Sternberg	Assistant Area Director, New England Region

Graham

bc: Bert Gold
Bob Jacobs
Jerry Goodman
Hy Bookbinder
Abe Karlikow
IAD Staff
Herman Blumberg

April 21, 1982

The Rev. Dr. Billy Graham
Montreat, North Carolina 28757

My dear Billy,

You were wonderful, as usual, in the meeting with Jewish leaders from throughout New England during our recent visit in Boston.

The response of our leadership has been universally positive and appreciative. It's extraordinary how these personal meetings contribute almost instantly to destroying stereotypes and caricatures that are uncritically picked up in the general culture.

I do hope that everything is going well for you in connection with your preparations for your visit to the Soviet Union. Dr. Akers called me the other day and we talked about some ideas dealing with freedom of conscience, religious liberty, as well as upholding the dignity of human life as sacred as the basis of the drive against nuclear proliferation. It would also be important to take a position against bigotry, racism, anti-Semitism as defilements of the sanctity of the human personality. Soviet Union leaders need to hear that because they have been exploiting bigotry and anti-Semitism in the most synical way as part of their campaign to push the Communist gospel throughout the world.

For your personal information, I met Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick at a luncheon this week at the Foreign Policy Association. She recalled our meeting together during the Templeton luncheon at the United Nations. She volunteered that she would be happy to talk with you or your advisors about any formulations of your statement dealing with foreign policy and would try to be positive and constructive. I leave it to your judgment as to whether you might want to contact her before you make your final draft of your talk.

If there is any way in which I can be helpful to you in any of that formulation, I hope you know that you need only to call on me.

Again, with deep appreciation for your wonderful spirit of cooperation and helpfulness, I am,

Cordially, as ever,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Interreligious Affairs Director

MHT:RPR

04-21-82

Graham clarifies position on nuclear arms; stresses that he's not unilateralist

By Richard C. Dujardin

Religious News Service Correspondent

PROVIDENCE, R.I. (RNS) — Evangelist Billy Graham said here that he believes President Reagan is "devoted to peace" although he isn't sure whether the president's method of achieving it is correct.

The famed preacher spoke of his position supporting the destruction of all nuclear weapons at a press conference during his stop in Providence as part of a New England crusade.

"I support a freeze if it is a step toward the destruction of all weapons of mass destruction," Mr. Graham said. "But to spend years and years trying to negotiate a verifiable freeze seems to me almost misusing our time. Our time ought to be spent on how we can eliminate these weapons entirely."

He was asked whether, if he supported a freeze as an interim step, he was disagreeing with President Reagan's position that America needs to build up its arsenal first before weapons production is frozen.

"I'm not going to get into the technicalities of it," Mr. Graham said. "It's not just President Reagan, it's (Soviet) President Brezhnev and many other countries as well, and I think we have to have a negotiated understanding."

"But let me make this clear. I do not believe in unilateral disarmament. I am not a pacifist. I believe we have a right to defend ourselves and I think every true American should feel that way."

Even so, the evangelist said, he believes that we have entered a new era in history.

"It's very difficult," he said. "I do not envy the president. Let me say this about President Reagan. I have known him for 30 years. I believe he is devoted to peace. Whether his method of getting to peace is correct I don't know."

"But I do know that he did say he wanted to meet with President Brezhnev at the United Nations, but Brezhnev's people have responded they would like the same thing, without any big plan for a summit that would be a big media event, but to get to know each other."

It was later reported that Mr. Brezhnev rejected Mr. Reagan's call for a July meeting, urging a summit meeting in September instead.

Did the evangelist think that he had any influence on President Reagan?

"If I made public pronouncement on what he should do, my influence would disappear," the preacher responded, adding that Mr. Reagan "doesn't want to talk to me through the newspaper. But yes, on a one-to-one basis, he knows my position. I think I am an influence."

The 63-year-old evangelist spoke to an estimated 19,000 people at two rallies here. Of these, 1,975 responded at the end of the services to Mr. Graham's traditional invitation to people to commit or rededicate themselves to Christ. Forty-two percent of the responders said they were making a commitment to Christ for the first time.

Organizers said the response of the people was about twice the response of typical Graham rallies.

"It exceeded our expectations," said Milton Noble, chairman of the 30-member steering committee that managed the Rhode Island rallies.

"To me, it shows that our plans worked. People brought friends and neighbors with them who did not know Christ."

For the deeply tanned Mr. Graham, the day began with a drive from Boston and a reception with local organizers. When he arrived at the Civic Center, the Rev. Ennio Cugini and a dozen members of his Clayville Community Church in Foster handed out leaflets protesting the evangelist's planned trip to Moscow in May.

By accepting an invitation to speak at a conference on peace there, Mr. Cugini's group said, Mr. Graham was allowing himself to be used by the Soviet propaganda machine.

However, at the news conference, Mr. Graham defended his visit to Russia, sidestepping questions about whether he planned to play the role of the "prophet" there by publicly calling attention to the persecution and harassment of Soviet Christians.

"Well, if I went around trying to straighten out the problems of every country I go to I wouldn't be invited to many places to preach the Gospel," he said. "Christ didn't say to go to all the capitalist countries of the world. He said, 'Go ye into all the world' to preach the Gospel."

"When the Apostle Paul went to Rome, I don't read anywhere where he told the Romans how to run their government. He told them to repent and get right with God."

04-21-82

Visiting U.S. pro-lifers say abortion is emerging as Irish political issue

By Religious News Service

CHICAGO (RNS) — Anti-abortion and abortion rights advocates are vying for power in Ireland, where abortion is still illegal, says an American anti-abortion leader.

"A pro-abortion movement is well under way in Ireland, and all of the signs indicate that, unless the Irish people take swift action, Ireland could go the way of the United States on abortion," says Patrick Trueman, executive director of Americans for Life and a member of a lecture group that recently toured Ireland.

At the same time, Irish pro-lifers have also been active, he said. "Because of the work of the Irish pro-life movement, the new leader of the Irish government recently announced that he would seek an amendment to the constitution this year to protect unborn human life from (the time of) conception-fertilization." Such an amendment could prevent the legalization of abortion in Ireland.

Dr. Trueman said that his Chicago-based group is heading a major fundraising drive to buy books, pamphlets, slides and other materials for shipment to Irish pro-life groups.

"Many of the same factors which contributed to bringing legalized abortion to America currently exist in Ireland," he said. He cited an allegedly pro-abortion bias in the news media, abortion referral agencies that are openly operating, a highly visible pro-abortion organization, and a general public attitude that legal abortion could never come to the country.

He said most of the Irish pro-life activists, especially lawyers, have noted that abortion likely wouldn't come through the legislature but could be legalized by the Supreme Court. The court in 1974 found an unwritten "right to privacy" in the Irish Constitution. That decision followed the lead of the U.S. Supreme Court which found a similar right to privacy and used it to legalize abortion.

The lecture tour was consponsored by Americans United for Life and Human Life International. The U.S. delegation, invited by Irish pro-life leaders, included the Rev. Paul Marx, pro-life leader from Human Life International; Dr. Herbert Ratner, editor of Child and Family Quarterly; and the Rev. Charles Corcoran, consultant to the National Commission on Human Life and Production.

BILLY GRAHAM
MONTREAT, NORTH CAROLINA 28757

April 27, 1982

My dear Marc,

This hasty note is just to thank you for yours of April 21 which was waiting for me when I arrived back in Boston from Washington a couple of hours ago.

I appreciate your thoughtfulness in writing.

Thank you also for conveying the comments from Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. This was most kind of her to offer.

I am working on my talks for the Soviet Union at the moment--though we are still in the middle of the heavy New England schedule of city-wide rallies, and lectures at Yale, Harvard, M.I.T., etc.

Thus, please excuse the brevity of this response!

With warmest personal greetings.

Cordially yours,



I'll try to call you in the next few days!

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Interreligious Affairs Director
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, NY 10022

M.T.
Evangelicals Criticize Graham, Soviets

5-1-52 W.P. 36
 Billy Graham's decision to accept an invitation to speak at a Russian church-sponsored peace conference in Moscow, beginning May 10, has sparked some criticism among evangelical Christians in this country who fear he is "compromising with Marxism," as the evangelical magazine, Christianity Today, put it.

Reluctant to express public criticism of Graham, a group of Washington-area evangelicals turned their dissatisfaction on the Soviet Union instead. Inviting Jews and other Christians to join them, the group gathered several hundred signatures for a petition calling for the release of all religious leaders now imprisoned in the Soviet Union.

"We believe in dialogue, but not through prison walls," the petition said in speaking of the peace conference. The petition, delivered to the Soviet Embassy here, called on Soviet authorities "in the name of God and humanity to release promptly all

religious prisoners and prisoners of conscience . . ." The effort was sponsored by the Institute for Religion and Democracy.

4-30-52
D.C. Soviets
 talk religion
 47
 מתיא 10

WASHINGTON — Two religious leaders were admitted to the Soviet Embassy yesterday to discuss freedom of worship, a surprise move by diplomats who usually refuse even to recognize the presence of protesters.

The invitation to come in and talk had not been expected by Rabbi Joshua O. Haberman and the Rev. Carl F.H. Henry.

They carried a petition calling for religious freedom in the Soviet Union, and moments before approaching the embassy they told a group of about 60 followers that the papers probably would not be accepted.

In the past, Soviet Embassy officials have generally declined to accept petitions or to talk with protest groups.

"It was a departure from the usual for them," observed Haberman, who speculated that the Soviets were seeking to accommodate religious leaders in light of a peace conference scheduled for Moscow next month.

Henry and Haberman said they met with embassy counselor Valentin Kamenev and second secretary Vassiliy Sredim, who denied that their country restricts religious freedom.

Billy Graham in Moscow

If the Reagan Administration is as sincere in wanting peace as it claims it is, why did it so strenuously try to stop evangelist Billy Graham from going to the Soviet Union for peace meetings?

The Administration has chilled U.S.-Soviet relations, but Graham received a warm welcome in Moscow precisely because he came on a mission of peace. He will be a major figure at an international peace gathering which opened Monday.

Graham stresses his responsibility as a religious leader, an American and also a member of the world community "not only to one nation but to the whole human race." His political and religious views are well-known, but a common language and sentiment has been found — peace, despite U.S. warhawks' hostility.

5-11-82 Daily World

Rift Erupts at Moscow Church Talks

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

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

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

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

Bishop Preus said that he came to the

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

Did Not Hit Responsive Chord

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Graham Visits Embassy

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

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

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

No worship bar in Soviet: Billy

Moscow (AP)—Evangelist Billy Graham, winding up his six-day mission to Moscow, said yesterday that he had encountered no religious persecution in the Soviet Union and declared that the Kremlin and the White House were equally committed to the search for peace.

Speaking at a news conference, the 63-year-old Southern Baptist preacher also urged delegates to a Moscow peace conference to put aside ideological differences in a drive to avert nuclear war.

His assessment of the roles of East and West in seeking disarmament directly countered speeches by Soviet bloc conference delegates who blamed the arms race on the United States.



Billy Graham

"I THINK THEY are both searching for peace," Graham said. "I think that most of the countries of the world are searching for peace and I would be unable to put one above the other."

Graham said he had "a very friendly exchange" with Boris Ponomarev, a nonvoting member of the ruling Soviet Politburo. "I was able to tell him my religious faith and belief."

Asked if he thought religious freedom was allowed in the Soviet Union, Graham replied:

"That is a relative term, I think."

"**THERE ARE** differences, of course, between religion as it is practiced here and, let's say, in the United States. But that doesn't mean there is no religious freedom."

The activities of all religions in the Soviet Union are controlled strictly by the Council on Religious Affairs, which dissidents claim is directed by the KGB security police.

Members of Graham's delegation say privately they are convinced that many of the Soviet church officials they have met are KGB agents.

Graham said: "I have experienced total liberty of what I wanted to say. At the churches which are open, of which there are thousands, they seem to have liberty to have worship services."

He preached last Sunday at Moscow's only Baptist church, and as he concluded, two persons held up banners protesting persecution.

A woman who held up one reading: "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the Gospel," later was detained by a man in plainclothes inside the church. ■

Graham Offers Positive View of Religion in Soviet

5-13-82
By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 12 — The Rev. Billy Graham said here today, at the end of a visit to the Soviet Union, that he had seen no evidence of religious repression and that the churches he had visited were at least as full as those in his hometown, Charlotte, N.C.

At a news conference, he also seemed to play down the arrest of a young woman who had unfurled a protest banner during an officially sanctioned Baptist service that he attended on Sunday.

DEAR PIE HAPPY BIRTHDAY I STILL LOVE YOU. I ALWAYS WILL. LOVE A — ADVT.

The banner said there were people in the Soviet Union who were being imprisoned for evangelistic activity.

When asked by an American reporter whether he was making inquiries about the woman, the 63-year-old evangelist said he had only the reporter's word about the case, and added:

"Some people can be detained for all kinds of reasons. We detain people in the United States if we catch them doing something wrong. I have had people coming to my services in the United States and causing disturbances and

HAPPY 40TH BIRTHDAY DAVID STOUT. I LOVE YOU. RUTH—Advt.

they have been taken out by the police."

Mr. Graham came here to attend a Soviet-sponsored conference of religious leaders on nuclear weapons. Earlier at the news conference, another participant, Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregarios of the Orthodox Church of India, said the conference had been "very significant in dispelling the false notion that there is no religious freedom in this country."

When a Charlotte television reporter asked Mr. Graham whether he agreed, the evangelist replied:

"Not necessarily. I am just telling

Continued on Page A8, Column 1

Graham Offers Positive View of Religion in Soviet

Continued From Page A1

you I don't know all about it. I have been only in Moscow and I have been in all these meetings and I haven't had a chance, but Saturday night I went to the Orthodox churches that were jammed to capacity. You would never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina."

Referring to two other visits the following day, to the Baptist church and the Russian Orthodox cathedral, where he preached, Mr. Graham added:

"And on Sunday morning the same true. And it would seem to me that the churches that are open, of which

there are thousands, seem to have liberty to have worship services."

The remarks fell into a pattern set since his arrival here. Although his crusades in the 1950's contained a strong element of anti-Communism, he has seemed at pains not to offend Soviet sensibilities and has stuck closely to an official schedule.

As a result, he has had only one encounter with members of a religious group operating outside official approval, a prayer session on Tuesday with a group of Siberian Pentecostals who have found refuge in the basement of the United States Embassy here.

Mr. Graham's aides have said that he is keen not to upset his chances of returning for a full preaching tour, possibly using stadiums. On the Soviet side, he has been treated as a dignitary.

The evangelist alluded to this treatment at the news conference in replying to a question about changes he had noted since his last visit, as a tourist in 1959. He said people were better clothed and Moscow had impressive new high-rise suburbs. Then he spoke of the food.

"The meals I have had are among the finest I have ever eaten," he said. "In the United States you have to be a millionaire to have caviar, but I have had

caviar with almost every meal."

Western reporters' questions about religious freedom and American responsibility for the nuclear confrontation dominated the news conference, at which Mr. Graham occupied a podium with Soviet religious leaders, including Patriarch Pimen, head of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Mr. Graham, who came to the session from a meeting with Boris N. Ponomarev, a member of the Soviet leadership, said that it had been an "enlightening experience" for him to come to Moscow and exchange views.

The first questioner at the news conference, citing the Indian cleric's praise of the Soviet Union's leadership in the search for peace, asked Mr. Graham how he would rate the contributions of

the United States and the Soviet Union.

"I think they are both searching for peace," he said, declining to say which nation was doing more. "I think that all of the countries of the world are searching for peace, and I would not want to put one above the other."

When a reporter asked for the first time whether he agreed with the Indian metropolitan's assessment that religious freedom existed in the Soviet Union, Mr. Graham said:

"That is a relative term, I think, because in the various countries I have been to in the world — and I have been to over 50 — there are various kinds of restrictions, various kinds of laws and formulas. It would be impossible for me to come to Moscow and in six days make a personal evaluation."

Although the Soviet Constitution guarantees freedom of religion, the Soviet authorities tolerate only those religious denominations that are officially registered. Registration has been denied a number of faiths, mainly Protestant fundamentalists, on the ground that their activities come into conflict with Soviet practices and policies, such as compulsory military service and a ban against proselytizing among those under 18 years of age.

Members of fundamentalist groups have been subjected to harassment, including imprisonment. The number of people serving terms in labor camp or exile for religion-related offenses is unofficially estimated in the hundreds.

GIVE TO THE FRESH AIR FUND

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A woman who held up one reading: "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the Gospel," later was detained by a man in plainclothes inside the church. ■

Graham Says Soviets Never Restricted Talks

GRAHAM, From A1
 mon Sunday at Moscow's Baptist church, he replied:

"Some people can be detained for all kinds of reasons. We detain people in the United States if we catch them doing things wrong. I have had people coming to my services in the United States and causing disturbances and they have been taken out by the police."

The young woman quietly brought out the banner after Graham had finished his sermon and held it up for about two minutes before folding it again. The banner, in English, read, "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the Gospel," referring to Baptists who have been jailed for preaching and holding services without authorization.

Baptist sources said today that the woman was still in detention.

During the news conference, the evangelist said his visit here was "the most intensive period of time in my entire ministry" and that he was departing from here with his heart "strangely warmed." He said he was "going away with a great many positive viewpoints," convinced that both the United States and the Soviet Union were "searching for peace."

Graham was the most prominent figure at the disarmament conference, which was sponsored by the Russian Orthodox Church.

The American evangelist was also received today by Boris Ponomarev, an alternate member of the ruling Politburo. At a joint news conference later Graham was asked about another clergyman's comments concerning religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

Metropolitan Paulos Mar Grigoris of the Orthodox Church of India in his statement pressed the gathering as being "significant in dispelling the false notion that there is no religious freedom in this country."

Asked whether he agreed with that statement, Graham said: "That is a relative term, I think. Of the various countries I go to in the world, of which there are over 50, there are various kinds of restrictions, various kinds of laws and formulas."

"It would be impossible for me to come to Moscow and in six days make any kind of evaluation. There

are many differences in religion here and in the way it is practiced in the United States. But that does not mean there is no religious freedom" in the Soviet Union. Graham added, "I have experienced total liberty in what I wanted to say."

His aides earlier said privately that Graham did not want to do anything that might embarrass his hosts and that he wanted "to develop this relationship." There has been speculation that he expected to be permitted to return here for a preaching tour.

However, religion has an ambiguous place in an atheist state that does not tolerate competition with its official Marxist-Leninist ideology. There are no official figures on church affiliation in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, some analysts estimate that among this country's 265 million people there may be as many as 30 million Russian Orthodox Christians, 5 million Roman Catholics, about 3 million Jews, 2 million Evangelicals and 30 million Moslems.

Comparatively speaking, organized religion has had an easier time during the past 15 years after almost five decades of unrelenting anti-religious struggle conducted by the state.

During the period since President Leonid Brezhnev came to power, the state and church seem to have established a tenuous compromise under which organized religion, and specifically the Russian Orthodox Church, have been allowed to function provided they do not engage in proselytizing or work against the state.

The church, in turn, has offered public support to Soviet foreign policy initiatives. The disarmament conference is one example of such activities.

The Soviet media has continued almost daily attacks on religion, and scientific atheism is promoted throughout society, ranging from schools to factories. Authorities also confiscate religious books and have established an elaborate system of regulations, checks, informal discrimination against believers and other means of indirect pressure to discourage religious activities.

Religious groups seeking to operate outside the framework of the officially sanctioned religion have been harassed persistently and their leaders imprisoned.

Graham Says Soviets Didn't Curb Talks

By Dusko Doder

Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, May 12—The Rev. Billy Graham said today that he encountered no restrictions on what he said during a six-day to Moscow and that, while there were differences in how religion is practiced here and in the United States, "that does not mean there is no religious freedom" in the Soviet Union.

The 63-year-old American evangelist, once an outspoken critic of communism, startled a news conference by asserting that he found Moscow churches packed to capacity and adding, "You would never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina."

The churches in which Graham preached were filled with security agents. Only about one-third of the congregations were local believers, and most of them were women. Foreign visitors, including persons attending the same religious conference on disarmament, Graham came for, also made up about a third of the congregations.

When U.S. reporters asked Graham whether he had attempted to learn the fate of a young Baptist woman who was taken into custody after she unfurled a banner from a balcony at the end of his ser-

See GRAHAM, A22, Col. 1

Graham gives peace sermon

5-13-82
By TOM FOLEY

The Reverend Billy Graham told an international conference of religious leaders for peace in Moscow on Tuesday, "Our common enemy today is the threat of impending nuclear destruction. Policies which constantly take nations to the brink of nuclear war must be rejected."

Close to 1,000 prominent religious leaders from 100 countries, representing every major world religion, are attending the conference. Its official title is the World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe.

The peace meeting has drawn world attention and has received messages of support from Pope John Paul II, Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar of the United Nations, Premier Indira Gandhi of India and other internationally respected figures.

The Reagan Administration put strong pressure on Billy Graham not to go to the Moscow conference. The U.S. capitalist news media coverage of the conference has been schizophrenic, refusing to transmit most of what Graham said while simultaneously devoting huge amounts of space in criticizing him for saying it.

'Most critical moment'

Graham said in his speech to the Moscow conference, "There is no doubt that the world is facing the most critical moment since the beginning of human history. Never before has humanity held in its hands such awesome weapons of mass destruction — weapons which could destroy life on this planet within a matter of hours."

The U.S. evangelist said the arms race is a tragedy. "I include here the whole scope of modern weapons which are able to destroy life — conventional,

biochemical and nuclear weapons.

"I am not a pacifist," Graham said, "nor am I for unilateral disarmament. But the unchecked production of weapons of mass destruction by the nations of the world is a mindless fever which threatens to consume our world and destroy the sacred gift of life."

He said that "each Christian is responsible for peace, and should work for peace and against nuclear war." Religious leaders have a special responsibility in this regard, he indicated.

Ward off the threat

"Let us urge the nations and leaders of our world to a new and radical commitment to peace and justice," Graham said. He stated that not only the two great powers, the U.S. and the USSR, but every nation on earth should do everything to ward off the threat of impending nuclear destruction.

"May all of us, whether we are from large or small nations, do all we can to save the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe," the U.S. evangelist urged.

Graham stressed, "The quantum leap in technology has resulted in a quantum leap in our ability to destroy our entire planet. Every thinking man knows that if we cannot soon find a way to eliminate the danger of nuclear catastrophe, we may be writing the obituary of much of humanity."

"The whole human race is sitting under a nuclear sword of Damocles, not knowing when someone will push the button or give the order that will destroy much of the planet." In past wars, destruction was limited in area, he said, but "today, however, there is no geographical limitation on the destruction wrought by nuclear war, and

the same must be said as well about biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction, the development, production and deployment of which must also cause us grave concern."

"A nuclear war," Graham continued, "would inevitably affect every nation and every individual, either directly or indirectly. Incalculable numbers of people would be killed instantly and medical help for those who survived would be almost nonexistent."

Radioactive fallout

"Radioactive fallout would not only kill or seriously injure vast numbers of people far beyond the range of nuclear blasts, but could poison the oceans, water supplies and agricultural land to such a degree that mass starvation would be the inevitable result."

Graham's strong appeal for everyone to work to prevent nuclear war was echoed by other speakers. Kushok Bakula Rimpoche, chief Buddhist lama of Ladakh, India, called for intensified struggle for peace, stressing that "the Buddhist teaching is the teaching of life and justice."

Chief Rabbi Laslo Szalgo of Budapest, Hungary, told the conference, "After we lived through the horrors of two world wars, it is our sacred duty to warn all of mankind: people, hold back the danger of war and do your utmost to see that peace prevails on earth."

Sheikh Ahmad Keftaru, the Grand Mufti of Syria, noted that the very word "Islam" comes from the Arabic root word for peace. The duty to exert all efforts for peace is an obligation for all Muslims, he said, and today that means exerting every effort to prevent nuclear war.

Graham calls Soviet church 'free'

M.T. 5-14-FL PSM 2 Moscow

United States evangelist Billy Graham has capped a week-long visit to Moscow by suggesting that the church in the Soviet Union is freer, in a sense, than in Great Britain, Moscow correspondent Ned Temko reports.

Dr. Graham, replying to questions from Western journalists on departure May 13, said in remarks also picked up by the Soviet news agency Tass:

"I think there is a lot more freedom here than has been given the impression in the United States because there are hundreds, thousands of churches open.

"In other countries you have state churches. Here the church is not a state church. It is a free church, in the sense that it is not headed officially, as the church in England is headed by the Queen."

