

VOLUME I

THE POLITICAL PREACHING OF JERRY FALWELL: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS
OF THE POLITICAL PREACHING OF REV. JERRY FALWELL IN BEHALF
OF THE MORAL MAJORITY DURING THE 1980 POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

by

Roy Edward Buckelew

A Dissertation Presented to the
FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(Communication Arts and Sciences)

August 1983

UMI Number: DP22369

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI DP22369

Published by ProQuest LLC (2014). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY PARK
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90007

Ph.D.
CM
'83
B922
Vol. 1
2955A
zv

This dissertation, written by

ROY EDWARD BUCKELEW

under the direction of his Dissertation Committee, and approved by all its members, has been presented to and accepted by The Graduate School, in partial fulfillment of requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

B. S. Daniel

Dean

Date APRIL 22, 1983

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

Walter R. Fiske

Thomas A. Marshall Chairman

Donald E. Miller

DEDICATED TO

Saint Louise, wonder-wife

SPECIAL GRATITUDE TO

Kelli May and Tina Shiflett,
student secretaries,
Ouachita Baptist University

Table of Contents

	Page
Dedication	ii
 Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Who Is Jerry Falwell?	6
The Moral Majority	9
The "I Love America" Rallies	12
Scope of the Study	15
Statement of the Problem	17
Survey of the Literature	17
Definition of Terms	20
Limitations of the Study	22
Preview of the Study	23
 2. RHETORICAL SITUATION	 29
The Exigencies	31
The Audiences	51
The Constraints	73
 3. THE MESSAGE	 97
The Purposes of Falwell and the Moral Majority	99
The Presuppositions of Falwell's Political Preaching	105
The Premise for Falwell's Arguments and Appeals	114
Arguments and Appeals of Falwell's Political Preaching	117
 4. MEANS OF PERSUASION	 188
Political Preaching	189
Mass Marketing	239

Chapter	Page
5. ETHICALITY	266
The Criteria for Ethical Rhetoric	266
The Ethicality of Falwell's Rhetoric	272
6. EFFECTIVENESS	296
Christians and Other Religions	296
Americans in General	304
Voters in the 1980 Elections	309
The Passage of Legislation	312
7. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, CONSIDERATIONS AND SUGGESTED STUDIES	323
Summary	323
Conclusions	324
Theoretical, Methodological, and Historical Considerations	330
Suggested Studies	334
Bibliography	338
Appendixes	350
A. Transcriptions of Two "I Love America" Rallies	351
B. Samples of Three Letters Received from Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority	395
C. Samples of Materials from Files of "I Love America" Rallies and from the Unofficial Archives of Falwell's Activities at Liberty Baptist College	418
D. Lyrics of Three Songs Presented at the Rallies by the "I Love America" Singers	452

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

In the presidential campaign of 1980, candidates Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan had to contend not only with John Anderson, one of the strongest independent challengers in the nation's history, they also had to share the spotlight with the "New Right."

A loose conglomerate of political and religious conservatives, the New Right evolved as a viable and vigorous political force. Through the national publicity they attracted, their militant organizations, a variety of fund-raising, their use of mass mailings and the mass media, especially television, their campaign tactics against prominent incumbents, and the political activism of numerous and prestigious preachers, they created controversies in the political campaign of 1980.

The "New Right" does not refer to a new kind of conservatism. As Jeffrey Hadden observes, it "does not refer to the resurgence of conservative forces in the United States, but rather to a small group" who has mastered "the uses of modern communications technology," particularly advertising, polling, and direct mail.¹ Noting that they stand "largely outside the party structures and the inner circles of power in Washington," Hadden maintains that the New Right capitalized on their mastery of the new technology during the 1980 campaign to

circumvent the political power structures, arouse and organize the discontented and frustrated "silent majority," and raise enormous funds from them.²

Besides their effective use of emerging technology, the unique feature of the New Right was the degree to which they deliberately brought religion into the mainstream of the political process.³ Not since the 1960 presidential campaign, when John Kennedy's Catholicism became a major issue, had religion played such a significant role. Not since the 1920s had conservative Christians been so active and visible in the political process.

By the Summer of 1980, Reverend Jerry Falwell, pastor of Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, and founder and president of Moral Majority, Inc., had emerged as a significant spokesman for the New Right, and, by election day in November of 1980, the New Right, especially Falwell's Moral Majority, had become a recognized movement thought to have a determinative influence on the elections. Leaders of the New Right, for example, boasted that their efforts had made the difference in the defeat of five incumbent liberal senators and possibly in the defeat of incumbent president, Jimmy Carter.⁴ Also, Falwell claimed that their registering four to five million unregistered, non-voting, conservative Christians had turned the tide in favor of conservatism.⁵ Even objective early assessments of the election credited the New Right, especially the New Religious or Christian Right, with providing the margin of victory for numerous candidates including Ronald Reagan.⁶

The most publicized leader of the New Right, religious or political, was Jerry Falwell. Since 1971, he had been quite vocal about the issues that concerned him as a Christian, but while he had been very visible as a preacher, mainly because of his exposure on the "Old-Time Gospel Hour" television program, he had not been widely visible politically.

When the U.S. Supreme Court, in the 1973 Roe v. Wade decision, ruled that abortions are legal and that tax money could be used to pay for them, Falwell became concerned because he believed that God would destroy any nation which murders unborn babies. He saw it as the beginning of the end of America. And so he began to speak out against abortion not only because he believed it was a sin but a mortal danger to our nation.

Not only had he spoken out against legalized abortion, he had also participated with Anita Bryant in her Florida crusade against homosexual rights and had been involved to some extent in the presidential campaign of Jimmy Carter because Carter was an avowed "born again" Christian.

Falwell also had led in the protest of the Justice Department decision to consider withdrawing the tax-exempt status from Christian schools. After his election in 1976, due in large part to the support of "born-again" or conservative Christians, President Carter ordered the Justice Department to reconsider the tax-exempt status of Christian schools, most of which were operated by Fundamentalist churches. Conservative Christians, especially Falwell and other Fundamentalists,

felt betrayed and immediately launched a letter-writing campaign against the action of the Justice Department. They were successful in stopping the action.

But, for Falwell, the action by the Justice Department against Christian schools was a threat to the freedom of churches and religion in America. It was viewed as a flagrant violation of the first amendment guarantee of freedom of religion and an illegal encroachment upon the churches. It struck at the jugular vein of Fundamentalist churches, because they depended partly on their schools to provide income, to indoctrinate the youth in Fundamentalist doctrines, and to train the youth who would be the future members, lay leaders, and preachers in their churches. Without a free church, as well as a free nation, the gospel could not be preached to the whole world and the call of God could not be obeyed.

It seems possible that one involvement by Falwell led to another--abortion, then homosexuals being recognized as an official minority with all the consequent privileges and rights, the threat to the tax-exempt status of Christian schools, the pervasiveness of pornography, what he perceived as the result of Godless humanism taught in public schools. But in spite of these activities, Falwell's visibility was more local and regional than national, more the result of his Fundamentalist religion than his politics. Two events, probably as much as anything else or maybe everything else, eventually catapulted Falwell into the national spotlight.

First, on April 28, 1979, Falwell conducted an "I Love America" rally on the steps of the nation's capitol as part of his "Clean Up

America" campaign. Approximately 12,000 attended including several well-known Senators and Congressmen. Second, on June 6, 1979, Falwell launched the Moral Majority, Inc., to counter the liberal moral trends and to clean up America. Falwell made his intentions clear at an "I Love America" rally in the South Dakota state capitol:

We have an obligation then to reposition America where She once was. Someone said yesterday in a debate with me, 'You're in favor of holding up progress. You want America to go backwards.' In my opinion if we can go back to the traditional husband and wife relationship family, back to decency, back to morality, back to a free enterprise system unharrassed by a federal government that's out to wipe her out, back to free farmers who are allowed to farm and make a profit as once they were in this country, back to a society that believes in decency, believes in God, believes in right and wrong; if that is opposing progress, then you're right: I'm opposing progress. But I believe that that is progress in itself. If we can come back to. . . . If we can come back to the principles that made us the greatest nation on earth, we're simply acknowledging we got detoured down the road. And were going in the wrong direction, found our way, came back to the road of progress and in so doing I think we'll find that God's able to cure our economic and military and energy problems, if we get our moral problems corrected.⁷

For nearly a year, however, after the first "I Love America" rally and the launching of Moral Majority, relatively little attention was paid to him. But, from mid-summer of 1980 the attention given to Falwell was surprising if not phenomenal. Major articles appeared in nearly every notable newspaper and magazine in the country. He appeared on most of the talk shows and interview programs such as "60 Minutes," "Tomorrow," "Today," "Meet the Press," and "Donahue." He was on the cover of Newsweek. At one point, shortly before the November election, one could almost argue that the media coverage of Falwell rivaled that of the presidential candidates, Carter, Reagan, and Anderson.

Nelson Keener, chief operations officer for the Old-Time Gospel Hour, reported that, during the few months before the election, there were as many as 200 media requests per day for information and interviews.⁸ Russ Files, religion librarian at Liberty Baptist College, and, as he admitted, "self-appointed archivist" for Falwell and his operations including Moral Majority, has collected most of the articles about Falwell, and, in his small archives, there are several shelves full of stacks of articles, a separate section for every one of the fifty states.⁹

In order to provide a context for this study of the political preaching of Jerry Falwell, I will first introduce Jerry Falwell, the Moral Majority, and the "I Love America" rallies conducted by Falwell in behalf of the Moral Majority. Next, I will delineate the scope of the study, the questions to be answered, and the literature that will inform the study. Finally, I will define the terms to be used and the limits of the study.

Who Is Jerry Falwell?

A child of the Great Depression, born August 11, 1933, in Lynchburg, Virginia, Falwell grew up in a poor and tough neighborhood about a mile and a half east of downtown Lynchburg. Hardworking and ambitious even in his childhood and youth, he did well in school. He was captain of the football team his senior year, graduated with a 98.6 percent average grade, and was the class valedictorian. He was not allowed, however, to give the valedictorian speech because it was discovered he took cafeteria tickets and gave them to members of the football team. That was the last straw in a long line of trouble with

school officials. Also during high school, he was part of a gang that engaged in fights, drinking, and pranks.¹⁰

In 1950, he entered Lynchburg College intending to major in mechanical engineering, but, within two years, had professed faith in Christ and committed his life to the Christian ministry. He consequently enrolled in the Baptist Bible College in Springfield, Missouri.¹¹

According to Falwell, his only exposure to religion before he was converted at eighteen came from listening to Charles E. Fuller, the preacher on the popular "Old-Fashioned Revival Hour" radio broadcast.¹² One cannot miss the similarity between the names of Fuller's "Old-Fashioned Revival Hour" and Falwell's "Old-Time Gospel Hour."

In 1956, after his senior year at the Baptist Bible College, Falwell returned to Lynchburg and started a new church with thirty-five charter members. They met, at the beginning, in the vacated Donald Duck Bottling Company building.¹³ From that start, Falwell's ministries multiplied to include the Thomas Road Baptist Church with its varied programs and 17,000 members, the Old-Time Gospel Hour broadcast on 400 television and 500 radio stations, and the Christian schools--the Lynchburg Christian Academy, Liberty Baptist College, and Liberty Baptist Seminary with a combined enrollment of nearly 6,000 students. Though Moral Majority is not considered one of Falwell's ministries, that is more a technicality than fact.

On April 12, 1958, he married Macel Pate whom he had met at the Park Avenue Baptist Church in Lynchburg. They have three children: Jerry, Jr., Jeannie, and Jonathan.¹⁴

Whether or not one agrees with Falwell, one could hardly deny that he is the epitome of the religious entrepreneur and the embodiment of the work ethic. His titles, by themselves, are impressive--Pastor of the Thomas Road Baptist Church, President of the Old-Time Gospel Hour, Chancellor of the Liberty Baptist College and Schools, and President of Moral Majority, Inc.--and they are only part of the whole story.

He has attained the most publicity as head of Moral Majority, but much of it has been adverse. The name, "Moral Majority," may account for some of the adversity. It is alliterative, rhythmical, and therefore memorable, but it also reveals, for some, an arrogance. Lutheran lobbyist Charles Bergstrom told reporters, "They claim they will finally get us Christian representation in Washington, but I think that shows considerable arrogance."¹⁵ Leaders of fifteen major American church bodies in a joint statement proscribed the Moral Majority for their "arrogance, manipulation, subterfuge [and], holding others in contempt."¹⁶ James Armstrong, writing in the Christian Century, insisted on "the right of clergy to participate in the political process" but criticized the Moral Majority for "its moral and spiritual arrogance."¹⁷

Another fairly common reaction has been that, if the people of the Moral Majority considered themselves to be moral, they must consider everyone who does not agree with them to be immoral. Tony Quinn, in a California Journal article, agreed with a statement issued by the Lutheran Church Council that "It is arrogant to assert that one's position on a political issue is 'Christian' and that all others are 'un-Christian,' 'immoral,' or 'sinful.'"¹⁸ "No one has a lock on righteous-

ness," argued Rabbi Daniel Polish, Washington director of the Synagogue Council of America, "but they assume that anyone who differs from them is not only misinformed, but evil."¹⁹

A Des Moines Register editorial, for example, excoriated the new Christian activists:

Such Christians gave us the Crusades, the Spanish Inquisition, and the Salem witchcraft trials. When you're convinced you're doing God's work, it's only a short step to becoming convinced that everything you do is justified. . . . [They] are fond of quoting this line in the Bible: '. . . when the righteous rule, the people rejoice; when the unrighteous rule, the people mourn.' To which I can only add, 'And when the self-righteous rule, watch out.'²⁰

Some of the reaction has been organized, such as Norman Lear's "People for the American Way."²¹ The purpose of Lear's venture has been to fight the Moral Majority. In their introductory brochure, People for the American Way explained their purpose: "It is needed because of the growing stridency and strength of anti-democratic organizations which we call 'Moral Majoritarians.'" They pledged, "We will meet the moral majoritarians on their own ground."²²

The Moral Majority

Given the attraction and the reaction to the Moral Majority, what and who is it? "It was not until the formation of the Moral Majority . . . that [Falwell] admitted to political involvement," in the opinion of Frances FitzGerald, hinting that it had "something to do with tax status."²³ Ron Godwin, chief operations officer of Moral Majority, Inc., conceded as much in explaining that it was set up as three organizations--Moral Majority, Inc., the Moral Majority Foundation, and the Moral Majority Political Action Committee--because of

the tax laws.²⁴ Falwell acknowledged the tax consideration in an interview with Christianity Today:

We spent about five years chipping out that platform after meeting with Mormons, Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Fundamentalists. I and three or four others here and there worked on it. We realized we had to create a nonreligious organization where we could address the issues as private citizens and without violating the separation of church and state or the tax-exempt status of our ministries.²⁵

In an interview on the "Tomorrow Show," he explained:

When I started in the ministry twenty-eight years ago, abortion was not a political issue; it was very much a moral issue. Homosexuality was not a political issue; it was not all that volatile. . . . The traditional family issues were very easy to preach on, particularly on radio and television. . . . Those things are challenged daily now. If one says something that has become political . . . [he is] challenged by special interest groups. . . . And so we have a tax problem. Our churches are tax-exempt. We have no right to speak for our church membership. . . . So we . . . sought out council on this; we need to form some outside agency where we as private citizens could be involved without violating our tax-exempt status, without forcing our [church] people into a position they may not wish to share. Moral Majority became that.²⁶

Regardless of the tax motives, Moral Majority has become a legitimate lobbying organization. It is, according to Falwell, a tax-exempt,²⁷ non-profit²⁸ organization, but contributions to Moral Majority are not tax deductible and, therefore, may be used to lobby for legislation.²⁹ Godwin says that, as a lobbying organization, they are "here to stay," that they are "in for the long haul."³⁰

Organizationally, Moral Majority consists of the national organization headed by Falwell and chapters in most states headed by a state chairman, usually a Fundamentalist pastor who is a "cronie" of Falwell. Neither the national organization nor Falwell have actual control over the independent state chapters, only influence, and some-

times not much influence. In fact, Falwell said one of his concerns was "to get those loose cannons out there under control" meaning such activities as the Maryland chapter's attacks on a bakery that was making pornographic cookies and the California chapter's promotion of the death penalty for homosexuals.³¹

Some of the activities of the Moral Majority, national and state, are monitoring moral legislation, opposing candidates with whom they disagree on selected issues, fund raising, registering people to vote, and informing their constituents on the records of incumbents, on the issues, and on the candidates.

As to the membership, Falwell claims it is non-religious, that people can belong to Moral Majority without regard to their religion or without being religious. Atheists as well as Fundamentalists, Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Mormons, and others, Falwell claims, make up the membership.³² What Falwell has left vague is exactly who are members of Moral Majority. Is there a list of the membership somewhere? Equally vague is exactly how one becomes a member. Evidently the roll of members is the mailing list that has been accumulated from different sources such as contributors and the registrants at "I Love America" rallies.³³

As of October, 1980, Falwell boasted that Moral Majority was "a conglomerate of 72,000 pastors of all persuasions and 2 million laypeople."³⁴ Whatever the membership, it is significant enough to pose the potential for enduring political, religious, and social influence. As Dan Rather said as early as two weeks before the 1980 elections, "It would be a mistake to dismiss the new political activism of

conservative Christians as a flash-in-the-pan uprising of mad-as-hell zealots. This is a well-organized movement which derives its strength from the television ministries of preachers like Jerry Falwell."³⁵

Falwell's rhetoric in behalf of Moral Majority issues during the 1980 campaign used many means--letters, television, radio, newspapers, magazines, booklets, tracts, sermons, interviews, organizations, mass meetings, and others. One important but relatively unstudied form, prominent in the 1980 campaign, was his political preaching at "I Love America" rallies conducted on the steps of the capitol in forty-two of the fifty states. The centerpiece of those rallies was, in the tradition of the "jeremiad"³⁶ and the "political sermon,"³⁷ the speech by Falwell, what I shall call political preaching. Those forty-two speeches reflect the substance and style of Falwell's political preaching during the campaign.

The "I Love America" Rallies

The "I Love America" rallies were not conducted in eight states--Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, Maryland, and Nevada. The reason, according to one rally staff member, was that, because the nature of Falwell's political preaching aroused such emotions, they literally feared for his life if he continued.³⁸

The "I Love America" rallies were not particularly unique in the sense that they were held on capitol steps. There has always been a parade of people to their capitol to protest or petition for one cause or another. They were unique, however, in that one person,

representing one group, attempted to go to every state capitol. It was not the first time Falwell had gone "on the road" to take his message directly to the people. In 1975 and 1976, during the Bicentennial celebration, he conducted the first round of "I Love America" rallies in 141 cities across the nation. They were very similar to the round of "I Love America" rallies in 1979 and 1980, the main differences being that the earlier rallies were held in auditoriums primarily and were more religious than political. Both rounds of rallies have been at the heart of Falwell's "Clean Up America" campaign.³⁹

The rallies on the steps of the state capitols included a cast consisting of Falwell, the pilot of his private plane, a body guard, six to eight of his staff, bus and truck drivers, and the forty-eight "I Love America" singers from the Liberty Baptist College. To facilitate the two buses and two trucks traveling from one rally to the next, the rallies were scheduled a day or two apart and in contiguous states. Falwell and his staff travelled in his private jet, and the singers travelled in two Greyhound-type buses. The two trucks carried the equipment necessary for the rallies--sound system, flags, podium, chairs, and so on.

To prepare for the rallies in each state, several steps had to be taken: a permit to meet on the capitol steps had to be secured; the attendance of groups from churches and Christian schools had to be guaranteed so there would be a large, sympathetic, and enthusiastic crowd; invitations had to be extended to the politicians; publicity had to be arranged through the local media; the Moral Majority luncheon for pastors, church staff, and school administrators had to be arranged;

and innumerable other details had to be attended to.

The rally day usually began at six o'clock in the morning when the truck drivers and singers started setting up the equipment, a job that took about three hours. The singers dressed and were in their place on the capitol steps for a pre-rally concert. The rallies usually began at 11:00 a.m. and lasted until 12:30. Afterward, at a nearby restaurant, usually within walking distance of the capitol, a luncheon was provided for pastors, church staff, and Christian school administrators.

Officially, the rally was sponsored and paid for by the Old-Time Gospel Hour, and the luncheon was sponsored and paid for by the Moral Majority. The stated purposes of the rallies were (1) to promote the Christian school movement and (2) to address the moral issues faced by the nation.⁴⁰ The purpose of the luncheon was to establish a Moral Majority chapter for the state or strengthen the state chapter if one already existed.

At both the rally and the luncheon, the people attending were asked to register, and those registration forms were used for the mailing list of the state chapter and the national organization of Moral Majority.

The "I Love America" Club was initiated at about the same time as the rallies and used the registration cards from the rallies as its basic membership roll and mailing list. The purpose for organizing the club was to launch "an all out effort to Clean Up America and bring this nation back to God and a stance of Bible morality."⁴¹ Falwell said he asked God for 40,000 charter members who would contribute \$12

monthly "to help us in this massive and sweeping effort."⁴² He offered each charter member the Collector's Edition of the American Bicentennial Family Bible which had been left over from his "I Love America" rallies in 1975-76. All who joined would also receive a personal letter from Falwell each month and a copy of the Hotline Report.⁴³ The club was the follow-up and continuation of the rallies and a way to build support for Moral Majority issues.

Scope of the Study

As a recognized spokesman for the New Right, especially the religious Right and specifically Moral Majority, Falwell, in his political preaching, repeatedly called for a return to Biblical principles, to the faith of our Founding Fathers, and to traditional values. Because, as head of Moral Majority and as political preacher at the "I Love America" rallies, he represents a significant rhetorical force for mobilizing Christian and moral Americans and converting their sectarian values and attitudes into political action, Falwell's political preaching warrants examination. And, because of the intense interest in Falwell and the Moral Majority and the reaction to them, they deserve an objective examination.

This study, therefore, will examine, primarily but not solely, the political preaching of Falwell at eleven of the "I Love America" rallies. The eleven rallies to be studied were the ones conducted in Washington, D.C., Florida, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, South Carolina, and South Dakota. They were held between April of 1979 and November of 1980, during the period of the campaign for the November elections of 1980.

There are several reasons for focusing primarily on Falwell's rhetoric at the rallies rather than on his writings or media addresses. The rally speeches are special because (1) they are unique examples of American public address; (2) they are also important examples of the jeremiad, a kind of public address characterized by a mixture of political speaking and Christian preaching; (3) they are the best, or at least as representative as any other, examples of Falwell's political preaching which caused as much controversy as any issue in the 1980 elections; (4) they were a part of the revival of conservatism, both political and religious, in the late 1970s; (5) they, maybe more than any other single kind of rhetoric by Falwell, aroused intensity and raised questions about the relationship of church and state as well as religion and politics in general; and, not the least, (6) they attracted considerable media attention.

The eleven rallies in particular have been selected for examination, because, according to Falwell's staff at the Moral Majority, Old-Time Gospel Hour, and Thomas Road Baptist Church, these are the only tapes of "I Love America" rallies that survived a flood in the area where they stored their audio tapes. It is quite possible that tapes of other "I Love America" rallies will surface later, but, after a thorough search by Falwell's staff on three separate occasions, they found no other audio tapes of "I Love America" rallies. Their search was, no doubt, hampered by the general disarray and disorganization of some of their low-priority materials such as tapes of the rallies.

But though they are the only tapes available at this time, they are as representative of the rallies as any other combination of rallies

would be. They represent all sections of the country except the West. They cover the entire period of time that may be considered the campaign period for the 1980 elections. All but one rally examined by this study was conducted before the elections in November of 1980. The one rally not conducted before election day was held the week after the elections. Also, they were spaced fairly evenly over the entire campaign period.

Statement of the Problem

Specifically, this study seeks to answer these questions about Falwell's political preaching to advance the causes of Moral Majority:

- (1) What was the nature of the rhetorical situation that gave rise to Falwell's political preaching in the 1980 campaign?
- (2) What was Falwell's message in his political preaching, especially as reflected in the "I Love America" rallies? What were the purposes of his political preaching? What were his presuppositions and premises? What issues did he raise and react to? What were his arguments and appeals on those issues?
- (3) What persuasive methods or strategies did he employ in dealing with the issues he raised?
- (4) In the persuasive methods he employed to argue the moral issues he raised in his political preaching, was Falwell himself ethical?
- (5) How affective was Falwell's political preaching in influencing his "true believers," other Americans, and political action?

Survey of the Literature

Falwell's political preaching at the "I Love America" rallies is so interchangeable with the rhetoric in his interviews, his writings,

and other speeches that we cannot examine the rally speeches without extensive reference to his other rhetorical materials. What he said at the rallies is often elaborated, clarified, and extended in other speeches, in his writings, and in the interviews he gave.

Close attention, therefore, will be given to his speeches at the Sword of the Lord Conference on Revival and Soul-Winning, at the National Affairs Briefing in Dallas, and at the National Association of Religious Broadcasters Conference in Washington, D.C., as well as a speech entitled "Mobilizing the Moral Majority" which was delivered at a pastors' meeting in Denver, Colorado. In addition, Falwell wrote Listen, America!⁴⁴ and edited The Fundamentalist Phenomenon⁴⁵ both of which are political preaching in another form as are the scripts of his interviews on "Meet the Press,"⁴⁶ "The Phil Donahue Show,"⁴⁷ and "Tomorrow,"⁴⁸ and in Penthouse magazine.⁴⁹ I will also rely on Falwell's Moral Majority Report and Hotline Report, on booklets such as How You Can Help Clean Up America, and his television specials such as "America, You're Too Young to Die." We will also examine special articles written by Falwell such as "Enforcing God's Law in the Voting Booth,"⁵⁰ "U.S. 'Sliding Down' with Political Left,"⁵¹ "The Maligned Moral Majority,"⁵² and "Moral Majority a Reaction to Attack on Basic Values of Millions of Americans"⁵³ all of which were other forms and forums of his political preaching. Although I will analyze primarily the eleven representative "I Love America" speeches, the analysis will be informed by the whole body of Falwell's political preaching.

This study is informed also by The Conservative Digest magazine published by Richard Viguerie. The flagship of New Right publications,

it provides information and insight about the leaders, activities, and issues of the movement. Also, a book by Viguerie, The New Right: We're Ready to Lead,⁵⁴ has been invaluable for its first-hand, detailed account of the evolution of the New Right.

A fairly objective appraisal of the Christian Right, Prime Time Preachers by Jeffrey K. Hadden and Charles E. Swann,⁵⁵ has been helpful.

The counter-rhetoric to the New Right, including the religious Right, has been considerable. Among the most comprehensive are The Fear Brokers by former U.S. Senator, Thomas J. McIntyre⁵⁶ and Thunder on the Right by Allen Crawford,⁵⁷ former New Right devotee. Articles and analyses by journalists, religious leaders, and political pundits have been abundant in publications such as Time, Newsweek, Playboy, The Humanist, Harpers, Sojourners, Christianity Today, Christian Century, the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, and the Washington Post. The counter-rhetoric provides balance in the analysis of Falwell and the New religious Right.

Several works have added substantially to my understanding of the rhetorical situation that gave rise to the New Right and to Falwell. Of course, I have relied on Lloyd Bitzer's article, "The Rhetorical Situation,"⁵⁸ also on Richard Hofstadter's The Paranoid Style in American Politics⁵⁹ and Clinton Rossiter's Conservatism in America.⁶⁰

In evaluating the ethicality of Falwell's political preaching, I have been informed by Douglas Ehninger's article, "Argument as Method: Its Nature, Its Limitations and Its Uses,"⁶¹ and by Walter R. Fisher's articles, "A Motive View of Communication,"⁶² "Toward a Logic of Good Reasons,"⁶³ and "Rationality and the Logic of Good Reasons."⁶⁴

Richard L. Johannesen, in his synthesis of standards for ethical rhetoric entitled "Toward an Ethic of Rhetoric,"⁶⁵ has been invaluable. I have also drawn on Frank J. Lower's application of Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of the six standards and stages of moral development to the theory of rhetoric⁶⁶ in order to assess the ethicality of Falwell's political preaching.

The information about the effectiveness of the religious Right has come from numerous polls such as Gallup and Harris and from a study by Shupe and Stacey.⁶⁷

Definition of Terms

In defining political preaching as practiced by Falwell, I have relied on Perry Miller's concept of the "jeremiad" in The New England Mind: From Colony to Province,⁶⁸ on Sacvan Bercovitch's concept of the jeremiad as political sermon in The American Jeremiad,⁶⁹ and on Rod Hart's concept of "religio-political" rhetoric in The Political Pulpit.⁷⁰ Miller characterizes the jeremiads as denunciations of the sins of the nation. Bercovitch extends Miller's concept by showing that the jeremiads were equally annunciations of God's promises of restoration if we repent. Bercovitch argues that their essence is not, as Miller says, "the vehemence of [their] complaint" but their "unshakable optimism."⁷¹ Hart essentially equates the jeremiads of the past with the religio-political rhetoric of the present "civil religion" in America, arguing that it is more rhetorical than social or political, that the religious elements of America have determined to wage their struggle by such rhetoric, and that the rhetoric, though it sounds religion-like, is really

more human than divine.⁷² This study will show that Falwell's political preaching is in the tradition discussed and developed by Miller, Bercovitch, and Hart. It will also show that it has distinguishing characteristics in the tradition of Fundamentalist preaching.

For this study, the "New Right" will refer to the movement during the late 1970s and early 1980s consisting of both religious and political conservatives involved in the political process. The "political Right" will refer to political leaders such as Richard Viguerie, Paul Weyrich, Terry Dolan, and Howard Phillips, to organizations such as the Viguerie Company, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, the Conservative Caucus, and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, and to their activities concerning political issues. The "religious Right" includes religious leaders such as Pat Robertson, James Robison, and Jim Bakker in addition to Falwell, to organizations such as Religious Roundtable and Christian Voice besides the Moral Majority, and to their activities concerning moral issues. It should also be understood that the moral issues of the religious Right have political implications, that the political issues of the political Right have moral implications, and that both the moral and political issues have social implications.

Fundamentalism is defined, for this study, as the extremist conservative sect of evangelicalism, an unofficial and independent denomination distinct from any other identifiable denomination, religion, or cult, and distinguished by their belief in the inerrancy of the Bible and the millennial reign of Christ here on earth at the end of the world. Fundamentalists emerged out of the millennial controversy

and the confrontation with Liberal theology during the late nineteenth century.⁷³

By Biblical morality, or Biblical principles, this study assumes that Falwell means those moral prescriptions and prohibitions in the Bible according to his own interpretation and the interpretation of Fundamentalists. They usually coincide with some of the traditional elements in the Judeo-Christian ethic.

It is important to understand how the study will refer to the Moral Majority and to the "I Love America" rallies. Moral Majority, with capital M's, will mean Moral Majority, Inc., the organization founded by Rev. Jerry Falwell in June, 1979, for his participation in the political process as a private citizen. The term, moral majority, with small m's, will mean the supposed majority of Americans who, according to Falwell, hold to the traditional Biblical moral values of the Judeo-Christian ethic. When referring to statements or activities connected with the "I Love America" rallies, I will simply refer to "the rallies" or, if it is a specific rally, to "the Florida rally," for example.

Limitations of the Study

The study will be confined to those speeches and writings already cited, those relative to the 1980 political campaign. Other personalities and phenomena of the religious Right will not be examined unless they will throw light on Falwell and the Moral Majority phenomena. There will be no attempt to delve into religious or theological doctrines unless they will help us to understand Falwell and the Moral

Majority. No attempt will be made to judge the rightness or wrongness of Falwell's position on the issues he addresses; rather, I will make judgments about the rhetorical and ethical soundness of his political preaching.

Preview of the Study

The first chapter will consider the rhetorical situation--the exigencies, audiences, and constraints--that gave rise to the New Right and consequently the religious Right. Chapter 2 will consider the message of Falwell as the spokesman for Moral Majority, the purposes behind his political preaching, the presuppositions and the primary premise which determined how he addressed the issues, the issues which he raised and to which he reacted, and his arguments and appeals in addressing those issues. Chapter 3 focuses on the persuasive methods employed to communicate his message. Chapter 4 will assess the ethics of Falwell's political preaching. The final chapter will deal with the effectiveness of the religious Right on the 1980 political process and its prospect for continued political influence.

ENDNOTES

¹ Jeffrey K. Hadden and Charles E. Swann, Prime Time Preachers: The Rising Power of Televangelism (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1981), p. 141.

² Ibid., pp. 141-42.

³ Ibid., pp. 142-44.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Pierre, South Dakota, 18 Sept. 1980, pp. 20-21.

⁸ Personal interview with Nelson Keener, Chief Operations Officer of Old-Time Gospel Hour, Lynchburg, VA, 3 May 1982.

⁹ Personal interview with Russ Files at Liberty Baptist College, Lynchburg, VA, 5 May 1983.

¹⁰ Frances FitzGerald, "A Reporter at Large: A Disciplined, Charging Army," The New Yorker, 18 May 1981, pp. 78, 81-82.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 81-82.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., p. 82.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Edward Plowman, "Is Morality All Right?" Christianity Today, 2 Nov. 1979, p. 82.

¹⁶ "Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs Statement on the Dangers of Civil Religion," adopted and distributed as a News Release, 7 Oct. 1980.

¹⁷ James Armstrong, "Election Aftermath," Christian Century, 3 Dec. 1980, p. 1182.

¹⁸ Tony Quinn, "Evangelical Christians: Born Again Political Activists," California Journal, July 1980, p. 270.

- 19 Eileen Ogintz, "New Holy War," San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle, 20 Jan. 1980, p. 14A.
- 20 Joseph L. Conn, "The New 'Christian Politics,'" also in Focus on Governmental Affairs, a publication of the Office for Governmental Affairs, Lutheran Council in the USA, 13, No. 12 (Dec. 1979), no pp.
- 21 Norman Lear, "Rebuilding with 'American Way,'" Arkansas Gazette, 25 Apr. 1982, p. 2H.
- 22 "Q & A: Questions and Answers," a brochure of People for the American Way, Washington, D.C.
- 23 FitzGerald, p. 124.
- 24 Personal interview with Ron Godwin, Chief Operations Officer, Moral Majority, Lynchburg, VA, 3 May 1982.
- 25 "An interview with the Lone Ranger of American Fundamentalism," Christianity Today, 4 Sept. 1981, p. 26.
- 26 Jerry Falwell, from interview on Tomorrow Show on NBC-TV with Tom Snyder, 30 Oct. 1980, p. 2 (transcribed from an audio tape of the interview).
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 The Moral Majority, Inc., Fighting for a Moral America in This Decade of Destiny (Forest, VA: Moral Majority, Inc., 1979), brochure.
- 29 Falwell, Tomorrow Show, p. 2.
- 30 Interview with Ron Godwin.
- 31 "An Interview with the Lone Ranger . . . ," p. 23.
- 32 Ibid., p. 26.
- 33 Hadden and Swann, pp. 136-37.
- 34 Falwell, Tomorrow Show, p. 3.
- 35 Dan Rather, "Onward Christian Voters," transcript of Sixty Minutes, CBS, 21 Sept. 1980, p. 15.
- 36 Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1956), pp. 8, 15.
- 37 Sacvan Bercovitch, The American Jeremiad (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1978), p. xiv.

- 38 Personal interview with Rick Vignuelle, Assistant Director of the "I Love America" rallies, Lynchburg, VA, 3 May 1982.
- 39 Falwell, rally, South Dakota, p. 5.
- 40 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcripts of "I Love America" rallies at Frankfort, Kentucky, 16 Oct. 1979, p. 17 and at Lansing, Michigan, 21 Apr. 1980.
- 41 Hotline Report, n.d., no pp.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Jerry Falwell, letter to "I Love America" rally registrants, a "Special Charter Membership Offer," 12 July 1979.
- 44 Jerry Falwell, Listen America! (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980).
- 45 Jerry Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981).
- 46 "Interview with Jerry Falwell," transcript of Meet the Press, 12 Oct. 1980, p. 2.
- 46 Jerry Falwell, from interview on Donahue, Multimedia Program Productions, "Donahue Transcript No. 10200," 20 Oct. 1980.
- 48 Jerry Falwell, from interview on Tomorrow Show on NBC-TV with Tom Snyder, 30 Oct. 1980.
- 49 "Penthouse Interview: Reverend Jerry Falwell," Penthouse, March 1981, p. 156.
- 50 Jerry Falwell, "Enforcing God's Law in the Voting Booth," Los Angeles Times, 7 Sept. 1980.
- 51 Jerry Falwell, "U.S. 'Sliding Down' with Political Left," Arkansas Gazette, 25 Apr. 1982, p. 1H.
- 52 Jerry Falwell, "My Turn: The Maligned Moral Majority," Newsweek, 21 Sept. 1981, p. 17.
- 53 Jerry Falwell, "Moral Majority A Reaction to Attack on Basic Values of Millions of Americans," Conservative Digest, Jan. 1981, p. 28.
- 54 Richard Viguerie, The New Right: We're Ready to Lead, "Introduction" by Jerry Falwell (Falls Church, VA: The Viguerie Company, 1980).

- 55 Hadden and Swann.
- 56 Thomas J. McIntyre, The Fear Brokers (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1979).
- 57 Alan Crawford, Thunder on the Right (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980).
- 58 Lloyd Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," In The Rhetoric of Western Thought, eds. James L. Golden, Goodwin F. Berquist, and William E. Coleman, 2nd ed. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing 1976), pp. 15-21.
- 59 Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," in his The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 3-40.
- 60 Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America, The Thankless Persuasion, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966).
- 61 Douglas Ehninger, "Argument as Method: Its Nature, Its Limitations, and Its Uses," Speech Monographs, 37, No. 2 (June 1970), 101-10.
- 62 Walter R. Fisher, "A Motive View of Communication," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 56, No. 2 (Apr. 1970), 131-39.
- 63 Walter R. Fisher, "Toward a Logic of Good Reasons," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 64, No. 2 (Dec. 1978), 376-84.
- 64 Walter R. Fisher, "Rationality and the Logic of Good Reasons," Philosophy and Rhetoric, 13 (Spring 1980), 121-30.
- 65 Richard L. Johannesen, Ethics in Human Communication, 2nd ed. (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1983).
- 66 Frank J. Lower, "Kohlberg's Moral Stages as a Critical Tool," The Southern Speech Communication Journal, 47, No. 2 (Winter 1982), 178-91.
- 67 Anson Shupe and William A. Stacey, Born Again Politics and The Moral Majority: What Social Surveys Really Show (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1982).
- 68 Perry Miller, The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1953).
- 69 Bercovitch, p. 7.
- 70 Roderick P. Hart, The Political Pulpit (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue Univ. Press, 1977).

71 Bercovitch, p. 6.

72 Hart, p. 108.

73 George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture
(New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 62-63.

Chapter 2

RHETORICAL SITUATION

On the same day, March 21, 1965, that "hundreds of clergy assembled along with thousands of other civil rights workers in Selma, Alabama, for the resumption of a march on Montgomery that had earlier been interrupted by violence," Jerry Falwell preached a sermon, "Ministers and Marchers," in which he said the marchers were "engendering hate and unrest," and "their methods ran contrary to a minister's calling."¹ In that sermon, Falwell explained:

As far as the relationship of the church to the world, it can be expressed as simply as the three words which Paul gave to Timothy--'Preach the Word.' We have a message of redeeming grace through a crucified and risen Lord. This message is designed to go right to the heart of man and there meet his deep spiritual need. Nowhere are we commissioned to reform the externals. We are not told to wage wars against bootleggers, liquor stores, gamblers, murderers, prostitutes, racketeers, prejudiced persons or institutions, or any other existing evil as such. Our ministry is not reformation but transformation. The gospel does not clean up the outside but rather regenerates the inside. . . . While we are told to 'render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's,' in the true interpretation, we have very few ties on this earth. We pay our taxes, cast our votes as a responsibility of citizenship, obey the laws of the land, and other things demanded of us by the society in which we live. But, at the same time, we are cognizant that our purpose on this earth is to know Christ and to make Him known. Believing the Bible as I do, I would find it impossible to stop preaching the pure saving gospel of Jesus Christ, and begin doing anything else--including fighting Communism, or participating in civil-rights reforms.²

Falwell has since said he was wrong about preachers in politics and has become the epitome of what he once condemned.³ The question is

why? What drew him into politics? What aroused him to become a political activist? What gave rise to his political rhetoric, his political preaching? Hadden and Swann propose that, to understand the resurgence of conservatism, we must study the political Right, but, to understand where it is going, we must study the religious Right. "It is the latter group," they say, "that is likely to be responsible for shaping the next major developments in the conservatives' efforts to gain political power."⁴

The New Right looks at America from two perspectives, political and religious. The political Right sees society as a combination of political, economic, and social forces. The religious Right sees society in terms of spiritual and moral ills. The political wing of the New Right existed, was active and organized, before the religious wing. The New Right, as first identified, was purely political in perspective. What resulted from the entrance of religious conservatives into politics, and the mixture of religion and politics, was really a transformed New Right.

To understand the New Right, it is necessary to examine the separate development of both the political and religious perspectives and see how the one was grafted onto the other to produce the new New Right of the 1980 campaign. By understanding what gave rise to each of them, we may more accurately grasp how they, and especially Falwell, saw the world in 1980 and why they entered the political process. In other words, by understanding the political Right, we will better understand the religious Right.

I will, therefore, examine what Lloyd Bitzer calls the "rhetorical situation" that gave rise to the New Right. The rhetorical situation is "a complex of persons, events, objects, and relations presenting an actual or potential exigence which can be completely or partially removed if discourse, introduced into the situation, can so constrain human decision or action as to bring about the significant modification of the exigence."⁵ I will examine, first from the perspectives of the political Right and then of the religious Right, the three constituents that Bitzer says comprises "everything relevant in a rhetorical situation"--its exigencies, audiences, and constraints.⁶

The Exigencies

What exigencies did the New Right see, what imperfections, defects, obstacles, what things other than they should be did they see? What was urgently waiting for something to be done? What in America alarmed them?⁷

The Perspective of the Political Right. Political conservatives, in one form or another, are not new in America. While their strength and influence have ebbed and flowed, they have persisted. For example, Hofstadter discusses four episodes of Conservatism covering nearly 200 years of American history in which the exigencies they saw have been most obvious--the anti-illumnati crusade of the late 1700s and early 1800s, the anti-Masonic movement of the 1820s and 1830s, the anti-Catholic movement from 1835 into the 20th century, and the anti-Communist crusade from the late 1940s to the present.⁸

The exigencies of the present political Right, in addition to

Communism, which they have carried over from their predecessors, are Liberalism and an unresponsive Republicanism.

Communism is among the most enduring of the exigencies of contemporary conservatism. There is reason to believe that the road which led to the eventual emergence of the New Right in 1980 started, at least in part, with the anti-Communist movement, especially the anti-Communist crusade of Senator Joseph McCarthy in the early 1950s. Clinton Rossiter may be correct, that "the decisive factor in the shaping of modern American Conservatism was . . . Franklin D. Roosevelt. . . ,," but that opposing Roosevelt, who was so popular, would not make a viable movement, whereas, opposing Communism would. Thus, Rossiter noted, Conservatives "sublimated their distaste for the New Deal into a fierce 'anti-Communism,'" and the radical wing of contemporary Conservatism was born.⁹ According to Rossiter, the contemporary Right is made up of "three major categories, the 'liberal conservatives,' the 'middling conservatives,' and the 'ultra-conservatives,'"¹⁰ Since "ultra-conservatives" are the radical conservatives, and anti-Communism, as carried on by McCarthy among others, must be considered radical, then the anti-Communists must be categorized as ultra-conservatives, at least some of them.

Rossiter identifies McCarthy as an anti-Communist and an ultra-conservative.¹¹ And, Rossiter says, "ultra-conservatives, by their own proud admission, were the most loyal soldiers in McCarthy's ranks."¹² But, as Lipset points out, McCarthy and the ultra-conservatives,

In spite of [their] early successes . . . [had] not succeeded in building even one organization of any political significance. And without organizing its backing, it cannot hope to secure

any lasting power. The failure . . . stems from the fact . . . that the only political issue which unites the various supporters of radical right politicians is anti-Communism.¹³

While Lipset may be correct in his notions, he fails to mention one notable effect of McCarthyism, the immense exposure he generated for radical conservative ideas. Though many millions repudiated what they saw and heard, millions of others undoubtedly empathized with McCarthy and his anti-Communist, ultra-conservative ideology. He established an exigence in the minds of many Americans that Communism was pervasive and was destroying America and that something must be done before it is too late.

One of those who was exposed to McCarthy's anti-Communism was Richard Viguerie, a founder of the New Right. In his book, The New Right, We're Ready to Lead, Viguerie says:

In college, my big political heroes were . . . Douglas MacArthur and Joseph McCarthy. I was very angry over the firing of MacArthur, who wanted to win the Korean war and beat the Communists. And I felt the same way about Joe . . . he was a fighter fighting Communism. So I became a fighter. Even when he was inaccurate, McCarthy articulated my concern about a very big problem. There are Communists in this world. They are not the ghosts of a few right-wingers' imaginations.¹⁴

We may suppose that Viguerie was influenced not only by McCarthy's ideology but also by his intensity and methods. McCarthy had established Communism as an exigence in the mind of Viguerie, and possibly others, who carried it into the New Right which, in turn, carried it into the 1980 campaign.

Their concern about Communism as an exigence was double-edged. On the one hand, they saw it as an internal threat, perhaps because of the influence of McCarthy. On the other hand, they saw it as an

external threat which was the more traditional concern about Communism. McCarthy, an important contributor to the heritage of the New Right, left them with a fear of the internal threat of Communism that matched or surpassed their fear of it as an external threat. It was this double-edged fear of Communism that Viguerie believes was the "unique contribution" of conservatives. Conservatives brought together "militant anti-communists, who believed that the West was engaged in a deadly struggle with Communism" as both an internal and external threat.¹⁵

Viguerie eulogized Goldwater for his 1964 campaign stance against Communism. "We must make it clear," Goldwater had said, "that . . . Communism and the governments it now controls are the enemies of every man on earth who is or wants to be free."¹⁶ Of the thirteen men Viguerie mentions "for their important early contribution to the Conservative movement," he praises three solely for their anti-Communism: Whittaker Chambers for alerting Americans to the struggle between the Free World and Communism; Dr. Fred Schwarz for his Christian Anti-Communist Crusade; and Congressman Walter Judd for being a "staunch anti-Communist."¹⁷ Viguerie strongly subscribes to Frank Meyer's six basic beliefs of Conservatives, one of which is "the recognition of Communism as an unchanging enemy of the Free World."¹⁸ When Viguerie, Falwell, and other New Right spokesmen speak of being pro-American, by implication they mean anti-Communist. When they speak of a strong national defense for America, they imply a strong defense against the threat of Communism.

Viguerie was not alone in his anti-Communist rhetoric. Howard Phillips, President of Conservative Caucus and another of the founders of the New Right, said as recently as March of 1980 that "unless we . . . reassert our independence . . . within ten years this will be a Soviet World. . . . We've been at [war] with the Soviet Union since 1917." And, he continued, the "humiliation of the United States is the direct result of Soviet military superiority and the loss of U.S. capability."¹⁹

As McCarthy established Communism as an exigence in the 1950s, Viguerie, Phillips, and others of the political wing made it one of the exigencies of the New Right of 1980.

