

D E S C R I P T I O N   O F   C O U R S E

Objectives:

The UCSB Catalog describes the course as "an analytical survey of the interplay of religious thought and American political values and institutions in the 20th century," then lists a number of issues and topics. This quarter much of the focus of the course will be directed toward the rise of what is commonly called "the new religious right." We have selected this focus by virtue of the consensus that this is the most significant American religious phenomenon of our time. It also provides reliable testing ground for coming to terms with the interplay of religious and political elements.

The course was first offered in 1982 when George McGovern was co-instructor and a number of notable religious and political figures were invited to provide guest lectures. We shall retain something of that flavor this time too, having invited spokespersons for the new religious right as well as notable religious and political leaders.

Our intention is to gain insight and understanding concerning the religious and political viewpoints that belong in "the interplay." We believe we can do this best by placing available resources into fitting combinations. We shall read and study; we shall reflect on information and analyses presented in lectures; we shall make a concerted effort to lend precision to our own abilities to express ourselves; we shall take advantage of opportunities to meet and talk with persons who can bring first-hand experience to the subject. In the process, we intend to learn something significant about how interpretation is formed.

Format:

The class meets at 1 o'clock on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Classes will consist of lectures, guest presentations, and careful use of film and video materials. On occasion discussion sessions will also be offered.

Grading for the course will be on a 1/3 - 2/3 basis, and will be based on performances on a final examination (2/3) and an essay (1/3), to be described in more detail. Through a special grant from the Office of Instructional Development, the Writing Assistants have been appointed to assist in the writing project.

Required Reading:

The basic texts for the course are: Francis Schaeffer, A Christian Manifesto (Crossway Books); Erling Jorstad, The Politics of Moralism (Augsburg Press); George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture (Oxford University Press); and Richard Viguerie, The New Right: We're Ready to Lead (Carolina House). Students are also encouraged to consult the Reserve Book Room collection in the library, to make use of newspaper accounts (LA TIMES, SF CHRONICLE, NY TIMES, WASHINGTON POST, et al.)

We shall also be showing a number of films: a Bill Moyers' presentation on The New Religious Right, video tapes from Jerry Falwell's "Old Time Gospel Hour," and such films as "Tocqueville's America," "Charge and Countercharge" (about Senator McCarthy), "Day After Trinity," "Reinie" (about the theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr), and others.

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN AMERICA  
RS 153

OFFICE HOURS: Walter Capps South Hall 4724, W 2:30-4:30  
Kay Alexander, SH 4724  
John Simmons, SH 4717

Writing Assistants:

Mike Burdick, SH 4717  
Craig Gibbs, SH 4717  
Sam Porter, SH 4717  
Jan Westfall, SH 4717

The subject of the course, religion and politics in America, suggests a variety of possible topics for the writing project. These topics are not limited to the main focus of the text, i.e., on the rise of the New Religious Right. Many students come from families that have immigrated to this country because of clashes between religious groups, and religious persecution. Such circumstances could form the basis for interesting papers. Similarly, there are a variety of specific topics in which the interplay between religion and politics is fundamental. For example, the involvement of the Catholic Church in Central America today; the involvement of religion in the peace movement; the political implications of the rise of various new religions or cultic groups (such as the Moonies, the Rajneesh group in Oregon, et al.); the reaction to Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s -- all of these would be suitable foci. As announced in class, work on a particular individual whose life or career resonates toward (or from) the interplay between religion and politics would also be appropriate. You might select their individual experiences as a starting point. Or you may wish to pursue a topic raised in class, by the lecturers, speakers, or films. Similarly, you may choose to conduct an interview, then write about it.

We wish you to think of this as something other than a term paper. The emphasis will be on writing facility, communication, communicating out rather than communicating up. Above all, make your essay interesting to read.

The completed writing project is due on Friday, February 24. Your topic should be approved by one of the writing assistants by Friday, January 27. Writing assistants will be available before and after class as well as during office hours, and by appointment. **THEY ARE THERE TO GUARANTEE YOUR SUCCESS.** The final draft should be approximately ten pages, typed and double spaced. Preliminary drafts need not be typed.