After a brief stopover in Paris, Dr. Graham is due to fly to Britain May 14 to receive an award for his religious work.

In his airport remarks he also said he hoped to return to the Soviet Union and to preach "from Siberia to the Black Sea."

Soviet laws limit religious activity to those churches and associations registered with the authorities, and bars such activities as organizing of religious-study groups.

Religion also becomes illegal if it infringes on a Soviet statute preventing "agitation or propaganda for purposes of undermining and weakening Soviet power, (or) the dissemination for the aforesaid purposes of slanderous fabrications that defame our state and social system. . . ."

There have been growing official calls of late for intensification of "atheistic propaganda," often coupled with warnings that the West is seeking to use religion to weaken the Soviet system.

M.T.

5-14-FL

N.P. 32

Graham Leaves Moscow

MOSCOW—The Rev. Billy Graham ended a visit to the Soviet Union, saying that there is more religious freedom here than is generally thought and making a plea for a new beginning in relations between Moscow and Washington.

"I think there is a lot more freedom [of religion] here than has been given the impression in the States," Graham, 63, said at the airport, "because there are hundreds, thousands of churches open

"In Great Britain they have a state church," he said. "In other countries you have state churches

Here it is a free church, in the sense that it is not headed officially, as the Church of England is headed by the queen."

5-14-82 Daily World

Reagan anti-Sovietism undercut

By TOM FOLEY

Henry Kissinger's call for ratification of SALT II and the Rev. Billy Graham's statements that he saw that freedom of religion exists in the Soviet Union were only two of the many blows struck against the Reagan Administration's anti-Soviet policy this week.

They were hard blows and were seen as indications of the growing strength of U.S. public sentiments for peace and detente. Kissinger's call for Senate ratification of the 1979 U.S.-Soviet strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II), which he made Wednesday in a speech at The Hague, was a major break with the Reagan Administration on this issue.

In Washington, an Administration official described Kissinger's endorsement of SALT II as "very embarrassing for the President, very damaging." It came only a day after Secretary of State Alexander Haig told

the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that SALT II was "dead."

Kissinger was a long-time associate of the late Nelson Rockefeller and is a friend of the banker David Rockefeller.

In his speech at The Hague, Kissinger also criticized the new arms proposal made public Sunday by Reagan in Eureka, Illinois.

Junking SALT II, which took seven years to negotiate, and starting from scratch, Kissinger indicated, would be "enormously time-consuming" and "infinitely more complex" than ratifying SALT II. He said that Washington was already observing SALT II in a de facto sense, and "I have great difficulty understanding why it is safe to adhere to a non-ratified agreement, while it is unsafe formally to ratify what one is already observing."

Full church attendance

The Rev. Billy Graham said Wed-

nesday in Moscow that it had been "an enlightening experience" to visit the Soviet Union and to speak in Soviet churches. The churches he visited were full, he said, adding that "you would never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina."

Graham said: "The churches that are open, of which there are thousands, seem to have liberty to have worship services." The U.S. evangelist said: "There are differences, of course, between religion as it is practiced here (in the USSR) and, let's say, in the U.S. But that doesn't mean there is no religious freedom."

He was in the USSR to attend the World Conference of Religious Workers for Peace. Graham's address to the Conference on Tuesday, in which he said "our common enemy today is the threat of impending nuclear destruction," was almost entirely ignored in the U.S. capitalist news media.

Graham told the nearly 1,000 prominent religious leaders from all major world religions who were present at the Moscow Conference that, "there is no doubt that the world is facing the most critical moment since the begin-

ning of human history," because present day nuclear arms could "destroy all life on this planet in a matter of hours."

Must stop nuclear threat

He said that not only the U.S. and the Soviet Union, "but every nation on earth should do everything to hold back the threat of impending nuclear destruction. May all of us, whether we are from large or small nations, do all we can to save the sacred gift of life from nuclear catastrophe."

Graham delivered the sermon Sunday at Moscow's Baptist Church and told the estimated 1,000 worshippers there that nuclear weapons had driven the human race to "the gate of Hell." He then went to the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Russian Orthodox Church, where he met with Patriarch Pimen, the head of the Church.

The U.S. evangelist noted that on that day (May 9), the USSR was celebrating the victory over Nazi Germany in World War II. Graham told Patriarch Pimen that, "the U.S. and the Soviet Union were allies at the time against a common enemy. Today we have another common enemy, the

Continued on page 11.

Reagan

Continued from page 5
threat of nuclear war."

Graham later told reporters he enjoyed complete freedom. He noted that there are representatives of many religions living in the Soviet Union, including Christians, Muslims, Buddhists and Jews.

The U.S. evangelist came under strong pressure from the Reagan Administration not to go to the Moscow Conference, and Washington is not likely to be pleased by Graham's statements about the existence of religious freedom in the USSR. The anti-Soviet "line" always has been that religion is persecuted in the Soviet Union.

The USSR is a secular state under the Soviet Constitution, Article 52 of which guarantees freedom of conscience, religious or otherwise. However, the USSR and all its constituent republics have laws which prohibit organizations advocating racism, religious or national hatred, or violation of the constitution.

05-14-82

Fall River church fire destroyed admired work on the final judgement

By Robert Whitaker.

Religious News Service Correspondent

FALL RIVER, Mass. (RNS) — Sparks from a solderer's torch were blamed for a \$50 million fire that destroyed Notre Dame de Lourdes Church — a Fall River landmark — and a full city block of dwellings and businesses, leaving 300 people homeless here.

Lost forever in the fire is the 7-by-55-foot painting of "The Last Judgment" which covered most of the ceiling over the nave. The painting was one of more than 20 by Ludovico Cremonini, a noted Italian artist, who spent three years here from 1902-1906 when the upper church was being built.

Built at a cost of \$250,000 by immigrants from Quebec in a 16-year period from 1890 to 1906, the huge granite structure was in the initial stages of a one-million-dollar restoration.

Conrad Gendreau, a construction crew foreman on the restoration project, said that two workers were soldering gutters when sparks from the torch ignited wood behind a gutter. Strong winds apparently blew the fire inside the structure away from the workmen.

Workers on the other side of the church had already seen smoke from the roof the solderer noticed the fire and tried to use his extinguisher, according to Mr. Gendreau.

Fire fighters from 34 communities in Massachusetts and Rhode Island battled the blaze. Fall River Fire Chief Louis A. Shea, estimated the damage from what he described as a fire storm at about \$50 million.

Notre Dame Church, with its twin 160-foot spires, stood on a hill and dominated the skyline in the far distance as tourists approached the city from Rhode Island. For a number of years it was among places to see listed in the Tour Book of the American Automobile Association. The tour book described "The Last Judgment" as the largest Cremonini work in this country.

The artist did not paint directly on the ceiling. He painted on about 80 pieces of canvas in a studio that later became the church sacristy, and glued or otherwise cemented his finished canvas in place.

The painting depicted the separating of the saved from the damned, with the saved being directed upward by angels and the condemned directed downward, some falling from a building.

A Father-God figure was at the top of the painting, over the saved. A Satan figure in the lower right corner swung at the damned with what appeared to be an oar.

Four angels, one standing on a cloud at each corner appeared to hold up the painting in its ornate frame.

Other art lost in the fire included eight creations by Marsilio, another noted Italian artist, depicting four Old Testament prophets, Daniel, Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Isaiah, and the four New Testament evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Also destroyed were 13 stained glass windows depicting the life of the Mother of Christ. Each was 28 feet tall and seven feet wide and, all made in France.

The church was designed somewhat after its namesake in Paris by Louis des Tremps, a parishioner and Fall River native. It was described as of Romanesque-Corinthian flavor and its 200-foot-long Baroque interior was built without columns.

Its roof was supported by a mass of interlocking wooden beams which undoubtedly contributed to the rapid spread of the flames.

The best way for a tourist to view "The Last Judgment" was to lay on the floor in the center, aisle, with feet toward the altar.

Bishop Daniel A. Cronin of the Fall River Catholic Diocese said, "If there is any measure of comfort, it was when I heard that no one was injured."

05-14-82

Graham praise of religion in the Soviet Union angers some in the United States

By Religious News Service

"Reverend Graham may have made a lot of friends in the Politburo, but he certainly lost a lot of friends in the United States."

That comment in Washington by Dr. Edward Lozansky, a professor at American University, summed up the reaction of many to comments attributed to evangelist Billy Graham during his visit to Moscow.

Mr. Graham was the star attraction at a gathering sponsored by the Russian Orthodox Church and officially known as the World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life.

Aides to the evangelist said he hoped to be able to return to the Soviet Union in the future to preach, and suggested that this may have been the reason for his apparent reluctance to criticize Soviet restrictions on religious freedom.

But United States observers were shocked at what seemed to be Mr. Graham's willingness to praise religious conditions in the Soviet Union and to suggest that things are not as bad as they seem.

At the height of the controversy were remarks Mr. Graham made at a press conference in Moscow on May 12. He said that he had preached in packed churches in the city and commented that "it would seem to me that the churches that are open, of which there are thousands, seem to have liberty to have worship services."

The evangelist noted that "there are many differences in religion here and in the way it is practiced in the United States. But that does not mean there is no religious freedom." He stressed that "I have experienced total liberty in what I wanted to say."

The Rev. Georgi Vins, a Russian Baptist minister who was imprisoned before being exiled to the United States, was one of those who had begged Mr. Graham not to attend the Moscow peace conference. They warned him that the Soviets would attempt to use his presence for propaganda purposes.

In his address to the peace conference, Mr. Graham avoided laying the blame for the arms race directly on any one country. He declared that "no nation, large or small, is exempt from blame for the present state of international affairs."

He came the closest to criticizing the Soviet Union's policies on religion when he said, "We should urge all governments to respect the rights of religious believers as outlined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

On May 11, Mr. Graham spent more than an hour meeting with the two Soviet Pentecostal families who have been living in the United States embassy in Moscow since 1978 in an effort to emigrate. After the visit, the families expressed disappointment that the evangelist had offered them no hope that they would be able to leave the USSR.

In addition, the families were critical of restrictions demanded by Graham aides before the visit was approved. Curtains had to be drawn to prevent journalists outside the embassy from taking photos. The Pentecostals also said that Mr. Graham himself had asked them not to talk with reporters about the visit until he had returned to the United States.

Pyotr Vashchenko, one of the six people taking refuge in the embassy, said of the visit later, "It was nothing special. It was as if we were visited by an ordinary pastor."

Mr. Graham himself said of the meeting, "I came here as a pastor, and that's all I can say."

The evangelist's actions and words in Moscow came in for sharp criticism at a Washington gathering sponsored by Christian Solidarity International-USA, an organization that works to support persecuted Christians around the world. It was at that meeting that Dr. Lozansky of American University made his critical remarks.

Dr. Lozansky said his wife and daughter are still in Moscow and seeking permission to join him in the United States. He said the women began a hunger strike May 10 and had appealed to Mr. Graham to meet with them but that the evangelist had refused.

Dr. Franschick Blachnicki, a Polish priest who has been close to the Solidarity movement, accepted an award from the Christian Solidarity group on behalf of Lech Walesa, the arrested leader of Poland's labor movement.

Asked for his reaction to Mr. Graham's comments, the priest said that "we people who have lived under communist regimes for over 30 years, we cannot understand that someone can state an untruth, that there is no persecution of religion in the Soviet Union."

Dr. Blachnicki added that the position taken by Mr. Graham "proves the talent the Soviets have in lying to and misleading people. There is no other way to understand how it could happen, that a man of his caliber could say such things."

The gathering of more than 100 people responded to the priest's comments with applause and shouts of "Down with Graham!"

In New York, Mr. Graham's comments were denounced as "an insult to all Soviet believers" by Olga Hruby, an editor of the magazine Religion in Communist Dominated Areas.

"We know many people who are being constantly harassed and persecuted," she said. "If a church is full, it does not signify that religion is free. That may be the only church allowed to remain open."

The Rev. Edmund Robb, head of the Washington-based Institute on Religion and Democracy, charged that Mr. Graham was "manipulated to give legitimacy to a conference controlled by the Soviet government."

He said the evangelist's "statement that he has not seen any evidence of religious persecution is just not believable. We all know of the plight of religious dissenters who are in prison this very day."

One person who seemed more sad than angry at Mr. Graham's comments was Dee Jepsen, wife of Sen. Roger Jepsen (R-Iowa), who accepted an award on behalf of her husband at the Christian Solidarity gathering. While saying she was "disheartened" at the things the evangelist said, she added that "none of us is without times of being misunderstood and times of error."

05-14-82

Man who lunged at pope in Fatima is ex-member of Lefebvre-led society

By Religious News Service

FATIMA, Portugal (RNS) — The bayonet-wielding man who lunged toward Pope John Paul II at the Marian shrine here has been identified as a Spanish priest and former member of a group led by suspended French Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, the longtime foe of Vatican II reforms.

A statement issued by Archbishop Lefebvre's traditionalist Priestly Society of St. Pius X from its headquarters in Rickenbach, Switzerland, said the accused attacker, Juan Fernandez Krohn, 32, had quarreled with the group's teachings shortly after his ordination by the archbishop in 1978 and "has not been a member of our religious community for the past two years."

The statement added that the society "regrets this incredible behavior on the part of one of its former members and severely condemns this blind fanaticism."

The attempted assault on the pope took place on May 12, just one day before the first anniversary of the attempt on his life in St. Peter's Square. On May 13, 1981, a Turkish terrorist shot and gravely wounded the pontiff, as he arrived in the square for a general audience.

The pontiff, who has attributed his recovery from that attack to the intercession of the Virgin Mary, came to Fatima to give thanks to the Madonna on the anniversary of her first appearance there to three shepherd children on May 13, 1917.

The pope had just finished praying in a little chapel, the site of the apparition, when the incident occurred. Carrying the bayonet and garbed in black clerical attire, Fernandez Krohn pushed his way through part of a security cordon and managed to get within striking distance of the pope before he was subdued by policemen, according to Portuguese officials.

A Vatican spokesman said that the pope, who was walking towards an altar built on the steps of the Basilica of Our Lady of Fatima, was not aware of the attack at the time. He said the assailant had not come within reach of the pope and that he had been subdued by Vatican security agents.

Father Krohn shouted imprecations against the pope and Vatican II. He accused John Paul of helping the spread of communism in Poland and elsewhere and of betraying Solidarity, the independent Polish trade union.

A spokesman at Lisbon police headquarters said that Father Krohn could be charged with attempted murder, which carries a prison term of 15 to 20 years.

In an interview filmed six years ago and shown on Portuguese television after his arrest, Father Krohn said he had been at Archbishop Lefebvre's seminary at Ecône, Switzerland, and had been very impressed.

"I was attracted by what he represents as a defender of a traditional church, which is so threatened by progressives."

Archbishop Lefebvre, 76, is a former archbishop of Dakar, Senegal, and former head of the Holy Ghost Fathers congregation. He was suspended from exercising his bishop's functions by Pope Paul VI in 1977 after he had ordained a first group of priests at his seminary in Ecône in defiance of the Vatican. He has continued ordaining priests, who now number 235.

The Vatican considers the ordinations "valid" because they were performed by a validly ordained bishop, but "illicit" because the bishop was under suspension.

The symbol of Archbishop Lefebvre's refusal to acknowledge papal authority and the reforms introduced by the Second Vatican Council is the Mass. He celebrates it in the manner prescribed by the 16th-century Council of Trent rather than in the revised form authorized and ordered by Pope Paul VI in 1969, in line with the decision of Vatican II.

The essence of Archbishop Lefebvre's dissent is expressed in the "Credo" (I Believe) he published in November 1974. In it he declared that the reforms of Vatican II "spring from heresy and end in heresy," and urged his followers to "categorically reject" the council.

The archbishop has set up parishes and other institutions, including seminaries, in Italy, Germany, Argentina and the United States.

He has claimed to have some 10,000 followers in the United States and some 50,000 in Europe and elsewhere.

U.S. Evangelicals Begin to Emerge On the Left

To the uninitiated, evangelicalism, especially evangelical Protestantism, is the force that emerged from the American heartland to slay the church bureaucracies of the liberal left. It was the voice of Jerry Falwell providing his political counterpoint to the equally political incantations of Norman Lear. Imagine my surprise when I opened the newspapers this week and discovered that Billy Graham, friend of Richard Nixon and most famous evangelist of all, was going to preach in Moscow. Imagine the further surprise on learning that the occasion of his visit was a conference on nuclear weapons, most definitely an issue of the left. What was going on here?

Rev. Graham has been speaking on the nuclear arms race for several years now. It is widely believed that his decision to go to Moscow was a highly personal one, and not some sign of broader trends within the evangelical movement. But his decision aroused a lot of highly visible criticism, both before the visit and during it. During his trip, Rev. Graham preached a message on disarmament that included a specific, scripturally based call to citizens to obey authority; this, too, provoked widespread criticism.

"It was a mistake of Rev. Graham to go to Moscow and talk there about obedience

Capital Chronicle

by Suzanne Garment

to civil authority," said the Rev. Edmund W. Robb, president of the largest evangelical group in the United Methodist Church. Rev. Carl F.H. Henry, founding editor of Christianity Today, explained, "The place he chose to emphasize that they should obey their rulers is precisely the place where God should be placed above rulers—that is, in the place where there is a threat to religious liberty."

"They will exploit his position," said Rev. Henry. "He has made himself vulnerable to being manipulated," said the Rev. Robb.

Obviously these men are talking about a struggle that goes beyond the matter of Rev. Graham. Both the Rev. Robb and Rev. Henry are active members of an organization called the Institute on Religion and Democracy. It was founded in 1981 out of a conviction that the mainline churches, especially the bureaucratic elements in those churches, were using the contribution of church members to support political points of view in the world that were anti-democratic, anti-capitalist, pro-Marxist, and in general anything that smacked of revolution and declared itself a species of liberation.

increasing numbers of evangelicals among their members. In 1980 a Methodist and IRD founder named David Jessup made a stir with a report he presented on what organizations the Methodists were actually supporting, with their money. This spring IRD leadership engaged in a well-publicized debate with the leadership of the National Council of Churches.

But down at the IRD offices now, they are not just interested in the old established churches any more. Something, they say, is happening among evangelicals themselves: Evangelicalism is rising on the left. A group now exists called the Sojourners, whose magazine was originally titled *The Post-American* and who took a leading role in opposing U.S. government policy in El Salvador. There is the Church of the Savior in Washington, supporting groups such as the Christian Coordinator of Solidarity With the People of Guatemala. There is the church's World Peacemakers program, which in its literature thoughtfully advertises the catalog of the left-wing Institute for Policy Studies.

"They're no more than 5% of evangelicals," says Rev. Henry, "the younger group in the colleges and universities." "They're a small minority among the evangelicals," the Rev. Robb agrees. "Among some of us there have been guilt feelings, because evangelicals have been identified with reaction. Some have overreacted, and come to identify with the left mind-set."

Among the IRD staff, the comments are somewhat more pointed: "The Soviet desire to have Billy Graham in Moscow," says one of them, "is a sign of the power of the evangelicals. The Soviets' American friends have told them that Billy Graham is where it's at, not William Sloane Coffin."

"But all the publicity going to the Graham trip is fortunate. It would have been the easiest thing in the world to snooker the evangelicals on the nuclear freeze issue, to take them in with it and have them discover they'd fallen into a pro-Soviet, anti-American posture. This Graham mission makes the evangelicals wake up and see what's going on."

The rise of the evangelical Christians into politics has been swift, and most of us have assumed that their strict code of personal morality would force them ineluctably into the camp of the political right. But American politics, it turns out, is more ingenious than to allow such rigidities. A personalized style of Christianity—or a flamboyant style of patriotism, or any other such symbol of public value—will no sooner appear within the barricades of one political camp than it will become an object of desire on the part of the other. Rock music may come to carry freight for the anti-war movement, but you can be sure religion will figure out how to get its hands on the stuff. Evangelical Christianity may have a natural affinity with the political right, but it is certain that soon you will see evangelicalism fixed atop the banner of the nuclear freeze.

It is a familiar enough movement. But there is a good deal of deliberate manipulateness in it, and we should be aware of the trick as we watch the sudden emergence of fundamentalists for nuclear peace.

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

41 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017, (212) 599-5500

FOR AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

PROGRAM GOOD MORNING AMERICA

STATION WABC-TV AND
ABC NETWORK

DATE MAY 14, 1982

8:12AM

CITY NEW YORK

BROADCAST EXCERPT

STEVE BELL: Last week, evangelist Billy Graham returned from a six-day trip to the Soviet Union. He's been sharply criticized for making the trip and for some of the comments that he made on religious freedom in the Soviet Union. Reverend Graham's joining us this morning by satellite from London. With him, ABC News correspondent Bob Dike. Also joining us this morning, the Reverend Jerry Falwell, leading of the Moral Majority. He's in the studios of WBAF-TV in Kansas City. And, Rabbi David Goldstein, who's on the executive board of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, and he's in our studios in Washington. Gentlemen, good morning to all of you.

Dr. Graham, I think the statement that has created the most controversy is the one where -- I'll give you a moment there to get your earpiece back in. The statement that's created the most controversy in this country -- are you able to hear me?

BOB DIKE: Steve, I'll ask him; you go ahead and ask the questions.

BELL: Fine, why don't you go ahead and take the first question, Bob; and then I'll come in.

DIKE: Dr. Graham, I think that the -- that Steve was referring to the statement that created the most controversy in the United States. I don't know what Steve had in mind, but from my point of view and from the point of view certainly of the people who attended your press conference a few moments ago upstairs here in London was your statement regarding the freedom of religion in the Soviet Union and the fact that you felt freedom of religion is a relative thing, and that you found more freedom of religion there than you were prepared to.

GRAHAM: You know, that -- my position has been so distorted in the last few hours that I actually wrote a document that I gave to all the press here this morning clarifying my position.

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Not one time did I ever say that there was freedom of religion in the Soviet Union.

DIKE: Then what did you say?

GRAHAM: I said just what the headline here says in "The New York Herald Tribune" (?) day before yesterday. It says "Graham Says Russia Offers Some Measure of Church Freedoms." And, I would like to emphasize "some measure." They certainly don't have the same freedom that we have in the United States, but there was more than I thought, and more than they had a few years ago. For example, in the 1930's church life was almost nonexistent in the Soviet Union; and then during the Stalin period, and then during a part of the Krushchev period. Today, there are approximately twenty thousand churches open; and now, to be sure, they are under restriction. They can preach in houses of worship the gospel. They can now give an invitation to receive Christ which I did in the church that I preached in, in the Baptist Church. And, they can teach their children in their homes, but only in their homes. They don't get Bible instruction outside the home.

BELL: Dr. Graham, it's generally perceived here that if you make any attempt to have religious worship in the Soviet Union outside the officially approved structure, in other words, clerics who are approved by the Soviet authorities, then you're subject to arrest; you're subject to persecution. Do you have any information to contradict that?

GRAHAM: I don't have any personal information to contradict it, but I suspect that's true from what I've read and what I've heard. But, I think that a great many of those churches are now becoming more registered churches which means that they will be able to have the same freedoms that the other churches have under certain restrictions of which I'm really not aware of all their restrictions. I know they do have them, but I'm not aware.

BELL: O.K., let me quote to you what a State Department consultant, Knowland Robinson, said about your trip. He said, the thing that he finds astonishing is that Dr. Graham, a knowledgeable, sophisticated, exceedingly prominent man, in his words, "would allow himself to make statements that could be used by Soviet authorities so that they could say that they're not doing what they really are doing, namely persecuting Christians."

GRAHAM: Well, I know -- I know there were certain people in the State Department that did not want me to go, but, you see, here's an interesting thing that people don't know. I checked this out time after time with the National Security Council before I ever accepted the invitation; and I was given the green light to go at every point. And, then when the information began to come that I should not go from the State Department or from the people in the Soviet Union, our people, then it was too late because I had accepted the invitation. It had already been publicized in the "Newsweek" magazine article.

And then I was called by someone at the White House who said "if you don't go we're going to be blamed." And, in other words, I was sort of caught in a trap partially of my own making, but I would not change one thing. I preached the gospel on every occasion to every individual I saw. I made it a point to present the plan of salvation; and I feel that -- I feel that my trip was more than worthwhile; and I accomplished everything I wanted to accomplish.

BELL: Reverend Jerry Falwell in Kansas City, last week you said if the Soviets -- that everything the Soviets do is for propaganda purposes, for their advantage; and you hoped that Dr. Graham had been misquoted. How do you feel about his trip now and his statement?