A second exigence of the political Right is Liberalism. Political conservatives, especially ultra-conservatives, have naturally opposed Liberalism. Of course, at times their anti-Liberalism has been more intense than at other times. They have naturally characterized it as a defect or imperfection that urgently needs remedying.

For example, Rossiter argues "that fresh, even turbulent currents of anti-Liberalism have been pouring into . . . the great mainstream of the American tradition ever since the close of World War II."²⁰ Those turbulent currents that had been rising slowly since World War II became a flood of anti-Liberalism in the rhetoric of the New Right during the 1980 campaign.

Why has the political right viewed Liberalism as an exigence? Why the intensity? Why the urgency? Of course, part of the answer is the traditional and natural opposition inherited from their Conservative predecessors, especially ultra-conservatives.

A more plausible answer is what Daniel Bell calls "the disquiet of the dispossessed."²¹ Bell says the Right has been characterized by the feeling of being dispossessed in their own country. "What the right as a whole fears is the erosion of its own social position, the collapse of its power, the increasing incomprehensibility of a world . . . now overwhelmingly technical and complex . . . that has changed so drastically within a lifetime."²²

According to Hofstadter, the right wing movements of the nineteenth century felt they

were still in possession of their country . . . were fending off threats to a still well-established way of life in which they played an important part. But the modern right wing . . . feels dispossessed: America has been largely taken away from them and their kind . . . the old American virtues have already been eaten away by cosmopolitans and intellectuals. . . .²³

The New Deal, which dominated the political scene from 1932 to 1952, did in fact dispossess right wing conservatives. But, with the election of Eisenhower as president in 1952, they expected to be included and influential again, but, as Hofstadter points out, the Eisenhower administration "was worse than a disappointment, it was a betrayal. It did not repeal the New Deal reforms. . . ."²⁴ So, as former Senator Thomas McIntyre says, "They chafed in frustration and bitterness through eight years of Eisenhower rule, followed by four years of Democratic rule, before it had its collective opportunity to express itself in Barry Goldwater's campaign of 1964."²⁵

As Viguerie says, "Our debt to Barry Goldwater is . . . great. The Presidential campaign of 1964 was the first major political experience for most of us in the New Right."²⁶ And, Viguerie adds:

Conservatives young and old learned a lot during the 1964 Presidential campaign. We learned how to stuff envelopes, ring doorbells, get out the vote on election day. . . . We also learned how to win a Presidential primary, how to select delegates to a national convention, how to put together a campaign team, how to use TV, radio and newspapers to communicate our message, how to go to the people at the grassroots. . . . In fact, the Goldwater campaign of 1964 paved the way for the later successful use of direct mail by conservatives, especially the New Right.²⁷

He credited Goldwater with showing them "it was possible to reach out and attract conservatives from every party and every walk of life."²⁸

Whereas the overwhelming rejection of Goldwater should have deepened their feeling of being dispossessed, if in fact they ever felt that, Viguerie assures us that it gave them their first glimmer of real hope. They took hope from the fact that Goldwater started with only 20 percent of the vote, according to the polls, and ended up with nearly twice that number of votes in the election.²⁹ They now thought they could compete with the Liberals, even win in time. They saw the possibility of displacing the Liberals who had dispossessed them.³⁰

But the far more concrete answer to why the political Right considers Liberalism such a dangerous exigence is its opposition to the traditional values they cherish. For example, Liberals have called for the complete separation of the church from the state, religion from government, in such areas as praying and teaching evolution in public schools. Liberals have promoted the protection of individual rights in such areas as abortion, crime, and homosexuality. Liberals have been active in the fight for freedom of expression under the first amendment which has resulted, for instance, in a tolerance toward pornography. Liberals have enacted welfare legislation such as medical

care, food stamps, low income housing, and aid for dependent children. Liberals have pushed for equality among all in education and employment. Liberals have taken a less militant posture in our foreign policy resulting in a greater respect for the integrity of each nation, in a decrease of interference in the affairs of other nations, in policies that prefer negotiation to confrontation and resulting in less spent on national defense. Liberals have seen the world more in relative than absolute terms consequently nurturing situation ethics at the expense of Biblical morality.

All of these values and others, which Liberalism promoted, conservatives, particularly the New Right, vehemently opposed. There came a point when they could no longer be silent about their opposition but had to articulate it, and they had the means--direct mail and organization.

A third exigence of the political Right is a Republicanism unresponsive to their concerns and, in fact, responsible for political, economic, and social actions that were contrary to their concerns. During the Watergate fiasco for the Republicans, Viguerie admits to feeling "isolated and frustrated,"³¹ when he said, "I kept looking for people [that is, Republicans] who could lead, who could make things happen."³² He meant people who would responsively and actively address their concerns. Viguerie described one of the meetings he called to get something going:

Finally, reluctantly, I began to call my own meetings. I hosted one in December 1973 because I felt we were getting killed by Watergate. About 15 conservative Republican Congressmen attended a strictly private meeting. There was lots of talk, lots of sug-

gestions, lots of smoke, but no fire. Nothing happened. They were afraid to act. They were impotent.³³

When he says they were impotent, he meant they were unable or unwilling to do anything about concerns of the political Right.

Then, in Gerald Ford's rise to the presidency at the resignation of Nixon, an event occurred which Viguerie describes as the turning point in the evolution of the New Right:

One morning in August, 1974, I turned on my television to watch our brand-new President Gerald Ford announce he was picking Nelson Rockefeller to be his vice-president. . . . I could hardly have been more upset if Ford had selected Teddy Kennedy. . . . Ford revealed the true colors of so-called 'moderate' Republicans by choosing the very symbol of everything we conservatives had always opposed. I immediately got on the phone and invited about 14 conservative friends to dinner the next night. . . . That night in August it became clear to me that the conservatives were in desperate need of leadership. . . . I decided to stop following and start doing some leading of my own.³⁴

Viguerie, as well as others, was aroused to do something about the exigency of unresponsive Republicanism which had proven unwilling to do anything they wanted and by which they had been dispossessed for so long.

No doubt they were aroused to actions partly because of Rockefeller personally, since he had helped defeat Goldwater in 1964, but mainly because his Republicanism was the opposite of theirs. It was such anti-conservatism, whether Republican or Democrat, that was responsible for the endless failings America had experienced since it had taken control. As Viguerie expressed it:

Who lost Iran? Who lost Afghanistan? Who lost Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia? Who crippled the FBI and the CIA? Who sold the Russians computers and other sophisticated equipment which have been used to stamp out freedom? Who is keeping our kids from praying in School? Who lets hardened criminals out on

the street to kill, rape and rob again before their victims are buried or out of the hospital? Who encourages American women to feel they are failures if they want to be wives and mothers? Who tears apart the family and the community by the forced busing of children over the strong protests of their parents? Who says that America should do little if anything to help human beings who are daily being killed and beaten up by Marxist dictators? The answer in every case is LIBERALS.³⁵

For Viguerie, probably any Republicanism that did not subscribe to their extreme conservatism would seem liberal and would be seen as an "enemy."

Viguerie says that 1978 was the critical year for the political Right. It was critical because of conservatives' effectiveness in opposing the treaties that would return the Panama Canal to the Panamanians. "No political issue in the last 25 years so clearly divided the American establishment and the American people," Viguerie says.³⁶ "In favor of the treaties were the Carter administration, the Democratic leadership in both houses of Congress. . . Big Labor, Big Business, Big Media, the big industrial banks. . . . Against the treaties were the American people--as many as 75% of them according to the polls."³⁷ The Republican party refused to oppose the treaties, "so the New Right picked up the flag and set out to do battle with the American establishment."³⁸ It was a "'no-lose' issue for conservatives . . . 'the most electrifying issue conservatives have ever had.'"³⁹

The political Right created new organizations, raised and spent \$3 million to lobby against the treaties, and, against great odds, nearly defeated the political establishment, falling only two votes short of actually defeating the Panama Canal treaties in the Senate.

Viguerie summed up their effort in this way:

Our campaign to save the Canal gained conservative converts around the country--added more than 400,000 new names to our lists--encouraged many of the movement's leading figures . . . to run for public office--and produced significant liberal defeats in the fall. . . . The New Right came out of the Panama Canal fight with no casualties, not even a scar. Because of Panama we are better organized. We developed a great deal of confidence in ourselves, and our opponents became weaker. That November, the New Right really came of age.⁴⁰

In the Panama Canal issue, there was the convergence of all the exigencies the political Right saw in Communism, Liberalism, and impotent Republicanism. And now, they believed they could do something about them.

The Perspective of the Religious Right. Organized participation in politics by religious conservatives has been relatively rare. In fact, most conservative denominations, and many individuals within those denominations, have deliberately stayed out of politics because of their doctrinal stance on separation of church and state. As recently as the 1960s, conservative religious leaders, including Falwell, were chastening, even verbally castrating, Liberal Protestants for their political involvements in the Civil Rights movement, in the protests against the war in Vietnam, and in 'Cesar Chavez' attempts to unionize farm workers.

What exigencies did they see that seemed urgent enough to cause them to change their minds so completely and become involved so blatantly in the campaign of 1980? What exigencies would cause them to change their views about historically important doctrines of the church?

One such exigence was Communism. The religious Right views

Communism in much the same way as the political Right. Falwell, for example, considers Communism among the foremost crises facing America. In the first nine pages of Listen, America! he discusses its destructiveness.⁴¹ Later in the book, he gives a whole chapter to Communism.⁴² He warns that "Americans have been fooled by Communism long enough. It is time that key figures in our government begin to awaken to the fact that Communism is a vicious attack upon what was once a free world. Communists have dedicated themselves to world conquest."⁴³ Falwell warns:

Communists know that in order to take over a country they must first see to it that a nation's military strength is weakened and that its morals are corrupted so that its people have no will to resist wrong. When people begin to accept perversion and immorality as ways of life, as is happening in the United States today, we must beware. . . . Our enemies know that when we are weak morally . . . we are in a precarious position for takeover.⁴⁴

Falwell said that he believed we could be called on by the Communists to capitulate at any time, especially if we do not reinforce our national defense.⁴⁵ In his political preaching, he called on Americans to join him in doing something about it before it was too late.⁴⁶

A second exigence is Liberalism. Again, it may be said that the religious Right views Liberalism in much the same way, and with the same alarm, as the political Right. Of Liberals, Falwell said that the

godless minority of treacherous individuals who have been permitted to formulate national policy must now realize they do not represent the majority. They must be made to see that moral Americans are a powerful group who will no longer permit them to destroy our country with their godless, liberal philosophies.⁴⁷

Writing in the Wall Street Journal, William J. Bennett and Terry Eastland expressed the opinion that

the New Right Christians may be called a civil rights group, not in the sense, as in the case of blacks, that certain rights have been denied them, but in the important psychological sense common to all civil rights groups, that they have been shut out of politics and are now ignored. Feeling so oppressed, they have now become aggressors.⁴⁸

Hofstadter attributes the reaction of the New Right toward Liberals to a "paranoid Style of mind" which is characterized by "heated exaggeration, suspiciousness, and conspiratorial fantasy."⁴⁹ Hofstadter sees the paranoia of both the political and religious Right as "the motive force" for their participating in politics.⁵⁰

Hofstadter's argument, that the paranoid style is most common to "the extreme right wing," is not completely convincing. For one thing, even the slightest examination of the rhetoric of the Left will also reveal the presence of paranoia.⁵¹ As truly helpful as Hofstadter's concept is, it is inadequate as an explanation of the rise of the religious Right in the 1980 campaign. If, as Hofstadter says, paranoia among the right wing, religious as well as political Right, were a compelling motivation for action in politics,⁵² then the religious Right would have been not only active all along but intensely active. But clearly their political activity has been the exception rather than the rule. Even the most casual perusal of the religious Right in general, and especially those who participated in the 1980 campaign, will show that they have seldom been active in politics. The four preachers, for example, who were most prominent in the 1980 campaign--Falwell, James Robison, Pat Robertson, and Jim Bakker--had never been political activists, at least not in the usual sense, until 1980, and Robertson and Bakker sat out then.

On the other hand, if, as Hofstadter argues, a paranoid style of mind is working as a motive force to propel them into politics, whatever they are paranoid about, Communism or Liberalism, it would add to their force as exigencies. Nevertheless, it only partially explains why the religious Right became involved in the 1980 campaign. It was their sincere concern, however misdirected or on target about the liberal morality in America, more than or in addition to their paranoia, that compelled them to speak out. Such practical concerns as national defense, our policy toward Israel, the family, children's rights, the Equal Rights Amendment and women's rights, abortion, homosexuality, sex and violence on television, pornography, sex education in public schools, the tax exempt status of Christian schools, music, and drugs, which were being raised and addressed already by Liberals, were construed by the religious Right as threats to our morality and thus to our society and compelled them to participate in politics in 1980. Falwell and others became convinced that these very real and practical exigencies were waiting for them to do something now.

A third exigence of the religious Right is moralism. And, by moralism, I mean nonreligious morality.⁵³ The practical concerns of the religious Right, when summed up, are concerns about morality, specifically Biblical morality. For them, it is the Biblical morality of God-fearing people against the moralism of the humanists. Humanism is the moral expression of Liberalism. Humanism is to Liberalism what Fundamentalism is to Christianity. Humanists are Godless. Falwell, for example, says that humanism is the philosophy or the "religion" of Communists and Liberals.⁵⁴ All Liberals and Communists are humanists

and therefore, Godless. And the humanist morality is "moralism," the practice of a nonreligious morality which, to the religious Right, is not morality at all. They would argue that only Biblical morality is moral, that moralism is false morality.

One of the consequences of the moral crusade of the religious Right is that they have replaced secular morality with Fundamentalist morality, perhaps substituted one moralism with another; that is, both may be similarly man-made. The one confesses to be independent of the Bible; the other is based on a narrow interpretation of the Bible. A question that may be arguable but unanswerable is whether the Fundamentalist morality is Biblical morality or moralism.

This very issue, Biblical versus secular moralism, prompted the New York Times, in an editorial, to call on the religious Right to acknowledge the "primacy of secular morality."⁵⁵ It noted that some Fundamentalists and Catholics, "pushing to bring God 'back' into government and churches into politics," have confused the issue of morality in America. Examples of such confusion are Catholic Cardinal Medeiros' labeling as sinful anyone voting for abortion and some evangelicals calling Reagan the "Christian candidate for president."⁵⁶

The Times editorial pointed out that Liberals also confuse the issue of morality just as much "when they applaud the political passions of, say, Martin Luther King, but denounce Jerry Falwell's as illegal. The 'wall' that Jefferson envisioned between church and state will not stand if conceived as a barrier to political speech by religious sects. But it cannot stand either unless religions respect the primacy of a secular morality in law." The editorial goes on to argue

that "the proper boundary" between politics and religion "can be found only when secular morality is given precedence over all religious moralities."⁵⁷

The religious Right would answer that Biblical morality had prevailed until recently, that secular morality or moralism has had primacy in America only recently, especially in education and the media, and that the recent influence of secular morality has brought us to the brink of moral bankruptcy. They could point to the "murder" of babies by abortion, the pervasiveness of pornography and homosexuality, the corruption of our families, schools, and communities, "give-away programs and welfarism," our "startling lack of leadership," and the loss of freedom and the free enterprise system as proofs of our moral decline under the primacy of moralism.⁵⁸

An example of the thinking of the religious Right is the brochure introducing the Moral Majority, "Moral Majority, Inc., Fighting for a Moral America in this Decade of Destiny."⁵⁹ The brochure makes it clear that, in their view, the essential exigence is the question of Biblical morality or moralism. Furthermore, we may infer from the brochure that the religious Right, like the political Right, sees Communism and Liberalism as the forces behind the rise of moralism and the subsequent decline in Biblical morality. This one exigence encompasses all of the real and practical concerns such as national defense, Israel, family, and so on. For them, everyone of those concerns is a question of morality. The brochure says, for example, that "creeping socialism, which is a first cousin of Communism, is taking over the Republic" and warns of the "very definite possibility" of "our capitulation to the

Soviet Union." And, it blames "the concerted attack waged by ultra-liberals" for the moral decay in America. And they view with alarm their seeming powerlessness, at least up to now, to stop "godless humanism" and its "moral permissiveness."

The brochure explains that "it doesn't take much to see the moral decay eating away at our American society at every level," that "our national problems (energy, economics, etc.) are due to our moral default," and that "Moral Majority was founded to do something about the moral decline."

In Listen, America! Falwell declares that

the root of America's problem today is the decay of our individual and national morals. This has resulted in the subsequent decadent state and instability of everything else in America . . . including economics, politics, defense, etc. The choices we as Americans have made in moral and religious questions have determined the way America is going today.⁶⁰

Quoting Mrs. Billy Graham as saying that "if America gets by with her sin, God will owe an apology to Sodom and Gomorrah," Falwell agreed. And he added:

We are not going to get by with our sin. We have an obligation then to re-position America where she once was. Someone said yesterday in a debate with me, 'You're in favor of holding up progress. You want America to go backwards.' In my opinion, if we can go back to the traditional husband and wife relationship, back to decency, back to morality, back to a free enterprise system unharrassed by a federal government that's out to wipe her out, back to free farmers who are allowed to farm and make a profit as once they did in this country, back to a society that believes in decency, believes in God, believes in right and wrong; if that is opposing progress, then you're right, I am opposing progress. But I believe that . . . if we can come back to the principles that made us the greatest nation on earth, we're simply acknowledging we got detoured down the road. And we're going in the wrong direction, found our way, came back to the road of progress and, in so doing, I think we'll find that God is able to cure our economic and military and energy prob⁶¹

lems corrected. Well, that's our message. That is what we are trying to do. That is why we are visiting the fifty state capitols.⁶¹

A final exigence of the religious Right is neutral Evangelicalism. In The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, "neutral" Evangelicalism is explained:

After main-line Evangelicalism reacted to Liberalism and produced Fundamentalism, it reacted to Fundamentalism and produced New Evangelicalism. . . . Attempting to avoid the extremely negative separatism of the Fundamentalists, the New Evangelicals emphasized theological tolerance, infiltration of the denominations, and a commitment to social problems. However, over-tolerance has left the Evangelical Movement in neutral. . . . Evangelicals have been drifting for so long. . . . The entire movement is in danger of drifting into moderate Liberalism. It has drifted from Evangelicalism to New Evangelicalism to Young Evangelicalism to Worldly Evangelicalism, continuing on toward the theological left. . . . The ethereal theorizing of the Evangelicals has left them reluctant (perhaps even unable) practically to produce the organization structure necessary to change the American life-style. By contrast, Fundamentalism has learned how to put its dynamic force into the political arena and does not intend to withdraw.⁶²

If 1978 was the critical year for the political Right, then 1976 was the critical year for the religious Right. According to the Congressional Quarterly, "The revival in evangelical political activity can be traced to events in 1976. One was Carter's presidential candidacy."⁶³ In a very real and practical sense, Carter exemplified, epitomized, and personified neutral evangelicalism. The phenomenon of self-professed "born-again" Christian, Jimmy Carter, in 1976 had at least three effects on the rise of the religious Right.

One effect was that Carter's Christian-oriented campaign drew national attention to the numbers of so-called born-again Christians and gave them a legitimacy they had not known before. During the six months prior to the November elections in 1976, for example, I clipped from the Los Angeles Times editorial and op-ed pages more than fifty

articles on the born-again phenomenon. During the previous ten years, there had been almost no mention of the phenomenon on those pages in the Times. Also, the Harris Poll, designating 1976 as the Year of the Evangelical, estimated that there were between 30 and 85 million born-again Christians in the United States.⁶⁴

Carter's election had a second effect on the religious Right. It demonstrated that conservative Christians were potentially a powerful voting block. The Gallup Poll, among others, concluded that, on the basis of their polling and an analysis of voting patterns, conservative Christians who claimed to be born again had contributed significantly if not determinatively to Carter's surprising election.⁶⁵ Hadden and Swann agree: "It was really the year that the press discovered the millions of evangelicals in this country. . . ." And they added,

Jimmy Carter's public profession that he was a 'born-again' Christian had much to do with the discovery. And when the votes were counted and the analysts had finished their scrutiny of voting patterns, it seemed probable that Jimmy Carter's margin of victory in his improbable march to the White House may well have been provided by evangelicals.⁶⁶

A third effect came during Carter's presidency. His failure to cater to the expectations of conservative Christians, who had possibly made the difference between victory and defeat, aroused them to convert their dissatisfaction into action. Viguerie, offering the opinion that Fundamentalist Christians "gave Carter more votes than any other single category of people . . . between 5 million and 7.5 million people . . . [and] were more important to Jimmy Carter than blacks, wondered why for almost four years Carter has given the born-again Christians the back of his hand."⁶⁷ "Not only has the Carter administration ignored the

born-again Christians, it has actively and aggressively sought to hurt the Christian movement in America," he said.⁶⁸ Then Viguerie gives examples of Carter's ignoring of hurting conservative Christians--the threat to take away the tax-exempt status of Christian schools, the pledge to veto legislation that would allow prayer in public schools, the failure to appoint to high government office "a single clearly identified fundamentalist Christian," attacks on the traditional family by his White House Conference on Families, his sympathy toward homosexuals and abortion, and his support of the Equal Rights Amendment.⁶⁹

The net effect of the Carter phenomenon on the religious Right seemed to be a self-consciousness about their numbers, their money, and their existing and potential significance. Finally, they believed, they could do something. There were at least three missing links: one, leadership; two, organization; and three, means. Falwell capitalized on the need for leadership. He said:

As a pastor, I kept waiting for someone to come to the forefront of the American religious scene to lead the way out of the wilderness. Like thousands of other preachers, I kept waiting, but no real leader appeared. Finally I realized that we had to act ourselves. Something had to be done now.⁷⁰

The result was an organization, the Moral Majority, to capitalize on the potential of conservative Christians for influence on the political process.

The religious Right only lacked the means to mobilize the votes and money of conservative Christians. Their own extensive television ministries were one means, but the political Right, Richard Viguerie in particular, provided the final link, direct mail. They had a capable and charismatic leader, a flagship organization, and the means--

television and direct mail. They were now in a position to introduce discourse, their moral message, into the situation and reach an audience who, in reaction to it, could change the exigencies they saw.

The Audiences

Paul Weyrich says that "conservative leaders, spokesmen and writers have either failed to grasp or acknowledge the role of institutions [i.e., organizations] as a partial explanation for the new found effectiveness of the New Right." He argues that "it was more than a failure of liberalism which brought about the change of fortune for the Right. Rather, the conservatives had established operations which were capable of channeling the sentiment in the country toward productive ends."⁷¹

Implicit in Weyrich's observation is the possibility that we may discover who the New Right perceived to be their existing and potential audiences by looking at the organizations they created. Through their organizations, they believed they were capable of influencing those audiences to mediate the changes they desired. Organizations such as political action committees, for example, were means of introducing discourse by which they could activate, organize, and motivate their audiences and, through them, begin to remove, or at least significantly to modify, the exigencies they saw.

The audiences of the political and religious wings of the New Right may be distinguished though they do overlap. The audiences of the political Right are "the silent majority," the political leaders, legislative bodies, groups with special political interests. The

audiences of the religious Right are "the moral majority," the religious leaders, church bodies, and groups with special religious and moral interests. Because their respective audiences are distinct, even though they are not altogether different, I will examine first the audiences of the political Right and then those of the religious Right.

Audiences of the Political Right. The awareness and attachment of the political Right to the silent majority began in the Goldwater presidential campaign of 1964, which was, according to Viguerie, their first major political experience.⁷² According to Weyrich, "that campaign left an indelible mark on us."⁷³

One of those indelible marks was the concept of the "silent majority" of Americans. Viguerie credits Goldwater with showing them that there are

literally scores of millions of Americans who are either outside the organized pressure groups or find themselves represented by organizations with whose policies they disagree in whole or in part. These millions are the silent Americans who, thus isolated, cannot find voice against the mammoth organizations which mercilessly pressure their own membership, the Congress, and society as a whole for objectives which these silent ones do not want. They, thereby, have become the 'forgotten Americans' despite the fact that they constitute the majority of our people.⁷⁴

A problem the Goldwater campaign did not solve was how to reach the supposed masses of the silent majority with its message of conservatism. The Goldwater troops felt, as many in the political Right of 1980 have felt, that the media, whom they perceived to be liberal, purposely distorted or, out of ignorance, misrepresented their message. Whether their perception of the media was real or imagined, the Goldwater forces never found an effective alternative means to communicate

with the silent majority, who, they believed, were crucial to their success. A determinative difference in the political Right of 1980, from their conservative predecessors, is that they discovered direct mail as an effective means to circumvent the Liberal media and communicate directly with the silent majority, potentially their largest and most loyal audience. Direct mail was the means to contact the silent majority en masse, yet individually, and collect from them millions of dollars for conservative causes.⁷⁵

Probably the most significant and sophisticated organization of the political Right, therefore, has been the Richard A. Viguerie Company, a direct mail conglomerate started by Viguerie in 1964 only a few blocks from the nation's capitol. Thomas S. Winter, editor of Human Events, described the new Right as "those people who use Richard Vigerie's services."⁷⁶ Among those using his services are the National Conservative Political Action Committee, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, the Conservative Caucus, the Gun Owners of America, and Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, Inc. In fact, Viguerie's company does the direct mail for most organizations and candidates of the New Right.

Scott Wolf wrote as early as 1978 that "the small roster of 'new Right' leaders is headed by Richard Viguerie," that he is "the leading mail expert of the New Right."⁷⁷ McIntyre calls him "the direct mail lenchpin of the New Right," and thus the "godfather." "Founding father," and "guru" of the movement, "the vital link in the entire coalition of . . . right-wing political organizations. To know Richard Viguerie is to know the New Right."⁷⁸ Viguerie himself says that

without direct mail, "most conservative activity would wither and die."⁷⁹

Viguerie was among the first to see its usefulness and unlimited potential as a means to communicate with the vast silent majority, to carry the conservative message, to raise money, and to arouse the people to put pressure on legislators. The direct mail organizations of Viguerie and others have provided the means for the New Right to communicate with those audiences who, they are convinced, believe as they do about the essential exigencies--Communism, Liberalism, and unresponsive Republicanism--and who will do something about them.

Another audience of the political Right, equal in importance to the people at the grassroots, is political leaders such as the President, senators, congressmen, and key appointed officials at the national level as well as leaders at state and local levels. The importance attached to political leaders by the political Right is demonstrated in their three most conspicuous and active organizations--the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), the Conservative Caucus (CC), and the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC). All are political action committees organized to provide various kinds of support and opposition for issues and candidates and to influence a small but powerful audience, political leaders, who are capable of mediating the changes they desire.

The concept of political action committees came in the wake of Watergate to give corporations and professional groups the opportunity to participate in political campaigns on an equal footing with unions.

Under the law, individuals are restricted as to the amount they can contribute to one candidate, \$1,000 in the primary and \$1,000 in the general election. But the law allows political action committees to donate \$5,000 to a candidate for a primary and \$5,000 for the general elections. There is a significant loophole that allows political action committees to spend an unlimited amount in campaigning against a candidate. As long as the committee does not donate to or endorse a candidate but spends its money campaigning against his or her opponent, it may spend as much as it can raise. The political action committees of the political Right, such as NCPAC, CC, and CSPC, used the loophole to a surprising and effective advantage during the 1980 campaign for or, as the case may be, against causes and candidates. It is notable that, of the nearly two thousand such committees, most are conservative.⁸⁰

The Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, for example, was founded in 1975 by Paul Weyrich "with the financial help of business leader Joseph Coors"⁸¹ and "emphasizes campaign organization and funding" both in primaries and general elections.⁸² In 1978, the CSPC "spent \$400,000 to help elect 31 conservative candidates, "senators as well as congressmen."⁸³ CSFC sponsors, jointly with NCPAC and other groups, "approximately a hundred training schools and seminars on the political process and how to win elections" leading up to the 1978 elections.⁸⁴ According to Weyrich, they have trained conservatives in everything from coordinating students and absentee ballots to research to legislative work to lobbying to campaigning. They have trained not only candidates but campaign coordinators, people from issue groups,

as well as Christian leaders.⁸⁵ In those activities and others, they have broadened their audience of political leaders.

Probably the most controversial political action committee of the political Right, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, under the direction of Terry Dolan, provides funds for specific senatorial and congressional candidates, but its emphasis is on "publicity rather than precinct organization."⁸⁶ For example, they target an incumbent and attack his record in a massive advertising campaign using radio, television, newspapers, billboards, pamphlets, speeches, direct mail, and so on. By building opposition to an incumbent, they pave the way for their candidate to win.⁸⁷ This was the strategy they used to contribute to the defeat of five U.S. senators: George McGovern of South Dakota, Birch Bayh of Ohio, Frank Church of Idaho, John Culver of Iowa, and Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin. The candidates who defeated these incumbent senators were conservatives. With every candidate they have supported, who has won, they have built their audience of political leaders who can more likely mediate the changes they want.

The Conservative Caucus, headed by Howard Phillips, is "the largest grassroots conservative [political] organization" with 300,000 members. They provide training for volunteers who work for the presidential, senatorial, and congressional candidates as well as work for important issues. Phillips claims they "have helped train thousands upon thousands of dedicated conservative volunteers in all 50 states . . . who monitor the performance of congressmen, mobilize activities, and influence the legislative behavior of congressmen." For example,

they have not only worked for numerous candidates but also led the conservative fight against the Panama Canal and Salt II treaties.⁸⁸

Given the multiplier effect, the Conservative Caucus, like NCPAC and CSPC, represents a growing audience of political leaders. Weyrich summarized the political Right "institutions" and "operations," as he calls them, this way:

The Conservative Caucus, which sought out leadership to form coalitions at the local level to mobilize grassroots sentiment; the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress and the National Conservative Political Action Committee, which brought the technical expertise and training, which the Left had used for years to win elections, to right-of-center candidates in both parties, helped to articulate a new brand of practical yet principled Conservatism to Congress, to candidates, and to the public.⁸⁹

Weyrich also noted that inside the Congress, conservatives organized for the first time with the creation of the Republican Study Committee in 1973 and the Senate Steering Committee in 1974, both of which "proved to be indispensable in internal Congressional operations. .

. ."⁹⁰ Current congressmen and senators are a vital audience, and building both their numbers and their loyalty is essential, the political Right believes, if they are to mediate a change in society.

The political Right of 1980 was a coalition not only of the multi-issue groups--the Richard A. Viguerie Company, the National Conservative Action Committee, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, and the Conservative Caucus--but also of numerous special interest or single issue groups.⁹¹ By knowing the kinds of single issue groups the political Right founded and attracted to their coalition, we can further distinguish their existing and potential audiences. The issues their audiences are concerned with, judging from the single

issue groups of the political Right, are "right to life, high taxes, the growth of the federal government, the right to keep and bear arms, a strong national defense, prayer in the schools, strengthening the family, sex on TV and in the movies. . . ."92

The leaders of the political Right learned the art of coalition politics from the Liberals who had successfully built coalitions of single issue groups into powerful forces shaping our society. In fact, Viguerie says that "all the New Right has done is copy the success of the old left." By that, he explained, he meant the coalition of multi-issue and single issue groups.⁹³

"By founding institutions with similar design and methods of operation to those liberal groups already long in place," Weyrich says,

The Conservatives could play by the same rules, and thus had a chance for a few touchdowns. Before these groups were in place and functioning the way their leftwing counterparts function, Conservatives were playing political baseball while their opposition was on the football field collecting the inevitable forfeit.⁹⁴

"What Conservatives did at long last," Weyrich added, "was to get their team to the same stadium where the liberals were playing."⁹⁵

Viguerie blames the failure of the two major parties to deal adequately with these issues for the "explosion of Conservative single issue groups."⁹⁶ Single issue organizations have sprung up for everyone of these conservative issues. As Himmelstein notes, "The list of groups embraced by the New Right seems endless." His list includes such single issue groups as Senator Jesse Helms' Congressional club, the National Right to Life Committee, the National Pro-Life Political Action Committee, the Life Amendment Political Action Committee, the

American Life Lobby, the Citizen's Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, the Eagle Forum, Stop ERA, and the National Right to Work Committee. His list also includes other groups: Accuracy in Media, Allied Educational Foundation, American Legislative Exchange Council, American Security Council, Americans for Life, Americans United for Life, American Conservative Union, Black Silent Majority, Concerned Women for America, Council for a Competitive Economy, and on and on the list goes.⁹⁷ This is only a small sampling of the kind and number of single issue groups that coalesced into the political Right of 1980, before and after.

Viguerie stresses that the political Right movement needs more and more effective single issue groups, such as ethnic groups, elderly groups, black middle-class groups, blue collar groups, anti-busing groups, welfare reform groups, and so on. "We need a group for every important issue in America," he says, "so that the rights of the conservative majority in America will be adequately represented."⁹⁸

Weyrich points out that such groups are growing. The National Right to Work Committee, for example, grew from 60,000 members in 1973 to 1.7 million in 1979. Also, Right-to-Life operations, pro-gun groups such as Gun Owners of America, and dozens of pro-family and pro-decency groups have grown.⁹⁹

Whether through direct mail campaigns directed toward the silent majority at the grassroots, through the multi-issue groups aiming to elect preferred presidential, senatorial, and congressional candidates and to control the legislative process, or through the coalition of single issue groups militant in their concern about specific issues,

the political Right is attempting to attract millions of Americans who are already convinced Conservatives or can be convinced. And through them, they believe significant political and social change in America can be mediated.

Perhaps it is a distinguishing characteristic of the political Right that they not only are attempting to attract a committed audience but are also organizing their audiences into militant, cohesive, and ongoing groups. Probably it is more often through organizations than individuals that change, especially enduring change, is accomplished in a society. This may not only distinguish the New Right from the Old Right but also from the Left, especially the New Left of the 1960s.

They have not only made enviable efforts to organize the already convinced conservatives but, through those organizations, to influence still others who are unconvinced. The key to knowing the audiences the political Right has sought to attract, whether the already convinced or the still unconvinced, is knowing the organizations they founded and forged into coalitions.

The Audiences of the Religious Right. We may identify the audiences of the religious Right, as we did the audiences of the political Right, by their organizations. Whereas the political Right organized to attract and communicate with the silent majority, the religious Right aimed its appeals at the moral majority. The silent majority, as perceived by the political Right, are the masses of uninvolved Americans, not necessarily religious or concerned about moral issues, who are discontented or even alarmed over the successes of Communism,

frustrated with the failures of liberal principles, programs, and policies, and concerned about the decline in our military strength. The exigencies of the political Right, their leaders believe, are the exigencies of the silent majority. On the other hand, the moral majority, as perceived by the religious Right, are those masses of Americans who, according to Falwell's Listen, America! believe in decency, integrity, God, Biblical morality, America, the family, and hard work.¹⁰⁰

Numerous Americans, who would have strong sympathies with both the silent and moral majority, may be part of only the silent majority and not part of the moral majority. The political Right, therefore, may attract many people who would not be attracted to the religious Right. On the other hand, the religious Right would appeal to many among the uninvolved that the political Right would not appeal to. The religious Right was needed, therefore, as a counterpart of the political Right to attract all of their existing and potential audiences. The political Right was needed to teach the religious Right how to be successful in politics. The religious Right was needed to give legitimacy and a moral dimension to the political Right. The New Right leaders, both political and religious, are convinced that the so-called silent and moral Americans make up a majority of the populations. So, they joined their forces.

There seems to be some confusion about how they joined forces. One account is that, realizing the importance of the religious Right to their success, a core group of political Right leaders, Paul Weyrich, Howard Phillips, Ed McAteer, and Robert Billings, set out to recruit

Falwell, James Robison, Pat Robertson, and Jim Bakker. All were ultra-conservative Christian preachers with remarkably successful television programs and with established audiences, supposedly, of mostly silent and moral Americans, the very audiences to whom the political Right wanted to communicate its message of conservative politics.

The reason they would want to recruit Robertson and Bakker was that they both had Christian talk shows carried daily on several hundred television stations throughout the United States. In addition, Robertson owned and operated the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) which he envisions as the fourth major network. Also, Robertson raised nearly \$2 million per week from his television audiences, and Bakker approximately \$1 million per week. However, neither Robertson nor Bakker participated actively or overtly in the campaign as part of the New Right.

Robison and Falwell, on the other hand, played leading roles for the New Right in the 1980 political campaign. Robison, for example, carried on a vigorous campaign, through his weekly television program on more than 100 stations, exhorting his audience to register and vote. He also teamed with Ed McAteer, former Colgate Palmolive marketing executive and one of the inner core of the political Right, to establish the Religious Roundtable, a political action group concerned with moral and religious issues. The Roundtable conducted a political rally in Dallas in August, 1980, attended by an estimated 250 representatives of the media, by possibly as many as 15,000 conservatives, mostly preachers, and by presidential candidate Ronald Reagan. Also, Robison was very visible as a speaker at New Right meetings and, as one of the

most successful Southern Baptist evangelists, was very influential in that largest of all protestant denominations.

Though Robison was a significant spokesman for the New Right, he was not nearly so personable, prominent, or pervasive in his influence as Falwell. Falwell became the personification, representative, and spokesman of both the political and religious Right. But was

Robison or Falwell recruited by leaders of the political Right?

Robison was possibly recruited by Ed McAteer, but was Falwell recruited?

Newsweek reported in September, 1980:

In January of last year, they [Weyrich, McAteer, Phillips, and Billings] persuaded Falwell to set up a political organization-- which Weyrich suggested calling 'Moral Majority' and which Billings was assigned to direct. Falwell's backing was crucial; the financial and logistical resources that he commanded were immense.¹⁰¹

But there is considerable difference of opinion from Falwell's people. Ron Godwin, Executive Director of Moral Majority, denied that Falwell had been recruited. He stated that Falwell was a leader not a follower, that he had always been out in front of everyone else, that he set his own agenda, the agenda he believed God had set for him and that he did not follow the agenda of anyone else. Godwin explained that Falwell had in mind for some time the idea of setting up a political action group of some kind and that, when he was ready, he met in Washington with leaders of the political Right to ask their advice.¹⁰²

In The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, Falwell completely contradicts the notion that he was recruited by leaders of the political Right:

Facing the desperate need in the impending crisis of the hour, several concerned pastors began to urge me to put together a

political organization that could provide a vehicle to address these crucial issues. Men like James Kennedy (Fort Lauderdale, Florida), Charles Stanley (Atlanta, Georgia), Tim LaHaye (San Diego, California), and Greg Dixon (Indianapolis, Indiana) began to share with me a common concern. They urged we formulate a non-partisan political organization to promote morality in public life and to combat legislation that favored the legislation of immorality. Together we formulated the Moral Majority, Inc.¹⁰³

Falwell also stated, according to an article in Church and State, "In the embryonic days of Moral Majority, I conferred with them . . . and many others in Washington. But there is no connection whatsoever between those organizations and Moral Majority."¹⁰⁴

FitzGerald observed that "Falwell's staff members have maintained that Falwell alone conceived and created the Moral Majority. But the organization clearly shows the influence of Weyrich and others."¹⁰⁵ As Hadden and Swann note, "The New Christian Right . . . obviously owes its genesis to the master plan of the New Right."¹⁰⁶ In the brochure introducing the Moral Majority, Falwell says it was the result of five years of planning.¹⁰⁷ He reaffirms that in an interview with Christianity Today.¹⁰⁸

It is important to know whether Falwell was recruited by the leaders of the political wing of the New Right or initiated his own involvement, because we need to know whether Falwell may have been the pawn of right-wing politicians and manipulated by them or has been motivated by his own concerns. The weight of the evidence seems to indicate that the Moral Majority was Falwell's idea but that he sought the advice of the political Right leaders such as McAteer, Billings, Weyrich, Viguerie, and others as to exactly how to set it up. There is almost no evidence or good reason to think that Falwell has been

exploited by leaders of the political Right or anyone else.

Whether Falwell was recruited or acted on his own, his Moral Majority constitutes and represents a significant audience. Who does Falwell perceive to be their audience? He explained that Moral Majority

is made up of millions of Americans, including 72,000 ministers, priests, and rabbis, who are deeply concerned about the moral decline of our nation, the traditional family, and the moral values on which our nation was built. We are Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Mormons, Fundamentalists--blacks and whites--farmers, housewives, businessmen, and businesswomen. We are Americans from all walks of life united by one central concern: to serve as a special-interest group providing a voice for a return to moral sanity in these United States. . . .¹⁰⁹

This audience also includes those who listen regularly to Falwell's Old-Time Gospel Hour television program. Though that audience is not as large as estimated in the 1980 campaign by the television preachers themselves, the news media, and politicians,¹¹⁰ as I will demonstrate in the chapter on effects, it is significant. If not as large as thought at first, the audience is significant because it is made up mostly of religious conservatives of voting age who were uninvolved politically. The New Right leaders believed that, if activated into a voting block, these audiences could significantly influence almost any election--national, state, local, or congressional district. It also seemed reasonable to assume that not only those who made up Falwell's television audience but significant numbers of people from the audiences of other television preachers with the same beliefs as Falwell would also follow Falwell politically.

With the founding of Moral Majority, Inc., as a political organization, Falwell became part of the New Right. And his audience,

mostly concerned with religious and moral issues, became potentially a political audience as well. The Moral Majority consummated the marriage between the religious and political ultra-conservatives, and, out of their marriage, the true or "new" New Right was born. Although the political Right had been called the New Right for some time before the marriage, the New Right was much more a "new" phenomenon than it had been before. Now it was truly the New Right.¹¹¹

It is very important to emphasize that, though married, they never merged into one organization; they never became one flesh, as it were. Though in holy or unholy wedlock, each kept its own identity, independence, and individuality. They slept in separate bedrooms as it were, but each met the needs of the other when possible. And each had its own lovers and friends.

Terry Dolan may not have overstated the actual situation when he explained that

while you out there [the Christian Right] have been part of a critically important coalition that includes us up here, there's no question in my mind that you are a separate and distinct organization that has, in many ways, very little to do with us up here. . . . It is my belief, and our polling data confirms this, that there is at the very least a subconscious effort on the part of some in the media . . . to tie us together, to use the negatives that each one of us may have as part of this coalition to beat the other to death, and to attempt to stunt our growth. Therefore, I would make this point over and over that your movement is separate, that your motivations are vastly different than mine and the people I represent. Now, that does not mean we are not allies. We certainly are.¹¹²

While we must distinguish them from each other, we cannot separate them as completely as Dolan wanted to. They are like two pieces of cloth sewn together. The fabric may be different but the design is the same,

and it is hard to determine exactly where the seam is, especially when considering their audiences.

Both the moral and silent majority of Americans were potentially audiences of both the religious and political Right. Though they chose to be separate but equal partners, they also had the means now to communicate with each other's audiences because of their new-found cooperation. The political Right, with its direct mail, and the religious Right, with its television programs, could now communicate with most of the millions of silent and moral Americans they believed to be out there and to be their audiences. Furthermore, they did not have to depend on the political system or the media as channels for their message; they now could circumvent the political and media systems, whom they believed to be liberal and hostile, over whom they had no control, and to which they had little or no access.

This audience could be mobilized, they believed, and could mediate change. If only they could communicate with them directly, they could activate them politically.

The multi-issue organizations of the religious Right, Moral Majority as well as Christian Voice, Religious Roundtable, and National Christian Action Coalition, are similar in their objectives and operations to their companion organizations in the political Right, National Conservative Political Action Committee, Conservative Caucus, and Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. What "separates" political Right from religious Right groups is the focus on churches as the precincts for organizing campaign and legislative activity.¹¹³ The preachers, therefore, were the primary leaders of the religious Right,

because they were leaders of the churches.

Speaking to the National Affairs Briefing in Dallas, sponsored by the Religious Roundtable, Falwell explained his "laundry list for the eighties," his legislative agenda, the issues he wanted to address-- abortion, prayer in public schools, the equal rights amendment, national health insurance, pornography, drug abuse, and national defense. Then Falwell urged the 15,000 in attendance, mostly preachers, to preach in their pulpits the things he had been talking about. "America is waiting for leadership, preachers," Falwell told them, "and you're it!"¹¹⁴

Conservative preachers were a primary audience of the religious Right organizations, because they were considered "influenceable" and influential; that is, they could be activated politically and could mediate the political involvement of the people in their churches. Falwell believed that politically active preachers were an important audience of the New Right. He said, in fact, they must get involved, because "the leadership of Godly men is the best available."¹¹⁵ In a message entitled "Mobilizing the Moral Majority," at a mass meeting of preachers in Denver, Falwell said:

The influence of the pastors and the preachers of America has been grossly underestimated. The potential . . . of the preaching ministry has been virtually untapped. If you'll read the history of the United States . . . church history from Apostolic days to the present hour, if you will study the stream of humanity westward . . . you will find . . . the preachers in every generation . . . have played a greater role of determining the course of history than politicians.¹¹⁶

Not only preachers but lay leaders in churches were a primary audience of the religious Right. For example, the Religious Roundtable "brainchild of Edward E. McAteer . . . and James Robison," was "envi-

sioned as a top-level alliance of prominent politically minded evangelicals," both preachers and lay people. They would "concentrate on training leaders" who were already politically minded.¹¹⁷ The brochure for the National Affairs Briefing states the Roundtable was "created for education and direction of leaders concerned about national moral issues."¹¹⁸ To attract and train those leaders, Roundtable conducted "briefings," such as the National Affairs Briefing in Dallas, "to teach ministers and lay evangelicals how to get out the Conservative vote."¹¹⁹ From the "impressive list of Christian leaders" committed to the Roundtable, they "will be able to reach tens of millions of Christians and activate them when legislation . . . comes up on subjects like abortion, private schools, prayer in schools and the defense of America."¹²⁰

Not only preachers and lay leaders, but also Christian politicians were considered a primary audience of the religious Right. Christian Voice, for example, claims a membership of 190,000, including 37,000 non-dues paying preachers and a lobbying budget of \$1.5 million.¹²¹ Founded in January, 1979, to monitor morality in government, their aim is to unseat morally liberal incumbents in Congress and replace them with politicians who, if not committed Christians, at the least endorse the moral views of conservative Christians.

One of their tactics in the 1980 election was "distributing anti-incumbent tracts outside churches on the Sundays before Election Day and urging preachers to denounce incumbent liberals from the pulpit."¹²² Possibly the most controversial tactic of the New Right, political or religious, was a "moral report card" on all congressmen,

prepared and published by Christian Voice, in which they rated them according to how they had voted on 14 issues labeled as "moral."¹²³ It sparked controversy because some of the issues were not clearly moral, the Panama Canal issue for example, and because it was perceived by many as arrogant, as I stated above, that some would judge the morals of others.

Christian politicians, preachers, and lay leaders of conservative churches, and those who endorsed conservative views on morality, were all important audiences of the religious Right, because they were influenceable and were capable of being, in turn, mediators of changes in America.

The religious Right of 1980 was a coalition not only of the multi-issue groups--Moral Majority, Christian Voice, and Religious Roundtable--but also of numerous special interest or single issue groups.