STUDY QUESTIONS: Erling Jorstad's THE POLITICS OF MORALISM

- (1) List some of the factors that gave rise to a New Religious Right. Jorstad portrays that rise in terms of a sense that something had gone wrong. What did the New Right perceive to have gone wrong?
- (2) Jorstad employs a distinction between "morality" and "moralism" when describing the thrust of the New Right. How useful is his distinction in your view?
- (3) Jorstad believes that the rise of the New Right raises some interesting questions about how morality is legislated. Take one of these and elaborate upon it. Do you think the question is interesting?
- (4) Why was (is) Richard Viguerie such a commanding force within the New Right? Discuss.
- (5) Jorstad discusses the impact of television at length. How significant, in your opinion, is television in providing assistance to the rise of the New Religious Right? Why?
- (6) As you read through the chapters on the various personages within the movement, what sense do you get regarding their integrity, character, sense of personal mission, et al.? How do you account for their rather remarkable following?
- (7) Identify one or two key factors illustrating the influence of the New Right in the presidential election of 1980, and elaborate. For example, do you believe Ronald Reagan was an advocate of the New Right? a captive of the New Right? an exploiter of the New Right? something else? Could Jimmy Carter, a professed "born-again Christian" have enjoyed the same benefits? Explain.
- (8) Jorstad, wishing to be objective, lists some of the achievements of the New Right. He also talks about some of their weaknesses and deficiencies. Do you perceive any interpretive principles operating in his assessment? What interpretive principles apply? Explain.
- (9) What, in a few words, is the theme of Jorstad's book?

R E A D I N G   Q U E S T I O N S :   S C H A E F F E R

The following questions are intended to guide your reading and reflection on Francis Schaeffer's A CHRISTIAN MANIFESTO.

1. Why did Francis Schaeffer write the book? What purposes did he have in mind? What did he wish to achieve?
2. He seems to worry about the fact that Christians tend to view the world in bits and pieces, rather than seeing it in its totality? Why is this a problem? How can the problem be overcome?
3. There is considerable venom, or, shall we say, emotional intensity in the book. Why is the author so upset? With whom is he upset? What does he wish his opponents, whoever they are, would do, or be? Explain.
4. Our author says a lot of heavy things about the evils of secular humanism. What, in his view, makes humanism secular? What is wrong with it?
5. Schaeffer seems to prefer the attitudes and way of life of northern Europeans, that is, descendants of the Protestant Reformation. What evidence does he offer for this? Why do his preferences run this way? What do you make of it? Explain.
6. Throughout the book there are references to the religious attitudes of America's Founding Fathers. Summarize Francis Schaeffer's attitude toward these fathers. On what bases does he believe that his own views are congruent with theirs? Discuss.
7. Schaeffer would also like to sanction his views on the basis of Biblical teachings. What status does the Bible have for him? How does it relate to contemporary issues? Explain.
8. Schaeffer indicates that present-day Christians may indeed have to become militant. What makes such militancy appropriate? Does it have limits? On what basis can civil disobedience be condoned?
9. Schaeffer provides some glimpses into some possible human futures? Do you think he expects to be disappointed? Explain and discuss (or discuss and explain, either way).

Reading Assignment and Questions

George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism

pp. 3 - 21 - Introduction and Evangelical America at the Brink of Crises

pp. 199 - 230 - Interpretations

Fundamentalism as a Social Phenomenon  
Fundamentalism as a Political Phenomenon  
Fundamentalism as an Intellectual Phenomenon  
Fundamentalism as an American Phenomenon  
History and Fundamentalism

Paul M. Wyrich, "Blue Collar or Blue Blood? The New Right Compared with the Old Right" (Reader, No. 3)

Peter M. Berger, "The Class Struggle and American Religion," (Reader, No. 4.)

1. Does Marsden think that religious behavior can be reduced to its social dimensions?
2. In what way does Marsden think the fundamentalist experience is like the immigrant experience?
3. What is the relationship between individualism and fundamentalism?
4. What is the Manichaean mentality described by Richard Hofstadter and discussed in Marsden?
5. What is the fundamentalist view of science? How does this view relate to Scottish Common Sense Realism?
6. According to Wyrich, how does the New Right differ in its origins from the Old Right?
7. According to Wyrich, how are New Right political tactics modeled on Left tactics? What is the importance of the media?
8. Where does the New Right locate political power?
9. How does Berger describe the theory of the new class?

The following have already been assigned in the Reader.  
Numbers 2, 5, 18, 19 and 20.

A GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Fundamentalism - a conservative movement arising out of American Protestant evangelicalism in the period 1870-1925, characterized by belief in the inerrancy of the Bible, premillennialism and militantly opposed to modernism.