JERRY FALWELL: Well, obviously, I just heard what Dr. Graham said, that there is more liberty today than in the 1930's. I think that's a true statement; and obviously believing that Billy is a very sincere representative of the cause of Christ I would never question his motives. I am very concerned that in the Soviet Union today this very hour there are a hundred fifty Baptist church leaders of the Council of Evangelical Baptists who are in prison for preaching the gospel. And, I have here a notebook that was given President Reagan last week by George Evenz, a Baptist pastor who was a Soviet pastor in Siberian prison camps when released, in an exchange with the Soviet Union of Russian spies.

The Jews there are being persecuted; the Pentacostalists are in the embassy. And, KGB agents of course attend services where the registered churches are operating. Of course, Dr. Graham made reference to all of that, and I just feel -- I personally feel that although there is a relativity to religious freedom that the Soviet Union is the chief violator of human rights in the world in history; and of course I'm glad that Dr. Graham got to preach the gospel there. And, I would certainly preach the gospel there. I'd preach the gospel in hell if they'd promise to let me out.

BELL: As an evangelical are you concerned that Dr. Graham's comments, conduct has in any way jeopardized the reputation of your faith or in any way misrepresented what your concerns are?

FALWELL: No, I think Dr. Graham has the same problem I have of everything he says is interpreted the way the particular reporter wants it interpreted and so I -- no, I'm not. I believe that preaching the gospel anywhere is a healthy and wholesome thing; and at no time have I opposed Dr. Graham's preaching the gospel in Russia.

BELL: Rabbi Goldstein?

GRAHAM: Let me interrupt at this point, if I might, that all of the issues on human rights and so forth I raised in private with very high Soviet officials. I was told by some people who have great experts at this in the American State Department and

other places that you will get far more -- I was told this by top reporters in Moscow that are there representing some of these networks that you'll get far more done if you will do it in private. They don't like publicity, and so I was able to speak to privately on one occasion for three hours to some of the leaders, one of them a leader of the Soviet Supreme; and then I was able to talk for an hour and a half with a member of the Politburo...

BELL: Dr. Graham.

GRAHAM: And all of these issues were discussed.

BELL: I'm going to have to get to Rabbi Goldstein because we're running out of time here; and he hasn't had an opportunity to comment yet.

GRAHAM: Oh, I'm terribly sorry.

BELL: Rabbi, it's the problem of our time. Rabbi Goldstein, you've heard all these comments. What's your reaction?

RABBI GOLDSTEIN: Well, just because Billy Graham has been such a great voice for humanity and for reason throughout his career I think it's all the more important for us to get the record straight and tell the accurate and true story here. There is great and massive religious persecution in the Soviet Union. I was there this past winter; I saw with my own eyes the degree of persecution against Russia's two and a half million Jews. I saw with my own eyes that they were unable to keep the faith, their religion. They do so only at great cost.

BELL: Are they prohibited from worshipping?

GOLDSTEIN: Absolutely.

GRAHAM: I would like to say this, that one of the conditions on my going was that I could meet the Jewish leaders there; and I met the chief rabbi and Jewish leaders in private. And, I discussed this entire matter with Rabbi Mark Tannenbaum of the American Jewish Committee before I came here. He urged me to take the trip; he thought it was worthwhile. And, I tried to cover my bases in every way that I possibly could.

FALWELL: But Dr. Graham, did you meet ordinary Jews in the Soviet Union, those who at great risk and with tremendous courage persist in teaching Hebrew, which is now banned, Hebrew, the language of Jewish prayer, and the language of Jewish literary culture and communication. This is now outlawed, consider "un-Soviet."

GRAHAM: You know, this is very interesting, because I asked the chief rabbi if he would pray and he prayed in Hebrew. No, I did not meet average people anywhere except on one occasion. This was one of the problems. I was going from seven in the morning until midnight every day. I only attended this conference by the

way as an observer; and I was only there for the first morning -- pardon me, the first afternoon and the second morning. I was only there for one of the five days. I was told by the American State Department that -- that they already had their communique all drawn up. That was absolutely changed; and I admired the other church leaders from the West that stood up and changed the communique so that the communique is evenhanded.

BELL: Rabbi Goldstein, we have about fifteen seconds.

GOLDSTEIN: I want to say that there are Hebrew teachers who teach in a secret way. They are under constant pressure and fear that if they should be discovered as Hebrew teachers the KGB will break in, confiscate their libraries, arrest them, harass them, even imprison them.

BELL: Gentlemen, thank you all very much for being with us this morning.

[END]

MT. Mission in Moscow

Billy Graham Irks Freedom Monitors

By CHARLES AUSTIN

The Rev. Billy Graham's comments on religious freedom in Moscow have aroused considerable discussion, largely because they seemed to place the conservative evangelist in the same camp with liberal church leaders in dealing with the issue of religion in Communist countries.

News Analysis "It would seem to me that in the churches I visited in the Soviet Union, and there are thousands of them, services are allowed to go on freely," Mr. Graham said near the end of his visit to the Soviet Union.

However, he acknowledged that religious liberty was a "relative" concept and agreed that his freedom to preach on his first official visit did not mean that the country was totally free from religious repression. In one address, he urged "all governments to respect the rights of religious believers."

Mr. Graham's comment implying that Russians could worship freely drew angry reactions, especially from organizations that have monitored repression in the Soviet Union.

In an interview from London on the ABC News program "This Week With David Brinkley," Mr. Graham stood by most of his remarks, but tried to convince his critics that his words were more nuanced than they had seemed. He spoke of "some measure" of religious freedom in the Soviet Union, and said it was "more than some Americans think."

Conservatives Have Been Critical

For decades, conservative preachers such as Mr. Graham have denounced the Soviet Union and its satellites for denying believers the right to practice religion freely. Moderate church leaders have been more soft-spoken in criticizing oppression in Eastern Europe.

Mr. Graham indicated that he may have consciously pulled his punches. "In a host country like this," he told a reporter in Moscow, "it's been my practice through the years never to take political sides."

While that may be perceived by some as naive and by others as wrong-headed, it is consistent with the evangelist's view that the best he has to offer anywhere is simple preaching about sin, forgiveness and the gospel of Jesus. Mr. Graham's comments about the need for nuclear disarmament attracted greater attention in part because they appeared to be political statements.

But in those comments and in his Moscow addresses, the evangelist was careful to relate his concerns to biblical texts. This, too, has proven troublesome, as critics have charged that by telling a Moscow congregation to honor secular authorities he was misusing his text from the 13th chapter of Romans. But his interpretation is consistent with his literal reading of Scripture.

Yesterday, Dr. Graham admitted that it might have been better to skip that portion of his sermon in Moscow.

He also defended his role as a spiritual leader. He said he barred reporters from his meeting with Siberian demonstrators in the American Embassy because it was a pastoral meeting.

While many church leaders active on the international scene would take issue with Mr. Graham's theology, they are likely to applaud his growing awareness of the Realpolitik governing churchly relations around the world.

Western church leaders do not contend that believers in Communist-controlled countries have the religious freedom guaranteed in the United States. But regulation of churches is not abhorrent to Europeans, many of whom are accustomed to a system of state churches where the government collects a church tax and considers members of the clergy civil servants.

In the years since World War II, churches in Western Europe have taken pains to maintain contact with Chris-



United Press International

The Rev. Billy Graham at news conference last week in Moscow.

tians in Communist countries. They have sometimes softened their criticism of Communism in order to keep channels of communication open. It is widely believed that Mr. Graham wants very much to return to the Soviet Union and preach.

His comments also set the evangelist apart from conservative Christians in the United States who say that Christians from Eastern Europe compromise their faith by accepting the limitations imposed on them. Liberal Christians, particularly those involved in international religious organizations, are less willing to cast aspersions on the faith of believers in Communist countries. If they do not publicly condemn religious oppression, it is often in deference to fellow church leaders from Communist countries who are allowed to join such international forums as the World Council of Churches.

"To some extent, we are dependent upon the Christians there to make their own judgments and plan their own strategies," Dr. Keith Bridston, general secretary of the United States office of the World Council, said of Christians in Communist countries.

Another church executive said that the churches in Communist lands make protests to their governments, but shy from making those objections public.

Even conservative Christians admit that the degree of religious freedom varies from country to country. Churches are tightly controlled in the Soviet Union, where the Russian Orthodox Church is the dominant religion.

In East Germany, controls exist but the state seems to tolerate modest criticism from Protestant bishops.

In Poland, the Roman Catholic Church has shown itself to be a political and social force as powerful as the Communist Party. Even the military government could not rule without wary détente with the clergy.

A Choice of Strategies

The question then becomes which strategy will best serve the cause of Christians in totalitarian countries.

Others feel he should have decried the restrictions on believers. "Christians there want visitors from the West to call attention to their plight," said Dr. Olin Robison, a Baptist minister who is president of Middlebury College in Vermont.

"I think Dr. Graham could have expressed appreciation for the hospitality," he continued, "without saying things that could be used by the Soviets to justify continued repression."

Another participant in the Moscow meeting said he was aware of dangers inherent in the conference. But the topic, world peace, made the trip necessary, said Dr. David Preus, the president of the American Lutheran Church, before leaving for Moscow. "We should be there," he said. "We will speak out. It's worth the risk."

"I know I may be used for propaganda," Mr. Graham said of his visit, "but I believe my propaganda — the gospel of Christ — is stronger."

• Soviet churches "which are open, of which there are thousands, seem to have liberty to have worship services."

• Asked by a reporter about the fate of a young woman who had unfurled a banner protesting religious repression and who was promptly arrested, Mr. Graham replied, "We detain people in the United States if we catch them doing something wrong."

• Remarking on a visit to three Orthodox churches which he found "jammed to capacity," he said, "You would never get that in Charlotte," N.C., his home town.

Reaction in Charlotte and elsewhere back home was less than enthusiastic. "I am more than a little perplexed," said Dr. Edmund Robb, a Methodist clergyman who heads the Institute on Religion and Democracy. "We all know of the plight of religious dissenters who are in prison this very day." The Rev. Jerry Falwell said he hoped Mr. Graham "was misquoted or taken out of context because there is no religious liberty in the Soviet Union."

Mr. Graham, a friend and golf partner of many Presidents, rejected a request from Vice President Bush to stay away from the Soviet meeting. On his previous Moscow visit, as a tourist in 1959, Mr. Graham reported "great spiritual hunger and a sense of insecurity in people's faces," but this time the crowds looked different — they were better clothed and new high-rise housing seemed impressive. As for the food, "In the United States you have to be a millionaire to have caviar," he said, "but I have had caviar with almost every meal."

The State Department, in retaliation, sent home two Polish diplomats and suspended travel between the two countries for scientists taking part in joint research projects in agriculture, public health and energy.

Lumps, Bumps For Rich Nations

Leaders of the largest industrial economies, in a somber rehearsal of what President Reagan will hear at next month's economic summit in Versailles, agreed last week that the end of recession still is not in sight. Unemployment in their countries, swollen by 10 million jobless in the United States, is still rising, they added.

"Speaker after speaker after speaker," Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan said, called on the United States to bring down interest rates, which they blame for undermining their economies. Washington also wants the rates to drop, Mr. Regan assured the 24-country Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris. But he warned this "will not be a panacea for the world's economic problems."

The O.E.C.D. ministers rejected American efforts to limit government subsidies for high-technology industries. Bill Brock, the American special trade representative, warned that the West is in danger of drifting into "a new era of protectionism."

Later, at a meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in Helsinki, ministers called for budgetary discipline to curb deficits in Washington. Mr. Regan, again on the defensive, fought off demands for

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The Conversion of Ronald Reagan

Billy Graham and Ronald Reagan turned up a lot of soil last week as, coincidentally, they preached reconciliation to the Kremlin. Moved by public passions about nuclear weapons, the evangelist refined his ideas about religious freedom and the President redefined his view of détente. Mr. Reagan had by far the better script.

Heaven only knows what Mr. Graham wanted to accomplish with his misguided denials of Soviet reputation. Mr. Reagan feigned no such respect for Soviet policy. He finally treated questions of character and philosophy as irrelevant to the quest for agreements that might preserve peace and moderate the arms race. While sermonizers, East and West, confuse coexistence with gestures of good will or trust, the President offers the realistic prospect of a "constructive relationship" grounded in self-interest.

For Mr. Reagan, that constitutes a dramatic conversion. Most notable was the confession that his contempt for Soviet conduct ("commit any crime ... lie ... cheat") was not an obstacle to negotiation. Fear and suspicion obviously surround the table, but the Reagan team no longer disputes the necessity of sitting down to talk.

Thus the President also abandoned "linkage," the doctrine that nuclear arms restraint must await the evacuation of Afghanistan, the end of martial law in Poland or even the end of Soviet-American antagonisms. The idea that arms control is a favor to the Russians dies hard in the mind of a generation that still pines for military superiority. The recognition that nuclear weapons, uniquely, cannot be instruments of policy is drifting up rather than down the age ladder. But it is sinking in.

Obviously, agitation in the streets of Europe and

America for a freeze on nuclear weapons dictated the timing and tone of the President's new bid to Moscow. Yet he rose above defensiveness. Relying more than ever on the judgment of Secretary of State Haig, Mr. Reagan realized that to impress the Kremlin he first had to win over Western opinion. He acknowledged Europe's stake in his policy and discovered at least some merit in his predecessors' policies of détente.

Indeed, while deploring the failure of East-West trade to produce Soviet "restraint," the President renewed the offer of commerce and credits a reward for moderation. He claimed to be doing more than he has yet done to press the Kremlin to choose between economic collaboration and sancti . . . But not unreasonably, he hopes that Soviet stress may yet make the trade lure effective.

The Russians will be tempted to crow about the heat generated by the freeze movement. But glossing over the President's ideas on arms reduction would be a serious misreading of the consensus that he now represents.

So long as he seemed to dread negotiation and lacked a plausible arms control program, the freeze campaign was an effective political challenge. But few knowledgeable Americans actually favor a freeze or think it can work. It was not Mr. Reagan, after all, but Jimmy Carter and his genteel Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, who first warned that only large reductions could restrain the arms race.

That Moscow held out for the modest limits of the unratified second arms treaty wasted five years. That Mr. Reagan refuses to build on that treaty may waste five more. Without a broad program of reductions, however, no restraints will last in any case. Mr. Reagan's new approach is neither extreme nor only defensive. It deserves a solid reply.

W.P. 21 5.15.82 N.T.



public

CS 11(24) 5-13-82

Preaching peace in Moscow

Some public concern was voiced in the West when the Rev. Billy Graham set off for Moscow to attend an international conference on disarmament. US administration officials, too, felt the evangelist would simply be exploited by the Soviet Union for its own foreign policy purposes. The warnings seem to have made an impression. While cautious not to offend his Soviet hosts, Mr. Graham did make a visit to the handful of dissident Pentecostals living in the US Embassy since 1978. And, in a carefully worded speech, he called for "all governments" to respect the right of religious freedom. He is to be commended on both scores.

Exchanges with the Soviet Union are useful. The more human traffic between East and West — the more contacts between scholars, scientists, writers, religious leaders — the better. Not because anyone thinks such exchanges will suddenly liberalize Kremlin policies; they obviously will not. But because they contribute to better understanding at all levels, keep dialogue going, and help reduce tensions. In Mr. Graham's case, his visit makes possible continued supportive ties with the Baptist church in the USSR which, despite the tight limits on its activities and the persecutions of many so-called illegal Baptists, has courageously carried on.

This does not mean that visitors to the Soviet Union should pull their punches and fail to speak their minds out of deference to the Soviet authorities. Exchanges in such circumstance become meaningless. The Russians

should know that Westerners go to their country not, certainly, to promote the overthrow of the Soviet system or cause internal political problems but to engage in forthright, honest debate and meet with people of all walks of life.

The Russians clearly are using the religious conference on nuclear weapons to push the peace issue. They know that Western clerics as well as scientists now are joining the antinuclear movement. Westerners therefore need to be especially alert to not letting themselves be used. Fortunately, such sensitivity was exhibited by two other American clerics at the Moscow meeting who appealed to Soviet and third-world delegates not to turn the conference into a propaganda attack on the West but to be evenhanded in their discussions. Good for them.

Surely church leaders have much to contribute to the growing debate of nuclear issues but this contribution has a unique dimension of its own — a religious one. If religionists become embroiled in politics they may risk losing the very strength they can bring to the problem. As Mr. Graham told the gathering: "the possibility of a nuclear war is primarily a moral and spiritual issue that concerns us all. I furthermore am convinced that political answers alone will not suffice. But it is now time for us to urge the world to turn to a spiritual solution to this great problem."

That is a message which can be delivered in any capital.

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

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FOR AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

PROGRAM THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY

STATION

WABC TV & THE ABC
TELEVISION NETWORK

DATE MAY 16, 1982

11:30 A.M. CITY

NEW YORK

BROADCAST EXCERPT

DAVID BRINKLEY: Mr. Graham, in London, we're very happy to have you with us today. Thank you for coming.

BILLY GRAHAM: Thank you, David, and thank you for giving me this opportunity to say a few words about what I've just heard Jim Wooten say.

BRINKLEY: Well, it's a pleasure to have you.

GRAHAM: Thank you.

BRINKLEY: You are, of course, aware that there has been in this country some criticism of you for going to the Moscow conference to the assemblage of religious leaders? Why did you do it?

GRAHAM: I went, first of all, I was not a delegate, I only attended one afternoon, and one morning. I was an observer; and secondly, I went totally because I wanted to preach the Gospel of Christ in atheistic Russia; and I had the opportunity of preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ publicly on three occasions and privately everywhere I went. There wasn't a single person that I talked to, whether in the government, or in the Church, that I didn't present my belief in the Bible as the word of God and Jesus Christ as my personal savior. I made that a point and I preached from seven in the morning till midnight almost every day of the five and a half days I was there.

Now, I do not claim, in that short time to be an authority on the Soviet Union, or freedom of religion in the Soviet Union. But I'd like to point out that some quotes that have come back to me are erroneous. Some quotes have been taken out of context. And here I have the New York Herald Tribune in Paris, day before yesterday, says: Graham says Russia offers some measure of church freedom.

And that's exactly what I said. I said that there was more freedom in this, in the Soviet Union than some Americans might think, because I went, for example, on Saturday night, Saturday, to

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three orthodox churches. They did not know I was coming. They were packed to capacity, preparing themselves for the Sunday worship services.

And I saw, and felt I saw, at least, more freedom than I thought existed.

Now, I know that all these things exist that we've been talking about. But I wasn't that naive. But at the same time, I had my own propaganda. My propaganda is the Gospel of Jesus Christ. I know that they were using me, and they're probably going to continue to use me. I'm hoping that they might use me in the context of peace, because I did go there and give a speech on peace; but in that speech I also told them that I was not a pacifist; I was not for unilateral disarmament.

In that speech I reminded them very strongly about the agreements of Helsinki on human rights and then I presented the Biblical faces of peace, which is really Jesus Christ.

BRINKLEY: Dr. Graham, here with me are George Will of ABC and Sam Donaldson of ABC, who have questions for you.

GEORGE WILL: Dr. Graham, you say you went there to preach the Gospel; and one of the portions of the Gospel you chose to preach to one of your congregations was Romans 13, which says that people should obey the authorities. My understanding is the last time a Soviet audience was treated to that passage from Scripture was when a dissident cleric, who had been broken to the will of the state, used it on television at the behest of the Soviet authorities. Couldn't you have found another message from the Gospel to preach?

GRAHAM: That wasn't what I preached on, Mr. Will. I preached on John the 5th Chapter and I told about the paralytic. And I preached a straight Gospel sermon, the same sermon that I preached in New England, week before last, the same sermon I preached in England, the same sermon I preached in crusades all over the United States.

And that passage happened to be in there.

As I looked back, I should have taken it out. I didn't even think of it in the context of the Soviet Union at that time.

SAM DONALDSON: Dr. Graham, let me go back to the question of religious freedom in the Soviet Union, as you see it. You say that you merely meant to say that you were surprised that there was some more than you had thought before you went.

GRAHAM: I didn't mean to say it. That is exactly what I did see.

DONALDSON: All right. Let me ask you how much you think that more is. Can the average Russian--

GRAHAM: I really don't--

DONALDSON: Can the average Russian practice his religion just as he sees fit, whenever he wants?

GRAHAM: I would not know that answer.

DONALDSON: You would not know--

GRAHAM: --what I have read.

DONALDSON: Your friend, the Reverend Jerry Falwell says he doesn't think that you believe for a moment, any Christian should believe that there is religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

GRAHAM: No. I wouldn't call, I would never say that there's religious freedom in the Soviet Union, certainly not in the sense that we Americans know it. But I do believe that there's more religious freedom in the Soviet Union than in many other countries I've been to.

Now, when people go to China today, for example--

DONALDSON: Such as--

GRAHAM: They're applauded for going to China--

DONALDSON: Dr. Graham--

GRAHAM: It's wonderful to go to China. But there's not as much religious freedom in China as there is in the Soviet Union.

DONALDSON: Well, is religious freedom something that you can have measures of and, therefore, if you have something less than what you need, that's okay, or that's better than if you have something a little less than that? I'm not quite clear what God would preach in the way of religious freedom.

GRAHAM: Well, for example, I think that the Bible teaches that we are given by the Holy Spirit the food of the Spirit; and I think that a person can live in a very hostile society the Christian life by demonstrating love and joy and peace and all of the rest of the gifts, the fruits of the Spirit, where he may be denied the right to use the gifts of the Spirit.

And this has happened in China. I think China is the perfect example. I think the Church in China today is three times stronger than it was twenty-five or thirty years ago, simply because the Christians have not been able to gather. They've had no freedom to worship. But they have been growing, because they have lived the life and other people have seen the life that they have lived.

And, of course, where you have restrictions, as you have in the

Soviet Union, many people have found ways to accommodate themselves, ways, perhaps, that I couldn't do. But they've found ways to accommodate themselves and still believe in God.

Now, it takes some courage to go to church on a Sunday. It takes some courage to stand up for Christ in certain countries; and it's in periods like this many times that the Christians become stronger and the Church grows faster and, I believe, that we're seeing the beginning of that right now in the Soviet Union.

BRINKLEY: Dr. Graham, I would like to repeat a bit of what has been said here, some of which you may or may not have heard, about your trip, and ask you response.

One point is that you have been royally entertained, taken around Moscow in a limousine, fed caviar three times a day, and have been taken in. What is your response to that?

GRAHAM: David, I was not taken in. I think you would know that through years of experience and travel and talking to people all over the world, I'm not taken in.

But it is true that they did give me a limousine--when I say a limousine, I would say it would be comparable to one of our, let's say, Oldsmobile, or something like that. They did give me a chauffeur. They kept me in a hotel with other delegates that were attending this Congress.

I did not have caviar three times a day. But I sure saw plenty of caviar, because when they entertained me at their dinners and so forth, they would serve caviar, because they serve it with their vodka and so forth. I did not take the vodka. They knew that I didn't drink and they didn't expect me to. When they held a toast, I usually picked up a glass of water, or a glass of juice that they provided for me.

WILL: Mr. Graham, you said at one point that the churches were packed in Moscow, which is more than you could say for Charlotte, North Carolina.

GRAHAM: That was on a Saturday night, sir.

WILL: Okay.

GRAHAM: And we have everything that I said while I was there, I recorded. Every time I met with a press person, every time I talked to anybody, we recorded the thing. So, this was a Saturday night. And I said in Charlotte, North Carolina on Saturday night, I seriously doubt if you would find any churches packed out.

BRINKLEY: They don't have services on Saturday night.

GRAHAM: That's right. I was just making that as sort of a joke to the reporter.

WILL: Furthermore, at one of these congregations you were preaching at, a woman unfurled a banner that said there are more than one hundred and fifty religious dissidents being held for their exercise of religious freedom. At the time your service was over, evidently there were one hundred and fifty-one. It is said that you took no notice of it. Are you satisfied with your handling of incidents like this?

GRAHAM: Yes, because I did not see that particular one. There were two, I believe. I saw the one in front of me, which was the Scripture verse. I did not know how to apply it. I saw it. It went down for about one minute and then it was pulled back up.

And there is a story behind that, too, that I'm not free to reveal.

But the point was that in these, in these private meetings that I held with Soviet officials, I raised all of these issues, and I was told by one of the top reporters that has been there quite a long time for one of the networks, he said: You're handling this thing exactly right. He said: If you were making a big media event out of this, he said, you would not get anywhere.