In a September, 1980, article, The Wall Street Journal observed, "New Rightists, who include Democrats who once followed George Wallace as well as Conservative Republicans, are organized in a myriad of single-issue groups."¹²⁴ As an example, they cited the New Right assault on the re-election bid by Senator George McGovern:

Like a light aircraft buffeted by terrific headwinds, he finds himself opposed by NCPAC, Mr. Weyrich's Free Congress Committee, the National Right-to-Life Committee, the National Conservative Caucus, the Eagle Forum, the citizens for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, the Gun Owners of America, and the Committee to Defeat the Union Bosses--among other New Right groups. All, of course, are in addition to South Dakota's regular Republican organization and its candidate, Rep. James Abdnor.¹²⁵

It must seem to some incumbents in Congress and the Senate that, for every so-called moral issue to come along in the last few years,

numerous national, state, and local groups have sprung up to lobby for and against the single issue. Himmelstein lists such morality-oriented single issue groups as the National Federation for Decency, Coalition for Better Television, American Association of Christian Schools, American Christian Cause, Christian Family Renewal, Christian Coalition for Legislative Action, Family, Life, America under God (FLAG), Family Life Seminar, Intercessors for America, and Project Prayer.¹²⁶

One of the most effective single issue groups is Educational Research Analysis headed by Mel and Norma Gabler. Their purpose is "to improve the textbooks of America's schools."¹²⁷ Starting in Texas, where they live, they have scrutinized the school textbooks of nearly all fifty states. Time magazine reported that

they have become a clearinghouse for critiques written by almost anyone of textbooks, dictionaries, and library books. Texas education officials swear by the Gablers. 'Their ideas about educational materials are the ideas parents want,' says Alton Bowen, deputy commissioner of education.¹²⁸

Though Mr. and Mrs. Gabler are the only members of this single issue group, they represent a surprisingly large audience of parents, school administrators, and teachers who are concerned about the moral and religious content of textbooks.

Another example of a powerful single issue group is the National Christian Action Coalition, founded by Robert Billings, to lobby for Christian schools. Billings, who was the first executive director of Moral Majority, "mobilized hundreds of thousands of Christians to protest a recent IRS rule threatening to tax Christian schools [unless they adopt racial quotas]. As a result, the IRS backed off. . . ."¹²⁹ NCAC maintains a mailing list of about 12,000 churches and Christian

schools and considers them their primary constituents or audience.¹³⁰ Since most of these churches and Christian schools are conservative or Fundamentalist, the pastors, the school administrators and teachers, and the parents who send their children to those schools are apt to be attracted to the conservative, moralistic politics articulated by the religious Right. They are, at the very least, influenceable and may become involved in mediating change, especially through the ballot box.

From the smallest organizations, such as the Gablers' Educational Research Analysis, to the largest, such as NCAC, the religious Right drew together millions of people who were deeply concerned about single moral issues. Taken together, the audiences of the religious Right--the extensive audiences of the television preachers, the conservative pastors, their churches and Christian schools, and the energetic single issue groups--comprised an enormous existing and potential audience for the New Right in the 1980 election. Given their evangelistic fervor, they could possibly be motivated to get involved in a moral cause and become mediators of not only moral but also political and social changes sought by the New Right.

These audiences, of both the political and religious Right, were perceived to be out there, already, throughout America; they did not need to be created, they already existed. They only needed to be reached, i.e., contacted, activated, organized, and motivated. The audiences, already there were diverse and disconnected; they needed to be organized into cohesive forces for influence. But, because they were diverse and disconnected, the New Right had to create many organizations. It was not that they developed audiences and then set up

organizations to control them, the audiences were already there, supposedly a silent and moral majority. The organizations were set up to mobilize them into mediators of political and social change.

The Constraints

There are external and internal powers at work on and in a rhetorically active person. Exigencies and audiences are the external powers that move a person to enter rhetorically into a situation.

"Constraints" refer to internal powers that control a person's rhetoric on the audiences within a situation.¹³¹ The "standard sources of constraint," according to Bitzer, are "beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, images, interests, motives and the like."¹³² The question is, What constraints have operated in and on such leaders as Viguerie, Weyrich, Dolan, and Phillips of the political Right and McAteer, Billings, Robison, and Falwell of the religious Right? There are several possible answers that apply to both.

One is that they are activists by their nature because of the beliefs and attitudes they hold, because of the intensity with which they are held, because of the documents, e.g., the Bible, the facts, and the traditions they value, and because of the interests and motives to which they are committed. They are driven from within. Their ideological commitment drives them to be active in causes, political, religious, or otherwise, by a kind of internal combustion or compulsion to crusade for a cause. They are motivated to be rhetorical by nature. Preaching is their business and their calling. Being evangelistic about their beliefs, attitudes, documents, facts, traditions, images,

interests, motives, and the like whether political or religious, is instinctive. But, because of their ideological commitment, they are also purists and separatists and will involve themselves with an unreceptive and unregenerate world only to a certain extent and in certain kinds of ways. Their righteous beliefs are like the foot that operates both the gas pedal and the brake. By the very fact that they are conservative, they are cautious.

Though it is not a characteristic of conservatives only but is equally common to Liberals, it is a characteristic of conservatives and is one constraint that operated in the New Right leaders during the 1980 campaign.

But again, as there are different exigencies and audiences for the political and religious Right, there are different constraints for each. For the political Right, it is their commitment to the doctrine of ultra-conservatism, and for the religious Right, it is their commitment to the Biblical morality of Fundamentalism. The political Right is concerned primarily with political issues and the religious Right mainly with moral issues. The political Right is committed to applying the philosophy of ultra-conservatism to political issues; the religious Right is no less committed to applying the doctrines of Fundamentalism to moral issues.

Yet, while they differ in these ways, they are similar in their mentality. By that I mean, for example, that one could refer to the philosophy of the political Right as political fundamentalism and to the doctrines of the religious Right as moral ultra-conservatism. The rhetoric of both can justly be called "preaching." Rossiter considered

them so concentric that, "were this word [fundamentalist] not used generally to identify certain Protestant sects," he said, "it might well serve as the most accurate one-word description of the ultra-conservatives. . . ." ¹³³ Terry Dolan said, "I can think of virtually nothing that I do not endorse on the agenda of the Christian Right. My guess is that there is very little if anything that the people on the Christian Right do not endorse concerning what we stand for." ¹³⁴ Falwell, for example, in his "Introduction" to Viguerie's book, The New Right: We're Ready to Lead, strongly endorses the views of the political Right on high taxes, inflation, excessive government regulations, sex on TV and in the movies, forced busing, abortions, Big Government, Big Business, Big Labor, Big Education, and national defense. ¹³⁵ A further demonstration of their intertwined mentality is that they have held what Crawford calls "Interlocking Directorates." ¹³⁶ From the first, they have served on the board of directors of each other's organizations.

One might argue that not all who support the political Right would label themselves ultra-conservatives yet would support most of their viewpoints and that not all who follow the religious Right would call themselves Fundamentalists yet could agree with them on essential issues. While this is true, it must be remembered that we are considering the constraints on the leaders of the New Right and not their followers. The leaders of the political Right are committed to the political application of ultra-conservative philosophy, and, likewise, the leaders of the religious Right to the moral application of Fundamentalist doctrines. These are the commitments of the leaders whether

or not any of their followers have the same commitment. It is reasonable to assume, however, that, with this kind of constraint working in them, the leaders will become constraints on their audiences both compelling them to political action but also restraining their involvement.

As Bitzer observes, "When the orator enters the [rhetorical] situation, his discourse . . . provides additional important constraints. . . ." ¹³⁷ Orators not only enter situations under the constraints on them, whether internal or external, but they become constraints on those audiences that are relevant to the situation. In other words, the leaders of the New Right enter the situation under certain constraints, and they in turn introduce constraints on their audiences. And the constraints under which they functioned in the 1980 campaign, ultra-conservatism and Fundamentalism, became the constraints that controlled others in their audiences.

There were the exigencies and the audiences which compelled them, but there were also the constraints which controlled them and directed and determined the nature of their rhetorical action.

Constraints on the Political Right. If the constraint of the political wing of the New Right is ultra-conservatism, than what is it? Clinton Rossiter provides a useful explanation. His categories are useful to place precisely the political Right in the political spectrum, compared to Liberals, whom they vociferously oppose, and compared to other conservatives. Also, Rossiter is helpful in explaining the constraints controlling the various categories.

He categorizes four kinds of conservatives: first, the temperamental conservative who opposes "any substantial change in his manner of life, work and enjoyment"; second, the possessive conservative "who has something substantial to defend against the erosion of change, whether it be his status, reputation, power, or, most commonly, property"; third, the practical conservative who "has recognized . . . that he is a member of a society worth defending against reform and revolution"; and fourth, the philosophical conservative who justifies "the established order and guard[s] against careless tinkering and undermined reform," who believes conservatism is important "in maintaining a stable social order."¹³⁸

The characteristics identified by Rossiter for all four kinds of conservatives may act as controlling and focusing factors in the rhetoric and action of the political Right. If that is true, their leaders would not speak or act in a way that would encourage substantial change in life, work, and enjoyment, for example. Also, it would mean they would normally defend status, reputation, power, and property. They would also defend against reform and revolution that would undermine their vested interests. But more specifically, by their political rhetoric and action, they would justify the old order that worked so well, they would say, through most of the two hundred years of America's history and would work to regain a stable social order. In these ways, their ultra-conservatism would constrain or limit their rhetoric and action. These factors could account for the kinds of arguments and appeals and for the audiences that may or may not be persuaded by such rhetoric.

Rossiter is also helpful, in our understanding the political rhetoric and action of the political Right more precisely, by distinguishing Conservatism from other isms. "From left to right," as Rossiter explains, they are revolutionary radicals who are willing to resort to subversion and violence as means to supplant the existing system; radicals who seek reforms that are just as "deep-cutting" but stop short of subversion and violence; liberals who are "reasonably satisfied" with things as they are yet still believe things can be improved; conservatives as discussed above; "standpattists" who think "society can be made static" and "fear movement in any direction"; reactionists who "sigh for the past," think of "a certain time in the past . . . when men were better off," and act radically to "roll back the social process to the time at which his countrymen first went foolishly astray"; revolutionary reactionists who are the same as reactionists but are willing "to use violence."¹³⁹

By understanding the kind of political ideology the political Right subscribes to, we may more clearly see the focus or limits of their rhetoric and action. Since, as Rossiter said, these proceed from left to right, then standpattism, reactionism, and revolutionary reactionism are to the right of conservatism and are more conservative than conservatism. The political Right cannot be construed as standpattists, because they are certainly calling for movement and changes of all kinds; neither are they revolutionary reactionists, because they have in no way resorted to or condoned the use of violence. But the political Right leaders have longed for a return to the past, a glorified time in the past, when they believe we were better off, and

they have worked to roll back the social processes to a period before the past fifty years in which Liberalism has prevailed.

While leaders of the political Right then may be categorized as a mixture of philosophical, practical, possessive, and temperamental conservatism, they may be characterized by reactionist politics. That is, their outlook is toward an ideal period in the past. Their outlook may be larger than merely looking toward the past, but they certainly are oriented toward the past. Such an outlook would limit their rhetoric and action or direct it to some degree in that direction.

By following Rossiter's distinctions one step further, we can establish that they are not, in fact, conservatives but ultra-conservatives. Rossiter distinguishes three major categories: first, ultra-conservatives, such as William F. Buckley, Jr. and Joseph McCarthy, characterized by an "extraordinary mixture of sober conservatism, timid standpattism, and angry reaction . . . with a careless penchant for radical methods . . . "; second, middling conservatives such as former presidents Hoover and Eisenhower, able "to assent to the uncompromising strictures of those to their right and to the temperate judgments of those to their immediate left"; and third, liberal conservatives such as Earl Warren and Nelson Rockefeller, characterized as more "flexible, thoughtful, and charitable than others on the Right."¹⁴⁰ Based on Rossiter's definitions and examples, the political Right may be categorized as ultra-conservative (1) because they are certainly not liberal or middling conservatives and (2) because, as Viguerie says, they are descendants of Joseph McCarthy.

We would expect the discourse they introduced into the situation would be conditioned by their commitment to ultra-conservatism; their rhetoric and action would thus be characterized by more radical methods and less compromise--a definite constraining, inhibiting, or controlling factor.

Constraints on the Religious Right. As the constraint for the political Right is their commitment to ultra-conservatism, the constraint for the religious Right is their commitment to Fundamentalism. A commitment to Fundamentalism means being committed to the ideas inherent in such concepts as Puritanism, Biblicism, Americanism, and evangelism.¹⁴¹ Because Fundamentalists hold to such ideas passionately rather than passively, they are activist in defending and proclaiming them. Obviously, such ideas, held so passionately, are combustible¹⁴² and thus would inflame them to defensiveness, activism, and persuasion. However, those same ideas act equally as retardants, that is, they inhibit rhetoric--the activism and persuasion of religious Right leaders like Falwell.

Fundamentalism grew out of ground plowed by the Puritans, especially in the fields of moral separatism and political activism. Though Fundamentalists have ebbed and flowed in their political activism, they have adamantly adhered to the strict moral separatism inherited from the Puritans.¹⁴³ And they are insistent that people in "Christian America" should live by their separatist morality. Falwell, in fact, believes in "separation"¹⁴⁴ and insists that America must come back to a morality that is nothing more or less than Puritan morality.

applied to the present situation. The commitment by Falwell and the religious Right to the strict and separatist morality of the Puritans impels them to enter what they perceive as an immoral situation, and speak out against it.

But Puritanism, with its concept of separatism, also would inhibit participation by its adherents. They would enter the political arena only seldom, and only reluctantly, cautiously, and with self-imposed limitations. Falwell, probably based on his Puritan separatism, denounced the churchmen who were involved in the politics of the 1960s, for example. He still engages in politics only as a private citizen and not as a preacher, which may be an indication of the inhibition he feels.

Biblicism may be defined as the idea that the Bible is absolutely inerrant in even one iota and is completely authoritative not only in doctrines but equally in the morality it prescribes. Falwell, for example, refers to this idea when he uses the phrase "Biblical morality." But it is important to remember that what Fundamentalists mean, Falwell included, is that their interpretations of the moral prescriptions in the Bible are inerrant and authoritative. But what about the fact that, between Fundamentalists and even other very conservative Christians and between them and more liberal Christians, there are vast differences in their interpretations of what exactly is moral and immoral according to the Bible? Fundamentalists take the authoritarian stance that, in their interpretation of Biblical morality, they are right and everyone else is wrong. But, as Jorstad argues, the Biblical morality growing out of their minority and narrow

interpretation of the Bible is not morality but moralism, just as secular as the moralism of secular humanism, because it, too, is more of man than of God.¹⁴⁵

But, as their view of the Bible motivates them to inject into society their Biblical morality, and given their interpretation of the Bible it would be almost a compulsion, it also restricts them from intruding into issues that are not moral, or that they cannot in some way construe as moral, according to their interpretation of the Bible. Their view of the Bible, therefore, can have a constraining effect.

Americanism is the notion that America is a Christian nation, built on Biblical and Christian principles, and guided by the Judeo-Christian ethic or morality. It is the belief that we are, as the Pledge of Allegiance says, "one nation under God," that it is right to have "In God We Trust" stamped on all our coins, that we ought to have prayer in public schools, that we cannot and should not try to take God out of government, and that this nation, so enriched by God, is responsible to be Godly in its morality. The symbols of Americanism are the Bible and the flag, and both are prominent in most Fundamentalist churches and schools. God and country are favorite themes in their preaching. Red, white, and blue dominate the decor at many of their meetings.

It is a paradox that Fundamentalists, calling for a new alliance between God and government, church and state, religion and politics, have come mostly from Baptists who conceived, guided, and guarded the doctrine of separation of church and state in America and who have pioneered and protected the concept of both freedom of religion and

freedom from religion. Believing that America is responsible to God, it is natural that Fundamentalists, because of that belief, would be compelled to enter the political arena preaching a Christian morality for a Christian America.

But this very commitment to America, with its unique separation of church and state and the sanctity of that separation, not only impels them to come to its defense if they feel it is in trouble, but also prohibits them, at least some of them, from doing and saying things that they think would jeopardize the separation of state and church. Their commitment to the idea of Americanism, a Christian America, can both impel and inhibit their rhetoric and action. We must remember that some of the very Fundamentalists who are now the most active in the political process in America are the ones who stayed out of politics because they thought it was a violation of church and state.

As important as these Fundamentalistic ideas were in motivating and inhibiting the rhetoric of the religious Right in the political situation of the late 1970s, their idea of evangelism was the most important, especially for Falwell. Evangelism is the idea in all of Christianity--Catholic, Protestant, Evangelical, Charismatic, but especially Fundamentalist Christianity, that churches, their people and preachers, are to "go into all the world and preach the Gospel."¹⁴⁶ The Gospel of Matthew records that Jesus said to his disciples at the last of his life, "All authority is given unto me in heaven and in earth; go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and teaching them to observe all things that I have commanded you. And lo, I am with you

always, even to the end of the earth."¹⁴⁷ Sometimes called "the Great Commission," it is especially the raison de etat of Christian churches.

To the churches of the Right, i.e., Evangelicals and Fundamentalists, it is the catalyst of all they do and say. It is the call above all other calls upon the people and preachers of their churches. It is more than a challenge or a commission; it is a call in the form of a mandate that Christians are obligated to obey. No matter what else a Fundamentalist preacher does, to obey the call of God to preach the gospel is uppermost in his mind if he is a true or typical Fundamentalist Christian. This call, for example, is what has moved Fundamentalists to be pioneers in the use of mass media. They were among the first and undoubtedly the most prolific of the religious groups in their use of radio for preaching. And the same is true of television. Also, this call has led them to build big churches, start new ones, and engage in missions in most countries of the world.

They are called by God, they believe, to preach the gospel to the whole world; the call is the essence of conservative Christianity and especially Fundamentalism. The farther to the Right, the more conscious one is of a call to evangelism. According to Evangelical and Fundamentalist doctrine, the call to preach the gospel is not the only call God gives, but God calls his people to different kinds of service and other activities and may be very specific. Falwell, for example, would say, like most conservative pastors, that he was not only called to preach but also to be the pastor of a specific church, the Thomas Road Baptist Church, which he started, he believes, in response to a call of God.

A "call" is ultimately what convinced Falwell to enter the political situation during the 1970s. About his entering the political situation, Falwell says, "I have a divine mandate to go right into the halls of Congress and fight for laws that will save America. He [God] has called me to take this action."¹⁴⁸ Falwell reasoned that a free America and a free church were necessary for the gospel to be preached to the whole world, that America has been the launching pad from which the churches have sent the gospel into orbit literally around the earth, and, that, if there were no America, there would be no place from which to launch their preaching. America he believes, is the last free nation in which there are churches still committed to Jesus' call to preach his gospel, Falwell says:

I do not believe that God is finished with America yet. America has more God-fearing citizens per capita than any other nation on earth. There are millions of Americans who love God, decency, and biblical morality. North America is the last logical base for world evangelization. While it is true that God could use any nation or means possible to spread the gospel to the world, it is also true that we have the churches, the schools, the young people, the media, the money, and the means of spreading the gospel worldwide in our lifetime. God loves all the world, not just America. However, I am convinced that our freedoms are essential to world evangelism in this latter part of the twentieth century.¹⁴⁹

And in an interview, Falwell explained:

In order for the churches in America to evangelize the world we need the environment of freedom in America that will permit us to do it. If we, through Moral Majority and other such organizations, can protect and preserve those principles, America will stay free, so that the ultimate goal of the gospel--world evangelization--can be pursued by the churches. . . . I am fully expecting between now and the coming of the Lord that this world is going to experience a spiritual awakening unlike anything in the past. There is going to be an invasion of God on this planet, and changing of lives: real biblical evangelism. There is going to be a terrific harvest of souls somewhere

between here and the Rapture. I believe that God's role for America is as a catalyst, that he wants to set the spiritual time bomb off right here. If that is the case, America must stay free. And for America to stay free we must come back to the only principles that God can honor: the dignity of life, the traditional family, decency, morality, and so on. I just see myself as one to stand in the gap and, under God, with the help of millions of others [the Moral Majority], to bring the nation back to a moral standard so we can stay free in order that we can evangelize the world.¹⁵⁰

America must exist, Falwell insists, must be free, must insure religious freedom, and in order to do that, must be strong, thus the emphasis on a strong national defense. Falwell entered the situation in order to guarantee a free America and free churches so he might, along with other Christians, carry out the call of God to which he is ultimately committed--to evangelize the world. Falwell's call to get involved in politics, then, was not separate or unrelated to his call to preach the gospel. The call to politics was an extension of the call to preach and had to be obeyed the same as the call to preach or any other call of God. Falwell felt a call from God to secure the right and freedom to keep on preaching the gospel. He was not responding to the call to go into politics for politics' sake, but, because of his commitment to preach, he was responding to a call to preserve the privilege to preach. We may infer from Falwell's explanations that he believes he entered politics for the gospel's sake.

But what is equally important is that Falwell's prior and preemptive commitment to preaching the gospel has determined the limits and extent and nature of his participation in politics to a significant degree. For example, his commitment to being a preacher and pastor is the reason he says he would not run for public office.¹⁵¹ As he said

at the New Hampshire rally:

We're not out to run the government; we don't want to do that. I can't imagine a preacher of the gospel having time to worry about that. I have a calling . . . to preach the gospel and to pastor a church. And I can't imagine one called to the ministry stepping down to do anything else.¹⁵²

While one may say that Falwell is blind to his own political involvement in light of this statement, that he is spending enormous time worrying about running the government, and that he really has stepped down, so to speak, to a life of politics, there is another way of looking at it. He sees what he is doing as fulfilling his call to preach the gospel. He is preaching a political gospel in order to save the privilege to preach the Christian gospel. The one, he believes, is necessary to the other. The former is, under such circumstances, an extension of the latter.

If this is true, politics is the sideline, not the mainline, involvement of his life both as a private citizen and as a preacher, even as a political preacher. After Falwell had explained to an interviewer that America must stay free and strong "in order that we can evangelize the world," the interviewer responded, "If you have to go on TV and be a showman, a money raiser, a promoter, it is because everything feeds into that overriding purpose?" and Falwell answered, "It does indeed."¹⁵³ That being the case, his commitment to evangelism will limit his involvement in politics to some extent.

What impelled the New Right leaders, both political and religious, to get involved in politics was their commitment to ideology. But ideology also inhibited their participation, that is, it determined the limitations, the nature, and the uses of their rhetoric and action,

especially for the religious Right. For Falwell, his commitment to the ideas of Fundamentalism--Puritanism, Biblicism, Americanism, and evangelism--was double-edged in the sense that it gave his rhetoric both its motivations and limitations.

Falwell set the agenda of issues to be addressed, moral more than political issues. He took the agenda of issues raised by the political Right and turned them into moral issues. The mentality of morality from the religious Right, i.e., the Fundamentalist mentality, prevailed as is demonstrated by the fact that all issues, which could not be construed to be moral, largely disappeared from the New Right rhetoric or were transformed into moral issues. The Equal Rights Amendment, for example, was transformed into a threat to the traditional family of the Judeo-Christian ethic. In fact, not only the purely political issues disappeared but political Right leaders were submerged by the waves of media attention to leaders of the religious Right, especially Falwell. Other than in their own publications such as The New Right Report and Conservative Digest, relatively little is heard from or about Dolan, Weyrich, Phillips, and Viguerie in 1980. It was not that they were less active, but Falwell loomed so large in the picture that there was little room left for them to be very visible. Falwell became the spokesman not only of the religious Right but for the New Right, the political as well as the religious, at least in the public mind. And, as the spokesman, visible, vocal, and volatile, he determined and dominated the agenda of issues that would be raised.

ENDNOTES

¹ Jeffrey K. Hadden and Charles E. Swann, Prime Time Preachers: The Rising Power of Televangelism (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1981), p. 160.

² Frances FitzGerald, "A Reporter at Large: A Disciplined, Charging Army," The New Yorker, 18 May 1981, pp. 60, 63.

³ Hadden and Swann, p. 201.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Lloyd Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," The Rhetoric of Western Thought, eds. James L. Golden, Goodwin F. Berquist, and William E. Coleman, 2nd ed. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1976), pp. 15-31.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 17-18.

⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

⁸ Richard Hofstadter, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics," in his The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 7-29.

⁹ Clinton Rossiter, Conservatism in America, The Thankless Persuasion, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), p. 170.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 170-71.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 177-78.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Seymour Martin Lipset, "Three Decades of the Radical Right," The Radical Right, ed. Daniel Bell (Garden City, NY: Doubleday-Anchor, 1964), p. 365.

¹⁴ Richard Viguerie, The New Right: We're Ready to Lead (Falls Church, VA: The Viguerie Company, 1980), p. 21.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 47-48.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

- 19 Ibid., p. 13.
- 20 Rossiter, p. 218.
- 21 Daniel Bell, "The Dispossessed," The Radical Right, ed. Daniel Bell (Garden City, NY: Doubleday-Anchor, 1964), pp. 1-38.
- 22 Ibid., p. 2.
- 23 Hofstadter, p. 23.
- 24 Ibid., p. 96.
- 25 Thomas J. McIntyre, The Fear Brokers (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1979), pp. 54-55.
- 26 Viguerie, p. 42.
- 27 Ibid., p. 45.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ibid., p. 43.
- 30 Ibid., pp. 54-55.
- 31 Ibid., p. 32.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid., pp. 51-52.
- 35 Ibid., p. 5.
- 36 Ibid., p. 83.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid., p. 84.
- 40 Ibid., p. 91.
- 41 Jerry Falwell, Listen America! (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), pp. 1-9.
- 42 Ibid., pp. 82-96.

- 43 Ibid., p. 86.
- 44 Falwell, Listen, America!, p. 95.
- 45 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Frankfort, Kentucky, 16 Oct. 1979, p. 14.
- 46 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Tallahassee, Florida, 3 March 1980, pp. 10-11.
- 47 Jerry Falwell, "Introduction," The New Right: We're Ready to Lead, ed. Richard Viguerie (Falls Church, VA: The Viguerie Company, 1980), no pp.
- 48 William J. Bennett and Terry Eastland, "New Right Christians Fighting Back for Traditional American Values," Conservative Digest (rpt. from Wall Street Journal), Oct. 1980, p. 18.
- 49 Hofstadter, p. 4.
- 50 Ibid., p. 29.
- 51 Editorial, The Christian Century, 22 Oct. 1980, p. 995.
- 52 Hofstadter, p. 29.
- 53 The Reader's Digest Great Encyclopedic Dictionary (Pleasantville, NY: The Reader's Digest Association, 1967), p. 880.
- 54 Falwell, Listen America!, pp. 65-66, 71, 106.
- 55 "Private Religion, Public Morality," editorial of The New York Times, 8 Oct. 1980, p. 18E.
- 56 Ibid., p. 18E.
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Falwell, Listen, America!, pp. 65-68.
- 59 The Moral Majority, Inc. Fighting for a Moral America in This Decade of Destiny (Forest, VA: Moral Majority, Inc., 1979), brochure.
- 60 Falwell, Listen America!, p. 56.
- 61 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Pierre, South Dakota, 18 Sept. 1980, p. 10.
- 62 Jerry Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), pp. 24-26.

- 63 Congressional Quarterly, 23 Sept. 1978, p. 2566.
- 64 Hadden and Swann, p. 125.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Viguerie, pp. 155-56.
- 68 Ibid., p. 156.
- 69 Ibid., pp. 157-58.
- 70 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, pp. 187-88.
- 71 Paul Weyrich, "Weyrich from Washington: Organizing the Conservative Movement," Conservative Digest, July 1979, p. 15.
- 72 Viguerie, p. 42.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Ibid., pp. 45-46.
- 75 Ibid., pp. 120-28.
- 76 William J. Lanouette, "The New Right--'Revolutionaries' Out After the 'Lunch-Pail' Vote," National Journal, 21 Jan. 1978, pp. 88-92.
- 77 Thomas J. McIntyre, The Fear Brokers (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1979), pp. 59-60.
- 78 Ibid., pp. 86, 95.
- 79 Viguerie, p. 121.
- 80 L. J. Davis, "Conservatism in America," Harpers, Oct. 1980, p. 26.
- 81 Viguerie, p. 57.
- 82 "The New Right Takes Aim," Time, 20 Aug. 1979, p. 20.
- 83 Viguerie, p. 57.
- 84 Ibid., p. 96.
- 85 Paul Weyrich, "Look Out Liberals," Conservative Digest, Sept. 1980, p. 26.

- 86 Time, 20 Aug. 1979, p. 21.
- 87 "NCPAC's Terry Dolan: He's Playing Key Role in New Right's Successes," Conservative Digest, Dec. 1980, pp. 2-5.
- 88 "Howard Phillips: Conservative Strategist," an interview, Conservative Digest, March 1980, p. 6.
- 89 Paul Weyrich, "Organizing the Conservative Movement," Conservative Digest, July 1979, p. 15.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Viguerie, pp. 103-15.
- 92 Ibid., p. 106.
- 93 Ibid., p. 103.
- 94 Weyrich, "Organizing the Conservative Movement," p. 15.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Viguerie, p. 106.
- 97 Jerome L. Himmelstein, "The New Right: An Overview," unpublished article, p. 32.
- 98 Viguerie, p. 109.
- 99 Weyrich, "Organizing the Conservative Movement," p. 15.
- 100 Falwell, Listen, America!, pp. 7f.
- 101 "A Tide of Born-Again Politics," Newsweek, Sept. 1980, p. 31.
- 102 Personal interview with Ron Godwin, Chief Operations Officer, Moral Majority, Inc., Lynchburg, VA, 3 May 1982.
- 103 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, p. 188.
- 104 Joseph L. Conn, "The New 'Christian Politics,'" also in Focus on Governmental Affairs, a publication of the Office for Governmental Affairs, Lutheran Council in the USA, 13, No. 12 (Dec. 1979), no pp.
- 105 FitzGerald, p. 124.
- 106 Hadden and Swann, p. 142.
- 107 The Moral Majority, Inc., brochure.

- 108 "An Interview with the Lone Ranger . . . ," Christianity Today,
4 Sept. 1981, p. 26.
- 109 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, p. 188.
- 110 Hadden and Swann, p. 166.
- 111 Casey Gwinn, "A Marriage of Convenience," unpublished Honors
Thesis, Stanford University, 1981-82, p. 23.
- 112 Terry Dolan, "Religious Right Urged to Fight Harder on the
Issues to Achieve Their Goals," Conservative Digest, Feb. 1981, p. 28.
- 113 Bill Keller, "Evangelical Conservatives Move from Pews to
Polls, but Can They Sway Congress?" Congressional Quarterly,
6 Sept. 1980, p. 2629.
- 114 Jerry Falwell, "Laundry List for the 80s," speech to The Na-
tional Affairs Briefing, Dallas, Texas, 21 Aug. 1980.
- 115 "Mobilizing the Moral Majority," Conservative Digest, Aug.
1979, p. 14.
- 116 Jerry Falwell, "Mobilizing the Moral Majority," speech to
meeting of ministers, Denver, Colorado, 1980 (no specific date avail-
able).
- 117 Bill Keller, "Who's Who in the Christian Right," Congressional
Quarterly, 6 Sept. 1980, p. 2628.
- 118 Jerry Falwell, "The Roundtable Statement of Purpose," unpub-
lished transcript of speech at The National Affairs Briefing, 21-22
Aug. 1980, no pp.
- 119 Ibid.
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 Keller, "Who's Who . . . ," p. 2628.
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 Ibid.
- 124 Bennett and Eastland (rpt. from Wall Street Journal), Oct.
1980, p. 18.
- 125 Ibid.
- 126 Himmelstein, "The New Right: An Overview," pp. 2, 32.

- 127 Falwell, "Listen, America!", p. 208.
- 128 Time, 31 Dec. 1979.
- 129 "Conservative Protestant Leaders," Conservative Digest, Aug. 1979, p. 16.
- 130 Keller, "Who's Who . . . ," p. 2628.
- 131 Bitzer, p. 18.
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 Rossiter, p. 170.
- 134 Dolan, p. 28.
- 135 Falwell, "Introduction," The New Right . . . , Viguerie.
- 136 Alan Crawford, Thunder on the Right (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 39.
- 137 Bitzer, p. 18.
- 138 Rossiter, pp. 6-10.
- 139 Ibid., pp. 10-15.
- 140 Ibid., pp. 170-82.
- 141 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, pp. 58-77.
- 142 Stan Hasteley and Warner Ragsdale, "Right Religion Right Politics?" Home Missioners, Sept.-Oct. 1980, p. 71.
- 143 George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 62-63.
- 144 "An Interview with the Lone Ranger of American Fundamentalism," Christianity Today, 4 Sept. 1981, p. 23.
- 145 Erling Jorstad, The Politics of Moralism (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1981), pp. 8-10.
- 146 Mark 16:15.
- 147 Matthew 28:18-20.
- 148 Stan Hasteley and Warner Ragsdale, p. 71.
- 149 Falwell, Listen America!, p. 244.

150 "An Interview with the Lone Ranger . . . ," pp. 24, 27.

151 Ibid., pp. 23, 27.

152 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Concord, New Hampshire, 13 Oct. 1980, p. 12.

153 "An Interview . . . ," Christianity Today, p. 27.

Chapter 3

THE MESSAGE

Both the Moral Majority and the Liberals, as might be expected of combatants, often misunderstood and misrepresented each other's message during and after the 1980 campaign. Realizing that Falwell and others of the Moral Majority thought many detractors had treated them unfairly, I asked Nelson Keener, chief operations officer of Old-Time Gospel Hour and certainly one of Falwell's inner circle since the television ministry is the source of most of their funds, what I could do to be fair to them. He answered without hesitating, "Hear us out. Hear us clear through on the issues."¹ Then he recounted what he felt was a typical situation. Falwell may be speaking at a conference, for example, with an audience composed mostly of Fundamentalists, a highly sectarian audience, and may make statements that he feels do not have to be explained to that audience because he knows they understand. In that sectarian audience is a journalist who is doing an article on Falwell and the Moral Majority. He takes down some of the more simplistic and volatile statements, isolated from their context, and then makes them a part of his report for a secular magazine, newspaper, or television program which has a pluralistic audience. If the reporter or researcher is not a conservative Christian, he may not know the background or environment of some of the statements. Thus, Falwell, whose views on the issues are often spliced into articles or other

reports out of their context, may be made to appear more simplistic, contradictory, or controversial than he really is according to Kenner.²

The rationale of this survey of Falwell's arguments and appeals is that we can best understand them by allowing him to speak for himself. The substance of this chapter, then, is to report thoroughly the arguments and appeals regarding the moral issues Falwell addressed. In subsequent chapters, an evaluation will be undertaken on the nature of the persuasive methods employed to communicate his arguments and appeals, their ethicality, and effectiveness.

This chapter will deal first with the purposes of Falwell and his moral majority to give a sense of their direction and to provide a context for understanding his arguments and appeals. Second, the underlying presuppositions of Falwell's political preaching will be discussed. Third, I will argue that Falwell bases his arguments and appeals on one controlling premise--that the Bible is the inerrant, infallible, and authoritative word of God. I will argue that, from other perspectives it may be a presupposition, but that, from Falwell's perspective, it is a premise on which he bases his entire line of arguments and appeals in behalf of moral issues. Next, I will examine Falwell's arguments and appeals, as well as his Biblical premise for each, on the issues he intentionally raised and reacted to and on an issue that arose inadvertently or inherently--the separation of church and state and his defense of his participation in the political process.

As already stated, this study will, of necessity, be informed by the whole body of Falwell's political preaching, but, by the nature

and plan of this study, I will focus more on the "I Love America" speeches as this chapter develops.

The Purposes of Falwell and the Moral Majority

Falwell has not been coy or clandestine about his own purposes or the purposes of the Moral Majority. There are six or seven purposes stated in his writings, speeches, and interviews.

One purpose is to call the nation back to God and morality, i.e., Biblical morality. He told the National Affairs Briefing that he is committed, and asked them to join him, "to call the nation back to God and moral sanity."³ "We, the Christian people," he declared at the Washington, D.C., rally, "have a divine mandate to bring this nation back to God."⁴ In an interview, he stated, "What we're trying to accomplish . . . is a change in the nation, morally."⁵ "Now the time has come when the good, moral majority of Americans . . . need to stand up like a sleeping giant awakening and become that force for God and for the return of this nation to moral sanity. . . ."⁶

A second purpose is to give a voice to the majority of Americans who are moral but have been silent. The purpose stated in the brochure introducing Moral Majority, Inc., is that it "was created to give a voice to the millions of decent, law abiding, God-fearing Americans who want to do something about the moral decline of our country."⁷ In a special ad in the Moral Majority Report, he identified Moral Majority "as a special interest group providing a voice for a return to moral sanity. . . ."⁸ At the New Jersey rally, Falwell bemoaned the fact that "we have allowed a minority, a very small minority, to run

this country the last thirty years and run it right in the ground. . . .

We believe in dissent, we believe in what we have been trying to do, and this is to try and get a little voice in from the outside."⁹ In

an article for Logos Journal, he wrote:

Moral Majority was formed to give a voice to those Americans who have been disenfranchised by the media, and by past Congresses and presidents. We think pro-moral Americans who pay taxes, send their sons to fight in our nation's wars, and who are honest, decent citizens, working to build America instead of trying to tear it down, deserve to be heard and have their influence felt at the highest levels.¹⁰

And that brings up a third purpose, influencing government at all levels. "Our goal," he said in a special article on why America needs Moral Majority, "is to exert significant influence on the spiritual and moral direction of this great nation. . . ."¹¹ At the South Dakota rally, he said that Moral Majority is "a political organization . . . committed to changing moral values of the country by legislation."¹² In the interview with Tom Snyder on the "Tomorrow Show," Falwell acknowledged that their purpose was "to influence legislation."¹³ But he insisted in the "America, You're Too Young to Die" television special that "we've got to influence government in the right way."¹⁴ "We simply desire to influence government," he wrote in The Fundamentalist Phenomenon.¹⁵ "We must continue," he says, "to exert a strong influence upon America if our children and grandchildren are to enjoy the same freedoms that we have known."¹⁶

A fourth purpose is to register the people, who believe as they do, to vote, to inform them on the issues and candidates, and motivate them to go vote. At the Florida rally, Falwell explained:

We paid a pollster, a professional pollster, last fall, to conduct a poll on a number of issues and one of them was to find out how many people in our Bible-believing churches were not registered to vote. We found that 8 million of our people are not even registered to vote. So we're very poor citizens. Here's what we did. We began to establish and organize Good Citizenship Days in our churches. And, as a result, over a million have been registered since December, and, by God's grace, we're going to register all 8 million of them this year. Seventy thousand pastors. In most states, by the way, you can, on Sunday morning, you can bring a deputy right to the church and register everybody in ten minutes. And it's the most patriotic thing and good citizenship thing a church can do, and totally legal. Now we preachers need to get our citizens registered to vote. Let me tell you preachers how I do it at Thomas Road [Baptist Church]. We have 17,000 members, that's one-fourth of our city. And on Sunday morning, I'll ask, this is periodically, I'll ask for everybody in the congregation that has registered to vote to stand. I mean the next election, stand. And as soon as they're standing, I'll say, 'Now, look around at all the backsliders.' Now I'll say, 'Next week, we're going to do the same thing again.' And while they're seated, those who are not registered to vote in the up-coming election, we pass a sheet into their hands that tells them of the city of Lynchburg and all the surrounding counties, where to register, when to register, how to register, and I tell them, 'Next Sunday we're going to stand you again.' The next Sunday, most of them are registered, and about three weeks of that and you've got a hundred-percent-registered-to-vote congregation, ready to really be instrumental in establishing good government.¹⁷

At the National Affairs Briefing, he stated that their purpose must be to get people registered, informed, and involved.¹⁸ Writing in Newsweek, he noted that,

Until recently, most people agreed that abortion is murder, that homosexual practice is perversion and that pornography is the exploitation of women and men. Now the liberals tell us these are political issues, not moral ones, and when we oppose their attempts to legislate and adjudicate what they believe, we are called 'ayatollahs' who want to line people up against the wall and shoot them. Our goal is to line people up, all right, but at the polls!¹⁹

Our purpose, he told the South Dakota rally, is "just getting good Christians to become good citizens."²⁰ In a special article comparing Moral Majority and their adversary, an organization formed by televi-

sion tycoon Norman Lear called People for the American Way, Falwell said, "All we are attempting to do at Moral Majority is involve a previously uninvolved constituency in the American political process."²¹

A fifth purpose is to counter liberals and their candidates, programs, and policies. He said the "amoral minority," not an immoral minority, had "gained control of some very key parts of government and leadership in this country."²² In a special article for Conservative Digest, he explained, "I founded Moral Majority . . . not to take over the country . . . but because I believed that a majority of decent Americans were fed up to the teeth with having their values rejected, and, in many cases, reversed by the power of a government to which they paid taxes and sent sons to fight its wars," meaning the liberals who have controlled government for the past thirty years. It was born as a response to years of liberal insensitivity to conservative and Christian moral concerns. We had "to stop crying and organize to do something about it," he said.²³ He said it another way, "It's not enough to curse the darkness, we must light some candles."²⁴

A sixth purpose is to create a certain consciousness and climate necessary to bring about change in the country. At the South Dakota rally, he asked, "What's the purpose [of Moral Majority]?" and answered, "Only one . . . to inject a moral climate one more time into the American society so that government finds it easier to do right [as Moral Majority defines it] than to do wrong."²⁵ Also, he protests the accusations that they are trying to take control of government:

We're not trying to control government . . . that's opposite of what I want. We simply want to create a moral climate, a consciousness in this country of morality and decency that once prevailed here. . . .²⁶

The stated goals of Moral Majority, as set forth below, reveal that, perhaps, their ultimate purpose is to enact legislation concerning their moral issues:

1. Mobilizing the grass roots of moral Americans into a clear, loud, and effective voice, which will be heard in the halls of Congress, in the White House and in state legislatures across this land.
2. Informing the moral majority of Americans about what is going on behind their backs in Washington. The monthly Moral Majority report will help accomplish this goal.
3. Lobbying intensively in Congress to defeat left wing, social welfare bills that would further erode our precious freedoms.
4. Pushing for positive legislation which will insure a strong, enduring and free America.
5. Helping the moral majority of Americans in local communities fight pornography, homosexuality, obscene school textbooks, and other burning issues facing each and every one of us.²⁷

One cannot help but notice the emphasis on effecting desired legislation. Part of the process of effecting the legislation they desire is to elect candidates favorable to their Biblical morality. As Falwell explained:

We need to be a part of [the political process], make our influence felt, and we need to be there to say our piece every time so that God is represented, the Bible is represented . . . if we do that, America can be turned around. Every two years, there's a new House of Representatives, that is, if we want there to be. Every six years, there's a new Senate. Every four years, there's a new President and new governors and new state legislators. As a matter of fact, in a matter of just two or three years the moral population of America could have the majority representation in every state house and the Congress if we care enough to do it.²⁸

As is stated in their goals above, lobbying was a part of the process. Their lobbying took two or three forms. One was explained by Falwell at the Washington, D.C., rally:

We . . . are polling the American people. . . . We are asking millions of Americans to vote on moral issues. We feel there are many cancers, national cancers, that are degrading this republic. We are asking God to help us cast our vote against those cancers, and they are being mailed to us now by the hundreds of thousands . . . the 12,000 here [will be voting] a little later today. . . . Here's what the three ballots say: 'Do you approve of pornographic and obscene classroom textbooks being used under the guise of sex education? Yes or no. Do you approve of the present laws legalizing abortion on demand that resulted in the murder of more than one million babies last year in America? Yes or no. Do you approve of the growing trend towards sex and violence replacing family-oriented programs on television? Yes or no.'²⁹

The polls, of course, would favor the positions of Falwell and the Moral Majority because of how the questions were worded and the fact that most respondents were already supporters or sympathizers. But, whether biased or not, Falwell explained that "the findings of this poll, our 'Clean Up America' campaign, like last year will be reported to every congressman, to our President, to the Judiciaries, to the state governments, et cetera, any and all involved in decision-making and establishing lifestyles in this country."³⁰

Another way of lobbying for favorable legislation was the "I Love America" rallies. In fact, a primary purpose of those rallies was to lobby state officials to act favorably toward their Christian schools as Falwell told the Iowa rally:

Today we come here to give commendation and recognition to the Christian schools and to attempt to create a cooperative relationship between the legislators and the pastors of Christian schools, so that we can have cooperation instead of confrontation. We've had a tough time with our Christian schools. In some states, the bureaucratic agencies harass and intimidate us. In other places we have problems with the IRS and HEW, now the new Department of Education. We're not sure but what it was designed for our benefit or the opposite of our benefit. And I'm saying that we're here to stay, so we may as well learn to get along with each other. We need the help and the

cooperation of not just the federal government, but the state government, so that we can develop an alternative school system in America for pastors and Christian parents who want it.³¹

Of course, a third way of lobbying was the less visible but more personal pressure applied to lawmakers and policy-makers at all levels of government, the kind of pressure used routinely by lobbyists in Washington.

By their own statements, their ultimate purpose was the enactment of moral legislation which they saw as the convergence and consummation of all their purposes. Falwell's political preaching, its arguments and appeals, was designed with these purposes in mind.

The Presuppositions of Falwell's Political Preaching

There are certain presuppositions underlying Falwell's rhetoric. One is that he could, on the one hand, be a public figure as a preacher on the widely televised Old-Time Gospel Hour program and as pastor of the highly successful and nationally significant Thomas Road Baptist, and, on the other hand, act and speak as a strictly private citizen for Moral Majority. It is reasonable to think Falwell felt this separation was necessary because of the historical constraints in politics by Baptists and Fundamentalists based on their doctrine of church-state separation of church. Falwell has repeatedly insisted that he acts and speaks as a private citizen when representing Moral Majority.

Moral Majority for me is definitely a movement in which I am involved as a private citizen--period! I do not involve Thomas Road Baptist Church. The church has never given a dollar to the movement. When our people come here to church they hear the Bible taught and preached, they don't hear Moral Majority.³²

But this professed dichotomy has caused considerable confusion, especially among secular media people.

A large problem facing Moral Majority as it regroups for the issue campaigns that lie ahead is getting people to realize just what it is and what it is not. . . . Falwell himself has not made things easy. He is seen each week by millions in his role as Falwell the Fundamentalist preacher on the 'Old-Time Gospel Hour.' Yet in his Moral Majority role, he wishes to be known as Falwell the concerned citizen, who is seeking to restore the country's moral roots but not asking that all its citizens become born-again Christians. Confusion is thus inevitable.³³

There are some people who, because of the nature of their position in our society, cannot speak as private citizens, not because they do not have the same rights as the rest of us, but because they cannot be perceived by society as private citizens. The President of the United States, for example, cannot speak as a private citizen. His expressed opinions are inseparably bound to his position. A "public figure," such as the President, gives up his right, when he chooses to be a public figure, to be a private citizen until he gives up being a public figure.

Senator Edward Kennedy, by choosing to be a public figure when he chose to run for the U.S. Senate and by carrying onward the "public figure" tradition of his political family, could not speak as a private citizen. He has the right to speak as a private citizen, but he cannot be perceived by society as a private citizen.

Because he was an unusually prominent pastor and religious television personality, the public perceived Falwell as a preacher, the same as they perceive of Reagan as President or Edward Kennedy as

a politician. When Falwell entered the political process, the public could not perceive of him as a private citizen.

Furthermore, his political activities as a preacher were thought by many to be a flagrant mixing of religion and politics. As a preacher, he was breaching the unwritten contract between church and state in America and was going beyond his right to participate in politics.³⁴ Since it seemed to many to be such a flagrant violation, possibly because he was unusually successful, his rhetoric, both action and speech, was thought to be, at the very least, a threat to the delicate balance between church and state.