Evangelicalism - (1) the dominant Protestant position in America in the 19th century with its roots in Calvinism. Also, (2) the name taken by some fundamentalists in the mid-twentieth century in an effort to broaden the movement, i.e. the Evangelicals.

Millennialism - The belief derived from Revelation 20 in final 1,000 years of history marked by holiness and harmony which takes two forms.

Premillennialism - also called millenarianism which anticipates that Christ will come and usher in the millenium and reign on earth.

Postmillennialism - anticipates that after man has achieved the Kingdom here on the earth, then Christ will return.

Dispensationalism - divides all history into distinct eras or dispensations. Anticipates that the final dispensation will be the personal reign of Christ on earth for 1,000 years - a form of premillennialism

Princeton theology - affirms the inerrancy of the Bible

Modernism - the liberal movement arising out of American Protestant evangelicalism which affirms the Social Gospel, the progress and perfectability of man, and which practices the higher criticism and recommends the ecumenical movement.

Higher criticism - the study and questioning of the Bible on the basis of historical and philological research

Ecumenical movement - Narrowly conceived, the movement to unite Protestant churches, divided because of ethnic origin but close together doctrineally. (e.g. the Calvinist churches are divided ethnically between the Presbyterians with their roots in Scotland, the Congregationalists from England, the Huguenots from France and the Evangelical and Reformed churches of Holland and Germany. The United Church of Christ is the result of an ecumenical merger of the Congregational Church with the Evangelical and Reformed denomination.

More broadly conceived, the ecumenical movement supports all efforts to heal historic schisms in Christianity, (e.g. the appearance of the Pope in a Lutheran Church on the 500th anniversary of Luther's birth)

Social Gospel - the attempt to focus religious interest on contemporary ethical problems and the abuses, injustices and social problems of the world

SCHEDULE, READING ASSIGNMENT AND QUESTIONS

Monday - February 13 - Dr. Robert Billings

Reading: John M. Swomley, Jr., Public Schools Embattled over Prayer," The Christian Century, July 20-27, 1983.

1. To what extent is the American disaffection with the public schools due to the issue of prayer in the public schools? What other issues are contributing?
2. Bill Billings asserted the primary responsibility for education should be with the home and the church. Do you agree or disagree? If the government has responsibility, to what degree should it be the Federal government and to what degree the State?

Wednesday - February 15 - Panel on the ERA

Reading: James M. Wall, Editorials in The Christian Century  
Edward M. Kennedy, "Tolerance and Truth in America,"  
The Congressional Record, October 5, 1983.

1. Sam Donaldson saw the ERA debate as one of the most difficult political issues for President Reagan in '84. How is the ERA related to the general issue of supporting the family which is important to the New Right? What other 'family' issues are related to it?
2. (Referring back to Donaldson's presentation) Donaldson declared television is the most important political tool to be recently developed. Why does he think that? What is Weyrich's opinion on this? (See No. 5 in the Reader. Readings listed above in the Reader.)
3. Why does the Hon. Tom Harkin see Senator Kennedy's speech at Liberty Baptist College as a "seminal work" in the area of "The Role of Church and State."?

THE WRITING PROJECT

The last item in the Reader is on elements of writing style. Consider it general advice in preparing the writing project. We have been asked about footnotes. Under certain circumstances of totally original work they are not necessary. However, if you are using sources, they should appear in both footnotes and a bibliography. All direct quotations should be within quotation marks. The introduction to the Reader has endnotes which may be used as a model. (Endnotes are notes that appear at the end of the paper rather than at the foot of each page.) Books and journals are underlined. Articles are placed in quotation marks. Interviews are cited as follows: John Doe, Unpublished interview, February 6, 1984.

WRITING PROJECT

Completed writing projects are due Friday, February 24th. The project constitutes a possible 34 points in calculating the final grade for the class. The final examination will count for 66 points for a possible total of 100 points. Late papers will be accepted but only on the following condition. With the understanding that anyone can improve a paper with a little more time for polishing, and in the interest of fairness, late papers will be downgraded one point for each day they are late, not counting Saturdays and Sundays. In other words, if you get your paper in on Monday, February 27th, the maximum points possible will be 33. On Tuesday, a maximum of 32, etc. Papers should be handed in in class or placed in the boxes of Kay Alexander or John Simmons in the Religious Studies Departmental office on the fourth floor of South Hall. Do not place papers under office doors. If you wish to have a prereading of your paper over this weekend, either deliver it to one of the writing assistants or place it in the box of either Simmons or Alexander.