And, of course, I brought up the matter of the Siberians. And I went to see the Siberians--

DONALDSON: Dr. Graham--

GRAHAM: --pray with them and talk to the Bible to them.

DONALDSON: I think the problem that many people have in asking questions of you is that the Russians made a big media event out of you and you, on the other hand, say you were using quiet diplomacy. You didn't--

GRAHAM: I was using both public and quiet--

(OVERLAPPING VOICES)

DONALDSON: You didn't take notice of the woman demonstrator. There were about three hundred people outside the church when you came out. Reporters pointed them out and said they wanted to see you. You said, oh, really, according to the quotes, and went on.

GRAHAM: The problem was, sir, that I was seventeen minutes late to the Orthodox cathedral where I was supposed to speak a little bit later; and I did not know that there were three hundred. I was told there were some; and I really didn't stop to think about it.

DONALDSON: Well, all right. So, there were two hundred and--

GRAHAM: If I'd have had an opportunity to sit and think about

it, I would certainly have gone out there.

DONALDSON: And then you went to the Embassy, and there is a story that you had to be blackmailed almost into seeing the six Pentecostals who are there. The story is that before you could have dinner with the Ambassador, you had to see them, but you refused to allow your picture to be taken with them. There are a lot of people, Dr. Graham, who say that you were not testifying for God, but you were testifying only for the ego of Billy Graham. How do you respond to that?

GRAHAM: Well, the thing I was trying to avoid was making a big media event out of it. I could not help a great number of press men being outside the Embassy. But I did not want to go into that little room and have it filled with television cameras and spoil what I wanted to be spiritual meeting in which I could encourage them and pray with them. And our entire conversation with them, they asked me Bible questions all the way through.

They did ask me one question: Did you take up our cause with any officials? And I said, yes. They said: Was there any response? I said: Yes. I said one man said that he thought the issue could be resolved. But he did not tell me how.

But then they started on the Bible and they had at least twenty-five or thirty questions to ask me on Bible passages. They wanted explanations for. Then we all got on our knees and we all prayed together. And it was a very precious time as far I was concerned. There were some tears. I hugged them and kissed them and tried to encourage them in every way I possibly could. I could not have done that in a lot of cameras.

BRINKLEY: Dr. Graham, if I may interrupt here for a moment, we'll be back with more questions in a moment.

* * *

BRINKLEY: We're back with Dr. Billy Graham who is speaking to us by satellite from London.

Dr. Graham, I understand you're returning to the United States, bearing a message for President Reagan. Would you care to tell us the nature of it?

GRAHAM: No. I'm not bearing a message for President Reagan.

BRINKLEY: You're not?

GRAHAM: No, sir.

BRINKLEY: All right.

DONALDSON: Let me ask you this about the Soviet leadership. Do you think they sincerely want disarmament? You spoke at a confer-

ence to do away with nuclear weapons.

GRAHAM: I think that people--you see, this was not a Christian conference. This was a conference of Islamic leaders, Buddhist leaders, Hindu leaders--I'd never been in such a conference. It was quite a learning experience for me, just the short time I was there. As I say, I was only there one day--

DONALDSON: I'm asking you, sir, if you think the Soviet leadership wants disarmament, truly is interested in disarming.

GRAHAM: I have not met but about three people in the Supreme Soviet; and all I can tell you is that they did tell me that they did want disarmament and I think in Mr. Reagan's speech of last Sunday that they were pleased with those part of the speech in which he called for negotiations and called for arms reduction. I think they were.

DONALDSON: Do you see a sincerity in that? Do you believe they're just--

GRAHAM: I don't know. I mean, I have no way of knowing. I'm not an expert on Soviet affairs.

WILL: Mr. Graham, do you have--

GRAHAM: They seemed to be sincere. Yes.

WILL: Dr. Graham, before you went to the Soviet Union, there was a very well-publicized incident in Red Square where some people unfurled a banner saying: We'd rather have bread than bombs. And they were promptly pounced upon by the police. Given that evidence that there's no, and there's not about to be any, peace movement in the Soviet Union, wasn't it clear to you from the start that this propaganda festival to which you were going was used simply to encourage a unilateral peace pressure and disarmament pressure in the West?

GRAHAM: It might have been. But, you see, I believe that my propoganda of the Gospel of Christ is far stronger than any other propoganda in the world; and I went there to declare the Gospel of Christ. I don't know about this incident in Red Square. I'm sure it happened. But I don't know their reasoning behind that. They never discussed that with me.

DONALDSON: You want to go back to the Soviet Union, as I understand it, to preach from Siberia to the Black Sea. Is that something that you think is very important? And do you think you will convert many Russians?

GRAHAM: Well, you see, I have said from the very beginning of my ministry that I would go anywhere to preach the Gospel of Christ, if there were no restrictions on my preaching and what I had to say.

You see, the Apostle Paul and the apostles all traveled in Roman territory. They preached their Gospel. They were all killed for it eventually. But they never lifted a finger against Rome.

Now, it's always interesting to me that they did not take a stand against the cruel, tyrannical Roman government of that day and never wrote a word against it. They went on preaching the Gospel.

DONALDSON: Is that why you did not take a stand against the Soviet Union, when you came to human rights?

GRAHAM: I brought it out very strongly in my speech on human rights. I quoted from the Helsinki agreements and called on all nations to observe those agreements.

BRINKLEY: Well, if Dr. Graham, if you're able, if you're allowed to preach in the Soviet Union, no one here would discount your abilities as a minister, as a preacher. Do you see any real hope of religion becoming a serious force in the Soviet Union?

GRAHAM: Yes, sir.

BRINKLEY: On what do you base that?

GRAHAM: On what I have heard and felt and talked with people who know the Soviet Union very well, and we have our own lines of communications that would indicate that there is a tremendous hunger on the part, especially of young people in the Soviet Union for something, not necessarily God--I believe it's God; but they don't know it's God; and I believe there's a vacuum at this moment.

WILL: But the concentration camps, Dr. Graham, are filled with people who have tried to satisfy that hunger. What makes you think that you're going to cause the Kremlin to begin dismantling the apparatus of thought control, the basis of the regime?

GRAHAM: I don't think I'm going to do it. I don't think I'm going to live long enough to even see that. But I do know what the power of the Gospel can do, and I'm not thinking politically now. I'm thinking of personally and spiritually, because we all need God. And I believe, if they ask me to come and preach the Gospel without restrictions, I would go. But there'd certainly have to be clear understandings.

DONALDSON: Dr. Graham, why not preach here at home? Aren't there people in the United States who need your ministry? Why do you feel you have--

GRAHAM: That's where I spend ninety percent of my time. I just finished a tour of the universities of New England and I start this weekend with touring New England again.

DONALDSON: Yes. But I asked you the question because your critics, or some of them, say that you have this belief, that your

ego requires a world-wide Christian ministry on your part.

GRAHAM: Well, it's not my ego. It's my calling. Jesus said: Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel. He didn't say: Go into the capitalist countries only. He said go into all the world and preach the Gospel. I've been in countries that had right-wing dictatorships. I've been in countries that had left-wing dictatorships. But I've tried to stick right with the Gospel of Christ and stay out of all of these various political problems.

BRINKLEY: Did the Russian leadership give any indication they would allow you to carry on this crusade in the Soviet Union?

GRAHAM: No.

BRINKLEY: Did not.

WILL: Dr. Graham, you've changed your tone about the Soviet Union amazingly in the last thirty years; and just this spring as the peace movement has become hot politically, you have appeared at the head of it. Is there an element of opportunism in this?

GRAHAM: It looks that way. It looks that way to the outsider and probably looks that way a little bit to me.

I started on this about three or four years ago, speaking out on the peace issue; and my life has been filled with some pilgrimage, like the race question, for example, or the need of the hungry and oppressed peoples around the world, to try to help them; and then the peace thing.

When I saw some films on the horrifying effects of the, of an atomic war, and when a deputy at the National Security Council came to my home to brief my wife and me on what an atomic war could do, and how dangerous a situation we now find ourselves in, in the next five years, I felt it was my responsibility to speak out, and I've been calling for Salt Ten, the destruction of all weapons of mass destruction and a negotiated understanding, a verifiable, I used this in the conference speech, by the way, I used the word verifiable, in which we could verify on all sides that these weapons are destroyed, and then a negotiated thing on the conventional weapons.

Otherwise, our world at this moment stands on the very brink of a holocaust of a proportion that is very difficult for us in America to understand. It hink the people in Europe understand it more, because they have more recently had two great wars on their continent.

BRINKLEY: Dr. Graham--

GRAHAM: Remember, in the last war, the Soviet Union lost twenty million people--that's one out of every ten people; and they feel this thing pretty strongly among the average people that I talked to, at least.

BRINKLEY: Dr. Graham, thank you. Our time is up. We thank you for coming in, and talking with us.



05-17-82

Graham tells interviewers he 'was not taken in' by Soviet Union propaganda

By Religious News Service

WASHINGTON (RNS) — Evangelist Billy Graham has asserted that he "was not taken in" by Soviet propaganda and that he was quoted out of context during his recent visit to Moscow.

The famed preacher was criticized by Soviet dissidents and some evangelical Christians in the United States based on media reports of comments he had made while in Moscow to attend a peace conference sponsored by the Russian Orthodox Church.

Among other things, he had said there was more religious freedom in the USSR than Americans believed, and that the Russian Orthodox Church was a "free church" and not a state church.

On May 16, Mr. Graham faced questions during a live satellite hookup from London, where he went to receive the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion following his stay in Moscow.

Interviewed on ABC-TV's "This Week With David Brinkley," the evangelist said, "I was not taken in. I think you know after all my experience and years of travel, I'm not taken in. But it is true they gave me a limousine."

Mr. Graham related that "there wasn't a single person I talked to, whether in government or in the church, that I didn't present my beliefs in the Bible as the word of God and Jesus Christ as my personal savior. I made that a point."

Responding to the allegation that the Soviet government used his visit for propaganda purposes, the evangelist said, "I know they were using me and they're probably going to continue to use me. I'm hoping that they might use me in the context of peace, because I did go there to give a speech on peace."

Before Mr. Graham went to Moscow, there were reports that the White House had urged him to reconsider. "President Reagan never asked me not to go," the evangelist said, "I would have been delighted not to go if he had called me on the phone and asked me."

One of the people on the television program who challenged the evangelist's visit and attitude was the Rev. Edmund Robb, chairman of the Institute on Religion and Democracy. "I'm convinced you made a serious mistake and if some of the things you've been quoted as saying are true, you've certainly been compromised in the evangelical community," Mr. Robb, a United Methodist evangelist, told the Southern Baptist preacher.

Mr. Graham asserted that "some of the quotes were erroneous, some of the quotes were taken out of context." He said one accurate report was an article in the Paris Herald Tribune headlined, "Russia Offers Some Measure of Church Freedom."

The evangelist confirmed that "I said there was more freedom in the Soviet Union than some Americans might think."

Meanwhile, other U.S. religious leaders cautioned against trying to "second-guess" Mr. Graham in the circumstances he faced in Moscow.

"I don't think he had any wrong intentions whatever," said the Rev. Jerry Falwell, head of the Moral Majority. "I think the Soviets had all the wrong intentions."

The Rev. Keith Bridston, head of the U.S. Conference of the World Council of Churches, said of Mr. Graham, "Perhaps he could have been more candid and critical, but you can't stand off afar and judge someone in a difficult situation."

Russell Shaw, public-affairs director for the U.S. Catholic Conference, commented that "it's very easy to second-guess somebody in a difficult situation. Someone else might have done it differently, but I don't see any good in second-guessing Dr. Graham on it. He's no babe in the woods."

05-17-81

New Chinese constitution says Catholics can't look to Vatican for leadership

By Bonnie Sexton

Religious News Service Correspondent

PEKING (RNS) — Chinese Catholics will soon be forbidden by law to recognize the pope as head of their church.

Later this year, China will formally adopt a constitution that among other things restricts foreign control of domestic religious practice. Article 35 of the new draft constitution states that "no religious affairs may be dominated by any foreign country."

The draft, made public here on April 27, will be ratified by the National People's Congress later this year. No revision or opposition is expected.

The clause effectively puts an end to Roman Catholic hopes of reuniting the Chinese church with the Vatican.

Official Chinese Catholic groups have vehemently rejected all the recent overtures to them by the Vatican.

The problem between the two groups goes back to 1949 when the Roman Catholic Church opposed the Chinese Communist takeover. Relations were further strained when Vatican-appointed bishops were jailed for counter-revolutionary crimes in the ear-

ly fifties. Finally all relations were broken when the government declared that China's Catholic Church had to be independent of foreign rule.

During the chaos of the ensuing years, the church had little contact with the outside world. It was not until the late 1970's when churches reopened, bishops were elected and Catholic organizations began having national meetings that the subject of Vatican relations came up again.

But relations have not improved in the 1980's. Pope John Paul II's speech from Manila in 1981 was not well received by the official church. His appointment of Bishop Deng Yiming (Dominic Tang) was attacked because the breakaway Chinese church did not recognize the Vatican's right to appoint bishops for China.

Further problems followed in March when the pope asked Easter worshippers to pray for Chinese Catholics whose faith had been tested over the years through "diverse experiences and sufferings."

Official Catholic groups in Shanghai and Peking protested that the Pope's words were "vicious slander based on false testimonies."

No press did not report the reaction of underground Catholics, who are thought to want ties with the Vatican. Last November the Rev. Zhu Hongshen and several other elderly Jesuit priests were arrested in Shanghai. Sources linked them with the underground church there.

China's official press asserts that the Chinese "enjoy a freedom of religious beliefs." That declaration is included in the new constitution, as it was in previous constitutions. Article 35 goes on to say, "the state protects legitimate religious activities."

It also says that "no one may use religion to carry out counter-revolutionary activities that disrupt social order, harm the health of citizens or obstruct the educational system of the state."

Shortly after the draft constitution was announced, the official Chinese news agency Xinhua published an interview with the top official of the constitutional commission, Hu Sheng.

Mr. Hu said Clause 35 was meant "to provide better state protection of religious activities." He said the clause "reflects the will of the people, including those who believe in various religions."

M.T. 5-18-86

W.P. 19

Graham Cites Trip 'Misquotes'

LONDON, May 17 (AP)—The Rev. Billy Graham, criticized for his comments about freedom of religion in the Soviet Union, said today that reports of his trip contained "apparent distortion and actual misquotes."

Graham accepted an invitation from the state-authorized Russian Orthodox Church to attend a Moscow conference last week on peace and the threat of nuclear war. He was criticized in some American religious circles for saying he found a measure of religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

In a statement released today, he said freedom is relative and that there are restrictions on prayer and Bible use in United States public schools.

But the United States has a "great degree of freedom, for which I am grateful," he said. In China "there are many restrictions and yet leaders in the United States seem to be applauded for going there. Perhaps less than 200 churches are open in a population of about 1 billion," Graham's statement said.

Graham said he issued the statement to "clarify" unspecified reports, which he said contained "apparent distortion and actual misquotes of what I said concerning religious freedom in the Soviet Union."

The 63-year-old evangelist from North Carolina told a London news conference earlier today that he had expected controversy.

"Looking back, I would not have done anything different," he said. "I was able to preach the Gospel, and if there had been any restriction on what I wanted to say I would not have gone."

Graham's statement called the Soviet Union "an atheistic society which does not encourage religion," but where the churches "have some measure of freedom to hold public worship services on church properties" and "families are free to teach their children the Bible and to have prayer in their homes."

Graham told reporters he went to Moscow because he thinks the "more contact we have the better."

He said that in private talks with Soviet officials and religious leaders, he raised a number of problems about religious freedom, including the six Siberian Pentecostals who want to leave the country and who took refuge in the United States Embassy in Moscow in 1978. He met the six.

Yesterday, Graham said on ABC-TV's "This Week With David Brinkley" that he visited the Soviet Union because "Jesus said, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel.' He didn't say, 'Go into the capitalist countries only.'"

AMERICAN
ARC

M.T. Billy Graham Rebuffs Criticism of Soyjet Trip

LONDON, May 17 (AP) — The Rev. Billy Graham said today that he expected his visit to Moscow to create controversy. He rebuffed criticism that he had been naive to discuss peace and nuclear war at a church conference.

"I was able to preach the Gospel and if there had been any restriction on

what I wanted to say I would not have gone," he told a news conference. He said he believed that it was important for him to go to Moscow because "weapons are getting so sophisticated that they are getting almost beyond the control of man."

Later, Mr. Graham issued a statement saying there had been "apparent distortion and actual misquotes" about what he had said at the conference.

"Freedom is relative," the statement said in part. "I don't have freedom in the United States to go into a public school and preach the Gospel, nor is a student free in a public school to pray, or a teacher free to read the Bible publicly to the students. At the same time, we have a great degree of freedom for which I am grateful."

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The Rev. Billy Graham delivers speech in the Yelikhovsky Cathedral of the Russian Orthodox Church

UPI photo

Politics and religion in USSR

Soviets, nuclear arms, and Billy Graham

By Ned Temko
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
Soviet policy makers seem to be taking a new, more sophisticated approach to wooing Western antinuclear advocates. In the process, the Russian Orthodox Church gets a potential boost.

Signs of this emerged from last week's Moscow conference of "World Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe." Meanwhile, the Rev. Billy Graham, invited here as an observer, made statements that puzzled a number of Westerners, including many of his strong supporters.

Dr. Graham, his aides explained, was intent on being a good guest. On departure from Moscow, the American evangelist seemed to explain why: he wants to return to the Soviet Union and preach "from Siberia to the Black Sea." Should the Soviets permit this, they would be making a stunning departure from past policy on religion.

Dr. Graham was a good guest indeed. Asked on various occasions by foreign reporters whether he thought there was freedom of religion in the Soviet Union, he explained that the term was relative. But, he said, in a sense, churches in the USSR were healthier than in the US, and freer than in Britain.

Dr. Graham did preach once, as well, telling a jam-packed Baptist church that God could make the faithful better workers, more loyal citizens, "because in the 13th chapter of Romans, we are told to obey the authorities. . . ."

The American visitor's behavior perplexed other Western clerics in town for the antinuclear conference, at least some Russian religious figures, and even a few Soviet officials, although this last group made it clear they didn't mind his performance in the least.

But the Soviet news agency Tass and other official news outlets made little of Dr. Graham's apology for the authorities' attitude toward religion.

Priority issue for the Soviets last week was nuclear arms limitation. The priority appeared to be the same in the West. The priority was the same at the conference.

It produced a forum for the exchange of views that, in the end, was a success.

its degree of evenhandedness toward East and West. The Kremlin, almost surely, was not surprised.

Although the conference began on a predictably pro-Soviet note, promptly reemphasized by a Syrian and a Sri Lankan delegate, a small group of American clerics then spearheaded a Western bid to prevent a mere one-sided condemnation of Reagan administration arms policy. The Americans, particularly Lutheran presiding Bishop David Preus of Minnesota, are said to have made it clear they would walk out if spurned.

The communiqué suggested by the Russian delegates, according to conference sources, endorsed the Soviet position on European nuclear forces and, in effect, called on the West to recognize how reasonable the Soviets are. But when American delegates demurred, changes were made. The final product was not completely evenhanded.

The priority issue was nuclear arms limitation. The priority audience was the antinuclear movement in the West.

The conference decried production of a neutron weapon and the "doctrine" of limited nuclear war — both items high on the list of Soviet indictment of US arms policy — but included no specific criticism of any Moscow weapons system.

Still, the final document's paragraph on general disarmament issues and proposals was redrafted in distinctly non-Tasslike fashion. Gone was the call for the West to reciprocate Soviet missile initiatives. In place of kind words for the nuclear freeze proposals of US Senators Edward M. Kennedy (D) of Massachusetts and Mark O. Hatfield (R) of Oregon was a pat on the back for Ronald Reagan: "We also welcome the expressed readiness of the United States to conduct formal negotiations on the reduction of strategic nuclear arms beginning as early as next month."

"We see hope in recent expressions on both [the Soviet and American] sides of a willingness to meet each other and to negotiate . . ." the communiqué continued. "We would, however, appeal still to the Soviet

Union, to the United States, and to other nuclear powers, to hasten the pace of implementing programs of disarmament."

Tass, in its English-language service, quoted these passages of the conference appeal. Domestically, the official media made only cursory mention of the contents.

Observers say it is unthinkable that Russian religious figures at the conference would have accepted the redrafting without a nod from secular Soviet authorities. But Western delegates saw a number of signs that the Kremlin, moreover, may have expected and even encouraged such an outcome from the start.

For one thing, the composition of the conference's "drafting committee," including two American and two West European delegates, made some bargaining at least possible. Too, a speech at the meeting by Georgi Arbatov, a ranking Soviet party official and the Kremlin's best-known adviser on US affairs, generally steered clear of explicit condemnation of Reagan arms policies, in favor of a more restrained and balanced tone.

The feeling of many Kremlin-watchers here is that Soviet authorities decided they had much more to gain from a conference that yielded a communiqué credible in the West, than by trying to push through an endorsement of Soviet policies at the risk of breaking up the meeting.

Late last year, a veteran ideological authority and member of the Soviet Politburo, Boris Ponomarev, wrote an article calling for an "all-embracing [world] antiwar coalition that would include the activities of the broadest possible strata of the population, the widest possible range of political forces."

Western religious groups might fit the bill. Moreover, some diplomats note, the Russian Orthodox Church can probably act more credibly to encourage Western antinuclear sentiment than can secular Soviet politicians.

If this is the strategy, Moscow will presumably begin to seek increased overseas action by this nation's officially controlled church organization.

Remarks by Soviet church leaders suggest the process would amount to a marriage of convenience for the state, and of necessity for the church.

The church's evident hope is in winning a more important role in Soviet diplomacy, it may secure an inch-by-inch expansion of prerogatives at home.

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Rev. Billy Graham's goof

5-12-82

NY Post 31 N.Y.

a case of caviar

By JAMES A. WECHSLER

IN London TV appearances following his muddled mission to Moscow, The Rev. William Franklin Graham has portrayed a misunderstood martyr, increasingly uncomfortable in that role. He almost seems to be asking himself why he ever left home.

Little in his history had prepared him for the storm created by his remarkable assertion that religion is not only alive but well in the Soviet Union. He is injured by intimations that he was beguiled by his hosts. But each time he seeks to make himself clear, he compounds the confusion.

What was heralded as a valorous effort to promote nuclear sanity has ended in a debacle that may even damage the cause to which he had ostensibly dedicated himself. Some of those who have followed his career may uncharitably murmur that it could not have happened to a nicer guy.

Certainly he has rarely exhibited any impulse to identify with unpopular, hazardous movements or to embrace any underdogs.

He stood aloof and remote while Dr. Martin Luther King was risking his life in the civil rights surge of the '60s, preferring to crusade against sin and heroin.

As resistance to the Vietnam war began, he spurned any association with clergymen who spoke out against it.

At the peak of the bombing escalation, he answered Lyndon Johnson's call to attend a White House prayer breakfast and expressed contempt for those "who have tried to reduce Christ to the level of a genial, innocuous appeaser."

Only when public sentiment turned overwhelmingly against the war did he finally join the rising chorus of opposition. He belatedly explained that he had suppressed "grave questions" about our involvement because "I would

be forced to take sides in every war in the world."

His conduct in the Watergate era reflected a comparably prudent concern for self-protection and his careful reading of those scriptures known as opinion polls.

He initially affirmed his fealty to Richard Nixon and reiterated his "confidence" in him after the first tapes were revealed.

But as Nixon's predicament deepened and the polls swung decisively against him, he was more frequently seen golfing with Vice President Ford. He was not disposed to wait until the lifeboats were crowded.

Against that background, the announcement of his 1982 pilgrimage to Moscow appeared to contain obvious significance. It surely confirmed all the signs that

the nuclear-freeze campaign was gaining dramatic momentum.

If the Rev. Graham was planning to attend the "World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe," the message of America's Main Streets must have been clear and loud:

Some nervous commentators lamented his lending his name and presence to a Moscow-sponsored assemblage. But nothing in the script obliged him to (in his Vietnam-era phrase) "reduce Christ to the level of a genial innocuous appeaser."

He was not required to discover hidden virtues in the oppressive Soviet system or suffer acute failure of vision when dissidents marred the landscape. He could have simply delivered an appeal for reason addressed as bluntly to the

Soviet leadership as to the Washington hawks.