Falwell further compounded the problem by persisting at two points. First, he sounded like a preacher, even in his role as a private citizen speaking for Moral Majority. His style was very much the same whether he was speaking from the pulpit of Thomas Road Baptist Church or from the podium at a political rally. The subjects varied, but the style was the same. He used the same God-terms in his political preaching as he did in his sermons. So, he sounded like a preacher in politics. Second, he persistently contradicted his professed dichotomy, as Christian preacher and private citizen, by continually preaching about Moral Majority issues from the pulpit of Thomas Road Baptist Church, and, consequently, on the "Old Time Gospel Hour," even if he did not, as he claims, mention Moral Majority by name.³⁵ In both places, his church pulpit and the political podium, Falwell mixed preaching and politics in a way that made it impossible to take seriously his claim that he was separating his political activities from his Christian ministries. The point is that Falwell's persistence in

an apparent charade short-circuited the effectiveness of his arguments and appeals with many in the body politic. When he discusses issues and expressed opinions that affect the body politic, the body politic has the right, even the responsibility, to scrutinize the rhetoric that affects the body of society. When, as a religious figure, he spoke at a political rally such as the "I Love America" rallies, he was, and was perceived to be, a public figure. His political preaching, therefore, could not be perceived as the rhetoric of a purely private citizen.

Another rhetorical presupposition that has proved to be a bone of contention is Falwell's belief that Liberalism and its religion of secular humanism are un-American and unchristian, if not actually evil. This belief has undergirded his rhetoric for and against the specific issues he has addressed.

Falwell says that Moral Majority was "our attempt to rally a diversity of morally conservative Americans together . . . [because] we were convinced that millions of people were fed up with the fruits of liberalism, both in politics and in religion."³⁶ He laments the rise of Liberalism:

Something has happened in recent years, something that is unfortunate in our country, something we deeply regret. We've allowed the national media to publicize a little handful of anti-American, anti-God dissidents. . . . The tragedy is that [this] small minority has found its way into leadership of media, government, and education while we sat back and decided politics is dirty business, religion and politics don't mix.³⁷

As to the effect of Liberalism on religion, he claims "liberal clergy have seduced the average American away from the Bible and the kind of simple faith on which this country was built." But, "Liberalism is

obviously losing its influence on America" as evidenced by the fact that attendance has "drastically declined in the main-line denominations" and has "dramatically increased in conservative denominations."³⁸

Falwell makes the point emphatically that the "ultimate product of theological Liberalism is a vague kind of humanism" which is a kind of religion.³⁹ "I'm against what is definitely a religion in America today and that is the introduction of secular humanism into the public schools that is becoming a very, very bad influence on our children,"⁴⁰ he says, and adds:

In case you don't know what humanism is, it's a religion; the Supreme Court ruled it so several years ago. It's a religion that teaches, as its premise, atheism. There is no God. It's primary message is amorality, that nothing is absolutely right or absolutely wrong.⁴¹

"Its message," he says, "is amorality, situation ethics, do your own thing, if it feels good do it. And its ultimate goal is socialism, and I'm against socialism like I'm against rattlesnakes."⁴²

And he says that "the young people in America who ought to be our leaders in the next ten years,"⁴³ "who would normally . . . assume the leadership in every area of society, in medicine, law, business, education, and government, have grown up . . . in public schools where primarily they've learned secular humanism."⁴⁴ He claims that the Liberals, especially the feminists, are "advocating federally funded day-care centers nationwide with mandatory attendance at age two. Why do they want that? So they can get our children, not at age six as they do now but at age two, and brainwash them with humanism and atheism and moral permissiveness. They're not going to do it."⁴⁵

He reiterated, "We cannot allow immoral, amoral, vulgar, profane humanists to any longer control the direction of this country."⁴⁶

One reason Falwell started Moral Majority, he says, was to stop Liberalism and its secular humanism from getting any more control of the government.

This is the first time in 30 to 35 years that the amoral forces of America have had substantial opposition. They've been accustomed to doing their own thing, gaining gradually but surely the support of the government and hardly anyone in 'the Right' speaking against them. . . .⁴⁷

Falwell has felt that, if someone didn't speak out and stand against them, "we're going to let the Hugh Hefners and the Jane Fondas and the other left-wingers on moral issues decide the direction of this nation." And he added, "I'm not willing for Larry Flynt and Jane Fonda to design the America for my children to live in."⁴⁸

In interviews before a more pluralistic audience, Falwell often softened the rhetoric and sounded more tolerant and reasonable toward humanism. On "Meet the Press," for example, Falwell explained:

humanism . . . is glossed over atheism, which an American has the right to espouse; we're not arguing that point. I'm simply saying that across the board today the philosophy in America in leadership [i.e., humanism] is not consistent with the philosophy that we feel--that is our opinion--the majority of Americans agrees with.⁴⁹

Falwell conceded that Moral Majority does not have the right "to test the personal life and the lifestyle of candidates" but explained that "we do have the right to examine their voting records to see if, in fact, [their] voting record is consistent with what we believe is for the well-being of the majority of the people in the country. . . ."⁵⁰

It is important to remember that, to Falwell and his political kin, secular humanism is not merely an ideology or philosophy but a religion. Falwell claims that the U.S. Supreme Court has defined secular humanism as a "religion."⁵¹ Since they would construe it as a religion whether or not the Supreme Court did, the confrontation between Fundamentalists and Liberals is a moral confrontation. Falwell argues that Liberals have controlled the social welfare state, public education, and the media and are using them to establish their own religion, secular humanism, and to teach implicitly and explicitly its Godless doctrines. He argues that:

[T]he young people . . . who would normally assume leadership of this country, have . . . grown up with . . . television [which] has taught them moral permissiveness . . . they have grown up in a school system that has taught them humanism and has taught them from kindergarten through high school that the Bible is just another book of literature instead of being the Word of God. . . . They have grown up in a society under a government that has taught them socialism, a federal government that has taught them that the government owes them a living simply because they've been born into the human race, and too that the Apostle Paul says, 'If a man will not work, neither shall he eat.' For that reason, we have boys and girls and men and women, ages twenty to thirty, who have not had the opportunity of being taught the pro-family . . . pro-life of the Bible, the pro-Bible morality upon which this nation finds its premise and foundation. Our young people today, if we as the churches and the Christian leaders do not tell them right from wrong, will grow up without knowledge of what's good or bad and will not know what morality is.⁵²

Falwell and other conservatives, for example, believe the Liberals have constructed a legal wall, through such means as the myriad and varied court challenges by the American Civil Liberties Union, that has effectively restricted traditional, established religion, i.e., churches from public schools. An example is the Supreme Court's school prayer decision in 1962.

Another rhetorical presupposition underlying Falwell's political preaching is that America was founded and has thrived on Biblical principles. "America was built on faith in God . . . ," he says.⁵³ In his Listen, America! Falwell begins the chapter on "Freedom's Heritage": *

I believe America has reached the pinnacle of greatness unlike any nation in human history because our Founding Fathers established America's laws and precepts on the principles recorded in the laws of God . . . God has blessed this nation because in its early days she sought to honor God and the Bible, the inerrant Word of the living God. . . . Our great nation was founded by Godly men upon godly principles to be a Christian nation. Our Founding Fathers were not all Christians, but they were guided by biblical principles. They developed a nation predicated on Holy Writ.⁵⁴

Then in the concluding paragraph of the chapter, after extensive examples to support his contentions, he calls for "Americans to come back to the faith of our fathers, to the Bible of our fathers, and to the biblical principles that our fathers used as a premise for this nation's establishment."⁵⁵

In the next chapter of the book, entitled "Our Republic," Falwell argues that there is a difference between a republic and a democracy, that a republic is operated on the rule of law predicated on God's Laws and a democracy operates on the rule of the people, that our Founding Fathers intended our nation to be a republic, that, today, there is a move to change our representative republic into a socialistic democracy, and that the consequences of socialism is rule by a minority of the people, sometimes even mob rule.⁵⁶

That there is rule by minority in America today rather than rule according to laws based on God's Laws is the basis on which he

justifies the activities and aims of the Moral Majority. "The godless minority of treacherous individuals who have been permitted to formulate national policy must now realize they do not represent the majority."⁵⁷ Falwell believes

there are forces in America . . . abortionists, pornographers, homosexuals, and radical feminists . . . who have their own view of what they want America to become. They are committed to implementing that view, with its roots in secular humanism. This denies the existence of God. That is why we must work even harder to make sure they do not impose their view of America on those of us whose traditional values built this great land. . . . The 1980 election was the explosion of a volcano that has been simmering in America for several years. Pro-moral individuals expressed their frustrations that liberal politicians and liberal special interest groups were running the country in total disregard for the values and traditions held by the majority of people in our nation.⁵⁸

Quoting polls that say there are "sixty million born-again Christians, sixty million . . . religious promoralists, and fifty million . . . idealistic moralists, who want their children to grow up in a moral society," Falwell complains that the majority of the American people "have allowed a vocal minority of ungodly men and women to bring America to the brink of death."⁵⁹

The presupposition, that America was founded and has thrived on Biblical principles, is prominent in the "I Love America" speeches. At the Minnesota rally, for example, Falwell said:

America is a great nation, a nation founded on godly principles, founded by men who respected godly principles. Not all of them were Christians by any means, but all of them, influenced by the Pilgrims, the Puritans who came here to establish a nation under God.⁶⁰

At the "I Love America" rally on the steps of the nation's capitol in Washington, D.C., Falwell said, "We believe that the key to America's strength . . . [like] individual Christian's strength, is

the preeminence of Christ in our national life, in our personal lives."⁶¹ In the South Dakota rally, he said "that God blessed America because we were built and established upon his principles."⁶²

Throughout his writings and in all of the "I Love America" rallies this study is examining as well as other examples of his political preaching, similar and often identical passages to those above are a basic presupposition of the rhetoric. It is also endemic to his interviews with secular media. Typical is his statement in the Penthouse interview:

America . . . was, indeed, founded upon the Judeo-Christian ethic. Our founding fathers were not all committed Christians or committed Jews, but they were committed to biblical principles, which are found written right through the documents--the Constitution, the Declaration, the Bill of Rights, et cetera--on which the nation is founded.⁶³

The presupposition that America was founded and has thrived on Biblical principles is Falwell's rationale for entering the political situation--America was founded on Biblical principles, and, in the last twenty years, has abandoned those principles, he says. It is the rationale of his political rhetoric. If we strip this presupposition from his political preaching, there is no rationale for it, no reason to it, no purpose in it. It is the basis for holding up the Bible and Biblical principles as the loadstone by which all attitudes and actions in our society are judged to be right or wrong.

The Premise for Falwell's Arguments and Appeals

This discussion leads to what may be seen as a fourth presupposition, but I will argue that it is the basic premise for Falwell's

political rhetoric--the belief that the Bible is the inerrant, infallible, and authoritative Word of God. This belief is the first, the most fundamental, and the most essential doctrine of Fundamentalism. The reasoning is that the Bible is the source of all spiritual knowledge and that, if it is not perfect, then our knowledge about God, about Jesus Christ, and about all spiritual nature is imperfect. As is often argued by Fundamentalists, if one line of it is not perfectly true, then all of it is a lie.

By inerrant, Fundamentalists and other conservative Christians mean that there is absolutely no error in the original autographs of the Bible and, further, that there is no possibility of error. By infallible they mean that it is incapable of being wrong about anything and is, therefore, not to be questioned but accepted absolutely. This would apply to morality as well as doctrine. By authoritative they mean that the Bible is the absolute authority in what people should believe and in how they should conduct their lives.

Understanding the implications of such a belief is critical for understanding Falwell's campaign to bring Biblical morality into the American political and social systems. The most crucial implication is that they believe, if the Bible says something, it must be believed and obeyed. Failing to believe and obey, whether to believe in Jesus for salvation or live by its morality, will bring sure and possibly sudden consequences. But the important thing for a Fundamentalist like Falwell is that, if the Bible makes a statement about something, he must believe, do, or say something on the basis of it.

Since the focus of our study is Falwell's speaking about political, social, and moral matters, we must, therefore, be concerned about what Falwell believes the Bible says regarding political, social, and moral matters. If he believes the Bible says something about such matters, then the Bible's statements, because of his belief about those statements, would become premises, or at least have the force of premises, for his arguments and appeals on those matters in America. And the arguments and appeals, if they were controversial, would become issues in the political process.

For Falwell, such Biblical mandates do have the force of a proposition in a syllogism. He believes it is as demonstrably true as any mathematical theorem. In fact, he said the Bible is an exact science, as exact as any mathematical equation.⁶⁴ The statements in the Bible become premises, and one may reason from such general statements of truth, as demonstrably true as propositions in math or science in Falwell's opinion, to particular situations. On the issues that Falwell addresses, he bases his arguments and appeals on a statement, sometimes more than one, from the Bible. As he said at the South Carolina rally, "We predicate everything we are doing [and saying] on the verse of scripture in Proverbs, chapter 14, the 34th verse, 'Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people'" (KJV).⁶⁵

The Bible statements are premises that lead Falwell to conclusions about or applications in society which are necessarily implied in the premises. That is the commitment to the Bible of a true Fundamentalist, and Falwell is a true Fundamentalist.

Arguments and Appeals of Falwell's
Political Preaching

Armed with statements from the Bible, Falwell purposely set out to react to selected issues, the agenda of issues already set by Liberals. Prayer had already been banned and sex education accepted in public schools, legalized abortion was already widespread, campaigns for homosexual rights and their recognition as an official minority were already being conducted, alternatives to marriage and the traditional family were already a fact, laws governing pornography had already been relaxed, the Equal Rights Amendment had already been ratified by a significant number of the states--before the religious Right acted.

Falwell acknowledged the reactive role in an article titled, "Moral Majority a Reaction to Attack on Basic Values of Millions of Americans." He wrote:

I wasn't the best physics student in college, but one law I do remember is that for every action there is an identical and equal reaction. Not only is this an absolute law in physics, but it also has repercussions in the moral and political worlds. In any assessment of what is happening in the so-called New Right that has produced what may prove to be the most phenomenal political metamorphosis since the Roosevelt era of the early 1930s, it is important to remember that what is being observed is a 'reaction' to the 'action' that preceded it. . . . Our response to these 17 years of liberal insensitivity to pro-moral concerns was not only to cry 'enough,' but to stop crying and organize to do something about it. Thus Moral Majority, Inc., was born. . . . Let's just remember . . . who set in motion what we are observing today. The Moral Majority is simply a 'reaction' to the 'action' begun by the liberals as they sought to dismantle our moral heritage.⁶⁶

While Falwell and the Moral Majority reacted to the Liberal's agenda, they determined which issues would be the battlefields, and, for

Falwell, the fields would be those issues on which he had Biblical grounds, whether a specific statement or a teaching in general, as a premise for his arguments.

Over a period of two years, from 1979 to 1981, several different lists of issues emerged in Falwell's political preaching. For example, in his message to the National Affairs Briefing in Dallas, he gave what he called his "laundry list for the 80s"--(1) passage of a human life amendment, (2) stopping "the pornographic deluge that is literally poisoning the souls and spirits of the young people," (3) "the return of voluntary prayer in public schools," (4) the "death of the Equal Rights Amendment," (5) "severe punishment for drug pushers," (6) "the preservation of the free enterprise system," (7) to "stand against National Health Insurance or any form of socialized medicine," (8) "stand . . . particularly for the apple of God's eye, Israel," and (9) "guarantee of superior national defense."⁶⁷ In that speech, as he dealt with each concern on his list, he built his arguments and appeals on teachings or specific statements from the Bible, except the concerns of prayer in public schools, drug pushers, and national health insurance. Drug problems and national health insurance did not become a regular part of his agenda of moral issues. Prayer in schools was a regular item on his moral agenda, but it is the only moral issue he continued to deal with that he did not have direct support for from the Bible. What is interesting is that every other moral issue he dealt with was based on general teachings or specific statements from

the Bible. Falwell did not continue to argue issues for which he had no Biblical premise.

For example, basing his arguments on Biblical premises is true of his list of "Seven Principles Based on the Judaeo-Christian Ethic that Made America Great," outlined in a July 2, 1981, message to the Sword of the Lord Conference on Revival and Soul-Winning. The principles were the dignity of human life, the traditional monogamous family, common decency, the work ethic, the Abrahamic covenant, God-centered education, and divine institutions.⁶⁸ Other than drugs and national health insurance, these were the same issues, under other headings, that he had addressed in the National Affairs Briefing speech above.

Falwell addressed a wide range of concerns. In "Future-word: An Agenda for the Eighties," a chapter by Falwell in The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, he divides the concerns of the Moral Majority into moral, social, ethical, political, and religious issues. Under moral issues, he lists sanctity of human life, humanism in the public schools, sex education in the public schools, pornography, and homosexuality. Under social issues, he lists dignity of the family, racial injustice, world hunger. Under ethical issues, he lists artificial insemination, selective breeding, genetic engineering, and euthanasia. Under political issues, he lists national defense, the Communist threat, and the state of Israel. And under religious issues, he lists national revival, church planting, and Christian education. In that same chapter, Falwell states "how the Moral Majority stands on today's vital issues: we believe in the separation of Church and State. . . . We are pro-life. . . . We are pro-traditional family. . . . We oppose the illegal-drug

traffic. . . . We oppose pornography. . . . We support the state of Israel and Jewish people everywhere. . . . We believe ERA is the wrong vehicle to obtain equal rights for women. . . ."69

A composite of the lists indicates that Falwell's concerns range from the drug problem to the free enterprise system, national health insurance, children's rights, music, the work ethic, racial injustice, world hunger, artificial insemination, selective breeding, and euthanasia. He is also concerned about abortion, pornography, prayer in public schools, the Equal Rights Amendment, the nation of Israel, national defense, Communism, the family, public schools, and homosexuality. But the issues that occupied his political preaching were those about which he believed there were clear Biblical premises for his arguments and appeals.

Some of the issues rose to the surface as more arguable on Biblical grounds than others. Falwell clustered those arguments under four headings: pro-life, pro-family, pro-moral, pro-American. Later he added a fifth heading, pro-Israel. These are the arguments I will focus on for an in-depth analysis. It was to these issues specifically that Keener referred when he asked that we hear Falwell out.

Falwell explains what issues he addressed under each of these headings. In a Newsweek column, "My Turn," Falwell explained:

The Moral Majority was founded . . . to address four basic issues: First, we are pro-life. We believe all human life is valuable and deserving of legal protection, whether it be born or unborn, black or white, rich or poor, handicapped or normal, old or young. Second, we are pro-traditional family. While homosexuals should be free to live together, if they wish, we oppose any law that would grant to homosexual couples the designation of 'family' or qualify them as a legitimate minority because theirs is a chosen life-style. Third, we are pro-

morality, meaning that we oppose the illegal-drug traffic and the spread of pornography. Fourth, we are pro-American, and that means we stand for a strong national defense believing that freedom is the ultimate moral issue.⁷⁰

In a similar but fuller and more specific statement, Falwell explained that the "activities [of Moral Majority] center on four main points":

First, we take a pro-life position. Since the Roe vs. Wade Supreme Court decision in January, 1973, more than 6 million unborn babies have been legally murdered in America. This exceeds the number of Jews killed in the Holocaust of Hitler's Germany. Second, we are pro-family. Government legislation is becoming the No. 1 force for the destruction of the family. In addition, the feminist movement, the children's rights movement, the entertainment industry, humanists in secular education, pornographers and others seem dedicated to the destruction of the monogamous, traditional American family. And we are pro-morality. Humanism, with its emphasis on moral relativism and amorality, challenges every principle on which America was founded. It advocates abortion-on-demand, recognition of homosexuals, free use of pornography, legalizing of prostitution and gambling and free use of drugs, among other things. Above all, we are pro-American. The very existence of the free American state is threatened in this decade. The free-enterprise system is endangered by the advent of socialism. Our national defense is virtually non-existent in the face of the Soviet arms buildup. The refusal of elected leaders and bureaucratic mercenaries to acknowledge the commitment of international communism to world conquest jeopardizes our national security.⁷¹

Pro-Life Arguments. Falwell states that all human life is valuable and deserving of legal protection, including the unborn, blacks, the poor, the handicapped, the elderly, and children. In his speeches and writings, however, he expresses little interest in any of these issues other than abortion.

Falwell felt the Bible was clear about life beginning at conception. "The Bible clearly states that life begins at conception," he contends.⁷² He quotes Psalm 139:13-16 as the Biblical premise of his belief:

For thou has possessed my reins: thou has covered me in my mother's womb. I will praise thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made; marvelous are thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well. My substance was not hid from thee, when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect; and in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them.

He explains:

In reality, life begins with God, and since Adam it has simply passed from one life cell to another. That is what the Apostle Paul referred to in the Bible when he said, regarding marriage, that two shall become one flesh. When the male sperm and the female egg merge, human life is passed on, and the mother and father become one in that little baby in the womb. Life is a miracle, and no one on this earth has the right to abort it.⁷³

Based on this Biblical premise, he built a pro-life position in his arguments and appeals. If life begins at conception as the Bible said, Falwell reasoned, then taking the life of an unborn baby any time after conception is the killing of a human being.

Tim LaHaye, one of the original five who formed Moral Majority, Inc., and a member of its board of directors, said that,

As far as Dr. Jerry Falwell, those of us on the Moral Majority Board and the thousand of pastors who followed his leadership are concerned, the principle thing that motivated us out of our lethargy was the blood of those eight million babies crying out to us from the ground as did Abel's innocent blood to God.⁷⁴

LaHaye, of course, is referring to the abortion of eight million babies since January 22, 1973, when the U.S. Supreme Court rendered a decision, in the Roe v. Wade case, that legalized abortion. Falwell expressed his resentment at the court's persistence in legalizing the killing.

Then, he explains:

The Supreme Court reinforced this with its 1976 follow-up ruling, Planned Parenthood vs. Danforth, in which it threw out statutes

in Missouri requiring a husband's consent for abortion, or requiring consent of the parents of an unwed mother under age eighteen. Then in Bellotti v. Baird (1979), the Court threw out the Massachusetts law that required parental consultation or notification, allowing a judge to grant permission. I resent these rulings.⁷⁵

Falwell declares that "no other major civilized nation in history has ever been willing to permit late abortion," that "America has allowed more lives to be killed through abortion than in all our wars and traffic accidents," and that "only a perverted society would make laws protecting wolves and eagles' eggs, and yet have no protection for precious unborn human life."⁷⁶ He calls it ironic that, at the same time we are making capital punishment illegal, we have made abortion legal. "Today in America we kill babies and protect criminals."⁷⁷

Falwell's position on abortion is fourfold, as I will demonstrate: (1) it is murder, because (2) life begins at conception rather than birth, and (3) God will punish America for this sin, therefore (4) we must stop it by passing a human life amendment to the constitution.

Falwell, at least by 1979, routinely called abortion murder. "Abortion is murder," he said at the South Carolina rally.⁷⁸ "Let's ask God to forgive us for murdering seven million babies. . . ," he chided the Michigan rally.⁷⁹ At the Iowa rally, he reported:

I found myself debating on television recently with someone who's an abortionist. She called for more freedom of choice, and I said 'No, you want more freedom to kill.' She said, 'I have the right to do with my body what I please,' I said, 'Yes you do, but that little baby inside your body is not your body but is a separate living soul from conception, created in the image of God, and to wipe out that little baby eight and a half months before birth is as murderous as to wipe out that child eight and a half months before birth. We have an obligation to see . . . that it stops.'⁸⁰

Calling it a "massive biological holocaust,"⁸¹ Falwell has not hesitated to compare it to the Nazi Holocaust perpetrated on the Jews during World War II.⁸² "Every three years," he calculates, "we will have repeated Hitler's offense against the Jews, and I say that God is angry with a nation that allows that to happen."⁸³ Writing in Listen, America he declared,

The Nazis murdered six million Jews, and certainly the Nazis fell under the hand of the judgment of God for those atrocities. So-called Christian America has murdered more unborn innocents than that. How do we think that we shall escape the judgment of God?⁸⁴

"A nation that is murdering one and a half million unborn babies a year . . . is under the wrath of almighty God," he told the Florida rally.⁸⁵

He has referred to abortion as a \$2 billion a year industry saying that "it's a very lucrative business to kill babies."⁸⁶ And, he asks, "did you know that abortion clinics that murdered 1.4 million babies last year legally . . . earned \$2 billion doing it? . . . Because of federal funding for abortion, your tax monies are paying for murder for hire."⁸⁷ At the Florida rally, he said, "We've declared war on the baby killing industry in America. . . . Obviously, they have lots of money, because they make money killing people. And they do it under protection of law. . . ."⁸⁸ The implication was that stopping it would be difficult, because it was so lucrative.

Falwell believes it must be stopped, "that unborn babies have the right to life as much as babies that have been born," and he established Moral Majority to provide "a voice and a defense for the human and civil rights of millions of unborn babies."⁸⁹

He and his Moral Majority have joined with others, Catholics for instance, to push for passage of a "human life amendment" to the constitution. He believes the amendment is the only possible way legalized abortion can be stopped now.⁹⁰

Pro-Family Arguments. Falwell explained in several ways his interpretation of the Biblical doctrine of the family. His view of the traditional monogamous family is derived from the Judeo-Christian ethic which is based on the Bible:

The Judaeo part of the ethic is Genesis 2:21-24. God reached down and took [Eve] out of the side of Adam. . . . He brought them together and said the two shall become one flesh. The Christian part of the ethic is Ephesians 5:22-33 . . . a family begins when a man legally marries a woman, and there is no diverse family form acceptable to the Almighty. That is the Judaeo-Christian ethic.⁹¹

In the Florida rally, he said,

God Almighty established the home first. Recently I was being interviewed in Washington. A major network interviewer said, 'Doctor, what right do you Baptists have in pushing over on the American public your concept of a family, a man married to a woman legally?' I said 'Hey, the Baptists didn't start the family. God Almighty started the family back in the Garden of Eden, and He wasn't a Baptist then.' And the fact is that God Almighty established one man for one woman for one lifetime. That's the ideal. And God made Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve, and God had a plan . . . that would honor and glorify Him. . . . I have not found any alternative that improved on that plan.'⁹²

It was on these Biblical grounds that Falwell built his line of argument concerning his pro-family position. A Bible-believing Jew or Christian, he said, has no problem defining the family. It "is defined in this Book [the Bible] as a man legally married to a woman for life for the purpose of rearing children in the nurture and the admonition

of the Lord. It's only been in recent days," he added, "that we've had difficulty defining the family."⁹³

Falwell believes the traditional family "is unquestionably the cornerstone of the republic."⁹⁴ He said, at the rally in Washington, D.C., that "we believe the Christian home is that basic unit in society upon which this nation was indeed founded."⁹⁵ In his "America, You're Too Young to Die" television special, Falwell proclaimed that no one "can . . . deny the importance the family, the traditional monogamous family, has played in American history."⁹⁶ He says, "it is the fundamental building block and basic unit of our society."⁹⁷ At the National Association of Religious Broadcasters annual meeting, he argued,

If a nation is great, without questioning . . . it has a constituency of great families . . . I think the family, there's no question about it, is the basic unit in God's society and, furthermore, that it is the basic unit in civilized society. America is great because God has given to America great, great families.⁹⁸

In the South Carolina rally, he said "I'm convinced that the family is the most vital, the most important entity in American life and society, and I believe that, if America survives, the family must survive."⁹⁹

Falwell fears that (1) the traditional family, a man and a woman legally married to each other for life as prescribed in the Bible, is in danger; (2) government actions are the primary force destroying the traditional family; and (3) other activities in society, such as the abortionist, the homosexual, the feminist, and the children's rights movements, the entertainment and pornographic industries, and humanistic educators, are also dedicated to destroying the traditional family.

"As we face the 1980s . . . barring divine intervention, radical action, the monogamous family, the traditional American family . . . will become extinct."¹⁰⁰ "The family in America is in serious trouble," he warns.¹⁰¹ On the "America, You're Too Young to Die" television special, he noted, "Our nation today is in a family crisis. . . . And with all the pressures upon the family, it is possible at least to . . . project that the traditional monogamous family may cease to be during . . . the 1980s."¹⁰²

At the South Dakota rally, Falwell, speaking about a campaign to clean up television which is bringing pornography into our homes, said, "It isn't a matter of if we should, we must do it. Our families, our moral values are at stake."¹⁰³ Because the family is the cornerstone of America, Falwell reasons that "when the home begins to degenerate all that's precious to [our] society goes with it."¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, he would reason, if we can save the traditional family, we can save America. As he said, "I kept waiting for someone . . . but no real leader appeared. Finally, I realized that we had to act ourselves. Something had to be done now."¹⁰⁵ And so, he set out to save the traditional family as part of his call and crusade to save America, because he believed a "war against the family" was being waged on all fronts.¹⁰⁶ "The war against the family is raging," he told the National Association of Religious Broadcasters.¹⁰⁷ "The family is under assault in America," he told the Florida rally.¹⁰⁸

The war against the family, he believes, is being waged by the very entity in our society bound to protect it, the federal government.

"Government legislation is becoming the No. 1 force for the destruction of the family."¹⁰⁹ The government, he says, is "leading the war against the family."

It would seem that the government . . . in this city [Washington, D.C.] has made on all out determined effort to wipe out the family . . . as the Bible teaches it to be. Now that is not just rhetoric, that is fact. I will not . . . take the time to point out the legislation of the last ten years, for example, that has been anti-family in motivation as well as content and certainly results. But it is a fact that it is happening.¹¹⁰

"Somehow, in the last 30 years," he declared, "Washington has become a haven of anti-family bureaucrats."¹¹¹

As an example, he explains "that right now it is more favorable financially for a man and a woman to be living together unmarried, at tax time, rather than married. That's a tragedy against the home, and it must be changed."¹¹² As another example, he often mentions the Gay Rights Bill in Congress, introduced by Representative Ted Weiss (D-New York), which would recognize homosexuals as an official minority like blacks, hispanics, and women. It is anti-family, Falwell contends, because it would give them an advantage over heterosexuals, especially those who are legally married. One advantage is that employers, even Fundamentalist Christian schools, could be required to hire a certain quota of homosexuals "commensurate to the population in the area."¹¹³ Falwell exclaimed, in light of the fifty-one co-sponsors of the bill, that one "would think it would be impossible to find in civilized America one congressman as asinine as those fifty-one anti-family" congressmen.¹¹⁴

Another example is abortion. As he said at the New Jersey rally,

Did you know that, in 1973, the Supreme Court, by a 7 to 2 vote, eliminated the state laws of all fifty states by fiat, not democratic process, and in one vote legalized abortion on demand which has resulted in the murder of 7 to 8 million babies in America since that time?¹¹⁵

The White House Conference on Families is Falwell's foremost example of the anti-family attitude in government. The "breakdown in the traditional monogamous family" is due, he says, to "pressure from the federal government, perverse movements like the White House Conference on Families. . . ." ¹¹⁶ He discusses the conference at length in several of the "I Love America" rallies. At the South Carolina rally, for example, he said:

The family right now . . . is in serious condition, and I constantly find myself in media discussion and debates battling over what the family is. When President Carter was campaigning last time, he promised to shore up the family . . . to hold a conference on the family. Four years have passed, and so now it's finally becoming a reality. But it's not called the White House Conference on the Family; it's called the White House Conference on Families, plural. The forty-one persons who control that conference . . . the National Advisory Committee, were appointed by President Carter, and forty of them are anti-traditional family persons; that is, they favor homosexual marriages, they favor abortion and other anti-biblical moral principles. Only one of them, Barbara Smith, a Mormon, is pro-family. That's a loaded deck. . . .

I would like to say that the government has become the arch-enemy of the family and the White House Conference on Families has now begun to develop a definition of the family as I quote, 'Any two persons living together.' Think that one over and you will get the idea of how perverted this conference has become, so perverted that in Virginia we had to almost ambush [them] . . . in order to get our delegates elected, and we did, and now they are thinking about going to court to disallow our delegates who were elected by popular vote. The same thing happened in Mississippi, Arkansas, across the country. Well, at the same time, the governor of Alabama felt that the definition . . . coming out of the White House Conference on Families was so anti-family and so foreign to what Alabama people feel about the family that he withdrew the state of Alabama from

the conference. . . . Then the state of Indiana, by the governor's decision, did the same thing. And state after state now, the governors of the states have to rebuke the President of the United States on such a vital issue as the family. And we have found it necessary to conduct a competitive conference on the family that will meet in the Long Beach Municipal Auditorium with 12,000 people, July 12, the same day that, in Los Angeles, the White House Conference is having its concluding meeting with 2,000 people.¹¹⁷

At the Michigan rally, he said somewhat the same thing but added some pertinent details:

Right now, I am travelling about 5,000 miles a week, as are a number of other pastors working with me, to battle the White House Conference on Families. You say, 'Why are you doing that?' Because forty of the forty-one persons on the National Advisory Committee of the White House Conference on Families . . . are Anti-traditional family persons. That is, they are pro-abortion, pro-homosexual marriage, et cetera. Only one, a Mormon lady, Barbara Smith, is pro-traditional family. Well, obviously one person cannot sway forty. And the result is that all 50 states, the governors are having pressure put upon them to make appointments to the state delegations that include, and these are the words of Jim Guy Tucker who heads that particular committee, 'diverse family forms.' And that scares me. Diverse family forms without giving any consideration, he says, to sexual preference or orientation. That scares me too.

And so we're going out trying to get a majority of delegates in every state and every place where popular vote has been allowed, we've won: Virginia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, you name it. We win overwhelmingly because the American people are still good people. We have no problem with the people, just the leaders. And so, I want to say quickly, not all the leaders of course but some of the key people in key places are appointing anti-family people to these delegations. And now we have finally changed the rules . . . as follows: Now they, in the voting in of delegates have been waived and the governor is now appointing all the delegates. They are put in a hat with thousands of names there, and nobody knows whose names are in the hat and why they are drawn out, you know who comes out. Now, what am I saying? I'm saying, why should we have to fight our government for our family? We ought not to be fighting with them and they with us. We should not have to be at enmity with all our own government to preserve our families.

A month ago, six weeks ago, I was having breakfast with President Carter in the White House, and I asked him why forty of the forty-one committee members were anti-family in their convictions. He said, 'Jerry, we Christians can stand competition, can't we?' I said, 'I don't mind competition, Sir, I just don't like a loaded deck.' And I asked the President why we could not, I said 85% of all Americans live in a traditional family mold, that is a man married to a woman [the opposite is true], and all the connections therefrom, why could we not have had 85% representation and the kooks have the 15%? Why reverse it? Well, the fact is that it hasn't worked that way in special interest groups who are not in the majority. They are not in the majority, they are just very small minority, special interest groups, are in key positions of power in the government today and are literally ruining, destroying everything our Founding Fathers put together. And the time has come when Christians have got to get involved.¹¹⁸

As seen in these statements, a main concern of Falwell was the failure of the conference to follow a traditional definition of the family. He objected to defining a family as any two persons living together, because it "leaves the door wide open for common law marriages [and] for homosexual marriages" with their consequent right to adopt children.¹¹⁹

"What a tragedy," he lamented, "that the people have to say, on behalf of the government, what is right and fight the government who is supposed to be our friend and represent us."¹²⁰ But there are other forces besides government, Falwell argues, that are equally anti-family. In America during the last twenty-five years, he asserts, "we have desecrated . . . [the] Biblical principle of the traditional family."¹²¹ In an article in the Los Angeles Times, he wrote that "the feminists movement, the childrens' rights movement, the entertainment industry, humanists in secular education, pornographers, and others seem dedicated to the destruction of the monogamous, traditional American family."¹²²

In the Kentucky rally, he indicted the media industry especially--television, movies, and publishers as well as the homosexual revolution, the feminist movement, the Equal Rights Amendment, the Childrens' Rights movement, and abortionists--for their anti-family policies and practices.¹²³ Behind these forces, he believes, is what he calls the "cult of the playboy" which "has permeated our society in the last twenty years," a philosophy that "tells a man he does not have to be committed to his wife and children." The result has been a sexual revolution in which "promiscuity has become the life-style of America . . . [and has] ultimately corrupt[ed] the family."¹²⁴ According to Falwell, the playboy philosophy has permeated our society by infiltrating and dominating the attitudes of political, social, and religious Liberals who have controlled society for the last twenty years.

How does Falwell say they have desecrated the traditional family? In answering that question, it is important to note several things: one, he deals only with issues raised and promoted by Liberals that have, in his opinion, desecrated the family adversely; two, he does not usually explain clearly or argue logically how they have desecrated the family, nor does he demonstrate the connection between his pro-family position and those issues he relates to it; rather, he declares that they have adversely affected the family without, in most cases, showing or substantiating how.

An example is how the abortion movement has adversely affected the traditional family. Falwell believes "the family is in danger" because of abortion and explains it this way:

Eighty percent of all abortions last year were unwed, teenage mothers. What are we saying to those little girls? 'Live like animals and murder the consequences, no payment for your sins. Why get married? Live with him. Don't have his children, kill them! Keep living with him.' And we destroy not only those little babies but those teenage girls and boys.¹²⁵

It is as clear as any explanation he gives. The implication is that, by the abortion policy and process, we are destroying not only the concept of the traditional family in the minds of teenagers but also the natural fruit of the family, children, and thus its present stability and future existence, or at least a healthy traditional family in the future. His reasoning is that not only unborn babies but the natural development and growth of the family are aborted by abortion.

How has the feminist movement affected the traditional family?

At the annual conference of the National Association of Religious Broadcasters, he indicted the feminists for their deception.

The feminist movement . . . all those very fine women in America are deceived into thinking it is a matter of equal pay for equal work, equal opportunity, et cetera. . . . The feminist movement is not a matter of equal rights for women, it is a unisexual device to eliminate the God-given differences that exist between the sexes. And the end result will be once more great damage to the monogamous, traditional American family.¹²⁶

Falwell said at the Michigan rally:

I'm for equal rights for women. . . . I believe that any woman ought to get equal pay for equal work that a man does. She ought to have the same potential for growth and development. As a matter of fact, because they have been held back, I think they ought to be given a little advantage to begin with. . . . So I want to repeat . . . that I'm very much for equal rights, but I'm opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment because of [its] very ambiguous wording.¹²⁷

Of course, the Equal Rights Amendment is promoted by the feminists and is purported to be an amendment giving women equal rights with

men. But Falwell says he believes "not only in equal rights for women . . . but in superior rights for our women." He explains:

We believe we ought to help them on with their coats and open the doors for them and work for their support and protect them on the battlefields and love them and care for them. . . . But we do not, I emphasize, do not believe in the ambiguous wording of the Equal Rights Amendment, because it may one day be that our women will have to enter unisexural toilets and fight on battlefields where men belong and lots of other unacceptable things. So we oppose it because we believe in superior rights for women. And the Bella Abzugs and Gloria Steinems and Betty Freidens and the other failures who are leading the movement are trying to bring the elevated womanhood of America down to their base level. And we are not willing to submit to that.¹²⁸

It should be noted that, on some issues, Falwell did not take his stance on the basis of a specific statement in the Bible but rather on the grounds of his beliefs about the general teachings of the Bible on the issue. Women's rights is one of those issues.

Falwell believes that women have special rights that would be lost by passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. "By mandating an absolute equality under the law, it will actually take away many of the special rights women now enjoy."¹²⁹

Ironically, while he claims to believe in special and superior rights for women, he also believes she is to be subordinate to her husband. "A definite violation of holy Scripture," Falwell declares, "ERA defies the mandate that 'the husband is head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church.'"¹³⁰ He fears that the Equal Rights Amendment would disturb the Biblically mandated relationship between husbands and wives. Falwell argues that the Equal Rights Amendment "will financially damage the position of women." He says that, "when a man marries a woman, he's obligated to take care of her for the rest of his life."

But, he contends, if the ERA is passed, then a man could not be required by any means to take care of his wife and children financially, because it could be construed as discrimination on account of sex.¹³¹

Phyllis Schlafly, a lawyer and founder of a conservative activist group called Eagle Forum, is Falwell's closest cohort in the right against the feminist movement, and he quotes her extensively in the chapter on "The Feminist Movement" in Listen, America! He reports a speech she gave at the Thomas Road Baptist Church in which she explained in detail their conclusions about the feminist movement and the Equal Rights Amendment:

The more I work with the issue of ERA, the more I realize that the women's liberation movement is antifamily. The proof came in November 1977 when the conference on International Women's Year met in Houston. It passed twenty-five resolutions which show very clearly what the feminists are after. They are for the Equal Rights Amendment, which would take away the marvelous legal rights of a woman to be a full-time wife and mother in the home supported by her husband. They are for abortion on demand, financed by the government and taught in the schools. They are for privileges for lesbians and homosexuals to teach in the schools and to adopt children. They are for the government assuming the main responsibility for child care because they think it is oppressive and unfair that society expects mothers to look after their babies. All their goals and dogmas are anti-family. They believe that God made a mistake when He made two different kinds of people. They believe that we should use the Constitution and legislation to eliminate the eternal differences and the roles that God has ordained between men and women. They want to require all laws and regulations and all schools to treat men and women exactly the same. They want to do it with federal control. . . . They want to give the homosexuals and the lesbians the same dignity as husbands and wives. They want to give the woman who has an illegitimate baby the same dignity as the one who has had one in holy matrimony . . . ERA would do this with the power of the federal government. . . . We must continue to fight against the ERA and to win this battle for God, for the dignity of women, and for the institution of the family.¹³²

Falwell is concerned about the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, he says, because it could possibly lead to a sanction of

homosexual marriages and because it could lead to women being drafted into the military for combat duty. Both would impact the family adversely in Falwell's opinion. A statement at the Florida rally illustrates graphically Falwell's fears at these two points:

I'll tell you why we're against the Equal Rights Amendment. Number one . . . because, if it is ratified and becomes an amendment to the constitution, regardless of what the President or the Congress thinks about it, women are going to combat . . . if women did not go to combat, that would be discrimination on account of sex. Secondly, if the Equal Rights Amendment is passed, homosexual marriages will be the law of the land. . . today if two men walk up to the clerk of the court here in Tallahassee and ask for a marriage license, the clerk, if he's got any sense, will say, 'No sir, one of you is the wrong sex.' . . . But if ERA becomes law and two men or two women applied for a marriage license, that clerk could do nothing but issue it, because, if he failed to do so, that would be discrimination on account of sex. 133

Falwell has been adamant about both of these concerns. About women in combat, he stated his position in very volatile terms at the National Affairs Briefing in Dallas:

the registration and drafting of women for combat is the most ridiculous concoction of human minds that I've ever heard. . . . Anyone with common sense . . . knows that God did not create women for NFL football or combat. . . . I have a fifteen year old daughter who is not available and will never be in combat if daddy goes to jail. . . .134

In the same speech, he also declared the traditional family "will be the victim of the drafting of women" explaining that men go to war "for the little women we leave behind . . . wives and mothers and daughters, that's what's left behind to live and fight for and to come back to." If "they're placed out there" in combat, he argues, "with all the attendant problems and consequences, the family again is the loser."135

Concerning homosexual marriages, Falwell is equally adamant about its adverse affect on the traditional family. At the Kentucky rally, he said:

The homosexual-bisexual revolution in America is nothing more than an assault on the family. . . . When we allow, as is the case in several states, a man to marry a man and adopt children . . . and women to marry women and adopt children . . . we are refuting God's plan for the family and we are endorsing perversion, reprobate, abominable perversion. That's an assault upon the family.¹³⁶

On another occasion, he said,

The homosexual is one force today to be reckoned with. If you think that the Mafia or Hitler's SS troops . . . were hard to handle . . . , you just cross wires with a militant homosexual. They know how to demand equal time . . . to march . . . to demonstrate . . . to be violent. I'm not talking about all homosexuals. I'm talking about militant homosexuals who are at war against the family.¹³⁷

He insists that "Homosexuality is moral perversion," that homosexual marriages "violate the principle of the traditional family," and that "God will have none of it." And, he adds, "We cannot condone what God has condemned."¹³⁸

Falwell explained that "those who believe the Bible believe that homosexuality is perversion."¹³⁷ "We tell them it's sin. We tell them that what they're doing according to Romans 1 is 'reprobate,' that according to the Old Testament it's an 'abomination.' Even the animals don't practice it." And he added, "God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah because of homosexuality. . . ."¹⁴⁰ Quoting II Corinthians 5:17, "For if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature, old things are passed away. All things are to become new," Falwell argued that homosexuals can be delivered from their perversion. "This book [the Bible] has the cure," he said.¹⁴¹

How, according to Falwell, does the children's right movement affect the traditional family? According to Falwell, this movement "is a compounded assault on the family in America" because, he says, the issue is not children's rights but "who owns the children, the parents or the state?" His answer is that "the parents own the children and, therefore, have ultimate control over them," not the state or the schools.¹⁴² Falwell's premise for his arguments concerning children is the general teaching of the Bible--mostly from Proverbs, Deuteronomy 6, and Ephesians 6:1-4.

A primary concern of Falwell is that "parents have the right to decide where out children are educated."¹⁴⁸ Of course, he is concerned about the right of parents to send their children to Christian schools.

Supposedly, the International Year of the Child of 1979, which had as its purpose to focus attention of the plight of children, was not concerned with child neglect and child abuse at all, in Falwell's opinion. "The Freidans, the Steinems, the Abzugs, and the other fall-outs from society, who lead this kind of thing, really have child ownership in mind," not by parents but by the state and the schools. As an example, he said they want "mandatory attendance in publicly funded day-care units from age two [so] the godless, secular humanism of the public school educators" can capture "the minds of our children." Because such programs actually and actively exists, he declared, "we are fighting the battle for the very existence of the family during this decade."¹⁴⁴

By comparing and contrasting the goals for children, as reported by Falwell, of the International Year of the Child organization, and of Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, we can readily see where he believes the battle lines are drawn. The goals of International Year of the Child, according to Falwell, are to provide these "rights" for children: (1) the right to sue their parents, (2) the right to minimum wages for household chores, (3) the right to choose their own parents, (4) the right of young girls to have abortions on demand, (5) the right to family planning, (6) an equal rights amendment for children, and (7) the right to be reared by the federal government.¹⁴⁵

On the other hand, goals of the Eagle Forum are to provide these "needs" for children: (1) to have the love of a father and a mother, (2) to have the care of a mother who makes mothering her career, (3) to live in an economic system that enables husbands to support their wives as full-time mothers, (4) to have his father's name if born of a legitimate union, (5) to know the happiness of pre-marital chastity, (6) to know the cost of promiscuous conduct, (7) to have sex education taught by parents, (8) to attend schools where moral standards are taught, (9) to be taught the "basics" in school, (10) to be taught from textbooks that honor the traditional family and the traditional roles of men and women, (11) to maintain the traditional difference between the sexes in athletics, restrooms, locker rooms, et cetera, (12) to be educated in such a way that they may develop a lasting heterosexual relationship, (13) to know the love of God and accept his gift of eternal life, (14) to know the unalienable rights of being a citizen of the United States, (15) to be taught what is

right and wrong, (16) to know the blessings of prayer, (17) the right to life, to be protected from abortion or to be helped to overcome handicaps, (18) to have child pornography eliminated, (19) to enjoy the fruits of their own labor without having it confiscated by government through taxes, and (20) to have pride in being an American.¹⁴⁶

In discussing this issue, Falwell always leaves no doubt that he is for children's rights and against abuse or neglect of children. He has called anyone who abuses children criminals and "worse than an animal."¹⁴⁷ But he is opposed to children's rights movements, because it aims to take control of children out of the hands of parents and thus undermines the integrity of the family.