QUESTIONS ON THE NEW RIGHT= WE'RE READY TO LEAD by  
Richard A. Viguerie

1. Viguerie gives a list of liberal causes for which he says he would not like to have to try and raise money. What are these causes?
2. Viguerie dates the actual beginning of the New Right from 1975 though it had earlier roots. How did it come about? What part did liberal tactics play?
3. Why was 1978 a critical year for the New Right? What was the importance of the Panama Canal? What was the truth squad? What role did it have in the defeat of liberal senators?
4. Describe the role of seminars and training groups in Political Action Committees.
5. What does Viguerie identify as the four keys to political success? What liberal single issue interest groups does he identify?
6. What are the techniques of coalition politics? How does coalition politics threaten historical political party identifications?
7. Viguerie asserts "most of the new five million conservative contributions will come from the conservative Christian community." (p. 96) How does he intend to reach these contributors? How does his method differ from that of the liberals?



**SIGNIFICANT STATEMENTS:**

1. Text of S. J. RES 212 [Senate Joint Resolution, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to voluntary silent prayer or meditation]

January 24 (legislative day, January 23), 1984:

Mr. Thurmond (for himself), Mr. Hatch and Mr. Grassley) introduced the following joint resolution, which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress:

Article --

SECTION 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit individual or group silent prayer or meditation in public schools. Neither the United States nor any State shall require any person to participate in such prayer or meditation, nor shall they encourage any particular form of prayer or meditation.

SECTION 2. Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit equal access to the use of public school facilities by all voluntary student groups.

2. Closing paragraph, President Reagan's address to Religious Broadcasters, January 30, 1984:

"If the Lord is our light, our strength and our salvation, whom shall we fear, of whom shall we be afraid? No matter where we live, we have a promise that can make all the difference -- a promise from Jesus to soothe our sorrows, heal our hearts and drive away our fears. He promised there will never be a dark night that does not end. Our weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning. He promised if our hearts are true, His love will be sure as sunlight. And by dying for us, Jesus showed how far our love should be ready to go: all the way."

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE FINAL EXAMINATION

The teaching assistants have decided against a review session for the following reason. It is impossible to schedule review sessions for a class of this size at a time that everybody can attend. The difficulty encountered in scheduling the Video-tapes illustrates this problem. Review sessions are only worth attending if they are useful. If they are useful, students unable to attend them are penalized. Therefore, review for this class will be accomplished two ways. (1) Dr. Capps will summarize the material of the course in the lectures. (2) This handout will give you the necessary information to prepare for the final examination. In addition, John Simmons will make one more attempt to show the Video-tapes. See him after class today.

The final examination will count for a possible 66 points in calculating your final grade. It will be divided into three parts: (1) 18 short identifications (18 points), (2) 3 brief essays (24 points - i.e. 8 points each) and (3) a comprehensive essay (24 points). It is estimated that the identifications will take approximately one half hour which leaves two and a half hours to divide between the two essay portions of the examination. Please bring two or more bluebooks.

A study list of eight questions, drawn from the questions distributed during the quarter, will be provided. Five of these questions will appear on the final examination from which you may choose three. Your answers should be drawn from the lectures and the assigned texts. Note that you are responsible for the Schaeffer and Jorstadt texts, for Marsden pp. 3 - 21 and pp. 199 - 230, for Viguerie, Chapters 1 through 8 and Chapter 11, and the Reader, items numbered 17 through 20 for this portion of the examination.

The comprehensive essay question will be phrased somewhat as follows.

The rise of the New Right has been associated with the emergence of religious groups as a political force in America. What groups are involved? What are their motives? What changes in the law and in the public mood made possible their emergence in the seventies? What sociological explanations have been given for seeing this movement as a class phenomenon? What historical models are there for their methods and for the political involvement of religious groups in America? Is the involvement of religious groups in politics a good or a bad thing? Discuss.

Material relevant to this question may be found in the texts noted above as well as the balance of the Viguerie text and the Reader, numbers 3 through 16 and number 25. We estimate that you should have at least an hour for this essay, which will be judged solely on the suitability, relevance, coherence and comprehensiveness of your discussion. Please do not bring notes or books to class.