Instead he sounded like an echo of all fellow-travelers past who journeyed to Stalin's shrine and came home denying the vile "canards" about Gulag. In doing so he ineptly furnished fresh ammunition for our nuclear-warriors who are branding the freeze a Muscovite plot.

Some Graham apologists have suggested that his ingratiating tones were cleverly designed to keep Soviet doors open to him for future religious crusades. But it is hard to reconcile that long-range design with his warning that a nuclear Armageddon is a clear and present danger.

His insistence that his bland words were not the result of an overdose of caviar must be accepted. But if it wasn't caviar that dulled his sensibilities, what did?

NY News

Brother Billy was taken for a ride

SHORTLY AFTER the end of the war, just before the Soviet-American military glow had dissipated, Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker was given one of those prettified tours made famous by Prince Potemkin. Asked on his return what were his impressions of life in the Soviet Union, Capt. Rickenbacker said: "Wonderful! No labor union problems!"

The Rev. Billy Graham has done as much to sink a generation's scholarship, journalistic research and moral analysis as Rickenbacker would have done if he had been taken seriously. It is sad to say this, Rickenbacker having been one of my heroes (and friends), Billy Graham someone I have greatly admired (and been befriended by). But my sadness cannot compare to the awful misery of millions of Russians. Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, reading the accounts of Graham's pilgrimage, must feel about as Wiesenthal would have felt if Rabbi Stephen Wise had traveled to Germany in 1939 to announce that he found no real difference in race relations under Nazism than at home.



William F. Buckley Jr.

Apologists for Billy Graham will make the point that diplomatic constraints are paramount; and they will be wrong. Diplomatic constraints are paramount in the world of diplomacy. But the world of diplomacy is the world of Caesar, and it is the service to that world that Billy Graham became famous for. We do not doubt that Caesar has the power to make war and to devastate the world.

But although one cannot expect even the Pope to travel to a foreign land and there to criticize Caesar, it is a profanation to praise such Caesars as are engaged in mounting what the journalistic Henry Kamm of The New York Times once ribbed as the most sustained assault against the human spirit in human history; and to affect ignorance about the condition of religious liberty in the Soviet Union.

1. Billy Graham told reporters that the churches he had visited in Moscow were as crowded as those in Charlotte, N.C. The Washington Post's Dusko Doder revealed that one-third of the congregation in the churches Graham entered comprised KGB agents and one-third international participants in the disarmament conference (one-third older women).

2. Asked to comment on a banner protesting the lack of religious freedom in Russia a Russian woman had fleetingly unfurled before being carried off by the police, Graham said that after all, people are arrested all over the world "for all

kinds of reasons." In his own church, he said, some people "have been taken out by the police" for "causing disturbances." Right. In America it is to cause a disturbance to interfere with someone who preaches the word of God. In the Soviet Union it is to cause a disturbance to preach the word of God.

3. Asked whether he agreed with the assertion of the metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church that there was complete religious freedom in the Soviet Union, Graham replied that he just didn't "know," he had been only in Moscow for a few days, and "the churches that are open, of which there are thousands, seem to have liberty to have worship services." Billy Graham made these statements just one hour's travel time from Zagorsk, the spiritual home of Russia, one of the three surviving seminaries, reduced in number after the death of Stalin. There in Zagorsk they anoint a dozen ministers per year — to serve 250 million Russians.

Rather like eyedropping holy water into hell, Soviet practice outlaws most religion; the Soviets ban proselytizing religion among anyone under 18 years of age; and Soviet dogma holds religion to be the opiate of the masses. If these facts aren't known to the schoolchildren of Charlotte, N.C., then the schools in Charlotte are stricken by the same incubus that has paralyzed the moral intelligence of Billy Graham.

AT THE American Embassy in Moscow there have resided, in seclusion, six Pentecostals seeking immigration into any land that will permit them religious freedom. They sought a visit by Billy Graham, and at first he refused. But this so shocked whatever there is of a moral community in the diplomatic set that finally he agreed to go to them and pray, but set down such conditions as that there could be no reporters, that curtains would be closed on the assembly, that there would be no photographers. When Billy Graham left, one of the six (she had dared to hope that Graham would intercede for her and her fellow communicants) was physically sick. So should be those thousands who have struggled to tell the story of what life is in the Soviet Union.

On impulse, I called one such to ask about religious liberty in the Soviet Union. Her answer: "It is forbidden to buy a copy of the Bible." Need more be said? My informant is the daughter of the one who issued that edict, the daughter of Joseph Stalin.

which said, "Graham says Russia offers some measure of church freedoms." The article then quotes from a story by John Burns of the *New York Times* which said: "The 63-year-old evangelist also called directly for religious freedom, by urging 'all governments to respect the rights of religious believers as outlined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.' Mr. Graham also quoted a section of the Helsinki agreement, signed in 1975 by 35 nations, including the Soviet Union, in which governments are obligated to respect freedom of religion and other beliefs. Later Tuesday, Mr. Graham took another action that invited Soviet displeasure when he visited six Soviet Pentecostals who have been living in the U.S. Embassy basement since 1978." Thus, I have never said there was religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

Freedom is relative. I don't have freedom in the United States to go into a public school and preach the Gospel, nor is a student free in a public school to pray, or a teacher free to read the Bible publicly to the students. At the same time, we have a great degree of freedom for which I am grateful.

In China there are many restrictions and yet leaders in the United States seem to be applauded for going to China. Perhaps less than two hundred churches

are open in a population of about one billion. In the Soviet Union there are an estimated 20,000 places of worship of various religions open and each year hundreds of permits are granted for new churches. Most authorities in the field say there are more practicing Christians than Marxists. However, there are clearly restrictions. The Soviet Union is not the United Kingdom or the United States of America—I know that. It is an atheistic society which does not encourage religion—there are many restrictions on every aspect of Soviet society including the church. This is part of their practice and policy. At present, churches have some measure of freedom to hold public worship services on church properties if they agree to abide by government regulations. In many places families are free to teach their children the Bible and to have prayer in their homes. According to most authorities, by the late 1930's churches had virtually ceased to exist as institutions. Compared with that period in Soviet history, we should be grateful for what has happened in allowing some measure of freedom since then. At the same time, I pray that this measure of freedom—limited as it may be by our standards—will increase.

I also had the opportunity to say some of the things I have been saying in New

England at various universities about peace. I plainly stated publicly in an address (that will be printed in full here in the United States in *Christianity Today* in its forthcoming issue) that I am not a pacifist and that I am not for unilateral disarmament. However, I am for a negotiated verifiable treaty to ban all weapons of mass destruction and also greatly reduce conventional weapons. Although I intend to continue to speak out on the issue of peace from time to time, I stated publicly in Moscow that I do not intend to become a leader in the peace movement. I intend to continue my work as an evangelist in preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ in various parts of the world.

Before going to the Soviet Union I prayed a great deal about it and felt that God had led me. Upon my return I feel even more certain that I was doing the will of God. It may be some time before the full results of my visit can be evaluated, but even the short-term results are gratifying.

Billy Graham
EVANGELISTIC ASSOCIATION
Box 779, Mpls., MN 55440

This is a statement issued by Billy Graham upon his return from the Soviet Union and London, England. He arrived back in the United States, Wednesday morning, May 19, 1982.

During the last few weeks I have had one of the busiest—and yet most fulfilling schedules of my entire ministry. I have just returned to the United States from London, where I had the honor of receiving the 1982 Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion. It was awarded in a private ceremony at Buckingham Palace by Prince Philip, and I am deeply grateful to the international and inter-religious panel of judges who selected me for this high honor. As I indicated when the award was originally announced here in New York some weeks ago, I intend to donate the prize money to various projects, including the cause of world hunger, the education of third world students, and evangelistic projects in Great Britain.

Before coming to London I spent about five-and-a-half days in Moscow, where I had the unprecedented opportunity to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ both publicly and privately on numerous

occasions. I went to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, with the cooperation of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists of the U.S.S.R. During my stay in Moscow I was briefly an observer (not a delegate) at a conference of religious leaders from many countries (including the United States) called to discuss the danger of nuclear war. I also had the opportunity to preach the Gospel in an address to the conference.

As you know, various American officials had expressed some concern to me that the conference would be anti-American and unbalanced in its perspective. Although I was not present for most of the conference and had left Moscow before it was over, I have been pleased to note from press reports (such as that in the London *Times* of May 18) that this apparently was not the case, due in part to the influence of Western participants, especially Americans.

It was a special privilege for me to preach the Gospel in the Moscow Baptist Church on Sunday, May 9. I was informed later that several hundred were not able to get into the church because the church was full. Immediately after the Baptist service I attended the Divine Liturgy of the Patriarchal Cathedral and

spoke afterward to the congregation on the Gospel of Christ. I was grateful for these opportunities to preach the Gospel publicly.

In addition to these public meetings, I had a very full schedule of private meetings with various church and government officials. Their hospitality was always very gracious, and in every one of these meetings I had an opportunity to share very openly and directly my convictions as a Christian. Included in my schedule were several meetings with members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. These were unique opportunities, and although it would not be appropriate for me to reveal the details of some of these private discussions, I can say that I spoke frankly about some of the issues that are of great concern in the United States, such as religious toleration. I also listened to some of their concerns about the tensions between our two nations.

The conference provided a chauffeur-driven car, as they did for a number of the religious leaders visiting Moscow for the conference. Many of the press wondered where I was going and whom I was seeing. I packed into those few days more than any five-and-a-half days of my entire life. For example, I met for three hours with the Institute of American-Canadian

Studies; I met for one-and-one-half hours with the leadership of the All-Union of Evangelical Christians-Baptists; I had dinner at the publishing department of the Orthodox Church; a two-hour meeting with the Soviet Peace Committee; one-and-one-half hour meeting with the Council for Religious Affairs; a meeting with some of the Jewish leaders of Moscow including the Chief Rabbi; a private meeting with the Pentecostals in the United States Embassy; and an hour-and-one-half meeting with Mr. Ponomarev (who wears many hats). He met me as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Supreme Soviet. He is also the Secretary of the Communist Party.

Now in various meetings and conferences like this—what would you think we talked about? We rarely ever discussed the weather! We discussed how to improve relations between our two countries; human rights; and on each occasion I had the opportunity to tell them at length about the religious situation in the United States, the growth of evangelicalism, and give my own Christian testimony. I never left one person but what I felt I had proclaimed the Gospel to him. There were many other meetings that I cannot enumerate.

I would not, of course, pretend in the

least to be an expert on the Soviet Union after only five-and-one-half days in Moscow. I received many impressions that I will, I am sure, be reflecting upon for some time to come. However, my primary goal in going to the Soviet Union was to preach the Gospel, as I have done all over the world for many years. I had more opportunities than I ever expected to accomplish this goal.

Finally, I would like to say a few words about the issue of religious freedom in the Soviet Union, since some of my remarks on this subject have apparently been quoted out of context or misconstrued. It is well-known that the Soviet Union closely regulates all organizations and movements, including religion. There are certainly many who by the standards of our society do not have full freedom to express their criticisms of Soviet policy, and are considered lawbreakers if they do. I am well aware that there are prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union including some who have said they have chosen to resist the law because of religious reasons. Among these are many Jews as well as Christians.

Again, I cannot claim to be an expert. However, my impressions of religious freedom were perhaps most accurately summed up by the headline in the May 14 issue of the *International Herald-Tribune*

Press Statement by Dr. Billy Graham
New York, May 19, 1982

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DAILY WORLD

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The lynching of Rev. Graham

If words could kill, evangelist Billy Graham, the victim of a verbal lynching spree by the ultra-Right, would be dead. But Graham is fighting back.

He says he went to the Soviet Union to preach the gospel and talk peace, and succeeded in doing both without interference. He says he was quoted accurately and objectively on Moscow Radio but inaccurately by the U.S. press and radio. He charges his statements were distorted by the U.S. media.

He says that the Soviet Union has the right to rule itself by its own laws, just as the U.S. does. Religious "services are allowed to go on freely" in the Soviet Union, Graham said, arousing the ire of those religious leaders who put cold-war politics ahead of other considerations.

Instead of dealing with the issues, Graham's critics attacked the peace conference of world religious leaders he attended. Yet, leaders of all faiths attended in a genuine search for peace — and on Soviet soil.

It is a great irony that President Reagan and others put tremendous pressure on Graham not to carry his message of the gospel and peace to the Soviet Union but the Soviet Union permitted him the opportunity to speak his mind and views freely and openly, to the Soviet people and the world!

Those who are trying to silence Graham now are those in the U.S. who claim to champion freedom. But apparently only for their views.

Billy Graham: 'I Am Not a Communist'

By Joyce Wadler
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, May 19—In the time-honored tradition of Christians going bravely before the lions, evangelist Billy Graham faced a crowd of snarling reporters here today in his first public appearance in this country since remarking in Moscow that he had seen no evidence of religious repression in the Soviet Union.

Clearly concerned about the furor his remarks had created, Graham, mildly incandescent in a dark suit with the most delicate threading of silver, and with a tan one does not usually see on a returnee from Moscow, seemed to spend much of his news conference repenting.

He prefaced his remarks to the press by saying that he'd only been in Russia a short time and "in 5½ days I certainly became no expert on the Soviet Union."

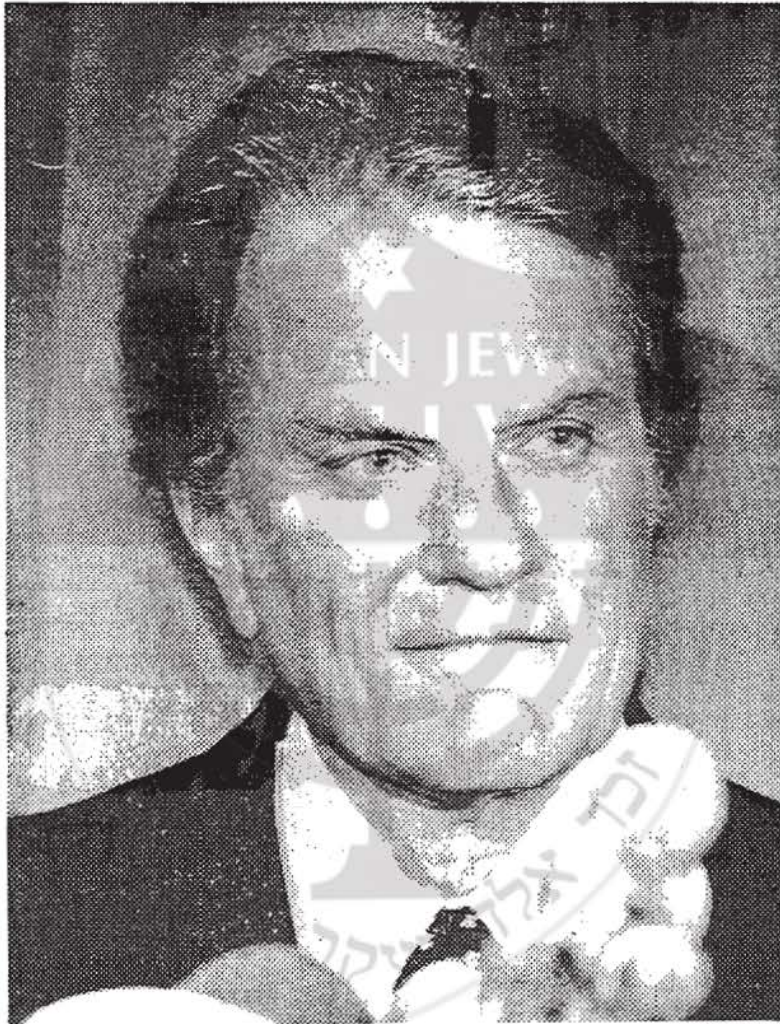
He said that, in answer to the signs he'd seen coming in from the airport, "I am not a communist and have not joined the Communist Party and was never asked to join the Communist Party."

He said he "did not see but one negative article" about his Russian statements while in Europe, and that was in an American paper. "Here in the States something must have been misinterpreted or misunderstood or I used the wrong phraseology."

Those who might have expected him to recant, however, were disappointed.

Did Graham stand by his comments that he had seen no repression in the Soviet Union and that there were more devout churchgoers in Russia than there were back home, the reporters asked.

"Yes and no," said Graham. "You asked me what I saw. I saw three



Graham on the furor over his remarks: "Something must have been misinterpreted."

churches Saturday midnight packed with people preparing their hearts for worship on Sunday. I said they wouldn't do that in Charlotte. But it sounded like more people went to church [in Russia] on Sunday than go to church at home on Sunday, which I didn't mean . . ."

"You have to distinguish between freedom of worship and freedom of religion," said Graham. "You can go worship, but you do not have Sun-

day schools, evangelical campaigns, other types of organizations that we have here . . ." Later he added, "I think there's only one Baptist Church and one synagogue in Moscow but I believe anyone, if he could get in, could go."

Pressed on the issue of religious freedom, he said that freedom in this country was "tremendous here compared to the Soviet Union" and that freedom in the Soviet Union was "a

bit more than I might have anticipated."

He also denied the suggestion that his desire to be allowed to conduct a crusade in Russia in the future made him an extremely cautious guest.

"I made no deals with anybody," he said.

Other issues he dealt with obliquely.

Asked if he might have been used for propaganda, Graham said, essentially, that it was too early to tell.

"I don't know," he said, "I've only just gotten here."

Asked about his comments in 1954 that "either communists must die or Christianity must die," and whether his opinions had since changed, he said they had varied only in that he knew "the ultimate triumph is going to be to the Kingdom of God."

Nor did suggestions of "selling-out" rankle him. TV commentator Bill Moyers had remarked that it "was not easy to sup with power and get up without spots," a CBS reporter told Graham. Hadn't he, perhaps, to put it bluntly, been selling out?

"That certainly never occurred to me," said Graham, "but Bill would certainly know about that . . . He's supped with power quite a lot . . . quit the ministry to become a political correspondent . . ."

Likewise, he was as smooth as his tailoring when told that there were reports KGB agents were among the Jewish leaders with whom he talked.

"That's the first I've heard of it," he said, his eyes wide and sincere. "I hope, though, that if there were KGB they were in the Moscow Baptist Church Sunday when I talked because I really gave them the gospel and those are the kind of people I really want to reach . . ."

Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

5-21-82

W.P. 2

1 Defense of Billy Graham

n7

The Rev. Billy Graham has caught hell, as it were, for making a holy fool of himself in the Soviet Union.

He went there as a guest of the Soviet Ministry of Religion to ornament with his presence its "World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe": a propaganda exercise as absurd as its title.

After speaking in a church crammed with KGB agents, Graham marveled that so many had turned out to hear the word of God. Afterward, pleading inadequate information, he declined to say that "religious freedom" is lacking in the Soviet Union, where believers must "register" lest their observances be deemed illegal.

Graham's childlike assessment of the status and prospects of faith in the Soviet Union has disgusted former admirers, right and left. They weighed his ingenious defense (that he is making a proximate peace with the Soviet authorities, even as St. Paul made one with Rome) and found it wanting. They decided that America's most famous evangelist is serving mammon.

But speaking as one who has never especially admired Graham, I am not sure they are right.

Graham's critics base their condemnation on a secular view of the politics of religion. No one is in danger of confusing Billy Graham with St. Paul; that infinitely subtle apostle to the Gentiles. But in some ways the comparison is less farfetched than one might suppose.

St. Paul's missionary journeys to indifferent and hostile places were energized by the belief that what had happened to him as a scourge of the faithful could happen to anyone—by an agency beyond this world's comprehension.

What happened to St. Paul could conceivably happen to the Politburo, although if it did the gunfire would probably drown out the singing. The Romans were more civilized than the leaders of the Kremlin. If God intends to turn their hearts, He will have his work cut out.

The mystery of the Graham episode,



By Lucian Perkins—The Washington Post

more mysterious than Dr. Graham's blindness to a systematic persecution of religion, is that the evangelist's disillusioned admirers have only now discovered his propensity for finding redemptive possibilities in unlikely people and places.

Billy Graham has been the companion and comforter of the mighty for years, a complacent ornament of their gathering places, often discovering in the powerful a pleasant (if well-concealed) sweetness.

He began to doubt Richard Nixon's saintliness only after the Watergate tapes showed Nixon talking in what, in Billy Graham's home town, would not be regarded as a Sunday School vocabulary. It was a real spiritual crisis.

In his recent biography of Dr. Graham, Marshall Frady documents the credulous inanities that long have marked the evangelist's comments upon those who wield worldly power, many of whom were hardhearted men indeed. The spectacle brought to Frady's mind Melville's innocent young seaman, Billy Budd, who "had none of that intuitive knowledge of the bad which in natures not good, or incompletely so, foreruns experience."

Billy Graham tends to separate the world from the devil in watertight realms,

a major problem with his brand of evangelical Christianity. It scants the prophetic tradition—the tradition of Nathan and Amos and Jeremiah—to emphasize redemptive hopes. It soft-pedals the prophetic assault on secular pride and position in favor of an unearthly trust that the wicked may be turned from wickedness by supernatural intervention.

Thus Billy Graham, like St. Paul, is sounder on hope than on the messy realities with which great prophets have concerned themselves. So it is hardly shocking now that he seems to wink at Soviet practices that no prophet could have stomached, and pleads, in extenuation, the Letter to the Romans.

Unlike Dr. Graham's recently disillusioned admirers, I find here the same old Billy Graham. Even so, I am not sure we can predict how the battle over the soul will turn out in the Soviet Union.

Graham makes mistakes that his secular critics would never make, says things that sound disgustingly complacent to those who know the harsh reality of religious persecution. In his simple-minded way, nonetheless, he clings to the root of the matter as St. Paul saw it: to the faithful, all things are imaginable.

18-5-20-82

LITHUANIAN RIGHTS PRIEST CRITICIZES DR. GRAHAM'S VIEWS ON USSR (490)

NEW YORK (NC) – Father Casimir Pugevicius, executive director of Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid, a New York group which monitors religious repression in the Soviet Union, has criticized the Rev. Billy Graham's comments on religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

Dr. Graham attended an international religious conference in Moscow May 10-14, visited some churches allowed by Soviet authorities to remain open, and then said he saw no direct evidence of religious repression in the Soviet Union.

Father Pugevicius said Dr. Graham's comments are contradicted by the presence of Pentecostals who sought sanctuary in the U.S. embassy in Moscow, by the actions of demonstrators who tried to call attention to the plight of religious believers in the Soviet Union and by documentation and information reaching the West from the Soviet Union. Like other critics, he suggested that Dr. Graham had softened criticism of the Soviets' control over religion in order to return to the Soviet Union sometime to preach.

"While the militant atheists gladly get propaganda mileage out of his statements, we may be sure that he will never get to preach to an uncontrolled congregation of any size," Father Pugevicius said. "It is tragic that while thousands of Christians and others pay a terrible price to witness to the truth under the Soviet regime, a man of Mr. Graham's stature undermines their sacrifice."

At a press conference in New York May 19 Dr. Graham denied he has refrained from criticizing the Soviet situation in order to return to the Soviet Union. He also said he thinks religious believers are persecuted in the Soviet Union but that he had not personally seen such persecution. He drew distinctions between "freedom of worship," which he said is allowed by the Soviet Union, and true freedom of religion, which involves more than just worship services.

In the Soviet Union "you can go worship but you do not have Sunday schools, evangelical campaigns, other types of organizations that we have here," he said. He added that he thinks there is only one Baptist church and one synagogue in Moscow, but anyone could attend services at these if there is room to get in.

Nonetheless, he said, he found there was a bit more religious freedom in the Soviet Union than he had anticipated. But the ability to practice religion freely in the United States is "tremendous" compared to the Soviet Union, he added.

During his trip, Dr. Graham met with the dissident Christians who have sought refuge at the U.S. embassy but, as he said in New York, he was not sure whether much headway had been made in their case. On his way back to the United States from the Soviet Union, Dr. Graham stopped in London, where he was awarded the Templeton Prize for progress in religion.

END

19-5-20-82

LISBON TO BUILD MONUMENT TO POPE JOHN PAUL II (90)

VATICAN CITY (NC) – The city council of the Portuguese capital of Lisbon has decided to build a monument to Pope John Paul II in the Edward VII Park, Vatican Radio said May 19.

A statue of the pope will mark the spot where he celebrated Mass in the park before hundreds of thousands of young people on May 14, the radio report said.

In the near future, the city will open a competition among Portuguese artists for the job of sculpting the statue, Vatican Radio said.