How, according to Falwell, has the entertainment industry desecrated the family? Primarily by promoting pornography through the media industries of television, movies, and the publishers. In the Kentucky rally, he accused them of "a concerted effort to glorify the broken home, to magnify the life-style of those who have denied the Bible standards for the family. . . ."¹⁴⁸ "Hollywood seems to be committed," he said at the Ohio rally, "to degrading the family and glorifying and deifying every kind of perverseness, every kind of anti-family influence."¹⁴⁹

Television is the primary target of Falwell's rhetoric, because it comes into homes where families live. At the New Hampshire rally, he said that pornographers are "dumping a cesspool of iniquity into living rooms called television, prime time . . . soap operas, and we are slowly but surely laughing at what we once disdained."¹⁵⁰

The cesspool of iniquity Falwell is concerned about is sex. As he says, "I am concerned about excessive violence, but I am far more concerned about the invasion of illicit sex into prime time."¹⁵¹ He almost never mentions television violence. "It's a tragedy that, in prime time television today, eighty-eight percent of all sex . . . was outside of marriage," Falwell told the Washington, D.C., rally. "It is a tragedy that, in situation comedies, we laugh at unmarried boys and girls living together. And we create programs like 'Three's Company' and . . . 'Soap,'" he said, "in which vulgarity, homosexuality, immorality [are] featured as acceptable."¹⁵² "Soap operas are unfit for human consumption," he told the Iowa rally.¹⁵³ "Television today, not only in prime time but throughout the day," he said at the Ohio rally, "seems to be dedicated to glorifying homosexuality and other forms of perversion. And in prime time television now, there are more broken homes featured than united homes."¹⁵⁴

He told the Sword of the Lord conference on Revival and Soul Winning, "It is a shame to me that all three major networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, have, it would appear, launched a massive attack against the traditional family with their prime time programming." And then he added:

I'll prove it. After 'Little House on the Prairie' and 'The Waltons,' tell me where to go from there to find a one-man-married-to-one-woman family, happily married and normally adjusted in one residence. If ninety-three percent of all Americans (and Gallup says this is so) believe in the husband-wife . . . kind of family, why do we get seven percent representation and they, the perverted family, get ninety-three percent?¹⁵⁵

On "Meet the Press," Falwell offered the opinion that

. . . over the last five years there's been a toboggin slide. . .
. . . I think the suggestive language, bedroom scenes, profanity, all kinds of risqué programming have come in gradually but surely, and are having a very detrimental effect on the moral values of the country.¹⁵⁶

Falwell is quite specific about some of the detrimental effects he feels television is having on the family. For example, he feels that situation comedies are "promoting a cause, developing a theme. And in almost every case the opposite of what I believe to be the Judeo-Christian ethic . . . [that] soap operas . . . teach women how to run around on their husbands in a very sophisticated fashion and get by with it."¹⁵⁷ As another example, he refers to the twenty- to thirty-year-old adults who should be assuming the leadership of our country but who "have grown up with one primary babysitter, television," and it "has taught them moral permissiveness and . . . rejects moral absolutes as taught in the . . . Bible."¹⁵⁸ In yet another example of the detrimental effects of television:

We hear much about child abuse. But moral Americans fail to realize that one of the . . . most dangerous forms of child abuse is to pour dirty, filthy words and pictures into their minds; these words and pictures eventually ruin them and wreck them for life. This is what television is doing to many of our children.¹⁵⁹

The solution to the problem, Falwell says, is "for the executives of the three major networks to set down together . . . and decide that we are not going to have . . . anything offensive."¹⁶⁰ Falwell said they ought "to be responsible enough to handle this situation without such drastic action from us" as boycotting the sponsors of programs. But, he warned, if they would not do it, then he and the Moral Majority would "help them do it."¹⁶¹ He later said, "it could be

stopped by simple responsible leadership by the executives of [the] three networks. Since they're not willing to exert such leadership, then Americans in 72,000 churches [the number of pastors he says belong to Moral Majority] are now preparing in 1981 to boycott the products of those companies that are . . . sponsoring the dirty television, that [are] causing this cesspool of iniquity to be dumped into our living rooms."¹⁶²

Speaking on the family crisis to the National Association of Religious Broadcasters, Falwell said that "secular humanism in the public schools [is] dedicated to the wipe-out of the family" the same as the television industry.¹⁶³ How has secular humanism in public schools damaged the traditional family as Falwell claims? Since I have already addressed Falwell's feelings about liberalism and secular humanism in general, only a few examples are needed to demonstrate adequately his fears about their effect on the traditional family through public schools.

One example is from the interview with Falwell that appeared in Penthouse magazine. Notice in this argument that a basis for his opposition to humanism is a statement from the Bible, Judges 21:25.

. . . there is a phenomenon happening in America: it's the Christian school movement . . . probably the most significant phenomenon of this era. . . . Local churches everywhere . . . feel that the public school system has completely adopted humanism as its philosophy, which is anti-Christ, as we see it and antibiblical. The churches have been forced into starting an alternate school system. . . . By a federal U.S. Supreme Court mandate, the public cannot teach them the Bible, cannot teach them morality, cannot teach them character-building traits, etc. . . . the total vacuum of discipline . . . the drug epidemic, if the amoral position of the National Education Association and the teaching profession

of this day is building characters, that's the kind of character we don't want built in our young people . . . it has no absolute values. It has an amoral philosophy: nothing is absolutely right or wrong . . . a total society based upon what the Book of Judges in the Old Testament describes, during the most horrible time in Israel's history; Judges 21:25 says, 'In those days there was no king in Israel'--that is, no authority--'and every man did that which was right in his own eyes.' And, of course, that is chaos. And that is exactly, as I see it, where the public school system is today. . . . The ultimate end of promoting amorality, atheism, and developing a permissive society where there is no authority or right or wrong is, of course, ultimately going to be the wipeout of the family. 164

A second example is Falwell's report of a television appearance with avowed humanist educator, Saul Gordon:

Last Wednesday on the 'Today Show,' I debated Dr. Saul Gordon on the matter of sex education. He happens to be a promoter of the sex lobby. He writes much of the pornographic materials that are being jammed down the throats of our little children in public schools. A picture in one of his Zing comics is of a man and woman in the sex act. He said, 'What are you going to do with that?' He thought I might turn it to the camera, which NBC would, of course, shut us off the air. I said, 'No, I'm not going to put that to the camera, but if it's illegal for NBC to broadcast it to the nation, it should be illegal to jam it down the throats of our first grade students in the public schools.' And then I asked Dr. Gordon, 'Do you believe that homosexuality is always perversion?' He said 'Absolutely not.' I said, 'Do you believe that premarital sex is wrong?' He said, 'Absolutely not.' . . . I said, 'I'm not willing then for you to teach my children your non-values. And I don't want that taught in our public schools today, because I'm helping pay the taxes.' 165

A third example is from the Washington, D.C., rally:

It disturbs us that, in our classroom textbooks across the nation, pornography, obscenity, vulgarity, profanity, under the guise of sex education and value clarification, literally pervades literature so that boys and girls from kindergarten through high school are subjected to a total degradation and denial of everything that this nation under God has held dear for 203 years. I think the publishers, those in education today, from those in the highest level in each of the 50 states and here in HEW and all the parents need to rise up in arms to literally throw out every textbook that dishonors the home, the family, Bible morality . . . and this, of course, this is very disturbing to us . . . I sometimes wonder if some of these textbooks are Soviet propaganda.

But I certainly believe that we are at that crossroad where we need as a nation to demand a clean-up in our textbook situation nationwide.¹⁶⁶

The alternative, which Falwell is promoting aggressively and which was the main motivation for the "I Love America" rallies, is to provide Christian schools where children are taught the importance of the home and how to establish a Christian family of one man for one woman for life. Along with being taught about the traditional family, they are taught patriotism, respect for authority and government, good citizenship, respect for each other, Bible morality, the importance of the local church, and Falwell says, they are taught to be productive Christians and citizens, parents and leaders. "We believe," he says, "that, in the next ten years, this phenomenon can change American history, bring us back . . . to the pinnacle of greatness that America once knew."¹⁶⁷

This was a crucial issue to Falwell for several reasons. One, he had children who were school age and had to face what public schools might do to them versus what he knew Christian schools would do for them. Second, the school issue, at least government encroachment on Christian schools, was one of three incidents that led him to enter the political situation, as was discussed above. Third, because the right of Christian schools to exist alongside public schools was being threatened, he thought, it was the first of the two reasons he gave for criss-crossing the nation to hold "I Love America" rallies on the steps of every state capitol. Fourth, the schools were a crucial battleground because, if America were to live by Biblical morality in

the future, children must be taught Biblical morality in their schools now. Fifth, the leaders for every area of our society in the future will come out of our schools today and will reflect what our schools taught them, either more secular humanism or Biblical morality.

Falwell believes the traditional family cannot be preserved or maintained against all of the forces that are undermining it. And for Falwell, it is not merely an undermining of the family; it is an undermining of God's Biblical plan for society, and that is why Falwell thinks it is immoral and why he is opposing those forces he perceives to be anti-family.

Pro-Morality Arguments. By morality, Falwell means Biblical morality as he interprets it. The Biblical premise for his arguments and appeals on morality is Proverbs 14:34, as Falwell quotes it, "Living by God's principles promotes a nation to greatness; violating God's principles brings a nation to shame." For Falwell, morality is living by God's principles or statements that are in the Bible. Amoralism is living without regard to those statements. Of course, Falwell considers himself and his Moral Majority to be moral because they do take seriously those statements. Immorality is living contrary to those statements.

Falwell, by being pro-morality, is anti-amoralism. He especially blames our moral crises on the amoralism of humanism. In a Los Angeles Times article, he wrote:

Humanism, with its emphasis on moral relativism and amoralism, challenges every principle on which America was founded. It advocates abortion-on-demand, recognition of homosexuals, free

use of pornography, legalizing of prostitution and gambling and free use of drugs, among other things.¹⁶⁸

Although Falwell's pro-morality position is almost diametrically opposite of his description of the position of humanists on nearly every issue, he focuses on only two. As he wrote in a special article for Newsweek, "We are pro-morality, meaning that we oppose the illegal-drug traffic and the spread of pornography."¹⁶⁹

First, he seldom mentions the illegal-drug traffic. He calls it a "very serious epidemic in our country"¹⁷⁰ and vows "to do our part to save our young people from death on the installment plan. . . ."¹⁷¹

He told the National Affairs Briefing:

while some are crying out for decriminalization of marijuana and other drugs, during the 1980s . . . we must fight for severe punishment for drug pushers. . . . We've got to look on them as murderers of our young people. And at the same time, from the humanitarian aspect, we've got to release all our energy and prayers and all that we have to go out there and rescue a generation of young people seduced by the most vicious animals in our society . . . the illegal-drug industry.¹⁷²

Falwell includes a chapter on drugs and alcoholism in his book, Listen, America!¹⁷³ But these references are the sum of his rhetoric on drugs in the materials that are the focus of this study.

The second pro-morality position, one of the main targets of Falwell's rhetoric, is on the spread of pornography. "A nation that is . . . allowing a flood tide of pornography to capture the minds of our little children, is in serious trouble."¹⁷⁴ Pornography, for Falwell, is a violation of "human decency" and "common decency."¹⁷⁵ Falwell's arguments against pornography are based on the general teachings of the Bible regarding sexual matters.

Falwell especially is committed to protecting children from pornography. When asked in an interview if he would ban pornography, he explained:

It's like Prohibition . . . 50 years ago; you're not going to stop people from drinking by preventing it from being sold in the public markets. It's still going to be sold. And that is an unenforceable law. If I'd lived then, I would not have been a part of it. I do not think it's an unenforceable thing to restrict the sale of damaging pornographic materials on the public newsstands. I think we've done that up until 20 years ago.¹⁷⁶

He is concerned, he told the New Jersey rally, because children are being exposed to pornography now that it is "on main street" and "in the convenience store. . . . Today the Hugh Hefners, the Larry Flynts, the smut peddlers . . . have put in on main street with the help of legislators in Washington. . . ." ¹⁷⁷ "The pornography explosion," he explained at a Sword of the Lord conference, "is now flooding the newsstands of this country at the eye level of a five-year-old child in the convenience store. . . ." ¹⁷⁸ "All we would do," he explains, "is keep it away from children." ¹⁷⁹

The argument against pornography that Falwell used most consistently was that it is "poisoning the minds and souls and moral values of the young people in America . . . not just destroying their bodies but damning their souls." ¹⁸⁰

He told the Michigan rally that "the porn publishers, the Larry Flynts, the Hugh Hefners, and thousands of others like them, are doing more to damage and damn young people than any other one sector of society, and everyone of them ought to be in jail." ¹⁸¹ At the South Carolina rally, declaring that one person's freedom of speech ends where another's welfare begins, he argued that they "have no right to

pour their rot-gut . . . pornography into the minds of boys and girls."¹⁸² They are "idolaters who idolize money and will do anything for materialistic gain," he wrote. "They are men who have reprobate minds and who need divine deliverance."¹⁸³

To the South Dakota rally he said that, "during the 1980s, we have to deal with the poison of the human soul of America. If someone in Pierre, South Dakota, were poisoning your water system, you would have the police, even the militia, after them."¹⁸⁴ He told the Minnesota rally, "We've got to stop the flood tide of pornographic poison. . . ."¹⁸⁵

At the National Affairs Briefing, Falwell recounted that he was "asked by a very friendly newsman, 'How do you justify the fact that you who are in the media ministry . . . are taking in . . . hundreds of millions of dollars for the support of your ministries?'"

He replied,

I have a great deal easier time justifying the intake in our ministry this year, \$70 million, than Hugh Hefner, Larry Flynt, and the other smut peddlers have in justifying their gross intake of \$4 billion last year. In my opinion, the gospel broadcasters, almost to the man, are investing the funds we raise in world missions, in gospel ministry, in feeding Cambodian refugees, in broadcasting and televising the Word of God world-wide, in raising up churches and schools. We are spending our money on souls, and I suspect we have accomplished a little good. I am confident that Hugh Hefner and Larry Flynt have accomplished no good. Why not ask them why and how they justify \$4 billion intake?¹⁸⁶

He added that "we allow these criminals . . . to poison the souls and minds and spirits of our young people. And we haven't yet been willing to stand up in mass and stop it." Much of the \$4 billion a year, Falwell claims, "is used to influence legislators, judges, and juries, as well as the American people."¹⁸⁷

A primary focus of his pro-morality position, then, is on pornography, and he hardly mentions the illegal-drug traffic. Falwell, in his rhetoric, is preoccupied with issues of morality that are sex-oriented. His pro-life position, for example, concentrates only on abortion, a sexual issue, to the neglect of a similar moral issue, capital punishment. In his pro-family position, he is concerned about a conception of family life that allows premarital and extramarital sex, feminism as a movement toward unisex and toward homosexual marriage, the entertainment industry not because of the violence but because of the sex, and the public schools as much because of the sex education curriculum as anything. And then his pro-morality stance stresses almost exclusively the spread of sexual materials.

There are other issues--world hunger, nuclear proliferation, war, the plight of the poor--that have been raised by Liberals which are equally moral in nature and to which Falwell could have reacted. In this respect, he reveals, maybe as much as in any other way, his conservative and Fundamentalist Christian heritage, which has been characterized by a preoccupation with sexual morality. It is not that these matters are unimportant, but one wonders why the preoccupation with them when there are so many life and death issues, literally, in our world waiting to be addressed and acted on.

Pro-American Arguments. In addition to being pro-life, pro-family, and pro-morality, Falwell is Pro-American. He believes the survival of America is in question. And, since America is the only remaining base in the world at this time from which the church can

operate to fulfill its commission from God, Falwell argues, and since the church is commissioned "to go into all the world" and "preach the Gospel" and "make disciples of all nations,"¹⁸⁸ he believes America must be saved at all cost. Thus, a Bible commandment, a commission that has the force of a commandment, becomes the premise on which Falwell builds his pro-American arguments and appeals. America is necessary for the Biblical mandate to be fulfilled, he argues.

The 1980s, he says, will be "the first time in the history of the republic . . . in which the freedoms and liberties of America . . . are in great question."¹⁸⁹ "We're about to go down the tubes," he told the National Affairs Briefing.¹⁹⁰ "The very existence of America as a free nation is being threatened," he said in Ohio.¹⁹¹

In the Los Angeles Times article, he wrote:

The very existence of the free American state is threatened in this decade. The free-enterprise system is endangered by the advent of socialism. Our national defense is virtually non-existent in the face of the Soviet arms buildup. The refusal of elected leaders and bureaucratic mercenaries to acknowledge the commitment of international communism to world conquest jeopardizes our nation's security.¹⁹²

We believe "that freedom is the ultimate moral issue," he says.¹⁹¹

By freedom, he means a free enterprise system and a superior national defense to guarantee a secure and free America from conquest by communism.

In this section, I will examine not only the issues of free enterprise and national defense, but also a prevalent theme in Falwell's rhetoric, patriotism. From what he says about these issues, we may infer that, if we are to save America, we must restore free

enterprise, national defense, and love of country to the way they were twenty to thirty years ago.

First, as to free enterprise, Falwell says that it is the economic plan put forth by God in the Book of Proverbs.¹⁹⁴ Since socialism is the antithesis of free enterprise, it is anti-Biblical. And anything that promotes socialism is, therefore, immoral. And Falwell certainly believes the Biblical plan of free enterprise has been "bruised and blooded by the socialists and by government . . . regulatory agents,"¹⁹⁵ as he said at the New Jersey rally. The scenario in his speeches is that Liberalism promotes humanism, that the ultimate goal of humanism is socialism, and that socialists work through the government to frustrate free enterprise. "I'm against socialism like I'm against rattlesnakes," he says, "because socialism is nothing but Communism."¹⁹⁶

He believes there is a causal connection between socialism and welfarism that threatens America economically. A return to the free enterprise system will solve the problems created by welfarism, he argues, because it will mean a return to the work ethic. There is a Biblical premise for the work ethic in II Thessalonians 3:10, ". . . if anyone would not work, neither should he work." Falwell contrasts the free enterprise system with socialism and communism in light of the Biblical work ethic:

You know the problem with a lot of people who favor socialism and Communism is that they don't like to work. Work is a hard thing for some people, but this scripture clearly teaches that 'if a man will not work, neither shall he eat.'¹⁹⁷

He told the Kentucky rally:

These people who want to be leading us in the next ten years have grown up under a government that has taught them welfarism . . . [which is] not Scriptural. . . . I believe that we ought to take care of the aged, the sick, those who cannot work, but there's a great big crowd out yonder who wouldn't work . . . eating the holes out of donuts. I say, let them starve, to the glory of God, let them starve. They won't starve long. . . .¹⁹⁸

And then Falwell told this folksy story which he related at several of the rallies:

We have four dogs at my house. We had seventeen, but my wife made me get rid of some of them. Two of them live in the house, they're watch dogs . . . if they hear something at night, they jump up in bed and watch with us. Two of them live outside. They're Irish Setters, the most beautiful and dumbest dogs in the world, Ruff and Heidi. When the fellow gave them to me, he owned a supermarket, he said 'Now preacher, here's what they eat,' and he told me what kind of meat, how much, where to get it. The longer he talked, the more I knew I couldn't afford those dogs. When he left, I went to another supermarket, not his, and I bought a great big 50 pound bag of Purina, you know, those hard chunks that don't cost that much? And I gave them two big heaping bowls full and sure enough, they wouldn't eat a mouthful of it, but four days later they did.¹⁹⁹

And then, he made this application, "You get them bums hungry enough they'll find a job, and they'll go to work and become productive citizens in society." Falwell admits there are times when people, who can work, cannot find work, and, when that is the case, "we should help those people."²⁰⁰

His hatred of socialism coupled with his belief that the free enterprise system is rooted in the Bible explains, to some extent, his opposition to such Liberal programs as national health insurance.

Speaking at the National Affairs Briefing, he said:

Someone would say, 'What right do you preachers have to address the issue of free enterprise?' Well, the entire book of Proverbs is devoted to the free enterprise system. And since it . . . find[s] its roots in Holy Writ, then we have the right to address it. . . . I cannot think of anything in the world today, as imperfect as our system may be, that approaches the excitement

and glory and potential of the free enterprise system, and we need to preserve it at any cost which means we need to stand against National Health Insurance or any form of socialized medicine. .

. .201

As to the national defense, there is no reason to doubt Falwell is serious in his fear that Communism is a threat to our security and freedom. A question by his thirteen-year-old son, during family devotional time, reveals the motivation, at least partially, behind his persistence in the political process:

Jonathan . . . said, 'Dad, do you ever think that I'll grow up in a free land like you have and be as old as you are one day and live like you live in a free republic?' The more I thought about that, and we discussed it in the family devotion, I became aware of my responsibility to guarantee my children and my children's children the right of enjoying what I have enjoyed. . . . And that night, and the days that followed, as I examined my own heart, I made a commitment to God that whatever the cost. . . . We who believe the Bible and who believe in Bible morality, we are going to have to pay the price . . . to turn this nation around toward God. . . .202

Falwell also grounds his argument for a strong national defense in a statement from the Bible, II Timothy 5:8, which is part of a passage that deals with members of a family caring for one another: ". . . if any provide not for his own, and specially for those in his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." His interpretation is that this Biblical statement applies to a nation as well as to the family and thus uses it as his premise to argue that America needs to build a strong enough military power to take care of its own. Not to do so, he would insist, is immoral in the light of this statement in the Bible.

Falwell endorsed the startling statement of General Graham, former chief of the Defense Intelligence agency, "that militarily we

probably have less than a thousand days as a nation, a free people."²⁰³

During "the SALT syndrome days," he said at the Florida rally, "we have declined in our development of military might, while the Soviet Union has burgeoned its strength" and, sometime in 1983 or so, we may be "forced to capitulate." We've been "in a program of mutually assured destruction, M.A.D., and that's exactly what it is, 'Mad!'"²⁰⁴

At the Iowa rally, he vowed opposition to "the SALT II Treaty and any other treaties that lock our nation into inferiority."²⁰⁵

Falwell calls for a superior national defense. He believes "that America needs to be the strongest nation on earth militarily . . . and don't try to tell me that we're going to stay free if we don't stay strong."²⁰⁶ But not just strong, superior. "I happen to believe," he says, "that the only way to prevent war is to have the strongest military establishment in the world."²⁰⁷ He told the New Hampshire rally, "I'm against war, and I think the best way to prevent war is to be stronger than the Soviet Union. That's the only language they understand."²⁰⁸ Falwell seems to have an Old Testament mentality militarily.

Not only to discourage or prevent war with the Soviet Union but also because he believes they cannot be trusted, Falwell calls for a buildup of our military might. One reason he constantly speaks out against treaties like SALT II "is that we get ground into inferiority while . . . [they] just lie and cheat and do what they want."²⁰⁹ We've taken "the unbelievable stance . . . that the Communists have good intentions and that we can peaceably coexist in this world without military strength, that a strong national defense is not necessary."

As a result, he argues, we are probably in "the most compromising position . . . since Pearl Harbor . . . unable to defend ourselves."²¹⁰

So, the Communists have taken advantage of our weakness.

The only reason why a Khomeini and the group of . . . Marxist young people would dare to take 50 American hostages is because, by our example of the last few years, they knew we'd do nothing about it, and that is what we did. The reason why the Soviets marched into Afghanistan is because they knew we'd do nothing about it, and that's what we did. And the reason there are thousands of Soviet troops in Cuba today is because they knew we'd do nothing about it, and that's what we did.²¹¹

To those who suggest we disarm unilaterally and then "the Soviets would see we're sincere and . . . would reciprocate," Falwell answers, "if you believe that, then don't lock your doors tonight when you go to bed . . . dismiss all the law enforcement agencies . . . put [your children] in Central Park in New York at two o'clock in the morning and let them play. The fact is this world is not heaven," he argues. "There are unregenerates" in it who can't be trusted.²¹² For Falwell, Communists are unregenerates who cannot be trusted, so we must arm ourselves. "We believe that the Marxists have never changed their original and stated commitment to world conquest. Therefore," he argues, "we believe that as a nation, we need to support the military. We need to be not just as strong but stronger than the Soviet Union because they are aggressors."²¹³

Falwell wants us to be superior militarily for a third reason: because he thinks we ought to be able to win a war if it comes. He says a major part of our problem in the world is that "we've lost the will to win. . . ."²¹⁴ Since World War II, we have lost every war in which we've been involved. We've been disgraced repeatedly, we've

developed 'no win' policies."²¹⁵ A revealing exchange regarding this point occurred on "The Phil Donahue Show."

REV. FALWELL: We made [a mistake] in Vietnam. We shouldn't have gone in the first place. After we got in we should have won.

MR. DONAHUE: Uh-huh. In other words, if you --

AUDIENCE: (applause)

MR. DONAHUE: All right, Let's talk about that for a moment, Rev. Falwell. So, if I get in the ring with someone --

REV. FALWELL: Get in to win.

MR. DONAHUE: All right, Go for it.

REV. FALWELL: Go for it.

MR. DONAHUE: All right. Suppose I discover after I get in that I'm twice the size of my opponent. Now it was a mistake for me to get in here. Should i just beat the hell out of him? Pardon me. I say that in the Biblical sense.

AUDIENCE: (laughter)

MR. DONAHUE: Because I made the decision to get in?

REV. FALWELL: Well, I think sometimes -- again, I come back to this matter of national honor. I think that we should be more reluctant -- I didn't advocate our getting in the war. I'm against war. I want to make that real clear. I'm against it, period, forever.

MR. DONAHUE: But once our country calls one --

REV. FALWELL: When we go to war, we should pull out the stops and win.²¹⁶

In a story Falwell told about his youth, he probably reveals most honestly his truest feelings about our being superior militarily:

Because I was converted, I belonged to a street gang. We started a lot of fights. But in all my life . . . I have never been dumb

enough to pick a fight with somebody I knew was going to whip me. A preacher . . . used to say, 'Fellows, if you're going to be successful, keep a fight going all the time. . . . Secondly, Don't ever pick a fight with someone you can't whip, and third, Always leave a little running room.'²¹⁷

The next sentence after that story was, "Well, the United States of America needs a strong national defense, and I, for one, am committed to that during the 1980s."

What may be worrisome to many is the extent to which Falwell is committed to a military buildup and at what or whose expense.

Speaking at the South Carolina rally, he said:

. . . we need military superiority, and whatever it costs to meet that goal, we ought to make that kind of commitment . . . the argument is always forthcoming. . . , 'Where are we going to get the money?' I read the other day that the President is proposing a \$220 billion welfare budget. That's a good place to start.²¹⁸

At the Michigan rally, making the same point, he suggested cutting the welfare budget in half.²¹⁹ And there seems to be no doubt that he is serious.

The political preaching of Falwell is permeated with the theme of patriotism. "I Love America," the name given to the rallies on the steps of state capitols, is a declaration of patriotism. Typical of his patriotic rhetoric is this oratory from the Ohio rally:

We're happy to be Americans, we're happy to be Christians . . . we're here today to say, 'Thank God for America. Thank God for our freedoms and our liberties.' And we say to the enemies of freedom everywhere and to the enemies of America, 'There's no place on earth, absolutely no place on earth like the one that you and I happen to be a part of and are citizens in, the United States of America!'²²⁰

Falwell is a fan of America like some people are a fan of the Dallas Cowboys or the Los Angeles Dodgers. Referring to the Winter Olympic

games of 1980, he described his feelings:

And as I watched the Olympic Ice Hockey [game] between the Soviet Union and the United States, I could not help but say, 'Thank God. For the first time, Americans are proud to be Americans, in a long time.' We're glad to be part of such a great nation. And what God Almighty did for us in every arena if we give Him reason to bless America again.²²¹

For Falwell, in spite of her problems, America is the greatest nation in human history.²²² Every decent citizen will be for America, right or wrong, in war and peace.²²³

The America he loves, however, existed before the last twenty to thirty years. He vowed in the Penthouse interview that he and other pastors in Moral Majority are going to "do what is right, if it costs us everything, so that our next generation, our children, can once again enjoy what we have known in this country."²²⁴ After telling a little about his three children, he declared at the Iowa rally:

I want my children to know the great America that I've known, and I've promised God, and I've promised them, that I'll do everything . . . one man can do to insure that. I don't ever want to have my children ask me, 'Dad, where were you the day freedom died?'²²⁵

The great America he has known is a Golden Era in his mind, possibly during the late 1930s, during World War II, and into the 1950s, when America was undoubtedly at the pinnacle of world power. That is when he was a boy, and he said in the Minnesota rally that "we [want] to present our children the same America our parents presented to us."²²⁶ At the South Carolina rally, he said, "When I grew up and attended elementary and high school . . . Americans were glad to be Americans, and the rest of the world respected us. In the last twenty-five to thirty years, America has been in a moral tailspin."²²⁷ And later

in that speech he added, "I want my boys and my little girl to grow up in the same kind of America I've had the privilege of growing up in. . . ." ²²⁸

When I was a boy in elementary school back in Old Virginia, every morning, in a public school, someone conducted a chapel, and we had prayer together. We didn't know then it would hurt us. We pledged allegiance to the flag every morning, and, during World War II days . . . we would bring our money to school . . . and buy war bonds. Every time we got \$18.75 together, we bought a \$25 war bond and thought that was great. We still love that flag, and, in spite of the Jane Fondas and those who would bring that flag down . . . we still respect Old Glory. ²²⁹

It is a Golden Era that Falwell wants to remember and restore. In a less nostalgic and more somber mood, he wrote in an article for the Miami Herald:

It is a barometer of how far down we have slid as a nation that people today are denounced and reviled for speaking out in defense of unborn babies; for telling homosexuals they can live that way if they want, but don't try to get government's approval; for trying to tighten the noose around the fitting swine who sell drugs to children; and for attempting to control the level of mind pollution represented by the \$4-billion-a-year pornography industry. Twenty-five years ago, nearly everyone stood against those things. ²³⁰

Pro-Israel Arguments. Not only is Falwell pro-life, pro-family, pro-morality, and pro-American, he is pro-Israel. As he said, we are for the nation of Israel and for Jewish people everywhere. ²³¹ He has visited Israel's Prime Minister Begin in Jerusalem, and Begin has visited Falwell in Lynchburg; they have also talked by telephone on several occasions. ²³²

Falwell believes "God raised up America to take care of Israel . . . that . . . Israel would not last thirty days if it were not for America." ²³³ This belief is an example of Falwell's grounding his

arguments and appeals on what he believes the Bible says and determining even the details of his position and national policy on the basis of what the Bible says. In the case of Israel, he argues that, based on chapter 15 of Genesis, God drew the boundary lines for the nation of Israel and gave that land "to her as an inheritance forever."²³⁴ He believes "that Israel, legally, historically, and theologically has a right to the land of Palestine."²³⁵ And for that reason, he warns, the soviet Union and a hundred million Arabs and the United States all combined will never drive her off that land."²³⁶ Falwell forgets to mention the hundreds of intervening years when the Jews did not occupy that land.

Furthermore, based on Genesis 12:3, "I will bless them that bless you and curse them that curse you," Falwell insists that God will bless America as long as we support Israel but will destroy us if we betray Israel. "If we withdraw our support . . . she's finished and so are we."²³⁷ He declares that "there's no way to be neutral about Israel. You're either for God or against God, you're either for Israel or you're against Israel."²³⁸ He makes being for God and being for Israel synonymous.

"History records that God deals with nations in relation to how those nations deal with Israel," he says, and uses Nazi Germany as an example:

God told Abraham 4,000 years ago, 'I will bless them that bless you and I will curse them that curse you.' If we could bring Adolf Hitler out of hell today, he's say 'Amen!' to that statement. God cursed him because he cursed the Jews . . . because God said, 'I'll bless them that bless you,' as for me and my house, we'll bless the Jews. That's one reason God has been good to America.²³⁹

Falwell has applied Bible truth to social situations and developed arguments and appeals based on that truth. It is a classic meeting of the Bible and society, a purposeful application of the Fundamentalist interpretation of Biblical morality to a changed and changing society.

Church and State Arguments. One issue inadvertently and inherently grew out of Falwell's arguments and appeals--the separation of church and state. Because the statements of Falwell and other Fundamentalists essentially reinterpreted the traditional doctrine, because they were mostly Baptists who have been among the strictest adherents and strongest advocates of church and state separation, and because there was a stridency in their statements about church and state, it became an issue in the 1980 political campaign.

Pat Robertson, for example, said "We used to think that if we stayed home and prayed it would be enough. Well, we're fed up. We think it's time to put God back in government."²⁴⁰ James Robison proclaimed in a sermon, "There's going to have to be a get-tough activist attitude on the part of Christians . . . or we're through."²⁴¹ Robison was quoted as saying, "We have made a god out of our government and it has put us in bondage. We either bind the government or the government binds us. That's why the vote is so important."²⁴² Fob James, Alabama governor and Falwell supporter, said at the National Affairs Briefing, "They'll tell you there ought to be separation of church and state. I hope you won't pay any attention to that nonsense."²⁴³ Jim Bakker justified their political encroachment this way,

"We have to become involved with government . . . because government has become involved with us."²⁴⁴ Falwell said from his pulpit at Thomas Road Baptist Church, "We're fighting a holy war. . . . We have to lead the nation back to the moral stance that made America great. . . . [We] need to wield influence on those who govern us."²⁴⁵

At the Iowa rally, he said, "A Christian who isn't registered to vote . . . nothing worse than that. . . . A Christian who isn't registered to vote is out of the will of God because our Lord said, 'Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's.'"²⁴⁶

Do you know how God looks at a congressman? a president? a senator? a representative? Romans 13 verses 1-7; Paul said, 'These are ministers of God.' Do you know what that means? That means they have a calling from God just like I as a preacher, or you as a preacher do. 'Oh,' you say, 'What about these atheistic fellows? What about Breshnev? What about . . . I won't name some of our own . . . but what about some of our people who stand against everything that's high, holy, and sacred?' The fact that God says they are ministers of God is enough. They may not know they are ministers of God but God knows it and you know it.

Now, what can you do to have an impact? Since you know they are ministers of God and He knows, God knows they are ministers of God . . . the scripture says I Timothy 2:1, 2, 3 . . . 'Pray for those who are in authority.' We bring pressure on God through prayer. The scripture says that He is the King of Kings, the Lord of Lords. He is over all elected officials. Now, if we put pressure on God look what happens. The Proverbs tell us that the King's heart (the congressman's heart, the senator's heart) is in the hand of the Lord. Again, the Senator may not know it but the king's heart is in the hand of the Lord and the rivers of water God turns whatsoever He Wills.

That means God can tell Breshnev what to do. If enough people put pressure on Breshnev through praying to Almighty God, God who controls the affairs of nations and men can overrule them and make them do what they don't even want to do. I'm convinced that is true, let's learn how to pray for those who are in authority. Let's pray for our leaders. Let's pray for those whom God has placed over us.

Now, there's another verse that you may not like but it's in the Bible. It says, 'There is no power but that of God. The powers that be are ordained of God.' That means that although we don't agree with those all who are in authority we must respect them. That God has put them there. They may not know it but God knows it and you know it and that's all that is necessary.²⁴⁷

This is Falwell's explanation of the Biblical basis for the participation of churchmen in the political process.

In The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, Falwell states, "The doctrine of the separation of Church and State simply means that the State shall not control religion and religion shall not control the State. It does not mean that the two may never work together."²⁴⁸ His point is that the first amendment "does not rule out church influence in government."²⁴⁹ Our Founding Fathers, he says, "never intended to establish a government devoid of God"²⁵⁰ nor "the separation of God and government."²⁵¹ Falwell believes that the first amendment clause regarding the separation of church and state, while it does not prohibit churches and religion from being involved in government and politics, prohibits the government from encroaching in any way upon the churches.

The Founding Fathers, contrary to what our liberal friends believe, wanted to preserve and encourage the church, not to restrict it or its influence. For them, the separation of church and state was a check on the government, not the church. The First Amendment prohibits the government from establishing a church. . . . It does not prohibit the churches from doing anything, except collecting taxes. Any person who suggests that separation of church and state requires more than this--that it requires churches to remain silent on 'political issues or preachers to be neutral on candidates or religious organizations to pursue only 'spiritual goals'--is simply grinding his own ax rather than reading the law.²⁵²

Falwell decided to get involved in politics partly because he felt the government was intruding into strictly religious territory.

Journalist Lisa Myers reports:

He avers it was a matter of self-defense precipitated by government intrusion into church matters. . . . Particularly upsetting, he adds, was 'constant harrassment' of Christian schools by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, state agencies, and, later, the Internal Revenue Service.²⁵³

Taken together, these notions constitute a reinterpretation of the traditional doctrine of separation of church and state. But recognition of such a reinterpretation and appropriate reaction to it were slow in coming. Understandably, scholars would be more methodical, and, consequently, relatively slow in dealing with the phenomenon. What is puzzling is that organizations, which have as one of their primary functions to monitor church-state relations, were so slow to react to the New Right threat to the established practice.

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs and Americans United for Separation of Church and State, for example, made no notable official pronouncements until the Fall of 1980, fifteen months after the founding of Moral Majority. And the America Civil Liberties Union did not address directly the possible removal of the wall between church and state until late in 1980 and early 1981 when they ran full page ads in newspapers and magazines across the country condemning the Moral Majority as dangerous.

In October of 1980, Richard G. Puckett, Executive Director of Americans United, wrote that the "intrusion of right-wing Evangelicals into the political process as an organized power block is a case of legitimate concern implemented in an illegitimate manner. We share the concerns for the deteriorating moral climate in America. But do Christians function as a political party to accomplish through government structures and powers what they cannot or have not achieved through the

proclamation of the Gospel or through the ministry of the church?"²⁵⁴

It is important to remember that many mainline Protestants and most Evangelicals have historically believed that the way to change society, morally or otherwise, is to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ which will change individuals' lives who will, in turn, change the society as they become involved with it. They have been consistent in their opposition to organized religious involvement in the political process whether by the religious Left of the 1960s or the religious Right of the 1970s and 80s.

Puckett is taking a traditional stance when he argues:

So it was with the Roman Catholic Church in other centuries in other countries and such circumstances led to the Inquisition. . . . So it is today with such regimes as that in Iran where government and religion are inextricably related . . . [where] dissent is met with death. . . . And so it is in . . . the United States, where one's religion is an indispensable part of one's success in politics. Is that the way it should be? Not if you believe in the principle of religious liberty and separation of church and state.²⁵⁵

In a letter to supporters of Americans United, to solicit funds with which to fight the New Right, Puckett said they were "extremist political groups masquerading as religion." And he added that the "moral issues, as defined by those groups, are usually nothing more than radical 'right-wing' political positions not religion." He pleaded for financial help to "expose the danger."²⁵⁶

Among the first overt reactions to the Moral Majority activities was a private letter, in June, 1980, sent by Porter Routh, former Executive Secretary of the Southern Baptist Convention, its chief operating officer, and then interim executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, to the editors of the 34 Southern

Baptist state papers with a combined circulation of possibly three million addresses. In the letter, a response to panic calls for help from pastors who were being beseiged by mail from Moral Majority,

Routh wrote:

It seems to me that there is a strange bit of logic on the part of some groups who would be the first to howl if the government proposed any kind of regulation for their church or school and yet who are insisting that the government should write prayers or sponsor prayers for the public school. This is just not consistent with our Baptist polity or with the Baptist position. . . .²⁵⁷

Routh asked the editors to address this issue in their papers.

James Dunn, elected as the permanent executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee following Routh's interim, stated that "it is okay for religious individuals to become involved in the political process, but not organized movements."²⁵⁸ Of all those who have denounced the religious Right, Dunn has been among the most vitriolic. In a March 15, 1981, speech, he accused them of heresy, of being know-it-alls, of terrorizing the majority, of intimidating ordinary folks, of religious guerilla warfare.²⁵⁹ In a March, 1981, letter he described them as a "problem . . . an anti-political, semi-Christian front moving through like the first Texas blue norther of the fall."²⁶⁰

By their nature, the "I Love America" rallies raised the issue of church and state more demonstrably. On the one hand, the rallies were loaded with symbols of the state: the state capitol, the red, white, and blue colors, the American flags, the name of the rallies, government officials present, and the musical tribute to the men of the armed forces. On the other hand, the setting of the rallies were equally loaded with symbols of the church and religion: sponsored by

Old-Time Gospel Hour, the presence of pastors and preachers, the Christian singing group, Christian songs, the Christian flags interspersed among the American flags, the students from Christian schools.

But more significant than the setting was the political preaching of Falwell, a mixture of the typical sermon at a Fundamentalist or evangelical church service and the traditional patriotic speech at a Fourth of July rally. Characteristic of his discourse is this excerpt from the New Hampshire rally:

And we're so grateful to be accepted so warmly by you and the pastors, and the hundreds of Christian people who love America, who love freedom. And I'm convinced that this year, in this decade, this nation under God, built upon Judeo-Christian ethic, is beginning to look upward. For the first time, there's a little crack in the wall. Things are looking better. There's a cloud about the size of a man's hand on the horizon. And I personally believe that we're going to see a real moral reformation in our country. You see, Solomon said 3500 years ago, 'Living by God's principles promotes a nation to greatness. Violating God's principles brings a nation to shame.' We became the greatest nation on earth by obeying Biblical principles. And if we are going to come back to that greatness from a place of international embarrassment, where we now are, it will be not be electing Baptists or Methodists or Catholics or Jews, but by coming back to the principles, coming back to what made this the greatest nation on earth. We are not for building a Christian republic. We want to honor the liberties of all Americans, but we want to have the right inside America to build our Christian schools without tax money and without governmental advice.²⁶¹

Falwell's political preaching at the rallies swung back and forth between American patriotism and Christian Fundamentalism.

The "I Love America" rallies, both symbolically and substantively, are indicative of the new "identification" of church and state in the Moral Majority movement. There is every reason to believe that Falwell, in those political sermons, was speaking literally when he repeatedly identified church and state in a kind of hand-in-glove

togetherness. In spite of his denials, he was serious, and should be taken seriously, in his concept of America as a kind of theocracy.

Norman R. DePuy insists that Democracy, not theocracy, is the best situation for the church and warns that

to preach like Isaiah, as if we lived in a theocracy when all the while we are giving lip service to a democracy, is to invite mental illness. We shall do great damage not because we are wrong on the issues, but because we are totally unrelated to the reality in which we and others live. We shall tear the very fabric we would mend.²⁶²

R. G. Puckett and James Dunn concur that it "appears they all are committed to America as a theocracy but the question is, 'Who will be Theo?'"²⁶³ Or, as James Dunn said, "They designated God as the national mascot of Christian America."⁶²⁴ In an article with Warner Ragsdale, Stan Hastey, public relations director for the Baptist Joint Committee, observed that "its theocratic orientation for Government contradicts traditional Baptist approaches . . . [that] Southern Baptist may well be threatened by theocrats. . . ." ²⁶⁵

Hastey and Ragsdale claim the religious Right is seeking "to create a 'civil religion' and tie church ideals closely to state goals."²⁶⁶ The Rev. Miles O'Brien Riley, director of public relations and information for the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Francisco, warned against the "superficial, middle-class American civil religion where sin is crime and virtue is patriotism" which is being promoted by the televangelists.²⁶⁷ In a position statement on the dangers of civil religion, the Baptist Joint Committee unanimously warned that

While recent history demonstrates several efforts to wed religious fundamentalism and right-wing politics, the current activities of the Religious Right may pose a more dangerous threat to the American principle of Church-state separation than any previous similar movement. . . . Because we celebrate . . .

religious pluralism, we call into question . . . the present linkage of powerful religious forces and partisan politics.²⁶⁸

The Moral Majority movement falls within Bellah's definition of civil religion as "an elaborate and well-institutionalized religion in America that actually exists alongside of and is rather clearly differentiated from the churches."²⁶⁹ It is "elaborate" with its sophisticated use of computer technology, mass mailing lists, television, and its large constituency. It seems "well-institutionalized" with the seemingly endless connectedness of a myriad of organizations under the umbrella, unofficially, of the Moral Majority. Falwell himself argues that it "exists alongside of and is rather clearly differentiated from the churches" when he claims vigorously it is strictly a political organization and not a religious organization at all. Even though Falwell may claim it is not religious, its avowed base rests on Biblical principles and religious morality which clearly gives it a religious quality. What Falwell practiced, whether intentionally or unconsciously, is a form of civil religion: his basic aim is a more theocratic society than has been practiced before or maybe even possible in America. As practiced in the 1980 campaign and since, it is either an epitome of civil religion or a Fundamentalist version of it.

There is at least one difference, however, between Bellah's conception of civil religion and the current extreme example of it. Bellah said of civil religion: "This religion--there seems no other word for it--while not antithetical to, and indeed sharing much in common with, Christianity, was neither sectarian nor in any specific sense Christian."²⁷⁰ But the civil religion of the religious Right is

distinctly Christian and sectarian, in fact, Fundamentalist Christian in spite of the supposed presence in the movement by Catholics, Jews, Mormons, and even atheists. Granted, Bellah says, "For all the overt religiousity of the radical right today [such as the John Birch Society], their relation to the civil religious consensus is tenuous."²⁷¹ But that was the radical right of the 1950s and 1960s rather than the New Right of the late 1970s and 1980s. It was before the marriage of the political Right and the religious Right we call the New Right. What Bellah did not foresee is civil religion being taken over by very sectarian Fundamentalist Christians with their commitment to the commandment to evangelize, that is, to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ.

What I have argued above, under "constraints" in Chapter 1, is that Fundamentalism was the primary motivation pulling Falwell into the political process, equal to the glaring exigencies and the growing audiences. Within Fundamentalism, what drove and drew him rhetorically into the situation was its doctrine of evangelism. Hart has observed that "to a large extent, the rhetoric of the American civil religion has become . . . generically calcified. That is, it responds more surely [but not solely] to its own 'antecedent rhetorical forms' than it does to the peculiarities of the exigencies to which it responds daily."²⁷²

In the case of Falwell and the Fundamentalist movers of the Moral Majority, the "antecedent rhetorical forms" are the doctrine of evangelism and its inseparable partner, evangelistic preaching, the main motive forces in Fundamentalism. Though they may feel no stronger or lesser a compulsion than their predecessors to put God in govern-

ment, the Moral Majority has the means of mass media and mass mail by which they may be more successful in fulfilling their strongly felt "obligation, both collective and individual, to carry out God's will on earth:"²⁷³ In other words, there is a propelling power possible in their evangelistic political preaching now that did not exist before because of mass media.

It should be noted that the reinterpretation, by the religious Right, of the traditional doctrine of separation of church and state, with its potential for an unimagined civil religion, drove a wedge between the Fundamentalists and other conservative Christians though there was either sympathy or support for them on many of the moral issues they raised.

The antipathy of many Southern Baptists is an example. Though there have been notable Southern Baptists who have supported Falwell and participated in Moral Majority and other aspects of the religious Right such as evangelist James Robison, Charles Stanley, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Atlanta, and Adrian Rogers, pastor of Bellevue Baptist Church in Memphis and former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, and though most of the 15,000 who attended the National Affairs Briefing in Dallas were probably Southern Baptists, how much actual political activity they have generated in and by local churches is suspect. There is no doubt that many Southern Baptists agree or are in sympathy with Moral Majority causes, but whether they have become politically active with or because of Moral Majority is doubtful.

I preached in over one hundred Southern Baptist churches in Oklahoma, Texas, and California during 1979 and 1980, carried on conversations with thousands of Southern Baptist pastors and lay leaders, and never once heard one comment from them about political activity by churches and Christians except questions and curiosity about it. Also, of the approximately three hundred personal friends who are pastors, none to my knowledge has personally participated in organized political activities of the kind promoted by Moral Majority nor has any of them led his church to engage in such action.