END

20-5-20-82

POPE CALLS ARGENTINE, BRITISH BISHOPS TO VATICAN (620)

By Father Kenneth J. Doyle

VATICAN CITY (NC) -- In a new initiative toward peace in the South Atlantic, Pope John Paul II called leaders of the Argentine and British hierarchies to the Vatican to join him in a Mass for peace.

The Mass was tentatively planned for May 21 but an air traffic controllers' strike in Rome May 20 had created delays in the arrival plans of the churchmen.

On May 20 the Vatican Press Office confirmed that the pope was planning the Mass but added that the precise time, date and location had not been determined.

The Argentines invited by the pope were Cardinal Raul Francisco Primajesta of Cordoba, Cardinal Juan Carlos Aramburu of Buenos Aires and Cardinal Eduardo Pironio, who resides in Rome and is the prefect of the Vatican Congregation for Religious.

British bishops invited to participate were Scottish Cardinal Gordon Gray of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, English Cardinal George Basil Hume of Westminster, English Archbishop Derek Worlock of Liverpool and Scottish Archbishop Thomas Winning of Glasgow.

Also invited was Archbishop Alfonso Lopez Trujillo of Medellin, Colombia, president of the Latin American Bishops' Council.

Archbishops Worlock and Winning arrived in Rome May 18 in an effort to assist the pope in finding a workable way to carry out his planned trip to Britain (May 28-June 2) despite the Anglo-Argentine conflict in the South Atlantic.

The British archbishops arrived after the pope had said May 16 that the hostilities put his trip in doubt. Church sources at the Vatican and in Britain had said that the pope was worried that his visit could be interpreted as support for British military actions.

Knowledgeable churchmen in Rome said May 20, however, that plans for the trip were still in progress and the pope wanted very much to go as long as the trip would not be interpreted as political support for either country.

A high Vatican source said that the pope was under intense pressure from Latin American church and secular authorities to postpone the trip lest it be seen as papal approval of British military strategy.

Vatican sources said that the pope has strongly wanted to go because of what he regards as the trip's pastoral and ecumenical importance. It would be the first trip by a pope to Britain and it would involve meetings with important Christian leaders, including Archbishop Robert Runcie of Canterbury, Anglican primate.

The sources hinted that a function of the visit to the Vatican by Archbishops Worlock and Winning was to help the pope design a modified itinerary which would avoid events, such as a meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, which could be interpreted as support for the British government.

On May 19 in London Cardinal Hume said he was going to Rome at the pope's "urgent and earnest personal request."

"It is most important that we continue to pray for the present crisis to be resolved with justice and without further bloodshed," said the cardinal, because "if the conflict worsens seriously it could endanger his (the pope's) plans."

Catholic sources in London were skeptical that the papal Mass for peace would produce enough pressure to cause the British or Argentine governments to change their apparently irreconcilable positions.

The Catholic Church in Britain is a minority church with little influence on public opinion, while in Argentina it is the official religion and too closely identified with the current military government, said the English church sources.

The Duping of Billy Graham

Why is there surprise that Billy Graham was snookered by the Soviets?

On his recent trip to Moscow, the Reds laid out the red carpet: caviar at his meals and limousines at his disposal. The stroked Rev. Billy, who had come to talk of world peace, returned the favors. He selectively quoted St. Paul on the importance of obedience to authority,

Colman McCarthy

which may induce Soviet jailers to carve that inscription over the gates of their gulags. Then Graham, the caviar going to his head as though it were vodka, announced that Russia had a fair amount of religious freedom.

The duping of Graham in Moscow is nothing new. Take away his exhalings about Jesus and his fundamentalist forensics about sin and what is left is a man of weak analytic power eager to do the bidding of his political and financial betters.

Richard Nixon, after installing Graham as a regular at White House prayer services, brought the court chaplain along for vacations at Key Biscayne and San Clemente. In the 1972 campaign, when George McGovern warned an unlistening nation of Nixon's corruption, Graham, saying that the senator "is desperate," sprung to Nixon's defense like John the Baptist announcing the coming of the Lord: He is "a man with a deep religious commitment . . . I know the president as well as anyone outside his immediate family. I have known him since 1950, and I have great confidence in his personal honesty. I voted for him because I know what he's made of."

Graham has been a babe in numerous other political woods. Dwight Eisenhower regularly dined and golfed with him. Graham's proximity to power so turned his head that he once likened an Eisenhower foreign policy speech to the Sermon on the Mount.

In 1960, President-elect Kennedy invited Graham to Palm Beach for a day of golf, and thereafter Graham sang hosannas to Kennedy. Lyndon Johnson needed only one dinner with Graham to have the awed Billy announce to the world that LBJ was "the best qualified man we've ever had in the White House." When on the premises, Graham was edified by Johnson's willingness to repent: The

president "might have said hell or damn a couple of times, but he'd look at me right away and say, 'Pardon me, preacher.'"

When not deep in the pockets of presidents, Graham couldn't do enough to praise the power and glory of business leaders, from Henry Luce to Texas oilman Sid Richardson. Like the communists in Moscow the other day, the capitalists understood the art of stroking.

Graham's newfound regard for the Soviet system alarms the American right less because its most famous pastor continues to mouth simplicities than because the latest ones deviate so wildly from those of the past.

In the 1950s, he said of the communists that "the Devil is their God" and that Karl Marx was "a subtle, clever, degenerate materialist . . . who spewed this filthy, corrupt, ungodly, unholy doctrine of world socialism over the gullible people of a degenerate Europe." Communism, railed Billy, is "Satan's version of religion." To counter it, we need some "old-fashioned Americanism." And to defend it, naturally, "we must maintain the strongest military establishment on earth."

Of late, Graham, if not exactly recanting this earlier bombast, has made his way to the front of the tent to speak in the new tongues of nuclear disarmament. He is going to the campuses to cheer nuclear restraint and call for not merely SALT II but SALT Ten.

Parts of the antinuclear left have welcomed the well-meaning Graham to their ranks, despite his being an 11th-hour convert. But the conversion seems to have affected his heart more than his intellect. He was right to go to Moscow and exchange ideas and fellowship with Russian religious leaders. Any easing of the American phobia of things Russian, Marxist or Soviet is welcome. But Graham wasn't content with this modest contribution. He had to blab indiscriminately about religious freedom, obedience to the state and the caviar.

It was as if he'd just come out of the Nixon White House, or the Sid Richardson boardroom, and couldn't wait to gush the praises of his latest icon. In Moscow, as everywhere else, the pattern of Graham's career was on display: talking too much and thinking too little.

LYNNE IANNIELLO
Director, Communications

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, NY, May 21....The Soviet Union "is without question the most religiously paranoid nation ever to be on the face of the earth," according to the Rev. Bailey E. Smith, president of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Rev. Smith said he came to that conclusion within minutes of his arrival in the U.S.S.R. last month. He was part of a 34-member delegation on a 15-day tour (April 13 - April 28) under the auspices of the Baptist World Alliance.

In an article prepared for the June issue of the ADL Bulletin, monthly publication of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Rev. Smith writes about the confiscation at the airport in Moscow of religious articles he and the others had brought along. "All of us, I suppose, were somewhat naive about the depth of resistance there is in Russia and the other Soviet Republics to anything that relates to God," he states. "We had no idea that within the first 15 minutes of our arrival at the airport, that all of this sad truth would be dramatically revealed to us."

Many in Rev. Smith's party of clergy and laymen were carrying Bibles to take as gifts to various pastors, but all the materials were confiscated. Rev. Smith said a customs official told him, in English, that the reason they were taken was "because Bibles are prohibited in the Soviet Union." Only one was returned upon departure.

"Every Russian Bible, religious tract, book marker or spiritual cassette tape, was stolen from us by the Soviet officials," he writes. "Many of our personal English Bibles and books were also taken. One woman who had been given a small white New Testament as a child had that taken away from her, never to be returned."

(more)

Among Rev. Smith's effects taken were samples of Jewish literature given to him by an American Jewish acquaintance. However, a Russian language book on Jewish religious history and four tape cassettes of Hebrew songs escaped confiscation because he was carrying them in his camera case.

He writes that he visited a synagogue one day, the books and tapes still in his bag. Upon learning that the rabbi was not there he left the material on the pulpit, "hoping that the rabbi would find it and it would be an encouragement to his life and ministry and those with whom he would share it."

Rev. Smith said he had tried to telephone several Soviet Jews but none answered. He discussed the question of Soviet anti-Semitism with numerous government officials, all of whom denied its existence. But he said that an American official, whom he does not name, confirmed it.

"In fact," writes Rev. Smith, "he told a few of us that he predicts a new day of oppression for both Christians and Jews behind the Iron Curtain. The reason is obvious. Faith in God is growing and they must eliminate that."

According to the article, the Baptist World Alliance delegation split up into four groups to visit various parts of the Soviet Union. Rev. Smith's group visited the Republics of Armenia, Georgia and the Ukraine.

"Even though we felt watched at all times," Rev. Smith said, "we were able to visit Baptist churches in these areas. They were always full and the people were gracious to us."

Rev. Smith goes on to say, however, that the group that went north "had a great deal of difficulty." He says that in Kiev, they were not permitted to use the touring buses to go to church services. When later they found their own way to get to church, Rev. Smith writes, unmarked cars pulled out of hiding places along the highway and followed them."

Rev. Smith concludes his article by saying: "Baptists and Jews alike are champions of religious liberty. We all must defend the right to worship as the heart dictates."

#

March 25, 1982

"BILLY GRAHAM GOES TO MOSCOW"

RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC. H. TANENBALM* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The Rev. Dr. Billy Graham announced last week that he plans to go to the Soviet Union on May 9th -- and therewith hangs a tale of special interest to the Jewish community. Dr. Graham accepted an invitation from the Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church to preach at a religious congress devoted to the nuclear arms race and its threat to human survival. The White House and State Department fear that the Soviets will exploit Dr. Graham for their propaganda purposes, and intensive efforts were made by U.S. Government representatives to have Dr. Graham change his mind.

On March 10, at the Templeton Award Luncheon in New York -- at which I was asked to speak about Billy Graham's relationships with Jews -- Dr. Graham told me that he was determined to go to Moscow, one of the few places in the world where he has not yet preached. We discussed ways by which to counter Soviet exploitation of his presence. Then Dr. Graham asked if I would help him meet with Soviet Jews as a gesture of solidarity. I assured him that I would.

We recalled together a similar conversation several years before when he went to Hungary and then to Poland. In each case, Billy Graham volunteered to meet with Jewish leaders as a signal to the repressive governments that the world-famed evangelist cares about the human rights and religious freedom of Jews as he does about Christians.

When you consider his unbroken record of support of Israel and his vigorous stands against anti-Semitism, it is clear without question that Billy Graham is one of the best friends of the Jewish people and of Israel in the entire Christian community.

*Rabbi Tanenbaum is national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee.

GORDON



COLLEGE

July 15, 1982

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Marc:

I trust your trip to Israel was profitable and enjoyable. We have been seeking to promote understanding and forbearance here in the Boston area concerning the Lebanon situation. Let us pray things become resolved as quickly and easily as possible.

Recently I was asked to do an article for a tabloid, monthly periodical which goes out to a large number of evangelical Christian clergy and lay people here in New England. They specifically asked me to do an update on Evangelical-Jewish relations—both locally and nationally.

The reason I am writing is to ask your approval (with any suggested modifications you may desire to make) of the enclosed manuscript. It pertains to the April 1st gathering with Billy Graham. This enclosed material would simply be a segment of a larger article.

I took careful and copious notes at that meeting. I have not, to this point, shared any of the happenings on that occasion in writing. Since I was just asked to do this article, however, I thought it might be appropriate and informative to enclose something on Graham's meeting with the Jewish leaders. Since you are an important part in bringing Billy to Boston, and introducing him on that occasion, I want you to feel comfortable with what I say in the article. I have gone over this material on the phone with Herman Blumberg. I found his response to be positive which included my adding several lines to follow a suggestion he made. He also suggested I contact you for any reaction or comments you may have.

The editor I am working with would like to include this article in the August issue, hence I would appreciate any reaction on your part as soon as possible.

I will plan on calling your office the first part of next week for any comments you may wish to make. I really appreciate your input.

It is good to hear things are beginning to move on publishing the papers from our Trinity Conference in Illinois. We'll keep in touch.

Cordially,

Marv

Marvin R. Wilson

Ockenga Professor of Biblical Studies

255 GRAPEVINE ROAD, WENHAM, MASSACHUSETTS 01984 TELEPHONE: (617) 927-2300

Report on Billy Graham Meeting in Boston
with A.J.C. leaders on 4/1/82

"Despite our theological differences, we respect you," the rabbi said. "In this 20th century, next to Pope John XXIII, you are the greatest friend that Jews have known."

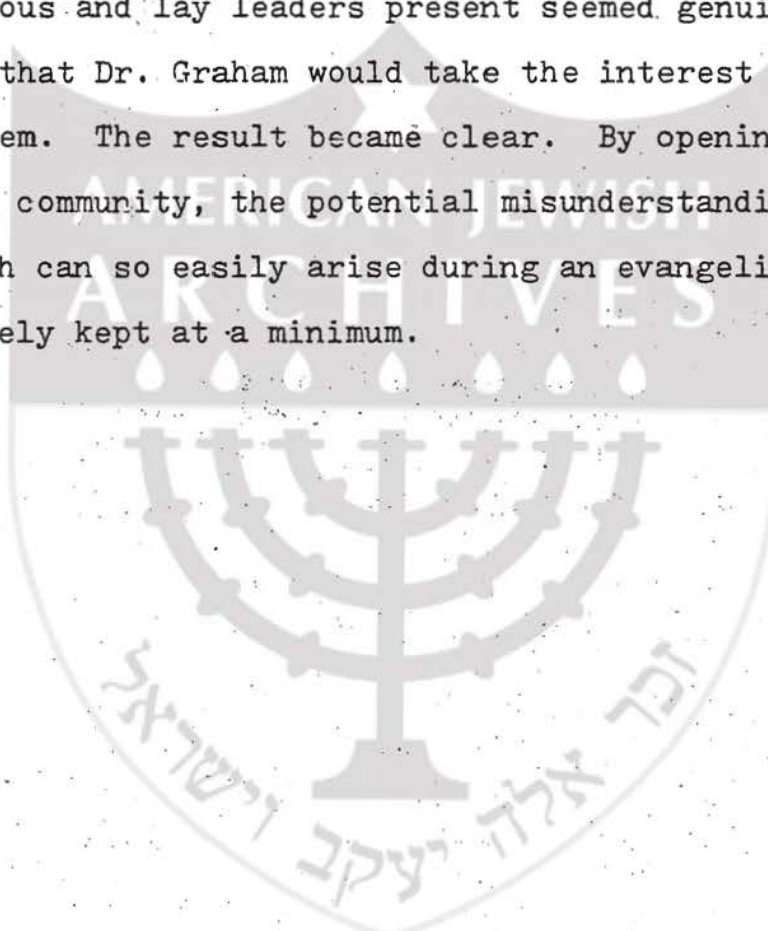
With these words Billy Graham was introduced to a group of Jewish leaders from around New England at a closed gathering in Boston prior to the opening of his recent crusade. The introduction was made by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, probably the most influential Jewish religious figure in America. Rabbi Tanenbaum, National Director of Interreligious Affairs, American Jewish Committee, whose friendship with Dr. Graham spans several decades, came to Boston to present Graham to Jewish leaders who in turn entered into several hours of discussion with the evangelist.

Dr. Graham responded to many questions. They focused largely on the crusade, evangelicalism, proselytism, and anti-Semitism. Also, theological, social and political issues were discussed. Unanimity of opinion was not found on all issues broached by Dr. Graham; nevertheless, despite the reality of these differences, there was the knowledge that this interfaith dialogue could proceed as a feeling of trust was being built through the process.

Graham also shared something of his own pilgrimage to personal faith and how he was awakened a short time later to a profound awareness of the Jewishness of Jesus and the apostles. He likewise spoke of his warm friendship with Golda Meir, and through this, his deepened love for the land of Israel. Graham also referred to his invitation to speak in Russia. This trip, however, later proved controversial to many Christians and Jews. Jewish leaders, especially, found it difficult to square Graham's remarks on religious freedom in Russia with the current enslavement and oppression of Soviet Jews.

The Boston meeting with Graham did, however, clarify many issues and quelled certain legitimate fears that some Jewish leaders had about the crusade itself. (Evangelicals must not forget that Jews have a long memory which goes back to 1096 whenever they hear that word "crusade.")

Rabbi Tanenbaum, Rabbi Herman Blumberg, director of the Boston office of the American Jewish Committee, and the other Jewish religious and lay leaders present seemed genuinely appreciative that Dr. Graham would take the interest and time to address them. The result became clear. By opening himself to the Jewish community, the potential misunderstanding and mistrust which can so easily arise during an evangelistic campaign, were fortunately kept at a minimum.



Graham, Billy

August 17, 1982

Mr. E. Robert Goodkind
Kass, Goodkind, Wechsler & Labaton
122 East 42nd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Bob:

I discussed with Marc Tanenbaum the appearance of Billy Graham's son on Channel 11 the evening of Sunday, August 8, as per your conversation with Lester Pollack.

Marc had heard of the appearance as well, on a Christian oriented syndicated show, and plans to pursue the son as well as the father. As a matter of fact, Marc even said he was thinking of trying to do something with the Grahams at the NEC meeting.

Please tell Mr. Pollack we did not ignore his suggestion, but rather have taken it up enthusiastically.

Yours ever,

Morton Yarmon
Director of Public Relations

MY:MCP

cc: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum ✓

Ruskay
→ Graham Billy

February 22, 1983

Dr. John Ruskay
Education Director
92nd Street Y
1395 Lexington Avenue
New York, NY 10028

Dear John,

Many thanks for your thoughtful note.

I thought it might be helpful to start with a direct invitation to Dr. Graham as I indicated on the letter. While it is important to give him some idea of what the 92nd Street Y does, it is necessary not to overwhelm him with big intellectual names.

After you write to him, send me a copy of your final letter and I will write a personal note encouraging him to accept.

With warmest good wishes,

Cordially,

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Director
Interreligious Affairs

MHT:RPR

Enclosure



92nd Street Young Men's &
Young Women's Hebrew
Association

1395 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10028

Education Department
Dr. John S. Ruskay, Director
427-6000, ext. 162

on tape

February 15, 1983

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Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
Director
Department of Interreligious Affairs
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 St.
New York, N. Y. 10022

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Marc:

The February 6th article in The New York Times was truly first-rate. Congratulations both on the article and what it reflects about your life's work.

All parties at the Y are eager to move ahead and try to schedule the Billy Graham-Marc Tanenbaum dialogue for the 1983/1984 season.

Accordingly, I have drafted a formal letter of invitation to Graham which I share with you at this time. I ask you to review it and provide me (either on the phone or in a brief note) with your comments.

Beyond that, it would be terrific if you added a small cover note indicating your hope that he accept this invitation, to wit: that it is the right time in the right forum for this kind of a public dialogue.

If you return such a cover note to me, we will re-prepare the letter, add your note with the enclosures, and dispatch it.

I thought it useful to seek to move this to the next step by drafting a letter of invitation. If it prompts further questions of any kind, let's talk soon.

I hope this letter finds you well. All the best...

Cordially,

Dr. John Ruskay
Education Director

(cont.)

P.S. Specific questions: Is the April 5, 1984 date O.K. with your calendar? Should we be offering a fee of any kind? Is the \$2,000 inappropriate? We can't go much higher, and, therefore, would it be better to offer a truly token fee of \$200 or no fee at all? Your advice is invited and will be appreciated.

enclosure



F-Billy
Graham

315 East 65 Street
New York, N.Y. 10021
March 5, 1983

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum,

Indeed, I had no intention of
a follow-up further intrusion on
your time, and shan't do so again.
But I didn't want you to miss
the enclosed item from this week's
T.V. Guide.

If "one of their own" is sufficiently
perturbed to take the Evangelicals
to task in terms of "some T.V. pastors
becoming T.V. POLITICIANS," must
not other established Religious groups
weigh alignment with extra caution?

Cordially,

Regina Adler

Graham, Billy

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date March 14, 1983
to Marc Tanenbaum
from Mort Yarmon
subject

Did you see the attached piece on religion and TV that Billy Graham wrote in last week's TV Guide? You may want to write to him about it. Also, it has some messages for the Jewish community. At some point, my new lay committee on communications will want to attack the topic. ~~Let's~~ Let's discuss all this some time.



TV EVANGELISM: BILLY GRAHAM SEES DANGERS AHEAD

The renowned minister worries about the mixing of money and politics into TV religion

By Billy Graham

Television is the most powerful tool of communication ever devised by man. Each of my prime-time "specials" is now carried by nearly 300 stations across the U.S. and Canada, so that in a single telecast I preach to millions more than Christ did in His entire lifetime. Companies use television effectively to advertise their products. I would be wrong *not* to use TV to promote something we all need—a right relationship with God and our neighbors. However, unless we evangelists are careful, I see dangers ahead.

Although I was a pioneer of TV evangelism, television has never been my primary ministry. Some of my "crusades" are televised, while others get no TV coverage at all. As an evangelist, I must appeal to a diverse audience. In contrast, scores of other religious broadcasters are essentially TV pastors, their regular weekly, and even daily, programs resembling local church meetings or Sunday sermons. I am concerned that television might exert too much influence over these "electronic churches."

As journalist Robert MacNeil warned in TV GUIDE several years ago, "Like the human digestive system, television alters what it consumes—comedy, sports, news,

drama, education, religion." MacNeil reminded us how television reshaped the national political conventions, transforming staid politicians into glib media stars. That same process could devour preachers and their ministries. Indeed, one of the gravest threats confronting the TV church may be the temptation of some TV pastors to become TV politicians.

In the 1980 Presidential campaign, for example, the Moral Majority (a political organization composed of people of many faiths, whose president happened to be a TV pastor) became too often intertwined with some tele-evangelists. This blurring of the line between politicking and preaching caused some confusion. On the other hand, when the occasion demands it, we should not be afraid to take a strong stand on a moral issue. In my 1973 visit to South Africa, for instance, I condemned apartheid on South African TV. In a 1982 address in Moscow, I devoted an entire section to human rights, urging that all signers of the Helsinki Agreement (of which the Soviet Union is one) respect its provisions concerning human rights and religious freedom. Unfortunately, that speech was overshadowed in the U.S. by newspaper headlines blaring my response to a reporter who asked if I had *personally* witnessed any religious persecution. My honest reply that I had not was misunderstood to imply that I believed the Soviet Union was free of any such restriction. Anyone who →

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had taken the time to read my prepared speech would have seen what I really said and meant. Of the articles I saw, only The New York Times and The Christian Science Monitor seemed to get it right in their reporting.

As Christian evangelists, then, we should speak out on moral issues, but we should *not* use our programs to endorse political candidates or causes. Nor should we give the appearance of going on air solely to persuade viewers to endorse checks.

Public-TV stations across the country, in order to sustain their high-quality programming, ask us for money throughout each pledge week. That

is perfectly legitimate. Likewise, religious broadcasters depend on public support to accomplish their goals. I admire such preachers as Robert Schuller (*Hour of Power*), Oral Roberts (*Oral Roberts and You*), Pat Robertson (*The 700 Club*), Jerry Falwell and others who entered the arena of commercial television and won a hearing.

Currently, though, the costs of commercial TV time and TV production are escalating. Combined with inflationary pressures and the competition for TV's "evangelical dollar," religious broadcasters have recently found themselves in the same recessionary straits as the mainstream of the American economy. Like Rex Humbard, who sliced his syndicated program by a half hour, some have been forced to cut back. Others, however, have merely begun asking for more money, more often. There is a danger when TV preachers begin to beg too frequently and too fervently. Money is a *means*: it must never be the *message*.

I watched one program recently in which the speaker spent nearly half of his show



The Rev. Billy Graham

pleading for donations. Such preachers bring reproach to the Gospel, and damage all other religious TV programs. I decided never to devote more than three or four minutes per hour to mentioning money. Giving to religious programs should be, at least in part, God-inspired. If a religious program is not prospering financially, I would take that as a portent: perhaps it is not *supposed* to succeed.

The financial perils facing TV evangelism do not end with soliciting contributions. Nothing can sully a TV preacher's reputation quicker than mishandling the funds he collects. The National Religious Broadcasters

(NRB), to which our organization belongs, has a code of ethics that includes a section on financial accountability and disclosure. From the very start of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, we decided to incorporate, have a board of directors, and to pay me (and those associated with me) a salary that is published annually. How carefully and wisely a TV preacher disburses his donations is crucial to his credibility.