A study by Guth substantiates my observations. He surveyed 453 Southern Baptist ministers in November of 1980 concerning the political activities of the Moral Majority. Only 3.3 percent were actually members but another 42.5 percent were "sympathizers," 46.6 were "opponents," and 4.4 percent had not heard of them. Guth qualified his findings by saying that many of their supporters "expressed reservations about the tactics, political associations, or priorities of Moral Majority."²⁷⁴ The prevailing mood among Southern Baptists could probably best be described as detached, as more cool and critical than comfortable or enthusiastic.

A typical Southern Baptist reaction to the disregard for the separation of church and state by Moral Majority was that of prominent pastor, William L. Self: "The clear lesson of history is that when church and state go to bed together, they do not make love. . . . The lesson of history is that one always rapes the other."²⁷⁵ Glenn Hinson, Baptist historian, offers the opinion that "all this is quite alien to our traditions. . . . Our Baptist forbearers certainly did not hold

these views [of church and state]. . . ."276 Bill Elder, of the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission, said,

We are precluded by the first amendment to the constitution--absolutely restricted--from using the state to propagate our faith. And that's what we've got here. There are a good many people who see government as a good way to make this nation Christian, particularly the kind of Christianity they buy. And that's more than infringing on separation of church and state, that's using the state to propagate one's faith.²⁷⁷

In an editorial, the Ohio Baptist Messenger asked some pertinent questions:

Will a Christian political party be formed to run candidates, or get out the vote on certain issues? If so, the church runs the hazard of being a political unit. This is what over the ages has been the chief complaint against the Roman church, that it is a political being as much as a spiritual one. Will Evangelicals now use tactics they so long criticized Catholics for?²⁷⁸

The reaction of Southern Baptists is important because they are the largest Protestant denomination and by far the largest conservative Christian group. With their broad support, the Moral Majority movement has a better chance of being much stronger and lasting much longer. Without their support, it may be short-lived or at the least sickly.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Personal interview with Nelson Keener, Chief Operations Officer of Old-Time Gospel Hour, Lynchburg, VA, 3 May 1982.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Jerry Falwell, "Laundry List for the 80s," speech to the National Affairs Briefing, Dallas, Texas, 21 Aug. 1980, p. 2.
- 4 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Washington, D.C., 27 Apr. 1979, p. 11.
- 5 "Penthouse Interview: Reverend Jerry Falwell," Penthouse, March 1981, p. 156.
- 6 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," p. 11.
- 7 The Moral Majority, Inc. Fighting for a Moral America in This Decade of Destiny (Forest, VA: Moral Majority, Inc., 1979), brochure.
- 8 Moral Majority Report, an ad, 16 March 1981, p. 22.
- 9 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Trenton, New Jersey, 10 Nov. 1980, p. 10.
- 10 Jerry Falwell, "Can We Restore Morality by Political Means?" Logos Journal, May/June 1981, p. 14.
- 11 Jerry Falwell, "Why Moral Majority?" Moral Majority Report, Aug. 1979, p. 3.
- 12 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Pierre, South Dakota, 18 Sept. 1980, p. 5.
- 13 Jerry Falwell, from interview on Tomorrow Show, NBC-TV, with Tom Snyder, 30 Oct. 1980, p. 2.
- 14 Unpublished transcript of audio tape of television special, "America, You're Too Young to Die!" Old-Time Gospel Hour, July 1980, p. 19.
- 15 Jerry Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), p. 191.
- 16 Ibid., p. 195.
- 17 Falwell, rally, Florida, pp. 18-19.

- 18 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," pp. 14 15.
- 19 Jerry Falwell, "My Turn: The Malignd Moral Majority," Newsweek, 21 Sept. 1981, p. 17.
- 20 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Pierre, South Dakota, p. 11.
- 21 Jerry Falwell, "U.S. 'Sliding Down' with Political Left," Arkansas Gazette, 25 Apr. 1982, p. 1H.
- 22 "Interview with Jerry Falwell," transcript of Meet the Press, 12 Oct. 1980, Vol. 80, p. 2.
- 23 Jerry Falwell, "Moral Majority A Reaction to Attack on Basic Values of Millions of Americans," Conservative Digest, Jan. 1981, p. 28.
- 24 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Lansing, Michigan, 21 Apr. 1980, p. 22.
- 25 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Dakota, p. 6.
- 26 "Interview . . . ," Meet the Press, p. 7.
- 27 The Moral Majority, Inc., Fighting . . .," brochure.
- 28 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Michigan, p. 24.
- 29 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Washington, D.C., p. 11.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Iowa, p. 2.
- 32 "An Interview with the Lone Ranger of American Fundamentalism," Christianity Today, 4 Sept. 1981, p. 23.
- 33 Tom Minnery, "The Man Behind the Mask," Christianity Today, 4 Sept. 1981, p. 28.
- 34 Roderick P. Hart, The Political Pulpit (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue Univ. Press, 1977), pp. 43-65.
- 35 Jerry Falwell, from interview with Donahue, Multimedia Program Productions, "Donahue Transcript No. 10200," 20 Oct. 1980, p. 12.
- 36 Jerry Falwell, Listen America! (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), p. 186.
- 37 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Dakota, pp. 9-10.

- 38 Falwell, Listen America!, pp. 186-87.
- 39 Ibid., p. 187.
- 40 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, St. Paul/Minneapolis, Minnesota, 16 Sept. 1980, p. 9.
- 41 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Tallahassee, Florida, 3 March 1980, p. 14.
- 42 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Frankfort, Kentucky, 16 Oct. 1979, p. 17.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Columbus, South Carolina, 31 March 1980, p. 15.
- 45 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Kentucky, p. 15.
- 46 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Jersey, p. 15.
- 47 Falwell, "Penthouse Interview . . . ," p. 156.
- 48 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Florida, p. 19.
- 49 "Interview . . . ," Meet the Press, p. 3.
- 50 Ibid., p. 6.
- 51 Jerry Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Florida, p. 14.
- 52 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Columbus, Ohio, 17 Sept. 1979, pp. 10-11.
- 53 Jerry Falwell, "Introduction," The New Right: We're Ready to Lead, in Richard Viguerie (Falls Church, VA: The Viguerie Company, 1980), no pp.
- 54 Falwell, Listen, America!, p. 29.
- 55 Ibid., p. 50.
- 56 Ibid., pp. 51-52.
- 57 Falwell, "Introduction," The New Right, no pp.
- 58 Jerry Falwell, "Foreword," How You Can Help Clean Up America (Washington, D.C.: Moral Majority, Inc., 1981), no pp.

- 59 Falwell, Listen, America!, in "Author's Note" (no pagination).
- 60 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Minnesota, p. 2.
- 61 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Washington, D.C., p. 2.
- 62 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Dakota, p. 5.
- 63 Falwell, "Penthouse Interview . . . ," p. 66.
- 64 Ibid., p. 150.
- 65 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, p. 1.
- 66 Falwell, Conservative Digest, Jan. 1981, p. 28.
- 67 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," p. 3.
- 68 Jerry Falwell, "Salt and Light," Sword of the Lord Conference on Revival and Soul-Winning, Indianapolis, Indiana, 2 July 1981. (Reprint in Sword of the Lord, 24 July 1981, pp. 1, 12, 14-15.)
- 69 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, pp. 195-219.
- 70 Falwell, ". . . Maligned Moral Majority," p. 17.
- 71 Jerry Falwell, "Enforcing God's Law in the Voting Booth," Los Angeles Times, 7 Sept. 1980, pt. 5, p. 5 (editorial section).
- 72 Falwell, Listen, America!, p. 167.
- 73 Ibid., p. 168.
- 74 Tim LaHaye, "Pro-Life Movement Faces 'Real Victory,'" Moral Majority Report, 2, No. 2 (16 Feb. 1981), p. 5.
- 75 Falwell, Listen, America!, p. 172.
- 76 Ibid., pp. 165-66.
- 77 Ibid., p. 166.
- 78 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, p. 17.
- 79 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Michigan, pp. 22-23.
- 80 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Iowa, p. 12.
- 81 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, p. 189.

- 82 Falwell, Listen, America!, pp. 176-77.
- 83 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Florida, p. 13.
- 84 Falwell, Listen, America!, p. 253.
- 85 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Florida, p. 5.
- 86 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, p. 17.
- 87 Falwell, rally, Michigan, p. 23.
- 88 Falwell, rally, Florida, p. 13.
- 89 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, p. 189.
- 90 Falwell, rally, South Dakota, p. 16.
- 91 Falwell, "Salt and Light," p. 14.
- 92 Falwell, rally, Florida, p. 4.
- 93 Ibid., p. 11.
- 94 Falwell, "Penthouse Interview . . . ," p. 152.
- 95 Falwell, rally, Washington, D.C., p. 10.
- 96 Falwell, "America, You're Too Young to die," p. 7.
- 97 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, p. 205.
- 98 Jerry Falwell, "Family in Crisis," speech to National Association of Religious Broadcasters Conference, Washington, D.C., Jan. 1980, p. 1.
- 99 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, p. 12.
- 100 Falwell, "Family in Crisis," p. 1.
- 101 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, p. 2.
- 102 Falwell, "America, You're Too Young to Die," p. 3.
- 103 Falwell, rally, South Dakota, p. 18.
- 104 Falwell, rally, Florida, p. 4.
- 105 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, pp. 187-88.

- 106 Ibid., p. 205.
- 107 Falwell, "Family in Crisis," p. 4.
- 108 Falwell, rally, Florida, p. 12.
- 109 Falwell, Los Angeles Times, 7 Sept. 1980, pt. 5, p. 5.
- 110 Falwell, "Family in Crisis," p. 2.
- 111 Ibid., p. 3.
- 112 Falwell, rally, South Dakota, p. 18.
- 113 Falwell, "Family in Crisis," pp. 3-4.
- 114 Ibid., p. 4.
- 115 Falwell, rally, New Jersey, p. 6.
- 116 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, pp. 2-3.
- 117 Ibid., pp. 11-13.
- 118 Falwell, rally, Michigan, pp. 12-14.
- 119 Falwell, rally, Florida, p. 11.
- 120 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, p. 13.
- 121 Falwell, "Salt and Light," p. 14.
- 122 Falwell, "Enforcing God's Law"
- 123 Falwell, rally, Kentucky, pp. 14-16.
- 124 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, p. 205.
- 125 Falwell, rally, Kentucky, p. 16.
- 126 Falwell, "Family in Crisis," p. 4.
- 127 Falwell, rally, Michigan, p. 18.
- 128 Falwell, rally, Kentucky, pp. 14-15.
- 129 Falwell, Listen America!, p. 151.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 Falwell, rally, Iowa, p. 7.

- 132 Falwell, Listen, America!, pp. 151-52.
- 133 Falwell, rally, Florida, pp. 17-18.
- 134 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," pp. 6-7.
- 135 Ibid., p. 7.
- 136 Falwell, rally, Kentucky, p. 14.
- 137 Falwell, "Family in Crisis," p. 3.
- 138 Falwell, rally, New Jersey, p. 7.
- 139 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, p. 2.
- 140 Ibid., p. 14.
- 141 Falwell, rally, New Hampshire, p. 15.
- 142 Falwell, rally, Ohio, p. 10.
- 143 Falwell, rally, New Hampshire, p. 3.
- 144 Falwell, "Family in Crisis," p. 4.
- 145 Falwell, Listen, America!, p. 145.
- 146 Ibid., pp. 148-49.
- 147 Falwell, rally, Kentucky, p. 15.
- 148 Ibid., p. 14.
- 149 Falwell, rally, Ohio, p. 9.
- 150 Falwell, rally, New Hampshire, p. 4.
- 151 Falwell, Listen, America!, p. 195.
- 152 Falwell, rally, Washington, D.C., p. 10.
- 153 Falwell, rally, Iowa, p. 11.
- 154 Falwell, rally, Ohio, p. 9.
- 155 Falwell, "Salt and Light," p. 14.
- 156 "Interview . . . ," Meet the Press, p. 9.
- 157 Falwell, "Penthouse Interview . . . ," p. 152.

- 158 Falwell, rally, Ohio, p. 10.
- 159 Falwell, Listen, America!, p. 189.
- 160 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," p. 5.
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Falwell, rally, Minnesota, p. 6.
- 163 Falwell, "Family in Crisis," p. 5.
- 164 Falwell, "Penthouse Interview . . . ," pp. 60, 66.
- 165 Falwell, rally, New Hampshire, p. 3.
- 166 Falwell, rally, Washington, D.C., p. 9.
- 167 Falwell, rally, Kentucky, p. 2.
- 168 Falwell, "Enforcing God's Law"
- 169 Falwell, ". . . Maligned Moral Majority," p. 17.
- 170 Falwell, Tomorrow Show, p. 5.
- 171 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, p. 189.
- 172 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," p. 7.
- 173 Falwell, Listen, America!, pp. 233-44.
- 174 Falwell, rally, Florida, p. 5.
- 175 Falwell, rally, New Jersey, p. 7.
- 176 Falwell, "Penthouse Interview . . . ," p. 156.
- 177 Falwell, rally, New Jersey, p. 7.
- 178 Falwell, "Salt and Light," p. 14.
- 179 Falwell, "Penthouse Interview . . . ," p. 156.
- 180 Falwell, rally, New Hampshire, p. 11.
- 181 Falwell, rally, Michigan, p. 21.
- 182 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, p. 15.
- 183 Falwell, Listen, America!, p. 202.

- 184 Falwell, rally, South Dakota, p. 17.
- 185 Falwell, rally, Minnesota, pp. 5-6.
- 186 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," pp. 3-4.
- 187 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, p. 201.
- 188 Matthew 28:18-20; Mark 16:15.
- 189 Falwell, rally, Kentucky, p. 13.
- 190 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," p. 3.
- 191 Falwell, rally, Ohio, pp. 8-9.
- 192 Falwell, "Enforcing God's Law"
- 193 Falwell, ". . . Maligned Moral Majority," p. 17.
- 194 Falwell, rally, New Jersey, p. 9.
- 195 Ibid.
- 196 Falwell, rally, Kentucky, p. 17.
- 197 Falwell, rally, New Jersey, p. 9.
- 198 Falwell, rally, Kentucky, pp. 17-18.
- 199 Falwell, rally, Kentucky, p. 18.
- 200 Falwell, Listen, America!, pp. 77-78.
- 201 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," pp. 7-8.
- 202 Falwell, rally, Florida, p. 6.
- 203 Ibid., p. 5.
- 204 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
- 205 Falwell, rally, Iowa, p. 4.
- 206 Falwell, rally, South Dakota, p. 12.
- 207 Falwell, rally, Minnesota, p. 18.
- 208 Falwell, rally, New Hampshire, p. 9.

- 209 Ibid.
- 210 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, p. 5.
- 211 Ibid.
- 212 Falwell, rally, South Dakota, p. 12.
- 213 Falwell, rally, Kentucky, p. 4.
- 214 Falwell, rally, Minnesota, p. 3.
- 215 Falwell, rally, Florida, p. 3.
- 216 Falwell, Donahue, pp. 20-21.
- 217 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," p. 10.
- 218 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, p. 6.
- 219 Falwell, rally, Michigan, p. 17.
- 220 Falwell, rally, Ohio, p. 1.
- 221 Falwell, rally, Florida, p. 3.
- 222 Ibid.
- 223 Falwell, Donahue, pp. 20-22.
- 224 Falwell, "Penthouse Interview . . . ," p. 156.
- 225 Falwell, rally, Iowa, p. 22.
- 226 Falwell, rally, Minnesota, p. 1.
- 227 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, p. 1.
- 228 Ibid., p. 9.
- 229 Falwell, rally, New Hampshire, pp. 4-5.
- 230 Falwell, Arkansas Gazette, 25 Apr. 1982, pp. 1H, 4H.
- 231 Falwell, ". . . Maligned Moral Majority," p. 17.
- 232 Falwell, "Salt and Light," p. 15.
- 233 Falwell, rally, South Carolina, pp. 19-20.
- 234 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," p. 8.

- 235 Falwell, rally, New Jersey, p. 8.
- 236 Falwell, "Laundry List . . . ," p. 8.
- 237 Ibid., pp. 8-9.
- 238 Ibid., p. 8.
- 239 Falwell, rally, Ohio, p. 11.
- 240 Eileen Ogintz, "New Holy War," San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle, 20 Jan. 1980, p. 14A.
- 241 Frye Gaillard, "TV Evangelists Seek Christian Political Climate," Houston Post, Nov. 1979, p. 12AA.
- 242 Stan Hastey and Warner Ragsdale, "Right Religion Right Politics?" Home Missioners, Sept.-Oct. 1980, p. 68.
- 243 Fob James, speech at The National Affairs Briefing, Dallas, Texas, Aug. 1980. (From audio tape, not transcribed.)
- 244 Gaillard, p. 12AA.
- 245 Ogintz, p. 11A.
- 246 Falwell, rally, Iowa, p. 9.
- 247 Falwell, rally, Minnesota, pp. 14-15.
- 248 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, p. 193.
- 249 Ibid., p. 194.
- 250 Falwell, Listen, America!, p. 21.
- 251 Ibid., p. 54.
- 252 Jerry Falwell, "My Turn: The Maligned Moral Majority," Newsweek, 21 Sept. 1981, p. 17.
- 253 Lisa Myers, "The Christian Right, New Waves in Politics: Falwell Strives for Role as Political Kingmaker," last article of a 4-part series, Washington Star, 3 July 1980, Sec. A, pp. A-1, A-4.
- 254 Richard G. Puckett, "Christian Politics or Christians in Politics," Church & State, Oct. 1980, p. 23.
- 255 Ibid.

- 256 Richard G. Puckett, letter to constituents, 10 Oct. 1980.
- 257 Porter Routh, letter sent to Richard McCartney, ed., Baptist Messenger, Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma, June 1980.
- 258 James Dunn, "Advocates of Church State Wall," Christianity Today, 24 Oct. 1980, p. 62.
- 259 James Dunn, speech, "National IMPACT Conference," Washington, D.C., 15 March 1981, p. 3.
- 260 James Dunn, letter to Roy Buckelew, 14 March 1981.
- 261 Falwell, rally, New Hampshire, p. 1.
- 262 Norman R. DePuy, "Single Issue Voting--A Bed Too Short, A Blanket Too Narrow," Report from the Capitol, Oct. 1980, p. 4.
- 263 Puckett, "Christian Politics or Christians in Politics," p. 23.
- 264 Dunn, "National IMPACT . . . ," p. 3.
- 265 Hasteley and Ragsdale, pp. 71 72.
- 266 Ibid., p. 71.
- 267 Charles V. Bergstrom, "When the Self-Righteous Rule, Watch Out," Focus on Governmental Affairs, Dec. 1979.
- 268 "Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs Statement on the Dangers of Civil Religion," adopted and distributed as news release, 7 Oct. 1980.
- 269 Robert Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," Daedalus, Winter 1967, p. 21.
- 270 Ibid., p. 29.
- 271 Ibid., p. 36.
- 272 Roderick P. Hart, The Political Pulpit (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue Univ. Press, 1977), p. 66.
- 273 Bellah, p. 25.
- 274 James L. Guth, "The Southern Baptist Clergy: Vanguard of the Evangelical Right?" paper presented at the Roundtable on Rarely Studied Sub-Groups in the South, Southern Political Service Association, Memphis, Tennessee, 6 Nov. 1980, p. 2.

275 William Self, "What God Hath Put Asunder," manuscript of speech to Conference of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, 24 Sept. 1980. p. 3.

276 Hastey and Ragsdale, p. 72.

277 Ibid.

278 Editorial, Ohio Baptist Messenger, quotation in Joseph L. Conn, p. 20.

Chapter 4

MEANS OF PERSUASION

Winston Churchill once observed that "when American military men approach some serious situation they are wont to write at the head of their directive the words, 'Overall Strategic Concept.'"¹ This chapter will discuss the two main means Falwell employed in his fight for Biblical morality as the spokesman for Moral Majority--political preaching and mass marketing--as well as the strategic concepts underlying each of the means and the specific rhetorical methods which issued from those strategies to get his message out to desired audiences and to persuade them to support him and his moral causes. The primary focus of the discussion of both persuasive means will be their use at the "I Love America" rallies.

I will first examine Falwell's political preaching as a persuasive means, the strategic concept of negativism underlying it, the sources of that negativism, and specific rhetorical methods growing out of the negativism. Second, I will consider mass marketing as a persuasive means Falwell employed to enhance his political preaching, the strategic concept of using marketing to "sell" Falwell as a credible and charismatic leader, and specific rhetorical techniques to accomplish those ends.

Political Preaching

The strategic concept underlying Falwell's political preaching, I will argue, is negativism, the negative approach, that is, an approach characterized by denouncing positions on moral issues contrary to his own, by accusing those persons and groups who disagree with him of being immoral, and by attempting to intimidate those supposedly immoral persons and groups into capitulating to his views. Nilsen explains that the campaign philosophy of leading a fight against something, which Falwell is doing,

. . . leads also to a primarily 'negative appeal' in politics. The indifferent voter is moved by being confronted with an imminent evil, something threatening things as they are [or have been?], against which he himself must fight. Apparently it is easier to arouse people to be against something than to be for something.²

In order to understand more fully the negative appeals underlying Falwell's political preaching and the specific rhetorical appeals growing out of those appeals, it will be helpful to determine the sources of such negativism. To determine those sources, this section will first examine Falwell's political preaching in light of the jeremiad. Second, it will examine his rhetoric for evidence of the paranoid style. Then another possible source of his negative approach will be introduced, which, I will argue, accounts for aspects and for a large part of his negative approach not otherwise accounted for. Finally, this section will analyze those specific rhetorical methods that grow naturally and necessarily out of his negative appeals.

The Tradition of the Jeremiad. Miller and Bercovitch have identified positive and negative elements in the jeremiad. Distin-

guishing between the European and American jeremiads, Bercovitch described the European jeremiad as "a lament over the ways of the world."³

It decried the sins of 'the people'--a community, a nation, a civilization, mankind in general--and warned of God's wrath to follow. Generation after generation, from the medieval era through the Renaissance, Catholic and then Protestant audiences heard the familiar refrain. The Lord required them to walk in righteousness, not to glory in the self; to follow His commandments, not the temptations of the flesh. So it had been in Eden, when Adam fell. So it had been in Jeremiah's time, when the most eloquent of Old Testament prophets rallied against the stiff-necked Hebrews. So in Christ's time, when he denounced a generation of vipers, and in the age of the apostles and at the fall of Rome. All of history proved it: humanity was naturally depraved. It was the judgment of God after the flood, at the very moment when He decided not to destroy mankind after all, that 'the imagination of man's heart is evil, even from his youth' (Genesis 8:21). The preachers used such texts in their jeremiads as moral lessons, but the texts themselves held out little hope, if any. As Hannah More put it in 1780, it was always 'the fashion to make the most lamentable Jeremiades on the badness of times,' because the times were always bad. Even as the preacher exhorted they knew enough about their listeners not to expect much from them. Now again, as in Jeremiah's day, the mass of mankind would stumble and slide. Now as always, many were called but few chosen; and for the many, who wilfully strayed from God (though He begged them through His prophets to return), there would be wailing and gnashing of teeth. 'God writes his severe truths with the blood of his disobedient subjects.'⁴

Bercovitch argues that the jeremiad was a "mode of denunciation, imported to Massachusetts in 1630 from the Old World."⁵ Insofar as the Puritan clergy were castigating the evils of the time, he says, "they were drawing directly upon the sermons of fifteenth-and-sixteenth-century England, which in turn derived from the medieval pulpit."⁶ The jeremiad, that "originated in the European pulpit, was transformed in both form and content by the New England Puritans, persisted through the eighteenth century, and [has] helped sustain a national dream

through two hundred years of turbulence and change."⁷ The American Puritans, "from the start sounded a different note . . . they revised the message of the [European] jeremiad . . . they recorded instances of God's mercies toward them."⁸ They "invariably joined" celebration to the lament "in reaffirming America's mission."⁹

Whereas Miller, in his works, "stressed the dark side of the jeremiad,"¹⁰ the characteristic of the European jeremiad, Bercovitch argues that the "pervasive theme" of the American jeremiad was not demunciation but "affirmation and exultation," that "its distinctiveness . . . lies not in its complaint" but in its "unshakeable optimism."¹¹

Bercovitch does not deny Miller's argument that the American jeremiad is "a lament over the ways of the world," but he argues that, when lament is its predominant quality, it is the traditional European jeremiad and not typical of the jeremiad in America.¹² The European jeremiad is more pessimistic than optimistic. On the other hand, the American jeremiad is at least as optimistic as it is pessimistic.

Falwell's political preaching, if we accept Bercovitch's arguments, follows the European jeremiad in that it laments the ways of the world, but it differs from the American jeremiad in that it contains very little affirmation, exultation, or optimism. It is mostly denunciation with little annunciation. Amidst the pervasive pessimism of his political preaching, Falwell usually offers protestations that he is optimistic. Such protestations, however, seem to be incidental or post-scripts and are not very persuasive.

An example of Falwell's optimism is the Florida rally in which there are only three offerings of optimism. About a third of the way into the rally, Falwell said:

We find ourselves today, in the 1980's, facing a time, maybe, the military experts say 1983 or so, when we may find ourselves in an untenable position, forced to capitulate. I don't believe that's going to happen. I'm very optimistic.¹³

Then, about two-thirds through the rally, Falwell asks, "Is there any hope for America?" And he answers, "I want to very quickly say . . . that I am optimistic about America. I am not one who comes to diagnose the problem and proclaim doom without, at the same time, proclaiming there is an answer, there is a way out. . . ." ¹⁴ Then at the very end, he quotes Senator Jesse Helms as saying that, "If America doesn't have a moral turn-around, a spiritual awakening, she doesn't have a right to survive." Falwell responded that "something good is about to happen in this country. I sense it everywhere." ¹⁵ But those were the only annunciations in the political preaching at the Florida rally. He did proclaim that the church would come through triumphant no matter what happened and that America was important to God but only if Americans behaved morally according to the Fundamentalists' prescription. ¹⁶ But this is hardly optimism in the true sense. There is demonstrably more optimism in the Florida rally than most of the other rallies. In the Washington, D.C., ¹⁷ and Iowa ¹⁸ rallies, for example, there's hardly a line of true affirmation.

One reason Falwell's political preaching may not contain the annunciation Bercovitch saw in American jeremiad is the influence of Fundamentalism which Bercovitch does not consider, because his study

covers only the period up to the Civil War. Fundamentalism, as an identifiable sect, emerged after the Civil War and may be characterized as extremely pessimistic in spite of its emphasis on salvation from sin by faith in the atoning of the death of Christ. The reason for its innate pessimism is that a dominant doctrine of Fundamentalism, along with the divinity of Christ and the inerrancy of the Bible, is its pre-millennial doctrine of eschatology, the essence of which is that the moral conditions of the world will become worse and worse until Christ returns to bring the world to an end. Such a view, while it is ultimately optimistic, is practically pessimistic. A traditional Fundamentalist preacher, such as Falwell, would likely take such a preconceived pessimism not only into the church pulpit but also into the political pulpit.

By comparing Falwell's political preaching to the jeremiad as characterized by Bercovitch, we can see that a primary approach of Falwell was denunciation, mostly pessimistic, with very little optimism. He denounced those positions on moral issues with which he disagreed.

The Paranoid Style. Because of the significance of Hofstadter's concept of the paranoid style in the rhetoric of conservatives, it will also be fruitful to consider whether there is evidence of paranoia in Falwell's political preaching.

Hofstadter admits the term, "paranoid style," is meant to be "perjorative" and that "the style has to do with the way in which ideas are believed and advocated rather than with the truth or falsity of the

content."¹⁹ The focus of this chapter is the way Falwell advocated the issues he addressed; that is, did he employ rhetoric that may have grown out of feelings of paranoia?

In the paranoid style, Hofstadter says, "the feeling of persecution is central . . . [is] systematized in grandiose theories of conspiracy."²⁰ Hofstadter describes "the central preconception of the paranoid style [as] the existence of a vast, insidious, preternaturally effective international conspiratorial network designed to perpetuate acts of the most fiendish character."²¹ The question is whether there is such a conspiracy in Falwell's political preaching.

Consider the South Carolina rally, for example. He implies that the United States Supreme Court and Madeline O'Hare, in the school prayer decision of 1962, conspired to expel "Almighty God from the public schools."²² He sees the government conspiring against the traditional monogamous family by "perverse movements like the White House Conference on Families . . . to do away with the cornerstone of the republic." And Falwell added, "the government had become the arch enemy of the family. . . . What a tragedy that the people have to . . . fight the government who is supposed to be our friend and represent us."²³ Falwell suggests that the Equal Rights Amendment, the "ERA mentality" he calls it, was a conspiracy against women that would result in their being "drafted . . . into the military forces and ultimately into combat."²⁴ He believes "the Jane Fonda's and the Dick Gregory's and the Benjamin Spock's and a host of other anti-American, anti-government people decrying this nation" are engaged in a conspiracy.²⁵ He sees the "leadership in the White House and in the

Congress, in our state houses, men and women who are . . . afraid to stand up for what is right and stand up against what is wrong" as a kind of conspiracy of ignorance, inaction, and ineptitude that invites other countries, like Iran under Khomeini, to embarrass the United States.²⁶ Such leaders, according to Falwell, are conspiring, consciously or unconsciously, with Communism when they allow the Soviet Union to invade Afghanistan, occupy Cuba, and disarm the United States in the SALT agreements.²⁷ Falwell implies that Liberals, especially the abortionists, homosexuals, and pornographers, are conspiring to keep Christians out of politics. He says that "Madeline O'Hare and all the God-haters in America stand together, and the Liberals . . . [are] cussing us [who] are in the media," i.e., television preachers.²⁸ Here there is a feeling of persecution. He says their problem is that:

we raised millions of dollars . . . [but] nobody talks about the fact that Hugh Hefner and Larry Flint and the other smut peddlers raised \$4 billion last year . . . nobody talks about the fact that a million and a half babies were murdered last year in abortion clinics . . . [which] produced \$2 billion last year . . . why don't [people] get upset about that?²⁹

"And," he says, "the Liberals and the Socialists and the 'pinkies' . . . [have] taken away [our] human rights and freedoms";³⁰ in other words, they are conspiring with each other.

Another example of Falwell's feelings of persecution is this remark, "Oh, we're being beaten and battered. Everytime I'm on a talk show . . . every talk show I get on, usually it's me, and if I can get two or three inside, that's our crowd. Everybody else is hostile."³¹

And Falwell accused the executives of the major television networks of making "a vicious decision," implying they conspired to "let

anything go in prime time, in the soap operas."³² He also implied that Congress was conspiring with homosexuals to pass a gay rights bill that would make the homosexuals a legal minority.³³

The question in applying Hofstadter's concept to Falwell is also whether the conspiracy inferred from his political preaching, as described above, constitutes "a vast, insidious, preternaturally effective international conspiratorial network designed to perpetuate acts of the most fiendish character."³⁴

The answer is yes. Falwell did see such a conspiracy. Whereas, for Senator Joseph McCarthy and Robert Welch of the John Birch Society whose rhetoric gave rise to Hofstadter's concept of the paranoid style, the vast international conspirator was communism, for Falwell it is an interwoven network of Liberalism, humanism, and socialism. Falwell said it succinctly at the New Jersey rally: "We cannot allow immoral, amoral, vulgar, profane humanists any longer to control the direction of this country."³⁵

He asserts that "humanism is atheism."³⁶ Falwell's line of argument is that all the "acts of the most fiendish character," such as abortion, pornography, and homosexuality, are the consequence of this atheistic "conspiratorial network" of Liberalism, humanism, and socialism.

We must also take into account the belief by Fundamentalists that, behind this "vast insidious, preternaturally effective international conspiratorial network" of earthly evil, is "The Devil and Satan, who deceiveth the world . . . for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time"

(Revelation 12:9, 12 KJV). They believe, as a Fundamental doctrine, that Christians "wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the ruler [i.e., the Devil] of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places" (Ephesians 6:12 KJV). To conservative Christians, especially Fundamentalists like Falwell, there is a vast conspiracy being perpetrated by the devil, who works through people, such as Adam and Eve, and also through powers such as Liberalism, humanism, and socialism.

Falwell's rhetorical approach, given his paranoia about conspiracies, was to fight back with accusations against the conspirators as he did in the South Carolina rally, to accuse the liberals, humanists, and socialists of conspiring against America, the traditional family, unborn babies, Biblical morality, the churches, and the Christian schools.

A Rhetoric of Castastasis. Hofstadter suggests another approach of extremist rhetoric which he does not explore but which may be very pertinent to this study.

The central image is that of a vast and sinister conspiracy, a gigantic and yet subtle machinery of influence set in motion to undermine and destroy a way of life. One may object that there are conspiratorial acts in history, and there is nothing paranoid about taking note of them. This is true. All political behavior requires strategy, many strategic acts depend for their effect upon a period of secrecy, and anything that is secret may be described, often with but little exaggeration, as conspiratorial. The distinguishing thing about the paranoid style is not that its exponents see conspiracies or plots here and there in history, but that they regard a 'vast' or 'gigantic' conspiracy as the motive force in historical events. History is a conspiracy, set in motion by demonic forces of almost transcendent power, and what is felt to be needed to defeat it is not the usual methods of political give-and-take, but an all-out crusade. The paranoid spokesmen see the fate of this conspiracy in apocalyptic

terms . . . he traffics in the birth and death of whole worlds, whole political orders, whole systems of human values. He is always manning the barricades of civilization. He constantly lives at a turning point: it is now or never in organizing resistance to conspiracy. Time is forever just running out. Like religious millenerians, he expresses the anxiety of those who are living through the last days and he is sometimes disposed to set a date for the apocalypse. 'Time is running out,' said Welch in 1951. 'Evidence is piling up on many sides and from many sources that October 1952 is the fatal month when Stalin will attack.' The apocalypticism of the paranoid style runs dangerously near to hopeless pessimism, but usually stops short of it. Apocalyptic warnings arouse passion and militancy, and strike at susceptibility to similar themes in Christianity. Properly expressed, such warnings serve somewhat the same function as a description of the horrible consequences of sin in a revivalist sermon; they portray that which impends but which may still be avoided. They are a secular and demonic version of adventism.³⁷

Hofstadter attributes the rhetoric of trafficking in the birth and death of whole worlds, political systems, and systems of values, the now or never rhetoric, to paranoia in the spokesman. But there is something else, some other dynamic here that paranoia does not account for, that Hofstadter recognizes but does not develop. Falwell and his Fundamentalist kin are motivated by the belief that the catastrophic end of the world can come at any time, and, believing in fact that it will come in their lifetime, they plot their persuasive strategy accordingly for this crisis moment in the history of America.³⁸ We may name it the rhetoric of catastasis. In ancient drama, catastasis was "the heightened part of the action preceding the catastrophe."³⁹ The rhetoric of catastasis is different from the paranoid style. It is inspired not by paranoia but by ideology, more specifically, theology, the narrow, graphic theology of eschatology called premillennialism.

Falwell, committed to the Fundamentalist doctrine of the end of the world, was possessed with an urgency, a belief that the future

of the world, or at least of America, the free world, and thus the Christian lifestyle hinged on his rhetoric and the rhetoric of preachers like him. It is intriguing that the root word in catastasis, "stasis," was the term in Roman rhetorical theory referring to the issue on which the outcome of a court case or argument hinged.⁴⁰

There is ample evidence in the "I Love America" rallies that Falwell believed the outcome of America hinged on the persuasive effect of his political preaching. This heightened rhetorical action before the impending catastrophe, whether the catastrophe is the end of the Christian morality, American society, or the world, would either prepare "true believers" for it, would prevent it altogether, or would postpone it if the people of America would repent of their immorality and amorality and live according to Biblical morality.⁴¹

For example, in one explanation of why he was conducting the "I Love America" rallies, Falwell said,

First of all, we believe America is in serious trouble, and we believe that the God-fearing people of America have an obligation . . . to help lend our influence to the turning around of this nation and bringing America back to God. Secondly, we are making an effort to deal with the moral issues which we feel are vital to the survival of this republic. So we're here today in Columbia [South Carolina], the young people of Liberty Baptist College behind me, boys and girls who have surrendered their lives to serve God, the 'I Love America' Singers who are taking a year out of their lives to travel thousands of miles with us up and down the highways of America, to say everywhere what we're going to say here today--that it's revival or ruin, it's spiritual reawakening, or it's the end of our nation.⁴²

In that same rally, Falwell reiterated his belief in an impending and imminent catastrophe: "I believe what we are saying in every other place is needed and necessary to be said here: our nation needs a moral turn-around, a moral reaffirmation, or we are going to lose our

freedoms in this decade of destiny, the 1980's."⁴³ And again, at the same rally, he elaborated on his belief that the outcome of America depended on what he and his cohorts were saying and doing:

I believe the greatest force for freedom in America or any society is the people of God who believe the Bible, who are managing Bible-believing, soul-winning churches successfully. These pastors down here in South Carolina, black and white, red and yellow, young and old, rich and poor . . . who are criticized and maligned and condemned . . . because they stand up for Bible righteousness; I believe that the 100,000 Fundamentalist pastors in America, and the 40 million Americans who align themselves with them, hold the future of this nation in their hands. I think that this year, if America doesn't begin to have a spiritual rebirth, we're not going to come out of the 1980's a free nation.⁴⁴

In that South Carolina rally, he insisted that he was "talking about survival, the survival of America."

We ought to learn how to get together, to fight together. . . . We better learn how to pull this country out of the gutters. We better forget our little differences while we save our country . . . we're out to win the war for the nation. This is a battle [for] the survival of the home, the family, the freedom that those little children deserve to have ten years from now.⁴⁵

It is important to remember that, when Falwell implies in his political preaching some kind of catastrophe, he usually is not referring to the final end of the world but to the end of America or, at the least, the end of the kind of freedom, moral lifestyle, and society that we have supposedly been accustomed to. He believes in a final catastrophic end of the world when the church, made up of Bible-believing Christians, will reign triumphant in victory over Satan and all evil and, "like a bride adorned for her husband" (Revelation 21:2), will enter into eternal heaven. But he is not usually talking about the end of the world in his political preaching, at least not primarily, but about the end of Christian America or life in America as

we had known it until about 20 years ago. Of course, he believes that losing the America of the past, when it was the most feared nation on earth and embraced conservative Christianity in public life, schools and so on, means that America, as a viable nation and as an acceptable place to live, is lost. He makes the distinction clear in the South Carolina rally:

The one institution that has made this the greatest nation on earth, the church, the church of the living God. Oh, we're beaten and battered. . . . But, I'll tell you that the Old Ship of Zion, the old church has been through battles before, and we've been at it for 2000 years. The old hull is battered . . . but not one drop of water has gotten inside; and when the show is over [the final end of the world] and the trumpet has sounded, she is going to come through to the other side with all the cargo, the church, intact. I'm not worried about Madeline [Murry O'Hare] or Senator Kennedy or Birch Bayh or the rest, because I've read the last chapter. I know how it's going to come out.⁴⁶

He knows how it's going to come out at the final end, but the final end of the world is not what he's talking about in his political preaching. He's talking about the end of America as an acceptable, livable, viable nation to conservative Christians.

More than paranoia about the past and present, it is a fear about the future, about a coming catastrophe, that accounts for the catastatic nature of Falwell's political preaching. He said the times called for a radical rhetoric:

I personally feel that the darkness of the hour demands it. We will have passed out of the seventies, which has been our darkest decade in America's history, and into the 1980's, which may well be our last as a free nation. I will tonight try to point out why I believe that we are on the eve of losing our freedoms, that if in fact that occurs, the first Americans to go, either by execution or imprisonment, will be the men that stood here a few minutes ago, for these must be considered by the Communists the arch enemies of their cause. And all one needs to do is study what has happened in the Communist bloc countries of Eastern Europe, what has happened

in Cuba, what has happened in China, what has been the fact in the Soviet Union since 1917; you will find that that is exactly the way they deal with the church. It is either execution or solitary confinement and any and all that has spoken out against Communism, against this godless philosophy that has engulfed over half the world in 62 years, must be disposed of. It isn't popular today to talk about that our country may in fact lose its liberties and freedoms in the decade ahead and I think far sooner than that. I do not think we have ten more years as a nation apart from real supernatural intervention. But those who talk about that are labeled by the media and many in high places as fanatics and extremists and radicals. I would say to you that, if ever there was a time to be radical and extreme, that day is now. This society and the situation of the hour demands radical action and reaction. We need to become spiritual revolutionaries.⁴⁷

At the Florida rally, Falwell declared, "I believe in lobbying, I believe in preaching, I believe in working, and I'm here as a private citizen today, saying many of these things that we're going to have to be willing to say if we stay a free country."⁴⁸

He made a similar statement at the Kentucky rally:

Secondly, we've got to preach for revival. Preachers I want to challenge you to call a spade a spade. I mean, if hell busts wide open, say it like it is. If your best members get up and walk out, say it like it is. . . . God will give you two replacements for every one you lose. We've got to get some preachers who don't care what the papers think about them, who are not interested in what the TV fellows are saying, who could care less what the Gallup Poll reports, but will preach sin, call it what it is, call the nation back to God, call it what it is.⁴⁹

Given his conviction that the widespread and growing immorality in America was bringing on a catastrophic end of America, Falwell resorted to intimidation; that is, he aimed to scare those in our society who were immoral or amoral, to discourage, inhibit, or restrain them from further immorality. His approach was to intimidate Liberals, humanists, abortionists, homosexuals, pornographers, and others construed to be agents of the devil by threatening that the end of America

and of a moral society was going to happen if they did not quit what they were doing to destroy Biblical morality which had caused America to prosper. He was saying in effect to all his antagonists, "If you do not refrain from your Godless, un-American, immoral activities, you are going to bring our nation to an end, to ruin." What he seems to be calling for, in a sense, is exorcism--to remove those who work for the devil from any practical influence if not from their activity.

Though Falwell cast his moral message in positive terms--pro-life, pro-moral, pro-American, pro-family, and pro-Israel, the strategic concept underlying his political preaching on those issues was negative apparently because he believed. It is easier to arouse people to be against something than to be for something. The result in his political preaching was denunciation, accusation, and intimidation which produced specific rhetorical methods of style and reasoning.

Methods of Style. In order to assess the methods of Falwell's style, one must not listen only to what one sees and hears in his political preaching, but must scrutinize with a critical mind exactly what he says. One reason is that, as professor Massie of Yale University observed, Falwell "comes across like a cuddly bear."⁵⁰ He is relatively soft-spoken compared to other champions of emotional causes. He is usually smiling when he speaks. He appears to be harmless until one scrutinizes the causticism and implications of what he is saying. It is not Falwell's delivery, the use of body and voice, but his style, what he says and how he says it, that is the concern of this section.

Falwell did not invent a new style for his political preaching. He speaks extemporaneously and usually with few or no notes and thus speaks in the way that is native and natural to him. He speaks "the language of Zion," as conservative preachers often say, whether talking casually to his own family, to someone about a purely business matter, to a church member, to a dedicated lay Christian, to a non-Christian, to a powerful politician, to his church congregation, or to the audience at a political rally. It is a language that is of the essence of the traditional and typical conservative and Fundamentalist preacher. As a Fundamentalist preacher, Falwell speaks in a declarative and exhortative rather than a subjunctive mood. As the champion of Moral Majority causes, he spoke the way he had spoken all of his life as a preacher. As Black explains,

Where the theoretician may conclude that there ought to be a revolution, or war, or last judgment, or reform, the exhorter, clad in the mantle of prophecy, proclaims that there will be. . . . The tone of prophecy gives a greater sense of urgency to the exhortation than would the tone of advising or moralizing.⁵¹

There is no reason to believe that Falwell set out to mix, in some new way, political and religious language. He speaks in religious terms, uses religious words and phrases in his speaking no matter where, when, on what occasion, or to what audience. He could no more not speak in this God-language than he could not breath. It has become an involuntary style of rhetoric. He has spent all of his life preaching, only, and has given few purely political speeches or any other kind of speeches. Or, if they were meant to be some other kind of speech other than a sermon, he would no doubt still speak in the style of his preaching. Like fervent, Fundamentalist, Bible-oriented

preachers, he has always spoken in a style that is highly Biblical in its language, ideas, imagery, and content. It is unlikely that Falwell, always and only the Bible-quoting preacher, would suddenly speak a Bible-free language, even in a strictly secular setting to a pluralistic audience about a purely political issue. If anything, out of his pride at being a preacher, he may deliberately choose to sound like a preacher in his style if he were to make a conscious decision about it.

Also, we must remember that Falwell grew up when, in the schools he attended, references to God, Jesus Christ, the church, the Bible, and Christianity alongside patriotism, the flag, America, the pledge of allegiance, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution were commonplace. As he said at the New Hampshire rally, "As a boy, when I went to public school, someone held chapel every morning to start school, and we read the Bible and prayed. . . ." ⁵² Falwell grew up in a school atmosphere in which God-talk was the norm and where using religious and patriotic language interchangeably in speaking was natural.

When Falwell decided to go public politically with the founding of Moral Majority, he did not rid his rhetoric of what was normal for him either from his own school days or in his own life of preaching.

Falwell's native religious style coupled with his negative appeals produced a style of rhetoric that not only is, but, more important, appears to be excessive in its nature. In much the same way that a dictator may declare a state of national emergency, suspend all normal laws, and resort to whatever excesses he could justify as necessary to meet the emergency, so a politician or political preacher, even in a

democracy, may become demagogic and, as in the case of Falwell, resort to an excessive style in the perceived emergency. As I will demonstrate, such rhetoric as Falwell's political preaching, born out of a sense of extreme emergency and urgency, was excessively absolutist, authoritarian, and aggressive.

Before discussing these specific methods of Falwell's style, it is important to note that such a rhetoric may reveal the real Falwell: his absolutist, authoritarian, and aggressive style may be evidence of self-righteousness. As Black says, there is an "association between an idiom and an ideology . . . there are strong and multifarious links between a style and an outlook, and . . . the critic may, with legitimate confidence, move from the manifest evidence of style to the human personality."⁵³

Absolutism as a Method in Falwell's Style. In The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, the Fundamentalist authors and Falwell as editor admit that a weakness of Fundamentalism is "a tendency . . . to overabsolutism, that is to approaching every conceivable issue with a totally black-or-white mentality," a kind of mentality that "has caused overstatement and overcriticism."⁵⁴

Clabaugh refers to Fundamentalists' dividing the world "between the saved and the damned and between the good and evil" as "the Manichean dichotomy" of Fundamentalists, as their "Manichean orientation."⁵⁵ Manicheism is a "religious dualism originating in Persia, widely held in the Roman empire during the third and fourth centuries A.D. and in central and eastern Asia . . . teaching . . . through the

Hebrew prophets, Jesus, and Mani that a cosmic conflict exists between a good realm of light and an evil realm of darkness . . . dividing [the world] between good and evil powers."⁵⁶

But on certain issues of cultural politics fundamentalists have always been rigid, and when such issues become more salient the fundamentalists become more responsive to the blandishments of pseudo-conservative prophets. Moreover, the Manichean and apocalyptic style of thought prevalent in the fundamentalist tradition can easily be carried over into secular affairs and transmuted into a curiously crude and almost superstitious form of anti-communism.

Not only is the entire right-wing movement infused at the mass level with the fundamentalist style of mind, but the place in its ranks of fundamentalist preachers, ex-preachers, and sons of preachers is so prominent as to underline the mutual congeniality of thought. Leading right-wing spokesmen have brought into politics the methods and the style of the evangelical revivalists, just as many preachers have discovered that they can arouse more fervor and raise more cash by politicizing their message than they can by appealing solely to the religious sensibilities of their audiences.⁵⁷

Lipset has noted the distinction. He explains that moralists, of which "one of the prime sources . . . is religious fundamentalism,"⁵⁸ consider every historical movement as almost exclusively a matter of good or evil, "those who make a mistake are not just wrong, they are evil."⁵⁹ Thus, Lipset argues, "Moralism is absolutistic by nature,"⁶⁰ and moralists see all our social and political problems as "the result of deliberate evil-doing."⁶¹

This is the ultimate product of moralism . . . error is arguable, evil intent is not; in the political process, error is admissible and legitimate, evil intent is inadmissible and illegitimate. Differences, cleavages, pluralism, ambiguity, based on evil intent are illegitimate.⁶²

Absolutism, Lipset says, may be defined as "this kind of polarization and attribution or evil motives."⁶³

The question is whether Falwell has been absolutistic in his political preaching.

Falwell, by innuendo, ascribes evil intent to the Supreme Court:

The United States Supreme Court, because of the petition of an avowed atheist, Madeline O'hare, expelled Almighty God from the public school, and the public school system in America, from that day to this, has become the spawning ground for every kind of moral and spiritual disease--drug epidemics, moral permissiveness, academic deterioration, almost constant danger for school teachers in the larger metropolitan areas, and all of that because of the expulsion of Almighty God from the arena of education in America. . . .⁶⁴

Even if such an argument did not ascribe evil intent to the Supreme Court, Falwell does attribute evil consequences to their school prayer decision.

Another example of Falwell's absolutism is his associating Jane Fonda, Dick Gregory, and Benjamin Spock with Communism:

If this were Peking, there would be no meeting like this [the "I Love America" rally]. If this were Havana, Cuba, there would be no meeting like this. And I hear the Jane Fonda's and the Dick Gregory's and the Benjamin Spock's and a host of other anti-American, anti-government people decrying this nation. I cannot help but think that, if they would try what they are trying here for thirty seconds on Red Square, the earth would swallow them up.⁶⁵

The implication is that being anti-American is evil like Communists are evil. Whereas, being pro-American, one of Falwell's five primary positions, is good.

We may infer from such passages as the following that, for Falwell, everything pro-American is good implying anything un-American is evil:

In Christian schools in America, every day we pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States. We have never allowed, and

there's not one instance on record in a Christian school of a conservative, Bible-believing, Christ-centered church, of the flag being desecrated or burned or worn on the seat of someone's pants. We've often wished someone would because of the urge of planting a foot on the north end going south. But it's never happened because the parents of our children put them in our schools because they agree with what we agree with--that America is one nation under God.⁶⁶

Falwell is particularly graphic in describing the dichotomy between the good moral majority and evil homosexuals:

I was in Washington Sunday afternoon speaking to a group of senators, congressmen, pastors, and leaders on our national day of fasting and prayer. Between two and three million Americans fasted and prayed with us last Sunday for revival in America. And these leaders did the same thing.

Across town in Washington, marching up and down Pennsylvania Avenue, were twenty-five to fifty thousand homosexuals. Christians love homosexuals as they love all sinners and regard them as just boys and girls, men and women with a deep, deep moral problem. God loves the homosexuals like He loves all men. But I said to those congressmen, 'We have no contempt for those young people out there. We've just seen them committing immoral acts in public and saying vulgar and dirty things.' They've come here from all over the nation attempting to gain passage of the Gay Rights Bill which would give them minority status like blacks, like women, like Hispanics, etc. which is beyond being ridiculous. But I said, 'We have no contempt for them because each of those boys and girls have left behind them a trail of broken hearts, moms and dads who love them and pray for them in many cases and those hearts are wounded and broken because of what has happened in their lives.'

And so we make a distinction between the sin and the sinner. We hate what they do, we love them. Because of those mothers and dads who are saying, 'Don't hurt them, help them, bring them back,' we reach out in love to them. We have a staff in our church of professional counselors who minister to them. But because we're honest and believe the Bible, we call it moral perversion. God did not create Adam and Steve, but Adam and Eve. And God ordained the family to be that basic unit in society that He can bless.

We love all Americans. We believe in the civil rights of all men. But we also believe in right and wrong and we know the difference because we believe the Bible.⁶⁷

When Falwell said, "The homosexual revolution, the unisexual revolution, the children's rights movement, the feminist movement--all these are vicious assaults against the home and the family,"⁶⁸ it was an absolutist dichotomy between the evil and the good.

In talking about whether he would run for public office, Falwell offered, "I'm in the highest office in the land as a preacher, why step down?"⁶⁹ And then he implied that some elected officials are evil in contrast to himself and other preachers who are good. "I'm not talking about helping men who believe, and women who believe, in Biblical principles to get into office and to get those who don't out."⁷⁰

In the Kentucky rally, Falwell goes through a gambit of evil, "persons who are living immoral lifestyles"--homosexuals whose lifestyle is a "reprobate, abominable perversion," the feminists who are trying to bring American women "down to their base level," those who promote "children's rights" and "brainwash" our children with "humanism, atheism, and moral permissiveness," abortionists who are murdering babies, teenagers who are living "like animals" sexually, national leaders like "Teddy Kennedy," humanists who are atheists and socialists, and the welfare "bums" who will not work.⁷¹ Then Falwell, by not-so-subtle innuendo, contrasts these persons who are living immoral lives with the Moral Majority.

America does have a bright future when you consider that there are 108,000 Bible-believing, soul-winning, local churches in America (that's a third of them, of all there are), when you believe and realize that there are going to be more Christian schools in 1992 . . . than there are public schools, that's where the leadership is going to come from. Thank God for you school masters and you pastors and you parents who pay tax

money to educate your kids in public schools, but instead put them in private schools and pay tuition there. God bless you for double taxation; you're doing the right thing.⁷²

Falwell concludes this passage in the Kentucky rally by paraphrasing Proverbs 14:34, "Right living exalts a nation; sin is a reproach to any nation." The contrast is between good and evil; there are those who are right and those who are sinners. There are those who exalt a nation and those who are a reproach to it. There is the definite contrast between "we," Falwell and Fundamentalists, and the implied "you," "persons who are living immoral lifestyles."⁷³ Those persons and groups who are not believing and practicing Biblical morality, as Falwell and Fundamentalists interpret it, are sinners, a reproach to the nation, evil, anti-good, or anti-God.

Of those persons who "have been unwittingly involved in an abortion or abortions," Falwell said, "I repudiate that as immorality, as the taking of human life," and "they need to get God's forgiveness."⁷⁴

Of those persons involved in sexual relationships, Falwell says:

The fact is that God Almighty established the husband-wife relationship and . . . God called any other kind of sexual lifestyle as perverted . . . we have an obligation in our country to obey the scriptures. The Bible clearly teaches that sex is honorable only in marriage. Pre-marital, extra-marital sex are not allowed in a civilized society.⁷⁵

The point is not whether sexual relationships outside of marriage are right or wrong but that Falwell depicts those who believe it is morally permissible as immoral or evil persons who are a reproach to America. Falwell makes it a matter of good versus evil.

Even the issue of Israel is made a matter of good versus evil. Falwell said, "There's no way to be neutral about Israel. You're

either for God or against God; you're either for Israel or you're against Israel."⁷⁶ Also, Falwell made being registered to vote a matter of good versus evil. "A Christian who is not registered to vote is out of the will of God . . . you are part of the problem [the evil] not the solution."⁷⁷

"And the anti-military people in our country and those who are against superior national defense and those who berate our men of the armed services . . . are a very minute group,"⁷⁸ Falwell says, implying that they are a reproach to the nation and therefore evil. On the other hand, he added, "The vast majority [the moral majority] of Americans still believe that the military of the United States of America has always been the best."⁷⁹ These are the good Christians and Americans.

Falwell, at the South Dakota rally, stated explicitly that being pro-American is good and being anti-American is evil or anti-God:

But right now, we're going to do something that I feel ought to be done about once a day in the experience of every American. When I was in elementary school, those wonderful years back in Virginia, it was legal to read the Bible and have prayer at that time in our public schools. I can't recall it ever hurting me. I wasn't a Christian at the time, I didn't even own a Bible. My daddy was never inside a church in his life; his dad was an atheist. So if anybody in the school had objected to Bible reading and prayer, I suppose it would've been my family. But it happened to be the only contact I had with God, with the Bible, with the scriptures, with decency, and, as I recall, the principal of the elementary school, who is still living and very, very old, I saw him just the other day, he made the first touch in my life as a public school principal. He made me aware that there was a God in heaven. And we sang hymns, and the only hymns I knew I learned in a public school room, in a public school chapel. And also every day, I'm not sure just what . . . whether that was happening in all the schools but in our school, every day we pledged allegiance to the flag. We thought it was the right thing to do and during World War II days, ahhh I tell you patriotism was running high.

Something has happened in recent years, something that is unfortunate to our country, something that we regret deeply. We've allowed the national media to publicize a little handful of anti-American, anti-God dissidents to the extent that patriotism is no longer popular. But it is among good people. I'm still proud to be an American, and that flag still means something to me.⁸⁰

The archetype of good versus evil among modern Fundamentalists is Christianity versus Communism. Clabaugh says Fundamentalists, as Billy Graham said in the 1950s, "suspect that the spread of Communism was the work of Satan."⁸¹ Clabaugh adds that "since Communism is a tool of the Devil it follows that the cunning, baseness, and diabolic nature of this conspiracy [between Satan and Communism] far surpasses normal human ability. Only Satan . . . can account for the evil [of Communism] that is so obviously abroad in the land."⁸² Calbaugh attributes such thinking to recent radical right political activists, Bill James Hargis and Carl McIntyre.⁸³

Concerning Communism, Falwell follows in the tradition of these former, politically active Fundamentalists. Falwell sees Communism as the ultimate evil lined up against the good of Christianity:

Jesus referred to the church as the salt of the earth, the preservative that prevents spoiling. And we have watched that church for two millenia marching onward against great opposition. There was a time when they burned our leaders at the stake as heretics. That still happens today. The church is still being martyred and harassed in Communist countries. Some of our people just came back from Romania and Yugoslavia, and the saints there are going through terrible persecution. That still happens in China, where a billion people live, and in Red Russia. It's happening all over the enslaved world today. And if the Communists ever overrun America, I'll tell you whose heads go first. If you Christian leaders don't know it, you ought to know it.⁸⁴

Falwell identified "the threat of Communism" and the "threat of deterioration of the family" as "the two biggest threats to our survival today."⁸⁵

Falwell is referring to the international Communist conspiracy but also, by implication, to the humanists in America. Following Falwell's line of argument, the humanists, like Godless Communists, are amoral in the sense that they reject Biblical morality. The ultimate goal of atheistic amoral, immoral humanism is one world socialism which Falwell would see as also the aim of international Communism.

We may infer from Falwell's argument that humanism is the American version of international Communism, an evil of the same kind, against which the forces of good, i.e., Fundamentalist or Bible-believing Christians, must fight. The battlegrounds between the evil and the good, between Communism-humanism and Christianity, are mostly sexually-oriented moral issues. It seems ironic, somehow, that the war for the survival of the world would be fought over the sexual mores and morality of a few rather than justice, liberty and equality for all.

There can be no doubt that Falwell views humanism in much the same way he views Communism--heathenistic and anti-God. The real problem of America, he said, is that:

God Almighty is tired of a nation that has forgotten him and that has moved away from the foundation of Godly principles which has presented to this world the greatest society in human history, that has moved into humanism and into heathenism, into wide open sinfulness. And God is pushing the panic button and cutting off the spigot where it's hurting us the most. And I say to you that if this nation gets right with God there will be adequate energy for whatever our needs are. I don't believe that there is a shortage. I'm not here to blame the party that is responsible. I'm here to say that God has turned off the faucet and that, when we get right as a nation, He'll turn it right back on again.

What's happened to the American dollar? It's among the three worst currencies in the world today. The American dollar, well I can remember going abroad, you take a dollar out and everybody would look that way; they wanted that American dollar.

That isn't true today. If you think that it is, you haven't been abroad. The fact is that nobody wants that dollar anymore.

How come we are in a period of uncontrollable inflation and a time of economic depression . . . simultaneously? They call it stagflation and there's no known cure for it. Whatever helps the one hinders the other and vice versa. So we don't know how to cure it. How come we have that problem? We've never had it before. Well, it's the Democrats, the Republicans. No, God Almighty, has pushed the panic button. And He knows how to get us down on our knees.⁸⁶

Authoritarianism as a Method in Falwell's Style. In The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, Falwell accepts the definition of "authoritarianism" as "believing oneself to be right,"⁸⁷ with the implication that everyone who does not agree is wrong. It is acknowledged that such an approach causes "many" members of Fundamentalist churches to rebel and leave the churches in the same way that "the overly authoritarian parent [may] produce rebellious children."⁸⁸ Such a phenomenon in Fundamentalist churches may explain some of the resistance, even rebellion, to Falwell's political preaching. If "true believers" in Fundamentalist churches rebel at such an approach by their preachers, how much more likely those who are not believers would rebel at authoritarian political preaching. Authoritarianism is an approach carried by Falwell from his religious preaching into his political preaching.

Several examples may both explain and demonstrate the authoritarianism that pervaded Falwell's political preaching at the "I Love America" rallies.

The South Carolina rally is such an example. At that rally, Falwell said, "We . . . pay tribute to the flag, 'Old Glory,' the red, white, and blue. There were days, you and I remember, when patriotism

was popular. It still is among Christians and God-fearing people."⁸⁹

One or two inferences can be drawn: (1) that people who are not Christians and God-fearing people are not patriotic or (2) that anyone who is not patriotic is not Christian or God-fearing. In either case, he is implying that "we" are "right" and "you" are not.

Another example is his position on leadership in America.

The problem in America today is not people; the problem is the leadership. We have long since lost the courage of a President Sadat who runs his own country and tells the Iranian lunatic and other idiots where to hang it. The United States of America needs that kind of leadership. And I say, if we could have that kind of leadership in the White House and in the congress, in our state houses, men and women who are not afraid to stand against what is wrong, that flag could still mean the same around the world that it once meant.⁹⁰

He implies that good leaders stand strongly for right and against wrong and that all others are lunatics and idiots.

Still another example of Falwell's authoritarianism is his claim that he had travelled 250,000 miles in both 1979 and 1980 and "put together 70,000 pastors already . . . not all Baptist, some of them I can't even pronounce what they are, [who] are pro-life, pro-family, pro-moral, pro-American. That's what all good people used to be in this country."⁹¹ The meaning, of course, is that all who are not pro-life, pro-family, pro-moral, pro-American, as the Moral Majority are, are not good people.

Also Falwell caricatures certain famous people and groups as representative of wrong in contrast to himself and his followers whom he characterizes, by implication, as the archetype of right. For example, Madeline Murray O'Hare is a favorite target for caricature.

"Madeline O'Hare and all the God-haters in America stand together,"

he said. "This nation was built by God-fearing people. Madeline O'Hare didn't help build America. Her kind has never helped built anything. They've torn down a lot of things, they've never built anything. And the liberals and the socialists and the pinkies around haven't built anything; they just take away human rights and freedoms."⁹²

He also caricatures Hugh Hefner and Larry Flynt as the opponents and the opposite of right. "Nobody talks about the fact that Hugh Hefner and Larry Flynt and the other smut peddlers raised \$4 billion last year to wreck and damn boys and girls, homes and families."⁹³

Concluding an attack on Liberals who are and have been in control of the government and have allowed us to become "desperately inferior to the Soviet Union" militarily, he said:

. . . when the Bible says a man who will not care for his household is worse than an infidel, it's easy to transpose that to say that any government that doesn't care for or protect its citizenry is worse than an infidel. And we find ourselves in that stance today.⁹⁴

The inevitable inference to be drawn from such a statement is that Falwell feels a self-righteousness about his stance for a build-up of the military and that all who disagree are unrighteous.

Falwell depicted the White House Conference on Families, and all those who promoted it and participated in it, as wrong. And, of course, the result is a portrait of himself and his Moral Majority as the champions of right riding to the rescue. An example is his statement at the South Carolina rally:

When President Carter was campaigning last time, he promised to shore up the family . . . to hold a conference on the family. Four years have passed and so now it's finally becoming a reality, but . . . it's not called the White House Conference on the Family; it's called the White House Conference on Families,

plural. The forty-one persons who control that conference, called the National Advisory Committee, were appointed by President Carter and forty of them are anti-traditional family persons, that is, they favor homosexual marriages, they favor abortion and other anti-Biblical, immoral principles. Only one of them, Barbara Smith, a Mormon, is pro-family. That's a loaded deck!

And then across the nation as the fifty governors, and I'm sorry that your governor elected not to attend here today. In almost every state we've had the governor and most of the legislators. I realize that the assembly is not in session but we usually have the governor anyhow because usually the governor is standing with us on these issues, and I hope that's the case here. But I would simply say this, that I am convinced that the family is the most vital, the most important entity in American life and society, and I believe that, if America survives, the family must survive.

I would like to say the government has become the arch-enemy of the family, and the White House Conference on Families has now begun to develop a definition of the family. And I quote, 'Any two persons living together.' Think that one over and you will get the idea of how perverted this conference has become, so perverted that in Virginia we had to almost ambush them, a spiritual ambush, in order to get our delegates elected. And we did and now they are thinking about going to court to disallow our delegates who were elected by popular vote. The same thing happened in Mississippi, Arkansas, across the nation. Well, at the same time, the governor of Alabama felt that the definition that was coming out of the White House Conference on Families was so anti-family and so foreign to what Alabama people feel about the family that he withdrew the state of Alabama from the conference. We were there two weeks ago when he did that. . . . Then the state of Indiana, by the governor's decision, did the same thing. And state after state now, the governors are making decisions now to possibly withdraw from the conference. What a tragedy that the governors of the states have to rebuke the President of the United States on such a vital issue as the family. And we have found it necessary to conduct a competitive conference on the family that will meet in the Long Beach Municipal Auditorium with 12,000 people, July 12, the same day that in Los Angeles the White House Conference is having its capstone concluding meeting with 2,000 people. And we're planning on having most of the people, leaders of America who believe in right and wrong. What a tragedy that the people have to say on behalf of the government what is right and fight the government who is supposed to be our friend and represent us.⁹⁵

Innate to Falwell's political preaching is the unrighteousness of his antagonists. For example, he contrasts his own righteousness

with the unrighteousness of the three television networks.

. . . about the three major networks and the executives who control those networks: they have made a vicious decision, obviously, that they have no responsibility for the well-being of the American public. Therefore, they have begun to totally let anything go in prime-time. . . .⁹⁶

He contrasts his own righteousness with the unrighteousness of homosexuals. In a literal tirade of condemnation at the South Carolina rally, he equated homosexuals with bank robbers, criminals, and thieves.⁹⁷ "What you're doing according to Romans 1 is reprobate," he said, "is, according to the Old Testament, an abomination. Even the animals don't practice it."⁹⁸ He compared homosexuality to a cancer that's "wrecking and ruining" lives.⁹⁹ "And," he said, "I want to tell you that, if God destroyed Sodom and Gommorah because of homosexuality, America need not think that she is exempt."¹⁰⁰ And then, referring to the legislation in Congress that would "establish homosexuals as a bonafide minority like Blacks, like women, and like Hispanics," Falwell declared, "We Christians are a minority. But I want to tell you that one who has decided to be immoral and reprobate [in contrast to the moral majority] immediately waives all right to minority status and [is] . . . a law breaker. . . ."¹⁰¹

He contrasts his own righteousness with the unrighteousness of pornographers. "I say Larry Flynt's a phoney as are all other pornographers who claim to be religious and still continue in their evil and wicked ways."¹⁰²

He contrasts his own righteousness with the unrighteousness of humanists. Secular humanism, he says, "is nothing more than glorified

atheism whose primary message is amorality, nothing is absolutely right or wrong."¹⁰³

He contrasts his own righteousness with the unrighteousness of welfare recipients. "We believe in Social Security for the aged . . . in welfare for those who are sick or those who cannot work because work is not available, but," he added, "I believe there's a great multitude of professional indigents out there who would not work in a pie shop eating the doles out of donuts. As Paul said, 'if they won't work, let them go hungry.'"¹⁰⁴

He contrasts his own righteousness with the unrighteousness of abortionists. "If we're going to have God in the camp with us, we've got to know that abortion is murder."¹⁰⁵ The implication is that God is with anti-abortionists because they are right and against the abortionists because they are murderers.

It is important to remember (1) that Falwell believes the economic, political, and social catastrophes about to engulf America have been brought on by the unrighteousness of the people he has contrasted with the righteousness of the Moral Majority and himself as their leader, (2) that the righteousness of the Moral Majority and the righteous leadership by him and others like him will save us from the catastrophe, and (3) that his political preaching, based on the authority of the Bible, is the action necessary to effect the salvation of the nation.

Aggressiveness as a Method in Falwell's Style. In examining his political preaching at the "I Love America" rallies, one is readily

aware of its aggressive nature. Marty calls Fundamentalists such as Falwell "belligerents" who are "striking out now in resentment and rage."¹⁰⁶

Belligerence means "waging war, carrying on a war . . . inclined to or exhibiting assertiveness, hostility, truculence, or combativeness . . . [such . . . verbalizing as makes peaceful action more difficult to achieve--H. A. Overstreet]."¹⁰⁷ Other terms for this rhetorical phenomenon may be militant, confrontational, and polemical. There is a whole body of literature on militant and confrontational rhetoric, Jeffrey Auer's The Rhetoric of Our Times, for example ¹⁰⁸ Polemical rhetoric, for example, may be defined as "the use of aggressive argument to refute errors of doctrine."¹⁰⁹

Hofstadter observes that the "qualities" of the paranoid style "tend to be overheated, oversuspicious, overaggressive, grandiose, and apocalyptic in expression" against the conspiracy they believe is "directed against a nation, a culture, a way of life. . . ."¹¹⁰ When one considers Falwell's propensity for the denunciation inherent in the jeremiad in which he was engaged and for the intimidation that issues from his catastatic style and adds those qualities described by Hofstadter as common to the paranoid style, then one is not surprised that Falwell's style is aggressive. In fact, one would be surprised if the style of his political preaching were not aggressive.

In light of my own experience with fundamentalist Baptist preachers, an account by Falwell of advice given to him by an elderly pastor is possibly more revealing than the uninitiated could realize.

He recalled that a preacher, a mentor who was "very inspirational to him," used to say, "Fellows, if you're going to be successful, keep a fight going all the time."¹¹¹ The mentor to young preachers was giving them advice about how to "pastor" a Fundamentalist church. Falwell confessed that "fundamentalists like me were taught to fight before we were taught to read and write."¹¹² Fighting is an effective method among Fundamentalists. The method does not necessarily mean a pastor should keep a fight going among the members of his own church, though at times it is effective to divide and conquer. It is a way to purge the church and build loyal support among the remaining members for his ministry.

The method is most effective, however, when the pastor keeps a fight going against some activity, organization, issue, or enemy of the church. It may be real or contrived. By starting a fight against some perceived evil and keeping it going, the pastor will win support from his members either because it is a popular stance with his members or because he is persecuted for it and elicits their sympathy. Whether perceived as a hero or martyr by his people, it is usually a no-lose situation for a pastor.

Falwell had reasons to start a fight over the issues. The issues themselves were reason enough, he believed, but also controversy is newsworthy. And controversial stances on the national issues are worthy of national news. Being controversial, confrontational, aggressive, or belligerent became the style of his political preaching on the national scene. Falwell himself noted the necessity of such a style to his rhetorical method. Speaking about people living on welfare, he said:

Now, I know that's a little controversial, but that's my middle name. If it's important, it's controversial; if it's not controversial, it's not worth saying. The Gospel is controversial, always has been. That's why you have so much opposition to it. The family is controversial. Freedom is controversial.¹¹³

At the Ohio rally, Falwell expressed pride in the aggression of the church in politics. "The church of the living God here in 1979, as we prepare to enter a new decade, a decade of destiny," he said, "is stronger and larger and more aggressive than she has been in two millennia."¹¹⁴ Though it is demonstrably true that the church is not more aggressive than ever, the point is that Falwell proudly approves of such a style.

Falwell reiterated his approval at the South Carolina rally: ". . . the time has come when every Christian in America needs to be informed on the issues . . . to be registered to vote, and to be aggressively involved in changing America for the good."¹¹⁵ At the Iowa rally, he asked, "Do you think . . . that abortion could have reached its present proportions . . . if the church were . . . vocally demanding a moral standard?" And "Do you think that the government in Washington could be moving towards the sanctioning of homosexual marriages and calling that 'family' if the church were vocally and aggressively demanding a standard of morality in this nation?" His answer to both questions was, "I don't think so!"¹¹⁶

At the Michigan rally, for example, Falwell said:

I see the President [Carter] insulated by anti-family people. And I see the bureaucrats, those fellows and gals who crawled into the woodwork up there. And it's the nature of a bureaucrat to want to control everybody. They want to run everything that breathes, and it's the nature of a Baptist preacher not to want to be controlled by anybody. And so you have an irresistible

force meeting an immovable object and something has got to give. So I'm saying to you that we're at that point where it is do or die.¹¹⁷

At the South Carolina rally, he promised:

I believe our nation is worth saving. I've just asked God to help me during this next year to stir up enough dust, get enough folks mad or glad, one or the other, to do something about it. The time for neutrality is over. The lines are drawn.¹¹⁸

The aggressive style, the do-or-die confrontation between the irresistible force and the immovable object, is characterized by belligerent language. For example, the term "fight" occurs almost routinely in Falwell's political preaching. At the Iowa rally, he said, "I have been fighting [the Equal Rights Amendment] all over the nation with all my efforts."¹¹⁹ He told the New Jersey rally that "we've just begun to fight" the "very small minority" of Liberals and humanists who have been running this country "right into the ground."¹²⁰ "I'm fighting hard for voluntary prayer in public schools," he told the Michigan rally.¹²¹ He complained to the Michigan rally that we should not "have to fight our government for our family. We ought to be fighting with them and they with us."¹²² He said at the South Carolina rally that "We ought to learn how to get together, fight together now so we can fight each other later."¹²³ He told the National Affairs Briefing that "we've got to fight during the 1980s as never before to guarantee a superior national defense."¹²⁴ In referring to abortion, he said, "We are not preempted from going into the political arena and fighting the battle there. As a matter of fact, we're obligated to do it."¹²⁵

Other belligerent imagery is present. Referring to the verbal exchanges with Madeline Murray O'Hare, Falwell declared that "we're not

into a personality battle. We're out to win the war for the nation. This is a battle of issues. . . ."126 Speaking to the Michigan rally about the church "marching onward against great opposition," Falwell emphasized that Christians "are a part of an army of millions," sixty to seventy million Christians in the United States "who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ," so-called "born again" Christians, according to a Gallup Poll.¹²⁷ He told the Florida rally, "we've declared war on the baby killing industry."¹²⁸

One of the more aggressive elements in the arguments and appeals of Falwell's political preaching is his propensity for name-calling. The names of things and people were important to him:

God said, 'Thou shalt not kill'; we gave murder a new name: abortion kills millions of babies each year. In fact we gave a lot of things new names. What God calls drunkenness, we call alcoholism, a social disease. What God calls sodomy or homosexuality, we call Gay Rights or an alternative lifestyle. What God calls perversion, we call pornography or adult entertainment. What God calls immorality, we call the new morality. What God calls cheating, we call abnormal social development.¹²⁹

In some instances, his name-calling borders on being libelous:

The Madeline Murray O'Hares and the infidels and the in-for-hells who hate God and hate the church are enjoying the highest standard of living the world has ever known, because they live around a lot of salt like you and me.¹³⁰

The "salt" Falwell refers to is from Jesus' statement, "Ye are the salt of the earth."¹³¹ Falwell reported that a reporter from Austin, Texas, called to tell him that "Madeline said a lot of bad things" about him and asked if he would "say something about her."¹³² Falwell described his reply:

I said 'Well, I don't think so.' I'm reminded of my friend, Dr. Lincoln, the eighty-year-old West Virginia preacher, who . . . told the story about the hound dog and the skunk . . .

preparing to fight. The skunk and the hound dog were looking eyeball to eyeball. The skunk said, 'Let's get with it.' And the hound dog said, 'Sir, I think I can whip thee but I do not think it would be worth it.'¹³³

Falwell called homosexuals by various names. For example, at the Michigan rally, he called them sinners, a cancer on society, and perverts.¹³⁴

He called draft evaders cowards. "I remember when I was in elementary school during World War II . . . boys going down to the recruitment office and lying about their age just to defend their country. Today they run to Canada as cowards . . . to escape that responsibility."¹³⁵ Though Hugh Hefner and Larry Flynt are in a legal industry, Falwell called them "criminals."¹³⁶ He called humanists "immoral, amoral, vulgar, profane."¹³⁷ Welfare recipients who could work he calls "professional bums."¹³⁸

Falwell, in a verbal castigation of Liberal Senator Edward Kennedy, said that, because of Chappaquiddic, "he disqualified himself to be dog-catcher much less President."¹³⁹ And in a similar kind of castigation of feminists who supported the Equal Rights Amendment, Falwell said that, if he didn't know what the issues were,

All I would have to do is look at those who created it and are promoting it, people like Gloria Steinem and Betty Frieden and Bella Abzug and . . . others, and I'd say, 'My Lord, I'm against whatever it is. . . . If those ladies were representative of American womanhood, I'm moving to Australia.'¹⁴⁰

Falwell's style also consisted of aggressive declarations.

Here are several examples:

[Christian schools are] here to stay. If anybody is going to leave, it's not going to be us.¹⁴¹

A sleeping giant in America is standing up, Moral America, and beginning to say, 'we've had enough.'¹⁴²

[We] need to stand up and say to Mr. Carter, to Congress, to the judiciary, and all fifty state houses, 'We're going to return to moral sanity, with you or without you,'¹⁴³

And we are not willing to submit to the [Equal Rights Amendment].¹⁴⁴

I say to you [of] the Children's Rights movement . . . if you come after our children, you better come loaded for bear because we own our children . . . [you] are not going to [take our children].¹⁴⁵

Preachers, I want to challenge you to call a spade a spade. I mean, if hell busts wide open, say it like it is. If your best members get up and walk out, say it like it is.¹⁴⁶

The state needs some Nathan's today to walk in and say, 'Thou art the man. You're the one who is wrong, and we want you to straighten up your act. And if you can't do it, we've got enough folks out there to put somebody in your chair. And we will do it. . . .'¹⁴⁷

It stretches our credulity to think that Falwell innocently employed such excesses of rhetorical style. There are too many such excesses in every sample of his political preaching to think it was accidental or incidental in his method. Rather, it was almost certainly intentional if for no other reason than the fact that Falwell is a practical genius, as demonstrated by his success, in managing and manipulating the public. He obviously accomplished his success through the use of organization and technology, but equally important is the force of his preaching. Falwell understood what he was doing rhetorically.

He reached a point when he became convinced that certain catastrophe was imminent in America. He felt such an urgency, that something must be done and that someone must do something, that he became aroused to speak out about what he saw. His sense of urgency was so

great that he calculated only exceptional methods would get attention and make a difference.

Methods of Reasoning. Not only did Falwell's strategic concept of negativism determine the nature of his style, it also accounts for the nature of his reasoning. While numerous examples of Falwell's reasoning in his political preaching could be dealt with, substituting emotional appeals for reasoning for instance, this section will focus on two examples of his reasoning--inconsistencies and simplism.

Inconsistency as a Method in Falwell's Reasoning. By its nature, declarative rhetoric would tend to contain more inconsistencies in its reasoning than more deliberate rhetoric. There are considerable inconsistencies in Falwell's political preaching, some more blatant than others. For example, Falwell says, on the one hand, that he has no right to use his freedom of speech "to libel or slander someone's character"¹⁴⁸ and, then, on the other hand, slanders by name Bella Abzug, Gloria Steinem, Jane Fonda, Benjamin Spock, Edward Kennedy, Hugh Hefner, Larry Flynt, and others. Also, he vigorously denied that he or his Moral Majority movement were involved in the banning of books anywhere,¹⁴⁹ yet he said at the first "I Love America" rally in Washington, D.C., that all parents should "rise up in arms to literally throw out every textbook that dishonors the home, the family, Bible morality. . . ." ¹⁵⁰

Or for example, Falwell founded Moral Majority as a special interest group to bring Biblical morality back into government and society, or as he says, to bring "moral sanity" back to America, and

yet he complained, "The problem [in America] is that special interest groups run the country."¹⁵¹

Another example is that, as head of Moral Majority, Falwell was, on the one hand, tirelessly working to tell the government what to do on such issues as abortion and prayer in public schools, while, on the other hand, he was saying,

We don't want the churches telling the government what to do. We believe in separation of church and state. If some religious leaders were to attempt in this country to do what that lunatic in Iran has done, the Ayatollah [Khomeini], I think you and I would be the ones stopping him because that is not what America needs.¹⁵²

Furthermore, Falwell declared, "I don't know of a single religious leader in America worth his salt who is interested in doing anything but preaching the Gospel and ministering spiritually."¹⁵³ One can hardly escape the inconsistency between his activities and his pronouncements.

Falwell denies that Christians are trying to take over America as some misinformed people think. "Christians have never tried to do that," he insisted.¹⁵⁴ But that doesn't square with the major thrust of his Moral Majority activities--to elect people to public office who believe in the Biblical principles espoused by Moral Majority. As he said:

Everyone of the men and women running for public office has got to meet minimal moral standards. And when they do, we need to stand with them. And when they don't, we need to stand against them.¹⁵⁵

At the South Carolina rally:

I do not think that every political leader needs to be a born-again Christian. I simply believe that we need men and women who believe in Biblical moral principles . . . we need to find

out for sure whether they are [conservative, Bible-oriented], and if they do not meet up to minimal moral standards, we need to put a little pressure on them [to change]. And if we can't change them, we need to send them home for good. And that applies to the White House . . . to the Congress, and . . . to every state house in America.¹⁵⁶

Falwell, speaking at the New Hampshire rally, pledged to wage a campaign against "the pornography industry." "They're upset," he said, "because they see the possibility of their industry going out of business. I say the quicker the better." Then, in the next sentence, he protested, "We're not trying to inhibit anybody's civil rights."¹⁵⁷ This thinking is not consistent with his insistence that free enterprise is necessary to the welfare of the nation.

One of Falwell's primary commitments is to the nation of Israel. He argues, based on Genesis 12:3, that American will be blessed by God as long as we support the nation of Israel and that any nation not supporting Israel will be cursed by God. God cursed Hitler, he says, "because he cursed the Jews."¹⁵⁸ When one considers Falwell's argument that America has gone into a "moral tailspin" during the last 20 or 30 years, it is inconsistent with his argument about Israel in that the time in which he says America has gone into a moral tailspin is the same period in which she has sponsored the creation of the nation of Israel, has supported its development, and provided its economic and political security. If God blesses a nation that supports Israel and America has supported Israel during the past 20 to 30 years, how does one account for our moral tailspin during that same period, a period in which God should have blessed us because we were supporting Israel?

At the New Jersey rally, Falwell made the point that America is pluralistic. Even though it was founded on the Judeo-Christian ethic, he said, "America is a pluralistic republic. It is not a Christian republic; it is not a Jewish republic; it isn't a Moslem nation. It's a pluralistic republic with room for every American no matter what his or her spiritual condition may be."¹⁵⁹ At the same rally, Falwell declared that "America is a free pluralistic, democratic republic where every American is equally important."¹⁶⁰ Then, he recounted his answer to a question about "the Moonies," a religious sect headed by Rev. Syung

Moon:

Well, I think any group that separates young people from their parents is bad news, but I would rather be on the side of liberty and let them keep selling their flowers than to hamper the free exercise of religion in this country by anybody, because I think the liabilities outweigh the assets when liberties are sacrificed.¹⁶¹

While such an argument may be attractive, it is inconsistent with the overall tendency in Falwell's political preaching to call for actions that would result in moral monism. His appeals for the election of only those candidates for public office who live by the Fundamentalist version of Biblical principles are appeals for moral monism. His appeals for only family-oriented television programming, consistent with and restricted to their interpretation of Biblical morality, are appeals for moral monism and leave little room for pluralism. Or, he is inconsistent in the sense that he wants freedom for religion, all religions, but not for other entities of our society such as the entertainment industry, publishers, or homosexual citizens.

When Falwell claims to believe in the separation of church and state, protesting that they "don't take any tax dollars to run our schools,"¹⁶² then lobbies for tuition tax credits for people who send their children to private, parochial, or Christian schools,¹⁶³ he is inconsistent.

In light of Falwell's arguments for military superiority over the Soviet Union, the following argument seems inconsistent:

You say, 'What about the military build-up? What about the Soviets? Suppose they launch a nuclear attack?' God could cause them to blow up on their paths in Moscow, self-destruct. If our hearts are right with God, brother, it only takes a little band of three hundred to wipe them all out. If our hearts are right, and we're on the Lord's side, if God be for us, who can be against us? I believe in national defense. All the guns and bombs and aircraft carriers and nuclear subs in the world cannot protect us if we're not in the will of God. And we may be very, very inferior to the Soviet Union, but, if we're right with God and the fires of revival are burning here, all the nuclear warheads the Soviet Union could muster with the help of a billion Chinese could not take the Keys of Florida.¹⁶⁴

Furthermore, part of Falwell's rationale for a military build-up by America is to insure Christians a base and the freedom to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the rest of the world.¹⁶⁵ One may reasonably ask if it is not inconsistent to argue for military superiority as the means to maintain freedom so Christians can preach the Gospel of love and peace?

Another inconsistency in Falwell's arguments and appeals is that he and the Moral Majority are vigorous supporters of individualism. Falwell, for example, supports the work ethic and demands that people work rather than live off welfare.¹⁶⁶ Also, he believes the free enterprise system is a Godly system based in the Proverbs.¹⁶⁷ The work ethic and the free enterprise system are individualistic ideol-

ogies. Yet the legislative actions of Falwell and the Moral Majority would deny individuals their rights in matters such as abortion, sexual-oriented material, television programming, and sexual lifestyle among other things.

In the same vein, Falwell is similarly inconsistent in demanding that government get out and stay out of people's private lives and, at the same time, lobbying for laws, policies, and regulations, even constitutional amendments, that would put government into people's private lives and into more areas of their lives than ever before, their sexual lives for example.

Kenneth Ray Connors, writer and lay theologian, complained that:

the radical rights crusaders seek to restrict our channels of communication by censoring anything they view as pornographic, deprive women of equal rights by approving the ERA, prohibit freedom of choice for the termination of pregnancies, limit the rights of children, and harass adults for unconventional sexual preferences. How inconsistent it is to denounce the restrictions on liberty imposed by Soviet bureaucrats, then . . . seek to restrict the personal liberties of all who, in conscience, cannot accept the imposition of doctrinaire moral or ethical dictates.¹⁶⁸

Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy pointed out a subtle but perhaps the most significant inconsistency of all:

It distresses me greatly that Moral Majority leaders are prepared to declare the good news to a poor mother that her fetus shall become a child; but that when the child is born, they will oppose food stamp programs to feed him and aid to families of dependent children, if his mother needs it; that they will work to divert federal funds from public schools--which are the poor child's only hope for a quality education--to private church supported schools that are likely to discriminate against him, if he is black; that they will work to cut back on human needs programs like health care for the elderly and poor, housing subsidies for the ill-housed, and targeted job assistance for the jobless. Furthermore, the savings

affected by these cutbacks, they tell us, would be diverted to military spending and preparations for that child to die on a battlefield, rather than in his mother's womb, and that by no means should we adopt a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty [SALT II].¹⁶⁹

Simplism as a Method in Falwell's Reasoning. Lipset has defined simplism as "the unambiguous ascription of single causes and remedies for multifactored phenomena."¹⁷⁰ This, Lipset says, is one of "the typical stylistic themes ribbing the ideology of extremism"¹⁷¹ and consequently, I might add, the rhetoric of extremism. "This emphasis, in one form or another, pervades the material."¹⁷² Lipset characterizes such thinking as "historical simplism." Ascribing "simple and single causes to complex human events evokes the image of every historical moment as virginal. . . . History is a record of singular events, rather than a process in which events inexorably affect each other." The problem, as Lipset sees it, is that, in the choice between simplistic and complex answers, we "must opt wholly and simply for one or the other, and this is the burden of much" of the extremist material.¹⁷³ "There is . . . a sense of the magical power of the word . . . that just saying the right thing, believing the right thing, is the substance of victory and remedy."¹⁷⁴

Black argues that rhetoric "near the extreme of intense conviction" will "simplify discourse."¹⁷⁵ Falwell's political preaching tends to prove Black's argument. As a matter of conviction and practical necessity, Falwell is committed to simplistic rhetoric. A rationale is provided in The Fundamentalist Phenomenon:

One of the major criticism of the New Left is that Fundamentalists tend to give simplistic answers to the complicated issues of

society. It is just as obvious, however, that left-wing Evangelicals give too complicated answers to the simple questions that society is really asking. Most honest pastors and Christian laity within the conservative framework are tired of the pseudo-intellectualism of ivory-tower Evangelicalism. The common mentality of the evangelical left is to give such equivocated answers to any questions that when its members are done speaking they've really given no answer at all! Ask an Evangelical whether or not he believes there are flames in hell, and after a thirty-minute philosophical recitation on the theological implications of eternal retribution in light of the implicit goodness of God, you will still not know what he really believes.

Ask a Fundamentalist whether he believes there are really flames in hell and he will simply say, 'Yes, and hot ones too!' This is why left-wing Evangelicalism has failed to make any substantial use of the media. It cannot express its theology in the concrete terminology of television English. The entire movement is confined to literary approaches, and whenever it has attempted to make use of radio and television it has failed miserably. At the same time, the radical right of Hyper-Fundamentalism suffers on television because of the ability of the viewer to change channels. Its attempted invasion of the American home is thwarted by an ultra-negativistic approach. Accustomed to a captive audience within the local church, the Hyper-Fundamentalist cannot survive in the open marketplaces of modern-day American communication media.¹⁷⁶

An example of the simplism of Falwell's political preaching is his solution to the problem of pornography, as he refers to it, on television. His concept of the responsibilities of television networks is admirable for its idealism but impractical in reality as exemplified in his reply to an ABC Television executive about broken homes and homosexuality dominating prime time programming:

You people [in television], like us in the ministry, are leaders. We have an obligation not to present like the way it is but the way it ought to be. We're to help people up not down. And you're helping people down.¹⁷⁷

And then Falwell proposed a simplistic solution:

I'm not advocating censorship. I'm talking about sensible responsibility in key places. If the executives of all three networks decided, 'We have a responsibility to the boys and girls of America, to the public of these United States, and we're not going

to have any risque or dirty television on our networks,' then the sponsors would have to put what's available, and they'd make just as much money because there would be no alternative and those responsible leaders of the networks would then do a service to society instead of a disservice which they are doing.¹⁷⁸

Falwell's solution for the problem of pornography in publications such as Playboy and Hustler magazines is to "put the pornographers in jail,"¹⁷⁹ but the issue is more complex than that.

Besides the problems of television, Falwell is concerned about the problems of public schools. Speaking at the Michigan rally, he was simplistic to an extreme in declaring a single cause for "most" of the problems besieging the public schools:

In 1962, the Supreme Court kicked God out of public education in America. And most of the diseases that have crept into the public schools have happened since then. Drug epidemics, moral permissiveness, academic deterioration, a total vacuum of discipline--all of it has happened since God was kicked out of public education. What the Supreme Court really said was this: 'God, we don't want you in our educational systems. We can operate without you.' When God leaves, light leaves . . . when light leaves, darkness creeps in, and the public school system in America today is a victim of the darkness created by the absence of Almighty God.¹⁸⁰

Many of the problems in public schools, of course, have emerged since the Supreme Court decision on prayer in the schools, but not necessarily because of it as Falwell argues. At the South Carolina rally, he said that all of these problems or "diseases" in the schools have happened "because of the expulsion of Almighty God from the arena of education in America where He had been an invited guest for the first 180 years of our nation's existence."¹⁸¹ Such an argument is an over-simplification.

Falwell was simplistic in his conception of the influence of religion on the Founding Fathers and the formation of the United States.

Consider, for example, this scenario at the Kentucky rally:

We believe that America has been blessed beyond all nations in human history because to a greater degree the United States of America has lived by the principles of this Book. All of our Founding Fathers were not dedicated Christians; some were deists. But all of them were dedicated to Biblical principles and were influenced by the Puritans and the Pilgrims, Jonathan Edwards, Increase Mather, John Wesley, and George Whitfield who preached the gospel of Grace up and down New England and the Eastern seaboard and tied together what became the original states . . . and the documents, such as the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, were all products of the philosophy established in the hearts of our Founding Fathers by those great religious leaders who put this nation together.¹⁸²

It is ironic that many of the Founding Fathers, whom Falwell praises, may have been no more moral, according to the Biblical morality of Fundamentalism, than many of the political leaders of today whom he denigrates.

Falwell's interpretation of current events, and God's providence in them, is sometimes simplistic.

We, through prayer, can put pressure on God . . . and when we put pressure on God . . . He puts pressure on that king's heart. And whether it's a Breshnev or a Carter . . . He can make him do what he doesn't even want to do. I think the invasion of Afghanistan is an example of God's people praying . . . if the Soviet Union had not invaded Afghanistan, SALT II would already be a finished fact. I believe God Almighty allowed the Iranian situation [to stop SALT II]. . . . At the same time, if that bearded lunatic Khomeini and those students who, in my opinion, have never seen the inside of a school but are PLO and KGB trained agents, if that had not occurred, Teddy Kennedy would have been President of the United States, and America couldn't have stood that. . . . God used that to discredit a man who has no right to be dog catcher, much less U.S. Senator because of his moral default.¹⁸³

According to Falwell, Khomeini and Marxist young people took the fifty Americans hostage because they knew the United States "would do nothing about it."¹⁸⁴ "The reason why the Soviets marched into Afghanistan," he said, "is because they knew we'd do nothing about

it."¹⁸⁵ And the reason there are Soviet troops in Cuba, he declares, is "because they knew we'd do nothing about it."¹⁸⁶ While he may be right to some extent, the reason for such occurrences is more complex than that.

The solution for funding the dramatic increases in expenditures on national defense is to take it from the welfare budget. Committed to the concept of military superiority at all costs, Falwell, in answer to the question about where to get the money, responded:

I read the other day that the President is proposing a \$220 billion welfare budget. That's a good place to start and we could, from that point, begin making some expenditures, it would not be very long until our country could again stand up proudly. .
. .¹⁸⁷

To Falwell, the cause and solution of the energy crisis are simple. As to the cause, he says that "God Almighty is tired of a nation that has forgotten him and that has moved away from the foundation of Godly principles . . . and moved into humanism and heathenism . . . and God is . . . cutting off the spigot where it's hurting us the most."¹⁸⁸ And the solution, he declares, is "that, if this nation gets right with God, there will be adequate energy for whatever needs. . . . I'm here to say that God has turned off the faucet and that when we get right as a nation, He'll turn it right back on again."¹⁸⁹

The point is not whether Falwell is right or not about the need for national repentance. The point is that, even if America experiences religious repentance in the strictest and fullest Fundamentalist sense, the problems would not necessarily be solved and certainly not overnight.