The vast majority of TV evangelists and pastors are moral, ethical and worthy of our trust. However, a minority may attempt to mislead us—or themselves—into believing that God intended all our contributions to be buried in mortar and concrete. Many young TV personalities see the success of Oral Roberts' City of Faith and Oral Roberts University, or Pat Robertson's CBN University, or Robert Schuller's Crystal Cathedral, and want viewers to enable them to do likewise. Even when their motives are sincere it may be dangerous to build today on tomorrow's projected income. Television may not always be available as a primary source of →

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revenue. "The first chill economic wind may topple these flimsy towers.

Of course, not all the dangers to TV evangelism arise from within. In a 1982 Gallup survey, "Religion in America," nearly one-third of Americans polled said they had watched religious programs during the previous seven days. Another 11 per cent had watched a religious program during the previous 30 days. Most of those programs are evangelical. That explains the swelling chorus of critics warning that TV evangelism might wean adherents away from the traditional local churches.

"The [TV] church is fostering in our midst a completely private 'invisible religion,'" says a critic whom I greatly respect, Prof. Martin E. Marty of the University of Chicago. "This 'invisible religion' is—or ought to be—the most feared contemporary rival to church religion."

The fear that TV evangelism is draining the traditional churches of congregants—and thus contributions—is an understandable one. As yet, though, no one has been able to marshal convincing statistical arguments to justify it. On the contrary, one recent American Resource Bureau study, "Profile of the Christian Marketplace," suggested the electronic church neither diminishes donations to local churches nor empties their pews. Seventy per cent of those polled said that religious TV did not affect their involvement in a local church. Nearly 37 per cent gave their local churches top priority for contributions, while less than 2 per cent cited religious radio or TV programs as their first choice.

The truth is, TV evangelism is clearly enlarging the realm of religious influence, not narrowing it. TV preachers touch the hearts of shut-ins, night workers, the very old, the very young, tenement dwellers—people often cut off from the comforts of a local church. Its real converts are coming not from traditional churches, but from commercial TV, whose diet of secular programming leaves viewers (consciously or unconsciously) starved for spiritual nourishment. Gradually, TV religion is evolving into a TV alternative.

Taking advantage of TV's expanding technology, Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network can deliver its 24-hour programming by satellite and cable to a potential 18 million American households. The Radio and Television Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention has sought FCC licenses for a network of more than 125 low-power TV stations, and has projected 200 cable-TV channels by 1984.

Christian broadcasters are starting to compete with commercial ones head on, by producing their own "network" schedules of talk and variety shows, soap operas and sitcoms. My own organization is one of the largest makers and distributors of religious motion pictures in the world. With the outlets for programs proliferating, I foresee a demand on TV for high-quality films with a religious and moral tone to them.

Others are developing religious-news programs. A recent survey showed that 86 per cent of all reporters seldom or never attend a religious worship service; when they encounter religious news, most journalists are simply incapable of covering it. Already many of the 1200 Christian radio stations, and a handful of Christian TV stations, are presenting religious commentators, who analyze the news from a moral and spiritual point of view. However, in my judgment, this mixing of news and religion on TV has its perils. Commentary should be labeled as such—someone's personal perspective. In other words, we need more news about religion, not TV commentators interpreting every event in a religious context. There are some events that have nothing to do with religion. Although Biblical prophecies are far-reaching and profound, you will not find in any of them a single clue to next year's Super Bowl winner.

Television offers its evangelists an unprecedented opportunity to "go unto all the world and spread the Gospel." Along with that opportunity, however, we evangelicals have a solemn obligation: we cannot, and dare not, let the medium become our master. (END)

Religious freedom in Russia, Billy? . . .

Personal view

Martin and Bonnie Oberman

LAST JULY, we traveled to Moscow and Leningrad to visit some of the tragic victims of the Soviet government's religious oppression. We saw and experienced, firsthand, the consequences of efforts by Soviet Jews to exercise their religion. We were therefore profoundly shocked to hear the Rev. Billy Graham announce that religious freedom exists in the Soviet Union.

In fact, the situation is exactly the opposite of what Graham has described.

That such a prominent religious leader has attempted to delude the world is frightening. That Graham has allowed himself to be duped by the Russians is undoubtedly an enormous disappointment to his followers.

NOT ONLY WILL GRAHAM'S statements be used by the Soviet government for propaganda purposes in an attempt to enhance its international standing, but they will also be used in an effort to devastate, spiritually and emotionally, the millions of Christians, Jews and Moslems in the Soviet Union who are unable to practice their religion freely and who are subjected to the most severe punishment when they try.

Graham said that religious freedom is "relative," that different countries supervise religious freedom in different ways. Americans can be grateful that his notions of "relative" freedom do not prevail here.

We'd like to hear Graham explain his theories to Boris Chernobilsky, whom we visited just a few days before he was shipped to a labor camp for a year. His crime was to meet with a few other Jews for a Jewish cultural observance in a forest outside of Moscow.

Or perhaps Yuli Kosharovsky will take heart at learning how free he is even though the KGB, the Soviet secret police, raided his small apartment. They confiscated most of his Hebrew books because he dared to teach Hebrew to other Soviet-Jewish citizens. He, too, is now under the threat of a long prison term.

HOW WOULD GRAHAM explain not only the original reasons for the imprisonment of Anatoly Shcharansky, but also the continued cruel punishment to which he is subjected each time he attempts a moment of religious observance in his prison cell? And it is well documented, of course, that Christians and Moslems have suffered similar persecution.

The fact is that Graham has conveniently ignored more than 60 years of Soviet attempts to stamp out all

religion. In his haste to miss the truth, he made claims beyond even those made by the official Intourist guide on our trip, who proudly claimed that Moscow, a city of 8 million people, contained 23 functioning churches and one synagogue. Chicago's 3 million people have access to more than 2,100 churches and 69 synagogues.

HOW COULD GRAHAM have the nerve to defend religious opportunity in Russia? How could he miss the striking fact, as others have already noted, that the churches he was in were jammed because there are so few, and that many of those in attendance were KGB agents?

We learned from those we visited that thousands of Soviet citizens are able to sustain their religious beliefs largely because they know of the support for their efforts in other parts of the world, especially the West.

For example, as a result of our trip, we are now keenly aware of the work of U.S. lawmakers and other officials on behalf of Soviet citizens whose religious freedoms are being denied. There also are numerous private groups, like Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry; that work tirelessly to bolster the sagging hopes of these courageous people.

NEVERTHELESS, OFFICIAL government oppression remains so great that their existence must sometimes seem as though it hangs by a thread.

Graham's fantastic statements surely snapped that thread for many and frayed it for many others. To us, that is by far the most serious consequence of Graham's words: the destruction of hope brought about when one of the West's most prominent religious leaders puts his stamp of approval on suffering that he should be the first to condemn.

Martin Oberman is 43rd Ward alderman and Bonnie Oberman is an editor of Encyclopaedia Britannica.



MARTIN OBERMAN



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For Moscow's Guests, Life in a Luxurious Cocoon

By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 14 — If there is any consolation for the Rev. Billy Graham amid the furor caused by his remarks here this week about Soviet intolerance of religion, it must lie in the fact that he joins a long tradition of visitors who have come away with rosy views of the Soviet system.

Ever since 1917 there have been examples of public figures, lawyers, diplomats and journalists who sojourned here and left with favorable impressions, only to be ridiculed for their credulity by those familiar with the less palatable aspects of life under Communist rule.

The reasons are many. Some came here with an ideological commitment, ignoring or rationalizing away whatever did not accord with their positive views. But many more were the victims of Soviet duping, or of their own naiveté. Some had the honesty to acknowledge their gullibility later, while others went to their graves insisting that they, and not their detractors, had grasped the essence of the system.

Most visitors who arrive here on an Intourist charter, speaking no Russian, depend throughout their visits on official interpreters and officially arranged interlocutors. This means they have no readily available means of communicating with Russians outside of their official schedule without making special arrangements, which most are ill equipped to do.

Only the Resourceful Prevail

With all visitors, and especially with important ones, the Russians do their best to discourage venturing outside the officially approved schedule of visits and discussions. Days and nights are packed with events, so that only the determined find the time to break away and encounter Soviet realities for themselves. Those who do launch out on their own encounter obstacles, such as the absence of or impossibility of finding good city maps, telephone directories and taxis, and the arguments of vigilant hotel doormen, taxi drivers and others against do-it-yourself tourism.

The problem is as old as Western contacts with Russia, dating from long before the Bolsheviks seized power. Many Westerners who live here now assuage their frustrations at the impediments to discovery by re-reading the account of the French traveler the Marquis de Custine, who visited Czarist Russia in the 1840's and wrote a penetrating account of his experiences in his book "The Empire of the Czar."

A Chamberlain in the Way

"Russian hospitality," he wrote, "is so hedged around with formalities as to render life unpleasant to the most favored stranger. It is a civil pretext for restraining the movements of the traveler, and for limiting the freedom of his observations. The observer can inspect nothing without a guide; never being



On his visit to Moscow this week, the Rev. Billy Graham toured the Kremlin with the Rev. Ilya Orlov, right, a Soviet Baptist official. With all visitors, the Russians try to discourage venturing beyond officially approved schedules.

alone, he has the greater difficulty in forming his judgment upon his own spontaneous impressions."

He went on: "Would you see the curiosities of a palace, they give you a chamberlain, with whom you are obliged to view everything, and, indiscriminately, to admire all that he admires; a camp — an officer, sometimes a general officer, accompanies you. A school, or any other public institution, the director or the inspector must be previously apprised of your visit, and you find him, under arms, prepared to brave your examination; if an edifice, the architect himself leads you over the whole building, and explains to you all that you do not care to know in order to avoid informing you on points which you would take interest in knowing."

"In this manner," he concluded, "they tyrannize over us in pretending to do us honor."

The tendency to take the host's claims at face value has led many prominent Americans astray. Among the more hapless casualties was President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Ambassador to Moscow in 1938, Joseph Davies, who reported to the State Department at the height of Stalin's purges that there was "proof beyond reasonable doubt" that two of the dictator's marshals were guilty of treason in one of the "show" trials that were staged that year. After Stalin died, Nikita S. Khrushchev revealed what most of the world had assumed all along — that the evidence in the trials was fraudulent, or had been obtained under various kinds of duress.

Romantic Perceptions Undimmed

Perhaps the saddest case was that of Henry A. Wallace, who came here as Vice President in 1944 and was taken to the Kolyma area of eastern Siberia, the site as it turned out later of a network of some of Stalin's most brutal labor camps. Those who survived the camps say that millions died there, but Mr. Wallace found nothing to challenge the romantic perceptions offered to him by officials.

In his book "Soviet Asia Mission" he described gold miners who were brought to meet him — drafted from the

camps, though he did not guess it — as "big husky young men who came out to the Far East from European Russia" and as "pioneers of the machine age, builders of cities." Stalin's camp overlord was depicted as a man who "gambled about enjoying the air immensely."

Like Mr. Wallace, Mr. Graham was treated to the luxurious cocoon that the Kremlin likes to throw around influential visitors. Although caviar is a rarity beyond the reach of most Soviet citizens, the evangelist spoke enthusiastically about having had "caviar with almost every meal." While Russians have to pay a black market price of anything up to \$15,000 for a small, Soviet-built car, Mr. Graham was chauffeured around in a huge Chaika limousine. While the evangelist relaxed, religious hierarchs from the Soviet-dominated countries of Eastern Europe motored around in a Hungarian-built bus.

The Disillusionment of Gide

The French novelist André Gide, an early admirer of the Soviet Union who was disillusioned after visiting the country in 1936, wrote years later of the efforts that his hosts had made to suborn his objectivity with flattery and comfort.

"I had the most comfortable cars everywhere, a private coach on the train, the best rooms and meals in all the hotels," he recalled. "I was acclaimed and feted. Nothing was considered too good for me. I could not fail to carry away with me a most wonderful memory of the welcome I had received."

But the efforts induced in the novelist the opposite of what his hosts had intended: "The immense privileges I was offered amazed and terrified me and I was afraid of being seduced and corrupted."

If privilege has been used as an opiate, so has the prospect of reward. Except in the most cynical cases, the promise has not been of money or other material compensation, but of something of overriding personal or political importance to the visitor.

Critics of Henry A. Kissinger have said that he was seduced in his contacts with the Soviet leaders by the hope that détente would lure them into a less aggressive pattern of behavior. Mr. Graham told diplomats that he felt he had the "promise" of a preaching tour "from Siberia to the Black Sea," as he put it later to reporters. No such tour has been granted since the Revolution.

Soviet Military Ship Is Afire Near Latvia, Swedes Report

STOCKHOLM, May 14 (AP) — A Soviet destroyer or large frigate was on fire today in the Baltic Sea, 22 miles off Latvia, the Swedish coastal authorities said.

A radio station at the island of Gotland monitored what sounded like an incomplete emergency call for help this afternoon.

A coast guard plane later spotted the Soviet ship in international waters and reported a fire producing thick black smoke.

Several unidentified ships were on their way toward the burning craft, the coast guard reported. Swedish help was not requested, the coast guard said.

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Flap Over Moscow Trip Fails to Shake Faith of Billy Graham's Believers

By Art Harris
Washington Post Staff Writer

MONTREAT, N.C., May 21—Above the fray in this Smoky Mountain religious retreat, the reputation of Billy Graham soars higher than the tallest peaks, his stature as America's premier evangelist undiminished among true believers like Lewis Reeder, 42.

A charismatic preacher from Mount Solon, Va., Reeder and others who make up the backbone of his following say they believe that if Graham misspoke in Moscow, where he said he found no evidence of religious persecution, the devil made him do it.

"This is the kind of incident we'd say Satan is involved in, to get people arguing at one another," says Reeder. "If he did say something wrong, it would be the first time in 30 years."

Graham's flock has been far more forgiving than the shepherds. Down in the valley, rival preachers have accused Graham of the worst sort of heresy—going soft on communism—projecting grave damage to his sway over millions of followers already eroded by TV tent preachers like Rev. Jerry Falwell.

Now 63, Graham bounced back after his close friendship with Richard M. Nixon tarnished his halo, but his Moscow gaffes have sparked the worst furor of his career, putting Graham's power and popularity to a supreme test.

Yet the message from the mountaintop, where he takes refuge between crusades in a modest log cabin nestled beneath hardwoods and pines, is loud and clear: Billy, you can come home again. All has been forgiven.

Even though many believers recoil at communism as sin incarnate—Graham once called communists "sons of the devil"—many Southern Baptists still praise the Lord and a beleaguered Billy Graham in the same breath.

Few worshipers hold it against Graham that he ate caviar at almost every meal in Moscow, or praised Russian Orthodox churches for drawing Saturday night crowds that put Charlotte, N.C., to shame. He was minding his manners as a southern gentleman, they say. He didn't want to offend his hosts.

"We have complete confidence in his integrity, whether we agree with his statements or not," says Mayor John Anderson, 66, who also suspects that there was more than met Graham's eye as he was whisked about Moscow in official black Chaika limousines, later to report that he saw little evidence of religious persecution.

"I don't know why he didn't see the persecution," sighed Linda Fross, 19, a perplexed student at idyllic Montreat-Anderson College, as she sat on the floor of her dormitory and groped to understand how her folk hero had faltered. Suddenly, she brightened. "But he's human," she said, falling back on her faith. "He's as human as I am."

To err is human, to forgive divine. And as far as his flock is concerned, all Moscow blunders have been washed clean.

A North Carolina farm boy who

has served as unofficial chaplain to six presidents, Graham has preached to more perceived sinners than has any other religious figure in history. He presides over an evangelistic empire with a \$40 million annual budget, a movie studio, a monthly magazine that counts 5 million readers, a newspaper column, broadcasts beamed to more than 900 stations and of course, his crusades.

He has spread the word to almost every corner of the earth except the Soviet Union, where "he set himself up because he was looking for future entree" to return with a crusade, said Ross Rhoads, the saddened Graham family minister. "Russia was like the moon for Billy. He wanted to plant his flag there."

He has never been one to make waves. "When in Rome, he does as the Romans do," Rhoads says. "His style is to be polite. He's never been a blaster. He works for conciliation. He's a mender of fences. But, he has never compromised his message."

For 30 years, he has preached the gospel as a man who embodied "American innocence itself, that plain, cheerful, rigorous, ferociously wholesome earnestness," wrote Graham's biographer, Marshall Frady. Or, as one fellow minister put it, "People believe he's as pure as Ivory soap."

As he has tackled social issues in recent years, he has lost fundamentalist support, but some former critics have joined his camp. The Moral Majority has courted followers by taking a strong stand on national defense, while Graham preaches nuclear disarmament. Harvard theologian Harvey Cox praises his "internal integrity" for going to the Soviet Union in spite of White House pressure to stay away.

And while the Rev. Gene Owens, the liberal pastor of Charlotte's Myers Park Baptist Church, labels him a "kept person" for preaching to kings and presidents as a "house chaplain," he plans to organize a big welcome home for Graham over his strong anti-nuke stand.

Still, he views Graham as naive. "He really thinks all you've got to do



BILLY GRAHAM

"...he's as human as I am," one says is have a prayer and you are on the road to glory," he said. "He may have outlived his time. You know, he's sailed so high for so long and now, to fall on his face, well, that makes me feel closer to him."

While theologians debate Graham's fall from grace, they watch what is expected to be an earthly showdown at the Superdome June 13, when Graham is scheduled to address 75,000 Baptist ministers in New Orleans.

He will share the podium with the Rev. Bailey Smith, president of the Southern Baptist Convention. They are said to disagree about religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain.

On a recent trip to the Soviet Union, Smith had his Bibles confiscated at the Moscow airport.

Saturday, May 22, 1982

RELIGION

M.T.

Initial Doubt Allayed

Soviet-Backed Peace Parley Reflects Churches' Concern

By Marjorie Hyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Controversy over what Billy Graham did or didn't say during his visit to Moscow last week has all but eclipsed attention to the central reason for his trip, namely an international, interfaith conference on peace.

Nearly 600 people from 30 countries representing every major religion attended the conference, which was organized by the Russian Orthodox Church.

For many in this country, that sponsorship cast a shadow of suspicion that the gathering would turn out to be an exercise in propaganda for the Soviet Union.

But most of the vanguard of returning American delegates this week indicated that such suspicions were unfounded, that both the conference and the three major statements it produced reflected the concern of all religions about the threat nuclear weapons pose to all human life.

The conference documents—separate messages to religious bodies, to governments and to the United Nations—were, said Dr. William P. Thompson of the United Presbyterian Church, "remarkably well balanced—they were not just a parroting of the Soviet line."

The messages called for an "instant freeze" on all nuclear weapons "as the first step" in averting a nuclear holocaust.

They called on both the United States and the Soviet Union to step up disarmament efforts and appealed to the United Nations to "de-

vice machinery" to facilitate that goal.

The Americans interviewed agreed that East-West political tensions were present at the conference, but most felt that such conflict had been blown out of proportion in some press accounts of the gathering.

Peter Dyck, veteran Soviet expert of the Mennonite Central Committee, said that there was a minimum of [political] rhetoric at the sessions.

"Once in a while there was an outburst of some individual but these people were immediately called to order."

Reinhold Kerstein of the Baptist World Alliance recalled one such incident when the representative from Syria was given two minutes to bring greetings and it developed into a 40-minute anti-Zionist, anti-American imperialism harangue.

Bishop David Freds of the American Lutheran Church was chairing the session that day, Kerstein recalled.

"He made a strong appeal not to make this conference a forum of East-West confrontation with mutual attacks, putting participants into the position of having to answer to their governments when they got home as to why they had not defended their own countries," Kerstein said.

The next speaker in the program, scheduled weeks before, was the Rev. Arne Brouwer, general secretary of the Reformed Church in America.

In his address, he said American churches were concerned about the nuclear policy of their own government but that "we also lament the participation in the arms race by the Soviet Union and other countries."

While the conference did not follow Western parliamentary procedure, Thompson said he felt the procedures were fair.

As an example, he explained that planners of the conference came prepared with drafts of the statements that were to be issued as the final documents, but they also provided for a committee that would refine the documents for the full body to approve or disapprove.

When that committee—which included two Americans—met, he said, they promptly tossed out the documents that had been prepared and began from scratch.

The committee drafts were then submitted to the full body and any-

body could say anything about them they wanted to—and they did."

Thompson, who has long been a leader in interdenominational and interfaith affairs, said the conference was "an important chapter in continuing relationships between religious bodies in all parts of the world."

"It was successful," he continued, "and any time that kind of a mix is successful, the result is an increase in understanding."

For Dyck, who until his retirement last year handled liaison with Eastern Europe for the Mennonite Central Committee, the major achievement of the conference was "that it took place—that they met."

Dyck, who spent the first 12 years of his life in Russia and who lost "most of my relatives" in the Stalinist purges of the '30s, said there was agreement at the meeting that "the world climate now is pervaded by distrust and fear and suspicion."

That point was made by the East as well as the West.

The religious leaders agreed, he said. "We can't leave peace-making up to the government. It's too important."

But the Rev. Paul L. Brindjar of the Lutheran Church in America, who had been skeptical about the conference from the outset, returned with his skepticism intact.

He felt that the concern of religious leaders over the nuclear threat was "frustrated by the controlled nature of the conference," he told the Associated Press.

Thompson said a delegation of six Americans, including the heads of four denominations, took time off from the conference to visit the six Pentecostals who are living in the American Embassy while they seek permission to emigrate to the United States.

Then, accompanied by the general secretary of the recognized Baptist church in the Soviet Union, "we talked to a government official about their plight."

He said the official was "very sympathetic" and promised the Americans that "he would express our concern" over the situation. But Thompson, a lawyer by training, was pessimistic about any imminent solution to the problem. "I think two countries have gotten selves into logjams over a sine," he said.

Points of View

N4 News

M-T, 5-23-82

Billy: Freedom is only relative

By CHARLES W. BELL

THERE ARE TWO WAYS of looking at the Rev. Billy Graham's remarkable pronouncements about religious freedom in the Soviet Union, and neither of them does much for his reputation.

One explanation is that his perceptions were dulled by the rich Kremlin diet of caviar and soft soap, and that he spoke without thinking.

The other explanation is that this most famous and traveled of preachers believes what he said.

In either case, Graham displayed an extraordinary combination of innocence and ignorance.

He also has once again been reminded of one of the bedrock maxims of his faith, the one that according to the King James version reads: " whatsoever a man sows, that shall he also reap."

In the King's English version, what he sowed—and what he is now reaping—is a harvest of confusion, suspicion and anger.

What Graham said, among other things, at the end of a six-day visit in Moscow, was that he saw no evidence of religious repression in the Soviet Union. This is a statement that contradicts every piece of evidence from every religious leader, agency and movement inside as well as outside the Soviet Union.

The reaction was swift and sharp, and extremely hostile. Other clergymen were polite but pointed. The Rev. Paul Brndjar of the Lutheran Church in America, who was also in Moscow, said, "I'm bewildered at many things Billy Graham said. I can only attribute it to a lack of experience and a hoping against hope that the religious experience had improved since his 1959 visit. But I don't think it squares with reality."

The 63-year-old evangelist tried to cool things down at a midweek Manhattan press conference, but as it turned out, Graham may have inflicted even more damage to his credibility and image.

For one thing, his explanation only added to the confusion. "There was a bit more (religious) freedom in the Soviet Union than I anticipated," he said, which was a repeat of another statement that he had made in Moscow. He also said, "There is religious persecution in the Soviet Union, but I did not see it." This at least was a bit of a rowback from what he said in Moscow.

Then came the real puzzler. "There is freedom of worship but not freedom of religion," Graham said, adding that he meant Soviet citizens were free to worship—if they could find a place of worship and if they could get inside to worship.



It was a strange way to define freedom of worship, but there was more to come. "Freedom is relative," Graham said in a statement distributed before he spoke. "I don't have the freedom in the United States to go into a public school to preach the Gospel, nor is a student free in a public school to pray, or a teacher free to read the Bible publicly to students. At the same time, we have a great degree of freedom for which I am grateful."

It is an awkward argument, to put it charitably. For one thing, it implies that the constitutional separation of church and state in the United States shares some common ground with the Kremlin's ugly, pervasive, state-sponsored anti-religious outlook.

Graham did say he regretted one thing he said in Moscow. This was a remark contained in his sermon in the only Baptist church in Moscow, where he had cited no less an authority than the apostle Paul in declaring that men and women owe obedience to the state.

"If I had to do it over," Graham said, "I would not quote that scripture. The implications of it never occurred to me."

It is things like this that make people wonder if he has learned anything in his many years of rubbing shoulders and exchanging confidences with Presidents, premiers, princes and the other high and mighty of the political world.

But at least he was spared the embarrassment of explaining two other off-the-wall Moscow comments. In one remarkable moment, and apparently with a straight face, Graham said in Moscow, "In the U.S., only a millionaire could afford caviar, and here I have had caviar with every meal." The reporters here let that slide.

He also got away with another tribute to fuzzy thinking. "In Great Britain," he said, "they have a state church. Here the church is not a state church. It

is a free church, not headed officially as the Church of England is headed by Queen Elizabeth."

A couple of days later, ironically, he went to Britain to collect a \$200,000 prize for spreading religion around the world. Queen Elizabeth's husband handed Graham the check, and Graham said he would donate the money to various causes.

Graham went to Moscow after he was warned by the White House that the Kremlin might use him for propaganda purposes. He said he knew this, but that he could not resist the chance to preach. He did not mention that he is most eager to win Soviet approval to conduct a full-scale "Crusade for Christ" throughout Mother Russia.

Graham's main stated purpose for going to Moscow, where he joined churchmen from the Vatican and dozens of other countries, was to attend something called "The World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe," which was sponsored by the Soviet Union. Billy Graham's contribution was a speech that decried the threat of a nuclear war and, in a sentence inserted into his prepared text, called for freedom of religious belief.

GRAHAM TURNED UP at this particular conference despite the fact that, as he has said repeatedly, including in Moscow, he does not intend to become a leader in the peace movement. This created a suspicion that what he really wanted was that Soviet invitation to preach, and that this trip gave him a chance to make his case. The fact that he glossed over the realities of religion, Soviet style, was just part of the rose-colored fallout, not some sinister sellout.

But the idea that he had rendered too much to the atheistic Caesars of the Kremlin obviously bothered Graham. He opened his press conference with some limp humor, saying, "I am not a Communist."

Of course, he isn't. And he wasn't a racist when he said that George Wallace was not really a racist. Nor a crook when he said that Richard Nixon was not really a crook. Nor a klanman when he called for castration for rapists.

But if he wants to remain on the annual Gallup Poll's list of the world's 10 most admired men, as he has year after year, Billy Graham better stick to that old time religion. Any other subject is inviting trouble.

Charles W. Bell is The News' religion editor.



'There is freedom of worship (in Russia) but not freedom of religion'

Day News, Sunday, May 23, 1982

Now Billy Graham views his controversies a Moscow trip

Like the Pope's visits to Great Britain, Argentina, he says he accomplishes more if he does not rebuke his hosts

By Rushworth M. Kidder

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Boston

To some, he is the most compelling messenger of the Gospel in the world, bringing Christianity to crowds that typically number in the tens of thousands.

To others, he is an opportunist, adapting himself to the latest political movements — and naively allowing himself to be used by them.

Both sides agree, however, that he is the most widely recognized Protestant leader in the world today.

And how does the Rev. Billy Graham, the North Carolina preacher whose recent trip to Moscow stirred controversy when he was quoted as saying there was "a measure of religious freedom in Russia," describe himself?

"I'm not an Old Testament prophet; I'm a New Testament evangelist," he said in an interview May 28.

In the privacy of a Holiday Inn suite (he has a one-of-a-kind personalized credit card with the Memphis-based motel chain), he appears anything but a fire-breathing, devil's-goin'-to-get-you evangelist of the type portrayed in Sinclair Lewis's novel, "Elmer Gantry." Easygoing, amiable, with well-tanned, chiseled features, he combines a disarming sincerity with a ready warmth — characteristics that regularly place him high on Gallup's most-admired-man polls. A December 1981 Gallup poll, for example, ranked him fourth behind President Reagan, Pope John Paul II, and Jimmy Carter in its list of the 10 most admired men.

In keeping with his latest crusade — he is in Boston to address a week of stadium gatherings at Boston University's Nickerson Field May 30 through June 6 — he wore a tie sporting red lobsters. He also mentioned that he had taken advantage of the location to visit Vice President George Bush at the latter's Kennebunkport, Maine, residence the weekend before his crusade began. Just before leaving for Moscow, he says, he spent the day with the Bushes in Washington, and talked several hours with his old friends, President and Mrs. Reagan.

Why does he call himself a "New Testament evangelist"?

His self-assessment came as he was defending the friendliness of his dialogue with Soviet leaders during his 5½-day trip to Moscow last month.

Despite his assertions that he was quoted out of context about religious freedom in Russia, he agrees that the trip still needs some defending. His critics — like columnist William Safire and Middlebury College president Olin Robison, an ordained Baptist minister who has spoken in many churches in the Soviet Union — insist that his visit lent credibility to a particularly repressive government. Many of them had hoped the Rev. Dr. Graham would speak out forcefully for human rights while in Moscow.

But Billy Graham says he models himself less on Jeremiah — the "weeping prophet" of the Old Testament, who castigated the backsliding leaders in Jerusalem and warned of impending judgment — than on Jesus and Paul, neither one of whom "led a demonstration against Rome."

Jeremiah, he says, "is not my role. My role is good news." And he adds, "Why should I go over and start a fight in an area in which I may be able to do some good if I don't? I'm a clergyman." He says he did speak out privately in his conversations with officials at the very highest levels of the Soviet government — adding cryptically that there are things behind his trip that can't be revealed for "maybe five years."

Is this the same Billy Graham who, in 1954, equated communism with Satan and wrote that "either communism must die, or Christianity must die"?

In some ways, he has changed. In recent years he has become increasingly worried about the threat of a nuclear holocaust. "I think the technology of nuclear armaments has caused me to change and to feel that we must live on the same planet with these people," he says.

"I wouldn't want to live under a communist system," he adds. But asked why his attitude appears less anticommunist than it once was, he replies, "Primarily because I'm for peace, and because I don't want us to get into a nuclear war with them."

He has, in fact, recently aligned himself with the peace movement. He went to the USSR as an observer at a Soviet-backed meeting rather extravagantly billed as "The World Conference of Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe." But he is not in favor of unilateral disarmament. Instead, he strongly favors negotiations leading to arms reductions — a posi-

tion corresponding closely to President Reagan's.

The fear of nuclear proliferation, he says, is what "makes me say, 'Let's tone the rhetoric down and let's see if we can come to some understandings.'" Nowadays, he acknowledges, such negotiation has a higher priority than anticommunism.

In other ways, however, his response to the Soviet leadership is the logical outgrowth of positions he has always held.

Theologically, he is not a radical. What, then, is his central message? "First of all, that man has a flaw in his nature, which the Bible calls the 'mystery of iniquity,'" he says, adding that "the only remedy for it is the cross of Christ." We need, he says, to "repent of our sins and receive him by faith."

Nor is his a particularly scholarly faith. "The message I'm trying to get over is very old, it's very simple, there's nothing new about it," he says. "And many times it's quoted in the press. 'He didn't say anything new.' Well, there's nothing new to say about the Gospel." He adds, "I'm not a great intellectual."



By Peter Main, staff photographer

Graham: worried about the threat of a nuclear war

How, then, is one to move beyond this initial repentance? "Through study," he says, adding, "I think the first thing that a new believer needs to do is to study the Bible." He has a "devotional period" each day. Following a plan of study that includes the reading of five Psalms and one chapter of Proverbs each day, he completes each of these books of the Bible every month. "Psalms teaches me how to get along with God; Proverbs teaches me how to get along with my fellow man," he says. When he is at home — and during the month each year that he spends at Johnny Cash's house in Jamaica — he says he spends two-thirds of each day studying. He has kept to his studying even during the last six weeks, which he describes as "the busiest period I've ever had in my whole life."

At the Baptist Church in Moscow, he says, he preached on the fifth chapter of John — the story of Jesus healing the paralytic. "I don't have healing services," he explains, "but I believe that there's all kinds of healing."

"Of course I believe that there is a healing of the body in the message of Christ," he says, adding that "when a person gets straightened out spiritually, this is a great healing for his whole being." He sees the "gift of healing" as reserved for certain people, and adds that "I don't believe I have been given that gift."

One of the points of controversy that arose over his preaching in Moscow, in fact, concerned this sermon. He included an exhortation (from the 13th chapter of Romans) urging a submission to the authority of governments: As the New English Bible puts it, "Anyone who rebels against authority is resisting a divine institution." Even as he spoke, however, a young woman was removed from the church by security guards. She had quietly unfurled a banner that read, "We have more than 150 prisoners for the work of the Gospel."

The Rev. Dr. Graham noticed the banner. Asked at a press conference in Moscow for his response to the incident, he noted that "we detain people in the United States if we catch them doing things wrong." And at a press

conference in Boston after his return he summarized his trip by saying, "I have no regrets. . . . I certainly have no doubts now. I have no apologies to make."

Would he, then, adapt his message to please his hosts? Earlier in the Monitor interview, when asked if (in his own words) he would preach the same message "from the Black Sea to Siberia" if he were invited back to do so, he replied, "Exactly. I would never change my message."

When questioned about the use of the verse from Romans, however, he says that he "preached an old sermon" and "that [passage] was in there, and I didn't stop to think how it might be interpreted." He admits he was already "tired from his exertions" and "distracted" by the presence of multitudes of television cameras and by the necessity of speaking through an interpreter. Now, looking back, he admits that "that's not the type of sermon or message for me to preach in that situation."

Is he, then, an opportunist, shifting with the winds of power? He has been a close friend of such diverse American leaders as Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon. And though he has won the highest awards of the Jewish community for his work against anti-Semitism, he has been accused of cozying up to the Soviet leadership, which has frequently been characterized as anti-Semitic.

To that accusation he takes some umbrage. "Do you think that Mr. Haig is going to 'cozy up' to Mr. Gromyko when they talk? Or that Mr. Reagan should not meet with Mr. Brezhnev in October if they have that opportunity?" he replies. His point: Like the Pope visiting both Great Britain and Argentina, he feels he can accomplish more if he does not "rebuke his hosts."

Yet his ministry does depend on the immediacy of conversions — of individuals, sometimes numbering in the thousands, streaming to the front of the congregations to acknowledge their repentance. The Rev. Dr. Graham admits that his organization does not keep track of what later becomes of these individuals — although, he says, he is asked that question many times.

So is his ministry one that, rather than working for a long-term result, simply seizes upon the opportunity of the moment?

"Right," he replies. "I would agree with that." Seeing every interchange as "an opportunity to proclaim the Gospel," he sees his goal more as sparking an immediate response than as building long-term relationships. The latter, in his view, is the job of the individuals who have already received the "Holy Spirit into [their] hearts."

In that regard, then, many would say, Billy Graham has not changed — nor was his deportment in Moscow anything but a natural outgrowth of his evangelistic background.

Yet because of his eminence, Dr. Graham finds himself sometimes caught in the middle. On the one hand, he insists that he is not a diplomat. "I've been offered everything from ambassadorships up and down," he says, adding that he has turned them down because "everything I look at is [from the perspective of the question], Can I proclaim the Gospel?" Yet he meets the press more frequently and freely than other religious leaders — and is regularly asked to comment on various subjects. Some of those subjects include:

● **The Moral Majority.** "I'm not a part of the Moral Majority," he says, which he describes as "a political movement." And though he has only met him once over a quick hand-shake, Graham says he has "a great deal of admiration for Jerry Falwell as a person. . . . I'm watching him move more to the center. I think," he says — not politically so much as ecumenically. "He's been a separatist," says the Rev. Dr. Graham, adding that "he would never have me preach from his pulpit because I'm too ecumenical and too involved in social issues." Now, however, "he's beginning to see that there's another world outside of this relatively minority group that he was with."

● **President Reagan.** Here, too, Billy Graham sees a change of thinking, away from harsh anticommunist rhetoric and toward an "encouraging" willingness to "sit down at a table and talk to the Soviet leaders about arms reduction." He has known the Reagans, he says, "since the first years after they were married." Reflecting back on the visit with the Reagans just before he left for Moscow, he says that the Reagans "came over [to the Bushes' Washington residence] and spent about 2½ hours. We never talked about Russia. We talked mostly about his old movie life, really. He was just relaxed, just like he didn't have a problem in the world. He is really a tremendous person, in the sense that he has the ability to turn things off in his mind. I think, and relax."

Then, speaking in the context of his earlier friendships of presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter, he adds that "he is a very sincere person, and probably one of the most religious presidents that we have had in years."

Billy Graham proves that it's still tough to pin him down

One Sunday in November 1960, during a layover in Atlanta between flights, Billy Graham was interviewed by George Page, a reporter from WSB-TV.

Page solicited the famous evangelist's views on the sit-in demonstrations then being waged by black college students.

"I do believe that we have the responsibility to obey the law," Graham intoned piously. "Otherwise, you have anarchy. And, no matter what that law may be — it may be an unjust law — I believe we have a Christian responsibility to obey it."

"Dr. Graham," Page asked, "am I right in saying that you are not in favor of sit-ins?"

"I did not say that," Graham responded. "I do not know the legal ramification on this particular situation. I would rather not comment until I know it further."

The recent flap over Graham's visit to Moscow shouldn't have come as much of a surprise to folks in Atlanta, who have had

several opportunities over the past third of a century to witness Graham's elusive, will-o'-the-wisp method for slipping past the tough questions.

Graham, shellacked for failing to condemn religious persecution during his recent pilgrimage to Russia, has defended himself by the tried and true method of claiming that he just didn't see anything. "There is religious persecution in the Soviet Union," he said last week. "I believe that. But I didn't see that. This reporter pinned me down, and he said, 'Did you see any?' And I had to admit that I did not."

Graham had a similar mote in his eye throughout the civil rights struggle.

In 1950, just months after he had burst into evangelical prominence, Graham held a revival at the old Ponce de Leon ballpark in Atlanta.

During the planning stages, when leaders of the progressive Atlanta Christian Council



pushed him to integrate the services, Graham became exceedingly uncomfortable. One old-timer recalls that when Graham was asked specifically for his views on race, he directed his questioner to the Sermon on the Mount and declined further comment.

Eventually, with Graham taking no position, the whole issue was glossed over. A handful of blacks attended a couple of revival meetings, but the affair was almost com-

pletely white.

At the time, considering the prevalent attitude of whites toward desegregation, Graham's equivocation was not unusual — but it established a pattern that was not to change appreciably with the changing times.

In January 1964, Graham told a joint session of the Georgia General Assembly that he was "glad to say that Atlanta and Georgia are taking a more and more realistic view" of racial matters.

"We dream of a day when all races can sit down together in love and brotherhood," he said.

And then, predictably, he crawfished. He said laws cannot solve the problem because it must be "ultimately, permanently solved in the hearts of men."

The racial situation, he said, "is better in America than in any country in the world where two races live side by side."

Over the years, Graham has flirted constantly with politics — embracing Richard Nixon, one will recall, and supporting the war in Vietnam — only to dance away innocently when the heat was turned on him.

During another visit to Atlanta in 1964, shortly after the presidential election, he denied credible reports that he had been backing Republican nominee Barry Goldwater over President Lyndon Johnson.

When he was asked simply to tell how he'd voted, Graham smiled and said he'd actually had a little trouble with his voting-machine lever. "My wife thinks I voted for both, or I didn't vote at all," he said.

Will this man ever be pinned down on anything?

Frederick Allen is political editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

Atlanta Journal/Constitution 5/23/82 file Evangelical Tannenbaum

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

M.T.
5-21-76 Billy Graham Goes to Moscow N.P. 20

Billy Graham's trip to the Soviet Union reminds me of Jane Fonda's infamous support of North Vietnam in the early '70s. The word that immediately comes to my mind to describe both situations is "duped."

Why the Soviets expect us to believe Billy Graham's whitewashed account of the state of religious freedom in the Soviet Union rather than the first-hand experiences of such persons as Alexander Solzhenitsyn is beyond me. Sadly, for many Americans this may be the case, and Soviet propaganda will have been well served.

RUTH E. FISCHER

Burke, Va.

George Will's column "Let Us Pray for a Little Skepticism" [op-ed, May 13] denounces the Rev. Billy Graham's trip to the Soviet Union as "acting as though pious intentions are substitutes for intelligence, and excuses for irresponsibility."

Now, I am not an actual follower of Billy Graham. But anyone who realizes the potential destruction of nuclear war and then actually tries to do something about it doesn't deserve the antagonism of a sophistic journalist. What is Rev. Graham supposed to do? Convert the Politburo into born-again Christians? Find the perfect political

solution to the arms race single-handedly? Or maybe he should charm the Soviets into capitulating and place themselves at the mercy of our ever-loving President Reagan.

Yes, Mr. Will, I'll be skeptical of any major breakthroughs coming from Rev. Graham's Soviet excursion, and I will view with objectivity any statements released by the Soviets or Rev. Graham regarding the results of his missionary trip. But I feel it is an injustice to humanity to think that matters of the heart have nothing to do with the survival of the biosphere, and I am really sick of hearing the calculated reasons why we can't have world peace. If Rev. Graham has the guts and the integrity to approach our "enemy" face to face and talk about peace, I submit he is being far more responsible than those who say, "We can't talk to them until they learn to behave themselves."

FORREST BITTNER

World Federation of Friends of the USSR

Arlington

Regarding the statement by Billy Graham, "But that does not mean there is no religious freedom in the Soviet Union. . . . I have experienced total liberty in what I wanted to say"; presumably this liberty was implied in

his invitation from the patriarchy to participate in the Moscow Conference on Protecting Life from Nuclear Catastrophe, all expenses paid. Others in the Soviet Union are not so fortunate.

Keston College, a research college in England that monitors information from the Soviet Union, reports:

April 4th: Twelve members of the Orthodox Church were arrested. They had been engaged in translating Western religious writings—such as those of G. K. Chesterton—into Russian.

At least 50 homes were searched; Bibles, icons and religious books were confiscated in the search.

KGB officials made a thorough search of one of the few operating monasteries, the "Pochayev Lavra."

At Easter, police set up barricades around most of the 40 Orthodox churches in Moscow to prevent young people from attending the services.

On the same day, working people were ordered to perform a day of "voluntary" labor in recognition of Lenin's birthday. Food for the traditional Easter dishes was virtually unobtainable in the stores.

The Rev. Georgi Vins, who attended the president's luncheon for Soviet dissidents on May 11, has reported that six middle-aged women of the unregistered Evangelical Christians and Baptists were arrested for their participation in a committee for the families of persecuted Christians.

These, and other numerous examples, are hardly news of religious liberty.

ERNEST GORDON,

President, Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents

Alexandria

When the Rev. Billy Graham preaches in Moscow, the church is full: foreign visitors—one third; security agents—one third; local believers—one third.

"You would never get that in Charlotte, North Carolina," says Billy Graham, according to The Post. That is true—you would never get that in Charlotte, N.C.

But just as it is not true that "you have to be a millionaire to have caviar" in the United States, it is equally not true that there is religious freedom in the Soviet Union. The Soviets know it, the West knows it and the Rev. Billy Graham knows it.

When he says the contrary, however, the damage is incalculable. When a respected American theologian makes a statement the Soviets in their wildest dreams could not hope for, then everyone suffering inside the Soviet Union—he be a Soviet Jew or Christian—has even less of a chance ever to gain religious freedom.

ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN

Associate National Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

New York

Graham defends trip to Soviet as the will of Christ

Washington (Combined Dispatches)—The Rev. Billy Graham said yesterday he was just following Christ's command by preaching in Moscow, but another minister and a Soviet dissident said the famed evangelist was just plain foolish.



Rev. Billy Graham

Graham said on ABC-TV's "This Week With David Brinkley" that he visited the Soviet Union last week because "Jesus said: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel.' He didn't say, 'Go into the capitalist countries only.'"

Appearing on the same show were the Methodist Rev. Edmund Robb, who said Graham "has been manipulated," and Soviet dissident Mark Azbel, who said Graham "betrayed religious people in Russia"

by saying that the extent of religious freedom there compared favorably with the extent of such freedom in other countries.

Graham, 67, said he did not consider himself an expert on religious freedom in the Soviet Union and pledged that he would continue to preach. He said much of the criticism of his trip was based on his being misquoted.

Graham said he visited three Russian Orthodox churches in Moscow on a Saturday night, unannounced, to find them "packed" with people preparing for Sunday services.

"I'm amazed that . . . Graham would be so deceived as this," Robb said. Azbel said Graham's mission "was very strongly counterproductive."

Robb told Graham: "I love you, I believe in you, and I will continue to be your supporter, but I am convinced that you made a serious mistake in your visits to the Soviet Union, and if some of the things you have been quoted as saying are true, they've certainly compromised you in the evangelical community."

M.S. 5-17-76 T.15

ESSAY

All Things To All Men

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, May 16 — In preaching the Gospel two millennia ago, did the Apostle Paul challenge the dictatorship of the Caesars? The Rev. Billy Graham told ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" today that the answer was no: the first evangelist "never lifted a finger against Rome."

Focus on the central moral dilemma of the man who must operate in this world to preach of other worlds: to what extent should he abandon principle to teach principle?

The Apostle Paul dealt with that dilemma directly. Despite Christianity's substitution of baptism for circumcision, he ordered the circumcision of Timothy to recommend his ministry to the Jews, explaining (1 Corinthians 9:22) "To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak; I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."

In the same way, the evangelist of today who obviously identifies with the first evangelist is trying to ingratiate himself to the leaders of the Soviet Union.

While in Moscow, Dr. Graham only reluctantly agreed to meet with the half-dozen Pentecostal Christians who have been holed up in the basement of the U.S. Embassy while seeking to migrate. No pictures, he stipulated, not even a Polaroid for their album; although Dr. Graham explains that his restriction was intended to avert a "media event," it is logical to assume that he wanted to avoid publicity primarily because it would anger his Communist hosts.

Despite a request from Vice President Bush, who called at the direct behest of the President, Billy Graham lent his prestige to the propaganda festival; he insisted again today that "there is more freedom than some Americans might think" in the U.S.S.R.

Dr. Graham is willing to alienate many of his own followers, and to dismay his many admirers by kowtowing to this Kremlin. Why? Let's assume that he is not suddenly gone so soft-headed as to buy the Soviet peace-propaganda line. What other reason can he have for jeopardizing his ministry at home?

His motive is to induce Moscow to allow him to carry his crusade to the Soviet peoples. If he can persuade the Kremlin that he will not encourage any

dissidents who challenge its authority, Dr. Graham evidently believes the Soviet leaders will permit him to carry his crusade to Luzhnik Stadium in Moscow where he can then enkindle religious fervor in tens of thousands.

A noble motive. Why cannot a master preacher — who must reach vast audiences to carry out his life's mission — make a few practical compromises with secular authority to make possible his evangelism?

After all, he would not be the first religious leader to work out such a truce with Caesar. In Israel today, orthodox winks at Sabbath football. Throughout the ages, religions have worked with cruel secular regimes, muting militancy to endure; in Poland today, the Catholic Church must walk a tightrope between the Government and Solidarity. What is wrong, then, in Billy Graham's turning a blind eye to religious repression in Russia if — by so doing — he is able to win approval to encourage religion there?

That ancient dilemma cannot be answered with a platitude like "the ends never justify the means." Sometimes the ends do justify that: an ethical man might sacrifice one innocent life to save a thousand. But the argument that the ends justify the means is made all too often by political powers; the necessary counterargument — that evil means usually determine ends — must be made by the keepers of the moral flame.

That is where Billy Graham, in his zeal to make a deal to spread the Word, spreads the wrong word. The person who purports to represent Truth with a capital T has a special responsibility to bear the embarrassing burden of truth and to turn no blind eye to the reality and extent of a religious persecution. He does not have to go out of his way to offend the authorities in a dictatorship, but he must not offend or undermine the martyrs in that land.

God's word is remembered in Russia today thanks to the example set by religious dissidents. Seventh-day Adventists and Pentecostals ennoble their beliefs by paying for them dearly; in gulags, members of Jehovah's Witnesses secretly disseminate the texts of "The Watchtower" from forbidden broadcasts.

If an evangelist from abroad wants to "preach the Gospel of Christ in atheistic Russia," he may decide that Pauline expediency permits him to bypass and thereby supplement their work. But he cannot know of their suffering and deny or denigrate it by professing to see freedom; that would bear false witness.

Dr. Graham should read Michael Novak's "The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism." Religious freedom can no longer be separated from economic and political freedom. The evangelist can no longer righteously be "all things to all men" to save their souls; he must recognize the martyrdom of those of his and other faiths who dare to "lift a finger against Rome."