To recapitulate, the nucleus of the Moral Majority movement was Falwell's political preaching. Its strategy of negativism results in his denouncing immorality in the tradition of the European jeremiad, accusing adversaries of conspiracy and persecution, and intimidating his immoral and amoral antagonists into capitulating to his Biblical morality lest they bring the wrath of God down on America. Such strategy produced a style that was absolutist, authoritarian, and aggressive and reasoning that was inconsistent and simplistic.

Mass Marketing

Falwell's political preaching in behalf of Moral Majority is so inseparably welded to his use of mass marketing that it seems irresponsible to consider his use of political preaching as a means of persuasion without discussing his dependence on marketing. I will argue that, although Falwell and the Moral Majority employed marketing to some extent to communicate his message, the underlying strategy in the use of marketing was to sell Falwell himself as a credible and charismatic leader thus enhancing the persuasiveness of his political preaching and the power of his Moral Majority movement.

This section will address two methods used to market Falwell as a political preacher--first, direct mail and second, personal appearances.

Krohn argues that the success of television preachers like Falwell is more the result of "marketing techniques" than of "God's blessings."¹⁹⁰ Krohn's argument seems especially true in the case of Falwell's success much of which is the result of his effective use of

television and radio. But, more to the point of this study, it may be equally true of Falwell's success in marketing the Moral Majority to the American people. He employed the traditional procedures. For example, he identified his consumers, i.e., audience, as the eighty-four percent of Americans who, according to a Gallup Poll in December of 1978, "believe the Ten Commandments are still valid for today."¹⁹¹ There really was a majority in America, Falwell was convinced, who still believed in Biblical morality.

Another traditional marketing procedure was that he offered a product, Biblical morality as interpreted by Fundamentalists and other conservative Christians. He discovered what a supposed majority wanted and what the rest really needed and then offered it to them in much the same way a company would offer a product to the buying public. And, he exacted a price for the product--millions of dollars in contributions to continue and expand his Moral Majority cause. Another traditional marketing procedure employed by Falwell in behalf of Moral Majority was to build a distribution capability--through direct mail, television and radio programs such as "America, You're Too Young to Die," organizations such as the state chapters of Moral Majority, publications such as The Moral Majority Report, and speaking engagements. Another traditional marketing approach is news articles and advertising in news magazines and newspapers and interviews on television news and talk shows.

The strategy underlying Falwell's mass marketing seems to have been to sell Falwell as a credible and charismatic leader. In fact, he entered the political arena to fill what he perceived to be a vacuum of

moral leadership in America.¹⁹² Falwell himself was one of the strongest "selling points" of the Moral Majority movement since he was already admired as a spiritual leader by followers on the Old-Time Gospel Hour television program. It was, therefore, not only a natural but necessary strategy to "sell" him to the moral majority of Americans as a political leader. If he could be marketed as such a leader, then he could, through his political preaching, sell more effectively his moral message, programs, and purposes.

Black has conceptualized it this way:

Just as the auditor is induced, by the pressure of having to credit his emotional experience, to account for his emotions by accepting a conviction, so too he must credit the agent of his feelings. He cannot believe simultaneously that the source of his feeling and conviction--the exhorter--is discreditable, and believe in the conviction and experience the feeling, too. And once he has granted some credit to the exhorter, he is committed to the easy extension and enhancement of that credit. The result, from the exhorter's point of view, is the strengthening of ethos. Eventually the exhorter may be able to attenuate the process by developing convictions on his word alone, for he has become the agent of truth to his auditors and the validator of their emotions.¹⁹³

The aim in marketing Falwell was to make him so credible that he would be able to develop convictions in his audiences "on his word alone" and to be "the agent of truth" for the moral majority. Though Falwell's message was carried to some extent by the means of marketing, and they were meant to be persuasive, the main aim was to market Falwell the man so he could in turn market his message more persuasively.

Such an exhorter or persuader fits Max Weber's classic concept of a charismatic leader.¹⁹⁴ Weber apparently had in mind leaders like Falwell. In Weber's concept, the charismatic leader is not an officeholder but operates outside the bureaucracy.¹⁹⁵ He is the "holder" of

"specific gifts . . . believed to be supernatural, not accessible to everybody."¹⁹⁶ He arises during "times of psychic, physical, economic, ethical, religious, political distress" in a nation.¹⁹⁷ He knows no "regulated 'career,' 'advancement,' 'salary,' or regulated and expert training . . . no agency of control or appeal, no local bailiwick or exclusive jurisdiction. . . . [He] knows only inner determination and inner constraint."¹⁹⁸ He "demands obedience and a following by virtue of his mission."¹⁹⁹

His charismatic claim breaks down if his mission is not recognized by those to whom he feels he has been sent. If they [so] recognize him, he is their master--so long as he knows how to maintain recognition through 'proving' himself. But he does not derive his 'right' from their will, in the manner of an election.²⁰⁰

"In general, he rejects all rational economic conduct."²⁰¹ And, he stands "outside the ties of this world" such as "routine occupations."²⁰³ He "gains and maintains authority" and legitimacy by his "personal strength" and by success.²⁰³ He recognizes, in a sense, the people's voice as the voice of God, a kind of majority-makes-right concept.²⁰⁴ Arbitrating what is right and, maybe more important, who is right "is determined by means of [his own] strictly concrete and individual evaluations."²⁰⁵

The aim was to sell Falwell not only as a credible leader but as a charismatic leader of the silent, moral Americans so they would believe his political preaching and support his Moral Majority movement. Two specific marketing methods, especially important in selling Falwell as a credible and charismatic leader and in turn his moral

message through his political preaching, were direct mail and personal appearances.

Direct Mail. As a method of marketing Falwell and his message, direct mail depended on computers. Without computer technology, in fact, many other marketing methods would be extremely difficult or limited. Direct mail is one of those marketing methods that would be most difficult or limited without computers. Computers stored the names and addresses of supporters, i.e., the mailing list, produced "personalized" letters to those supporters, and prepared the letters for mailing.²⁰⁶ The letters were "personalized" in the sense that each letter used the name of the addressee several times in the body of the letter, and the impression of many Americans was that Falwell had sent them a "personal" letter. From the direct mail came the contributions that sustained the activities of Falwell and the Moral Majority. Also, those names stored in the computers represented potential votes on issues and candidates. Motivated by computerized "personal" letters, voters could put effective pressure on legislators who would decide the fate of their moral issues.

As a name on the mailing list of Moral Majority, I have been able to observe first-hand the use of computers and direct mail as an important marketing method. Several samples of Falwell's direct mail letters in behalf of Moral Majority are included in Appendix B.

The letters contain certain clear characteristics. One is that Falwell is the central feature of each letter. The letters are usually from Falwell himself, and they are made to seem to be "personal" letters

from him. He uses very direct and personal language, and he always asks the recipient to join with him personally in some action regarding one of his moral issues. Often, there is a declaration that the correspondence between Falwell and the recipient is "confidential." Falwell's name is usually given top billing in the return address on the envelope as the examples demonstrate.

Dr. Jerry Falwell
P.O. Box 190
Forest, Virginia 24551

Jerry Falwell
Moral Majority, Inc.
499 S. Capitol Street, Suite 101
Washington, D.C. 20003

Jerry Falwell
Old-Time Gospel Hour
Lynchburg, VA 24514

Falwell's name often appears in a larger type, in a different more exotic type, or in a different color than the rest of the type.

Generally speaking, the message of the letters is much the same as the political preaching at the "I Love America" rallies. They are, to a great degree, his political preaching concentrated and in another form. The substance of his stance on the issues in the letters is essentially the same as in his political preaching at the rallies. Also, the absolutist, authoritarian, aggressive style and the inconsistent, simplistic reasoning that characterizes his political preaching at the rallies are equally present in the letters.

Also, the letters feature the same sense of extreme urgency that pervaded Falwell's political preaching. Usually the front of the envelope had some urgent message in large letters such as:

Voluntary Prayer in Public Schools!

America's Last Chance

Urgent

Let's Set the Record Straight!

Urgent Message Enclosed! Moral Majority Versus Militant
Homosexuals

The Battle Is Raging!

Confidential Message Enclosed

Who Is the #1 Enemy of the American Family?

Doomsday Report

We are at the Crossroads!

Unlike the "I Love America" rallies at which Falwell usually addressed all of the moral issues he was concerned about, the letters usually spotlight one volatile and emotional issue. At least, each issue addressed in the letters was usually dealt with in a volatile and emotional way. They usually called for the recipient to support him in his fight for or against some pending legislative action.

The letters are almost always in red, white, and blue colors giving the impression that Falwell and the Moral Majority are patriotic and have the best interest of America at heart. Often the letters contain ballots or surveys on subjects such as crime, prayer in public schools, sex on television, abortion, homosexuality, and pornography. The recipient is asked to fill out the survey or ballot and return it to Falwell. Falwell has sometimes used the results of those surveys in his political preaching to validate his own position on the issues.

The letters always ask for money, usually a specified amount. It would be more accurate to say that Falwell asked for money. For example, in a May 3, 1982, letter, Falwell wrote:

I am immediately going to intensify my fight against gay rights legislation now in Congress. . . . If we lose the fight . . . in Congress, then I am fearful for our great nation. And if you share my deep concern, then please send your check for \$25.00, Mr. Buckelew.²⁰⁷

Since Falwell to a great extent is the Moral Majority, the money supports the political activities of Falwell himself. Of course, a significant portion of Falwell's political activities consisted of his political preaching engagements.

Marketing, as a means of persuasion, was employed to persuade the American people that Falwell was a credible and charismatic leader who should be believed and supported. One of the specific marketing methods employed was direct mail from, by, and about Falwell. Another specific method was personal appearances by Falwell.

Personal Appearances. In the same way that famous authors hype the sale of their new books, movie stars promote their new movies, and television stars promote their new television programs--by appearing on talk shows--Falwell appeared on television news programs and talk shows. Whether he intended to promote his moral causes by such appearances, the effect would be to promote himself as well as his causes.

Recording artists, for example, have been successful in building sales for their new albums by taking to the road on personal appearance tours, singing one concert one night in one city and another concert the next night in another city. The personal appearances not only build record sales but also personal identification with their existing and potential audiences thereby establishing a faithful

following. Falwell evidently felt personal appearances were a necessary method in marketing himself and the Moral Majority. In the South Dakota rally, he described the appearances he had made during a few days of his schedule:

We left Lynchburg, they did [the 'I Love America' singers], on Saturday and went all the way to Madison, Wisconsin, on Monday at 11:00 a.m. This is state number 26 or 27, something like that. We are making a fifty state tour. We went from there to St. Paul, Minnesota. Then I went to Tulsa, Oklahoma, and they went to meetings, in the last night or so, in other places. . . . And then I came back from Tulsa to here [Pierre, South Dakota]. We go on to Bismarck, North Dakota, tomorrow.²⁰⁸

Falwell had conducted mass meetings in 141 cities during 1975 and 1976 celebrating the Bicentennial and evidently felt they were successful in building support for his ministries, or he would not have embarked on another round of such meetings in 1979 and 1980 to build support for his Moral Majority. The "I Love America" rallies of 1979-80 were part of his campaign of personal appearances to build a faithful following who would support him and his Biblical morality and to establish identity not only with the people but also with politicians in each state as well as with the supporters from Fundamentalist churches and Christian schools. The personal appearance campaign amounted to the selling not only of a morality but also of a political preacher. Evidently Falwell felt not only that these personal appearances would be successful but were necessary to "win" adherents and supporters and that nothing less than such a method would achieve the success he sought.

The "I Love America" rallies were certainly one of the most significant kinds of personal appearances conducted by Falwell during

the 1980 political campaign. In preparation for Falwell's appearances at the rallies, promotional materials were used to advertise his coming. Samples of these and other materials from the rallies are included in Appendix C. The promotional materials feature Falwell's name and picture prominently. The "I Love America" poster displayed a large picture of Falwell with the national capitol behind him, and his name appears three times. The full-color, picture post cards sent as mailers, announcing the rallies in a state, featured a bust-shot of Falwell in the middle of a scene with the "I Love America" singers on the capitol steps. The "I Love America" stationery featured Falwell's name at the top of the logo and in the largest lettering. The full-page advertisements in newspapers, announcing the rallies, featured three pictures of Falwell, two of them quite large, and his name also appeared three times. The Hotline Report, a special monthly publication for "I Love America" Club members, often spotlighted Falwell in an issue either in pictures or in a front page article. The point is that Falwell is the most prominent part of the materials promoting his appearance at the rallies.

The rallies themselves were marketed and marketing events not only spotlighting Falwell but also his political preaching which, if heeded, could save America, Falwell believed. The techniques of marketing at the rallies, like the promotional techniques used in preparation, were rhetorical in nature and function. They created a rhetorical atmosphere. The intention was to enhance not only the image of Falwell but the impact of his message.

For example, the bright colors, predominantly red, white, and blue, would have the effect of creating a mood of celebration and patriotism. The wall of flags from all fifty states on the capital steps behind Falwell, as he stood front and center on the steps, would generate not only feelings of patriotism but also nostalgia for some. The dome, columns, or other impressive features of the capital buildings that formed the background of the "stage" set up on the steps added authority to the occasion. The presence of public officials, sometimes the governor of the state, made the occasion seem official. Scores and sometimes hundreds of preachers sitting together would no doubt make it seem more sacred for many in the predominantly religious audiences. All were meant to be positive in their effect, and many in the audiences may have transferred their positive feelings to Falwell and his political preaching.

There were other techniques that would have the effect of helping create a rhetorical atmosphere such as the appearance of the youth of the choir. The boys in suits and the girls in very modest dresses, smiling and vivacious, were used to demonstrate the difference between clean-cut, God-fearing, Christian young people who love America on the one hand and Liberal youth on the other hand. At the Minnesota rally, Falwell recounted an incident from the day before:

We were in Madison, Wisconsin, yesterday. . . . We had about 3,000 people, like you, who really are standing for God and for this country. We had about 150 of the noisiest protestors I believe I have ever met in my life. I'm not sure they didn't scare some of you kids a little bit. And they were right in the middle of the crowd standing on their pedestals, and they looked like an accident looking for a place to happen. And they were shouting obscenities, words that I haven't heard

in my lifetime or, at least, not very often. I mean right out in public, screaming and yelling! The police told us afterwards they were throwing eggs up on the platform, cursing God. We would bow for prayer, they would curse God and curse Christ. When we would pledge allegiance to the flag, they cursed America. But the most wonderful thing about the meeting was what was happening on this platform and what thousands of people gathered around were seeing--the contrast between what America really is and what she always has been and what those young people have represented. We had compassion for them; they were just young people needing help, homosexuals, pro-abortionists, anti-Christ, anti-American, vulgar, obscene people who were mis-directed, who needed a Savior. But we were able to see, and everyone saw, and the media saw . . . this is what we are for, and that is what they [the protesters] are for. And nobody left with any misunderstanding about which was the better choice. I say to you, this is the better choice, right here.²⁰⁹

The music of the youth choir was a marketing technique that helped create a rhetorical atmosphere enhancing Falwell and his political preaching. In fact, the message of the music was an integral part of Falwell's political preaching at the rallies. The words of three of the songs presented by the choir are included in Appendix D. For example, the theme of the rallies, "I Love America," was introduced by a song with the same title. Also, important emphases of Falwell's political preaching were introduced or underscored by songs. Before he emphasized national defense, the choir usually sang "The Armed Forces Medley" composed of the theme songs from the army, navy, air force, and marines. Also, before Falwell emphasized the importance of the church to America, the choir sang an anthem about the church. The music was another way for Falwell to say what he wanted to say.

The rallies sounded more like revival meetings than political rallies as much because of the music as the political preaching. But, as Kinchelo noted, "American politicians from Andrew Jackson to Ronald Reagan . . . have made use of revivalistic methodology . . . namely the

use of music to engender emotion and control the behavior" of the crowds.²¹⁰ The power of music to manipulate the emotions of crowds was developed in Methodist and Baptist camp meetings during the early 1800s.²¹¹ As Kinchelo explains:

By 1840 the leaders of the political rally had been exposed to group singing and its effects at the thousands of camp meetings for several decades. Undoubtedly, they were influenced by this lesson to crowd psychology and subsequently applied their knowledge when they began to plan the Whig festivities of that year. Throughout the entire campaign . . . at every rally . . . observers were impressed by the quality and emotional impact of the music. 'After a song or two,' said Horace Greeley, the people, 'are more ready to listen to the orators.'²¹²

In the 1840 presidential campaign, the Whigs "recognized the great potential of evangelical politics; and with the help of the political rally, old Tippecanoe was swept into the White House on the backs of an emotionalized electorate. . . ."²¹³ In the 1840 election, it was said that William Henry Harrison was "sung into office."²¹⁴

In the 1980 presidential campaign, Falwell made use of the revivalistic rally which had been so effective 140 years before. And just as the revivalistic music of the political rallies of 1840 attracted such prominent people as Horace Mann, Horace Greeley, and William Henry Harrison, the "I Love America" rallies of 1980, with their revivalistic music and political preaching, attracted the attention of prominent media.

At the Iowa rally, for example, Falwell pointed out that reporters from Chicago and Detroit newspapers, from radio and television stations, and from the major television networks were there.²¹⁵ He also mentioned at the Iowa rally that "CBS News has been with us the last couple of weeks. . . . We had the Time magazine for awhile."²¹⁶

At the South Carolina rally, he noted that "all three television stations are here. I'm glad that Life magazine is here. . . ." ²¹⁷ The whole revivalistic marketing method of music and political preaching attracted attention.

Another marketing technique of the rallies was the use of testimonials or what might be termed surrogate rhetoric, that is, someone saying for Falwell what he would say. At each rally, elected officials, such as the governor, lieutenant governor, state legislators, U.S. congressmen and senators from the state, were introduced by Falwell. At most of the rallies, one or two officials, sometimes more, were asked to speak briefly.

At the Michigan rally, for example, several public officials and candidates for office introduced themselves, but no one spoke. ²¹⁸ At the Iowa rally, several spoke--the lieutenant governor, two state senators, the state secretary of agriculture, and a former state legislator. ²²⁰ At the Washington, D.C., rally, there was a parade of national officials--Senator Henry F. Gray, Jr., Virginia; Congressman George Hanson, Idaho; Senator Paul Laxalt, Nevada; Senator John Warner, Virginia; Congressman Robert Dornan, California; Senator George Humphrey, New Hampshire; Congressman Tom Kyness, Ohio; and Senator Jesse Helms, North Carolina. ²²¹

An example of the testimonial or surrogate rhetoric is this statement by a New Jersey state senator:

I am delighted to be here because I am part of that Christian morality. I am a product of the Christian school system. My children are products of the Christian school system, and my eight grandchildren are presently attending the Christian

school system. It's about time America woke up, and I see the beginning of a new reformation in America. This was a great nation established under the principles that God laid down for us: moral ethics, belief in the Supreme Being. Until we get back to that status, America is lost. But I am delighted at what I have seen in the last six months. It will only be the Christians of America, not only the preachers but the people, who confess the Lord Jesus Christ as their Savior. Until they express themselves actively, continuously, persistently, we will not effectuate the change. . . . I am happy that it is beginning, and I can see America changing so that it again accepts the leadership of this free world. God bless you all.²²²

The television special, "America, You're Too Young to Die," consisted of a series of testimonies by prominent conservative politicians that had been taped at the different rallies where they spoke.²²³

The force of others saying what Falwell was saying, especially if they were prominent and powerful, added to Falwell's influence, at least with some. Of course, for others, the baggage that a particular politician carried with him became Falwell's baggage when he became the surrogate of Falwell. For Falwell's purposes, however, the surrogate rhetoric of testimonies, though not unique, was a useful persuasive strategy for his moral causes.

One other technique of rhetorical significance at the rallies was Falwell's breaking his political preaching into a series of short segments with intervals of music and the testimonies making it a kind of serial speech. A typical program was the New Hampshire rally:

FALWELL:	Welcome	41 seconds
FALWELL:	Purpose of the rally	2 minutes
Singers:	"I Love America"	3 minutes
FALWELL:	Principles that Made America	4 minutes,
	Great	30 seconds
FALWELL:	The Men of the Military	2 minutes
Singers:	"The Armed Forces Medley"	3 minutes
FALWELL:	Prayer and the Pledge of Allegiance	1 minute,
	in Public Schools	25 seconds

Singers:	"Red, White, and Blue"	5 minutes, 35 seconds
Testimony:	Governor Meldrin Thompson	5 minutes, 35 seconds
FALWELL:	America Favored by God	6 minutes, 10 seconds
Singers:	"The Church Triumphant"	4 minutes
FALWELL:	The Crises America Faces	21 minutes, 56 seconds
Singers:	"God Bless America"	6 minutes, 11 seconds
FALWELL:	Conclusion and Prayer	3 minutes, 56 seconds.

.224

Since the majority of the audience at most rallies were children and adolescents from Christian schools, most of whom had come in groups, and since the rally was held outside in a busy area and thus distractions were maximal, keeping the audience's attention was important to the effect and success of the rally. By serializing his political preaching, Falwell could more likely keep their attention. Also, it allowed for a greater variety of rhetorical techniques to achieve persuasion than merely political preaching. And, as the program indicates, it provided Falwell the opportunity to focus on the different themes and issues of his Moral Majority.

Mass marketing as a means of persuasion was not only rhetorical in and of itself, but it was rhetoric about rhetoric, rhetoric surrounding rhetoric, spotlighting and enhancing the rhetoric of Falwell's political preaching. Political preaching as a persuasive means was highly environmentalized by the persuasive means of marketing. It was surrounded by rhetorical conditions that both affected it and were affected by it.

This chapter has discussed two of the means of persuasion employed by Falwell in behalf of Moral Majority and has delineated the

strategy and some of the resulting persuasive methods both in his political preaching and in his use of mass marketing with the "I Love America" rallies as examples of the convergence and culmination of all his rhetorical activity.

In his political preaching at those rallies, Falwell employed mostly a negative strategy resulting in a style and a kind of reasoning that were basically less than acceptable forms of rhetoric. His political preaching was the primary means of persuasion, but he used marketing as a means not only to get the message out but also to cast himself and his message in the best possible light.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Winston S. Churchill, "The Sinews of Peace," British Public Address, 1828-1960, eds. James H. McBath and Walter R. Fisher (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971), p. 542.
- 2 Thomas R. Nilsen, "Free Speech, Persuasion, and the Democratic Process," QJS, 44, No. 3 (Oct. 1958), 238.
- 3 Sacvan Bercovitch, "Introduction: The Puritan Errand Re-assessed," in her The American Jeremiad (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1978), p. 7.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid., p. 6.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid., p. xi.
- 8 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
- 9 Ibid., p. 11.
- 10 Ibid., p. xi.
- 11 Ibid., pp. 6-7.
- 12 Ibid., p. 11.
- 13 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Tallahassee, Florida, 3 March 1980, p. 6.
- 14 Ibid., p. 14.
- 15 Ibid., p. 20.
- 16 Ibid., pp. 14-16.
- 17 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Washington, D.C.
- 18 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Iowa.
- 19 Richard Hofstadter, "Part I: Studies in the American Right," in his The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 5.
- 20 Ibid., p. 4.

- 21 Ibid., p. 14.
- 22 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Columbus, South Carolina, 31 March 1980, p. 1.
- 23 Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- 24 Ibid., p. 3.
- 25 Ibid., p. 4.
- 26 Ibid., p. 5.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid., p. 9.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid., p. 10.
- 32 Ibid., p. 13.
- 33 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
- 34 Hofstadter, p. 14.
- 35 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Jersey, p. 15.
- 36 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Frankfort, Kentucky, 16 Oct. 1979, p. 17.
- 37 Hofstadter, pp. 29-30.
- 38 Jerry Falwell, unpublished sermon aired on "Old-Time Gospel Hour," WTBS-TV, Atlanta, 26 Sept. 1982, 10 P.M.
- 39 The Reader's Digest Great Encyclopedic Dictionary (Pleasantville, NY: The Reader's Digest Association, 1967), p. 214.
- 40 George Kennedy, Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1980), p. 88.
- 41 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Iowa, pp. 18-19.
- 42 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, pp. 1, 3.
- 43 Ibid., p. 2.

- 44 Ibid., p. 8.
- 45 Ibid., p. 10.
- 46 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
- 47 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of speech entitled "Mobilizing the Moral Majority," Denver, Colorado, 1980, pp. 1-2.
- 48 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Florida, p. 16.
- 49 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Kentucky, p. 19.
- 50 Telephone interview with Robert Massie, Professor, Yale Univ., January 1981.
- 51 Edwin Black, Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1978), pp. 143-44.
- 52 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Hampshire, pp. 4-5.
- 53 Edwin Black, "The Second Persona," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 56, No. 2 (April 1970), 119.
- 54 Jerry Falwell, ed., "The Resurgence of Fundamentalism," The Fundamentalist Phenomenon (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), p. 183.
- 55 Gary K. Clabaugh, Thunder on the Right: The Protestant Fundamentalists (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1974), p. 126.
- 56 Noah Webster, Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, 2nd ed. (Springfield, Mass.: G. C. Merriam, 1941), p. 1375.
- 57 Hofstadter, pp. 73-74.
- 58 Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, "Political Extremism," The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1977, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 12.
- 59 Ibid., p. 13.
- 60 Ibid., p. 11.
- 61 Ibid., p. 13.
- 62 Ibid., p. 14.
- 63 Ibid., p. 18.
- 64 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, pp. 1-2.

- 65 Ibid., p. 4.
- 66 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Kentucky, p. 4.
- 67 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
- 68 Falwell, "Mobilizing the Moral Majority," p. 6.
- 69 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Kentucky, p. 16.
- 70 Ibid., p. 16.
- 71 Ibid., pp. 14-17.
- 72 Ibid., p. 18.
- 73 Ibid., p. 14.
- 74 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Jersey, p. 6.
- 75 Ibid., p. 6.
- 76 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of speech at The National Affairs Briefing, Aug. 1980, p. 8.
- 77 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Iowa, p. 21.
- 78 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Minnesota, p. 4.
- 79 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Minnesota, p. 4.
- 80 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Dakota, p. 9.
- 81 Clabaugh, p. 126.
- 82 Ibid., p. 127.
- 83 Ibid., p. 128.
- 84 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Michigan, p. 14.
- 85 "America, You're Too Young . . . ," p. 16.
- 86 Falwell, "Mobilizing . . . ," p. 8.
- 87 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, p. 183.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, p. 4.

- 90 Ibid., p. 5.
- 91 Ibid., pp. 8-9.
- 92 Ibid., p. 9.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Ibid., p. 11.
- 95 Ibid., pp. 12-13.
- 96 Ibid., p. 13.
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Ibid., p. 14.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Ibid.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 Ibid., p. 15.
- 103 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, p. 15.
- 104 Ibid., p. 16.
- 105 Ibid., p. 17.
- 106 Martin E. Marty, "In Search of the Moral Majority," Miami Herald, Dec. 1980, p. 4M.
- 107 Philip Babcock Gove, Editor-in-Chief, Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam, 1961), p. 201.
- 108 Jeffrey Auer, ed., The Rhetoric of Our Times (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969).
- 109 Reader's Digest Great Encyclopedic Dictionary, p. 1045.
- 110 Hofstadter, p. 4.
- 111 Falwell, speech at National Affairs Briefing, p. 10.
- 112 "An Interview with the Lone Ranger of American Fundamentalism," Christianity Today, 4 Sept. 1981, p. 23.

- 113 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Jersey, p. 10.
- 114 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Columbus, Ohio, 17 Sept. 1979, p. 8.
- 115 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, p. 7.
- 116 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Iowa, p. 19.
- 117 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Michigan, p. 18.
- 118 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, p. 22.
- 119 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Iowa, p. 6.
- 120 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Jersey, p. 10.
- 121 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Michigan, pp. 3, 10.
- 122 Ibid., p. 13.
- 123 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, p. 10.
- 124 Falwell, speech at National Affairs Briefing, p. 9.
- 125 Ibid., p. 15.
- 126 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, p. 10.
- 127 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Michigan, p. 15.
- 128 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Florida, p. 13.
- 129 "America You're Too Young . . . ," p. 2.
- 130 Falwell, "Mobilizing . . . ," p. 13.
- 131 Matthew 5:13, KJV.
- 132 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, p. 10.
- 133 Ibid.
- 134 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Michigan, p. 20.
- 135 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Kentucky, p. 3.
- 136 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Minnesota, p. 6.
- 137 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Jersey, p. 15.

- 138 Ibid., p. 9.
- 139 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Kentucky, p. 16.
- 140 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Iowa, p. 7.
- 141 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Michigan, p. 2.
- 142 Ibid., p. 9.
- 143 Ibid., p. 10.
- 144 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Kentucky, p. 15.
- 145 Ibid.
- 146 Ibid., p. 19.
- 147 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Iowa, p. 13.
- 148 "Penthouse Interview: Reverend Jerry Falwell," Penthouse,
March 1981, p. 66.
- 149 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Washington, D.C., p. 9.
- 150 Ibid.
- 151 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Dakota, p. 11.
- 152 Ibid., p. 14.
- 153 Ibid., p. 15.
- 154 Ibid.
- 155 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Kentucky, p. 20.
- 156 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, pp. 18-19.
- 157 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Hampshire, p. 13.
- 158 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Ohio, p. 11.
- 159 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Jersey, p. 2.
- 160 Ibid., p. 3.
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Minnesota, p. 6.

- 163 "Dingman Testifies in Favor of Tuition Tax Credits," Moral Majority Reports, June 1983, p. 9.
- 164 Falwell, "Mobilizing . . . ," p. 14.
- 165 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
- 166 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Florida, p. 14.
- 167 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Kentucky, p. 17.
- 168 Kenneth Wray Connors, "Public Issues and Private Morality," Christian Century, 97, No. 32 (22 Oct. 1980), 1002-03.
- 169 Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy, News Release "Fountroy Criticizes 'New Right' Politics and Religion," 16 Oct. 1980, p. 2.
- 170 Lipset and Raab, The Politics of Unreason, p. 7.
- 171 Ibid.
- 172 Ibid.
- 173 Ibid., p. 8.
- 174 Ibid., p. 10.
- 175 Black, Rhetorical Criticism, pp. 142, 144.
- 176 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, p. 172.
- 177 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Michigan, p. 20.
- 178 Ibid.
- 179 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, p. 15.
- 180 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Michigan, p. 3.
- 181 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, p. 2.
- 182 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Kentucky, p. 11.
- 183 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Iowa, p. 20.
- 184 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Carolina, p. 5.
- 185 Ibid.
- 186 Ibid.

- 187 Ibid., p. 6.
- 188 Falwell, "Mobilizing . . . ," p. 8.
- 189 Ibid.
- 190 Franklin B. Krohn, "The Sixty-Minute Commercial: Marketing Salvation," The Humanist, Nov./Dec. 1980, p. 26.
- 191 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Pierre, South Dakota, 18 Sept. 1980, p. 10.
- 192 Falwell, The Fundamentalist Phenomenon, pp. 187-88.
- 193 Black, Rhetorical Criticism, pp. 145-46.
- 194 H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. and trans., From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1949), pp. 245-50.
- 195 Ibid., p. 245.
- 196 Ibid.
- 197 Ibid.
- 198 Ibid., p. 246.
- 199 Ibid.
- 200 Ibid.
- 201 Ibid., p. 247.
- 202 Ibid., p. 248.
- 203 Ibid., p. 249.
- 204 Ibid.
- 205 Ibid., p. 250.
- 206 Hadden and Swann, pp. 104-05.
- 207 Form letter from Dr. Jerry Falwell, 3 May 1982, p. 3.
- 208 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Dakota, p. 1.
- 209 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Minnesota, p. 3.

210 Joe Kinchelo, "Music for Social Control: Horace Mann, the Camp Meeting, and the Political Rally," Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting, Southwestern Philosophy of Education Society, 1981, p. 68.

211 Ibid., p. 71.

212 Ibid.

213 Ibid., p. 68.

214 Ibid., p. 72.

215 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Des Moines, Iowa, 7 May 1980, pp. 6-7.

216 Ibid., p. 9.

217 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Columbus, South Carolina, 31 March 1980, p. 6.

218 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Lansing, Michigan, 21 Apr. 1980, pp. 15-16.

219 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Concord, New Hampshire, 13 Oct. 1980, pp. 5-6.

220 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Iowa, pp. 15-17.

221 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Washington, D.C., pp. 4-8, 12-13.

222 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Trenton, New Jersey, 10 Nov. 1980, p. 13.

223 "America, You're Too Young . . .," July 1980, pp. 4-12.

224 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Hampshire, pp. 1-18.

VOLUME II

THE POLITICAL PREACHING OF JERRY FALWELL: A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS
OF THE POLITICAL PREACHING OF REV. JERRY FALWELL IN BEHALF
OF THE MORAL MAJORITY DURING THE 1980 POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

by

Roy Edward Buckelew

A Dissertation Presented to the
FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(Communication Arts and Sciences)

August 1983

UMI Number: DP22369

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI DP22369

Published by ProQuest LLC (2014). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

2955A
m

Chapter 5

ETHICALITY

The intention of this chapter is to demonstrate that Falwell's arguments and appeals are rhetorically unethical. I will first establish criteria for ethical rhetoric. Second, I will examine the unethical effect of Falwell's imposing and excluding moral views.

The Criteria for Ethical Rhetoric

In his political preaching, Falwell seems not only to ignore but also seems to be unconcerned about the accepted standards and practices of ethical rhetoric. In fact, as will be demonstrated, he makes no apparent effort or attempt to measure up to known ethical criteria in his rhetoric but sets them aside, if not intentionally then certainly not ignorantly, out of an apparent sense of the necessity to achieve a justifiable end, an end that he evidently believes is more important than any question about the means.

As Wallace argues, the "ethical standards of communication should place emphasis upon the means used to secure the end, rather than upon achieving the end itself. . . . If we give weight to the immediate success . . . [and] glorify the end," as he said, it can "be used . . . to sanction distortion and suppression of materials and arguments." And, he added, "We thus give a premium to the man . . . who must win at any cost; and we handicap the man who places the

welfare of others above his personal gain."¹ The result in Falwell's case, I will argue, is the disregard of moral differences, or at least the attempt to exclude discussion and debate about them, and the imposition of a kind of moral monism innate to theocracy rather than the pluralism innate to democracy.

There is no question that Falwell, or anyone else in our free and democratic society, has the right to say almost anything using almost all available means of persuasion guaranteed by the first amendment of the constitution. And the question is not, as Johannesen notes, "whether a persuasive technique will work in a given situation but whether we should employ this technique. . . . We need to determine not only what, how, and why," he argued, "but also ought."² This chapter argues that, while Falwell has the right to freedom of speech, even blatantly unethical speech, he has a more important responsibility, as a public communicator, to be ethical in his speech.

But, by what criteria do we judge the ethicality of his or any rhetoric in our free society? For this study, the criteria, those standards and practices, of ethical rhetoric will be those "ethics of communication"³ espoused by Wallace and others. Wallace, for example, argues that "we look for the ethical basis of communication in the ideals of our own political society . . . in the essential values of democracy. . . ." Those ideals and values of democracy, he explains, are (1) "the notion that the individual has dignity and worth . . . [which] leads to a state of mind best described by the old-fashioned word, respect" and to "a society that is a 'commonwealth of mutual deference'"; (2) "a profound faith in equality of opportunity" which

means that everyone "must be given the same chance . . . the all-important notion of fairness"; (3) "the belief in freedom" which means that "each individual must be given as wide a field to roam in as he wishes . . . [but also] that if a person in his roaming prevents another man from ranging widely, he must so modify his behavior as to give his fellow a similar opportunity . . . freedom implies restraint"; and (4) the idea that "every person is capable of understanding the nature of democracy: its goals, its values, its procedures and processes" which results inherently in the demand that, by our rhetoric, "knowledge be made available to all rather than to the few . . . that the sources and channels of communication be made wide and diverse, rather than limited or one-sided. . . ."4

Based on these democratic ideals and values, Wallace says, the public communicator who would be ethical is responsible to build his rhetoric on or build into his rhetoric "the habit of search . . . the habit of justice . . . the habit of preferring public to private motivations . . . [and] the habit of respect for dissent."5 According to Wallace, these are the "moralities" or, what I would call, the responsibilities of the ethical communicator. They will result in a commitment to "the duty of search and inquiry, allegiance to accuracy, fairness, and justice in the selection and treatment of ideas and arguments, the willingness to submit private motivations to public scrutiny, and the toleration of dissent."6

For purposes of this study, Wallace stated it best when he said that the great task of "the communicator who respects the democratic

way of life . . . is to help preserve a kind of equality of opportunity among ideas."⁷ He explained:

He must therefore be accurate in reporting fact and opinion; he must respect accuracy. Moreover, he must not intentionally warp and distort ideas. Nor must he suppress and conceal material which his audience would need in justly evaluating his argument. He must, furthermore, avoid the short-cut methods of the propagandists. He cannot make one word guilty by loosely associating it with another guilty word. He cannot indulge in the tricks of emotion, cannot juggle with reason, at the expense of sound argument. In helping himself meet the standard of justice, a communicator can always quiz himself: In the selection and presentation of my materials, am I giving my audience the opportunity of making fair judgments? The speaker who can answer yes understands what is involved in the sharing of information and opinion. He knows that he has had a special opportunity to observe, to learn, to evaluate, which most of his hearers may not have had. He knows, accordingly, that one of his jobs as a communicator is to help his hearers compensate for the lack of special opportunity. He realizes that he cannot possibly give them the same chance he has had, but he can give them the best chance that time and occasion will allow. Speaker and hearer, writer and reader, cannot have had the same experience, but they can feel that they have had. . . . [It is] what I shall call the habit of justice . . . respect for truth and accuracy and respect for fair dealing. . . . [We] must stand for truth and justice in communication because the health and welfare of a free society depend upon the integrity of the communicator.⁸

When this chapter argues that Falwell imposes his own moral views on others and excludes the moral views of others, it means that, in his political preaching, he does not measure up to the criteria for ethical rhetoric as conceptualized by Wallace. Falwell may be exercising his right of free speech, but he is not measuring up to his responsibility, as a public communicator, to promote, protect, and respect the free speech of others. I do not mean to imply that any or every persuader who argues passionately or in absolutist terms is automatically unethical, although some kinds of persuasion are inherently unethical in a free society, but rather to argue that such

persuasive rhetoric does not measure up to well-founded criteria for responsible rhetoric and is, at the best, less than ethically acceptable in a democracy.

Among rhetorical theorists, there is considerable agreement with Wallace about the criteria for ethical rhetoric. In a 1973 speech, for example, entitled "The Ethics of Public Discourse," Robert C. Jeffrey defined ethical public discourse as deliberate, free, and responsible."⁹ Ehninger's conclusion to his article, "Argument as Method: Its Nature, Its Limitations, and Its Uses," characterizes ethical argument

as a way of 'living through a common experience from the other side.' As a reciprocal honoring of the 'person' rather than a unilateral exploitation of the biological or economic individual . . . therefore a way of gaining 'freedom' and 'responsibility' by granting 'freedom' and 'responsibility'; a way of achieving 'personhood' for oneself by bestowing 'personhood' upon another. Johnstone has remarked that the creature who refuses to argue or to listen to arguments must, of necessity, remain something less than human. Because man is by nature a social animal he attains complete humanity only when he enters into such relationship as argument provides. The ultimate justification of argument as method . . . lies in the fact that by introducing the arguer into a situation of risk in which open-mindedness and tolerance are possible,' it paves the way toward 'personhood' for the disputants, and through them and millions like them opens the way to a society in which the values and commitments requisite to 'personhood' may some day replace the exploitation and strife which now separate man from man and nation from nation.¹⁰

In "Rationality and the Logic of Good Reasons," Fisher quotes W. B. Gallie:

That we regard a person as rational in respect to moral issues when he is prepared to discuss or has the habit and equipment for discussing, the morally relevant pros and cons of any proposed action. In morals, as much as in religion and politics, the notion of discussion is of far greater importance for the definition of rationality and rational will, than is the notion of demonstrative proof.¹¹

Calling this statement "the keynote of his position,"¹² Fisher implies a connection between Gallie's moral discussion and rationality and supports Johnstone's notion that such rhetoric "is non-manipulative, bilateral, deliberative, reflexive, and attentive to data."¹³

Drawing from writings by Ehninger, Fisher, and Johnstone as well as Brockriede, Johannesen composed a "synthesis of potential standards for ethical and sound rhetoric."¹⁴ Among other things, he says, "ethical rhetoric . . . avoids intolerance and acknowledges audience freedom of choice . . . is reflexive in scrutinizing one's own evidence and reasoning and motives." It is "attentive to data" and is "bilateral" meaning "openness to the possibility of self-change and . . . scrutiny by others." It is "self-perpetuating" in that it "leaves open the possibility" of further deliberation. It "embodies an attitude of reasonableness" in the sense that it supports one's views, is tolerant of the reasons of others, respects the worth of others, and avoids personalizing a controversy.¹⁵

The point is, that rather than imposing one's own moral views on others or excluding the moral views of others, ethical rhetoric nurtures and promotes freedom of choice, openness toward all competing and possible views, and continued discussion and debate about views that still lack unanimity. This chapter will argue that, at its essence--in its arguments and appeals--Falwell's political preaching, notably at the "I Love America" rallies, does not measure up to the criteria of ethical and sound rhetoric so widely endorsed by the best thinkers in the field.

The Ethicality of Falwell's Rhetoric

At times Falwell seemed to realize the imposing effect of his rhetoric as in the Penthouse interview.

PENTHOUSE: . . . It's quite okay for you to have your opinions but other people may not share those. And yet you are trying to impose, are you not, your attitudes on them? Based on the Bible, which they may not believe in?

FALWELL: Well, they can say the same thing about 'Thou shalt not steal.' If we tell folks, if we write it down and say, 'You're not going to break in this restaurant at night-time and steal--.' 'Well, where did you get that?' 'I got that from the Bible 'Thou shalt not steal.' 'Well, I don't believe the Bible.' That does not matter! It's the matter of law! For example, in this country homosexuality. . . . There are those who are saying, 'Well, that's an alternate lifestyle.' At this present moment, in all 50 states, and that's been the case since the days of the beginning of this country, it is a violation not only of God's law, of written men's law. And yet we are trying to make it something other than that when, in fact, it is not.

PENTHOUSE: Some people would call that progress, of course. Allowing people to live as they want to.

FALWELL: Yes, I think it's perverse, too.

PENTHOUSE: Some people would think it's PROGRESS.

FALWELL: Oh, I'm sorry. I misunderstood you. Well, I suppose you could use the word 'progress' to validate almost anything, but I look on it as regression instead.

PENTHOUSE: . . . Don't people make the criticism . . . that it's a very simplistic doctrine which you're putting forward which makes people think there are easy answers to very complicated questions? Do you not feel that's a valid criticism?

FALWELL: I really don't. I think that you could say that science is simplistic because it's exact. I was studying mechanical engineering before I even became a Christian. . . . You come to exact,

simplistic answers if you follow the proper equations and the proper processes. . . . Theology, to me, is an exact science. God is God. The Bible is the inspired, innerent work of God. And if everyone accepts the same theses and the same equations, they will arrive at the same answer.

PENTHOUSE: Yes, but what if everybody doesn't? And there's no reason why they should. Are you not . . . steamrolling, with the money that you generate from television . . . to push forward a message which, in its way, is . . . repressive?

FALWELL: Well, it is easy for people today who are violating God's law and man's law to ridicule those who oppose them by simply saying, 'That fellow's repressive; he is suggesting a return to where America was fifty years ago, morally.' And that is exactly what I'm proposing, morally.¹⁶

Rather than seeing any danger or anything undemocratic or unethical in the effect of imposing his version of Biblical morality on others, Falwell defended it. Falwell defended it by claiming that what he was doing was no different from what Liberals were doing.

Liberals for years have been forcing their values down people's throats on television, in textbooks, in movies, and through public law. Now that conservatives have gagged and are attempting to spit up, liberals are not only trying to force us to keep swallowing what they've already given us, but to accept more on top of it.¹⁷

In a special article answering accusations that the Moral Majority were imposing their views on others, Falwell asked, "Is motivating people to register, informing them on issues and asking them to vote un-American and unconstitutional?" And he answered, "No more so than the black voter registration drives of the 1960s or the political activism of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, the Berrigan brothers, William Sloane Coffin and the rest."¹⁸ Falwell protested the attacks on the Moral Majority by Liberals:

When Liberals first began attacking the Moral Majority, they said we had no right to speak out. When it was pointed out that the liberal agenda was well represented in the 1960s and '70s in the government, in the streets and in liberal churches, the liberals conceded that while we had the right to speak it was wrong for us to try to 'impose' our moral viewpoint on everyone else.

Of course, there was nothing wrong, so far as liberals were concerned, with 'imposing' their own views, whether those views had to do with civil rights, the Vietnam War, busing, the eradication of voluntary school prayer or the extermination of unborn babies through abortion. Liberals could impose their views because liberals were right! And they call us arrogant!¹⁹

Falwell insisted, "We're not trying to jam our moral philosophy down the throats of others. We're trying simply to keep some from jamming their amoral philosophies down our throats."²⁰

Furthermore, he defended it by explaining that it was necessary:

Let's remember that all law is the imposition of someone's morality to the exclusion of someone else's morality. We have laws against murder, rape, incest, cannibalism and stealing. No doubt, there are murderers, rapists, practitioners of incest, cannibals and thieves who are upset that their 'rights' have been denied. But in order to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare, it was deemed necessary to pass such laws.²¹

At the South Dakota rally, for example, he explained that it was necessary to impose the Fundamentalist morality on the television industry.

We're not talking about censorship. We believe in the first amendment rights. I as a preacher, you as a newsman, of course we believe in the right to speak, to write down on paper what our convictions are. The freedom of the press, the freedom to preach. But may I say that my freedom of speech ends where your well-being begins. I have no right to shout 'Fire!' in a crowded theatre any more than the smut peddlers have to publish and distribute the kind of garbage that's wiping out the moral values of our sons and daughters across this nation.²²

Falwell's argument was that one should not speak in such a way as to impose on other's well-being anymore than one should shout "Fire!"

in a crowded theatre because of the danger to the crowd and that, therefore, pornographers should not publish and distribute their material because of the danger to the moral values of children. Then, in what seemed to be a contradiction of his own argument, Falwell argued that the unchecked increase of pornography on television necessitates imposing the majority morality on an immoral and amoral industry for the well-being of all:

During the 1980's we must deal with that. I would predict that by 1985, if we do not deal with the pornography problem, . . . prime-time television will be filled with what we now call in the movie industry X-rated films. And every passing year, if you are one who watches television, you must admit it's becoming more risqué, more suggestive, more vulgar, more dirty, more profane. Well, you say, that's not so bad. Yes, the fact that you have been conditioned to the point that you're willing to accept it, indicates that you have been brainwashed. Much of television today is not fit for human consumption and something needs to be done.

The only thing we can do, since we do not have nor do we want the right of censorship on television, is to find out who those sponsors are, and we're doing that. Of all the major offending programs, who are the number one sponsors of the dirtiest programs? And in the early part of 1981, I will be writing you a letter to ask you to pledge along with many other millions of Americans not to purchase any of the products produced by the conglomerates that are committing themselves to the promotion of vulgar and dirty television. I think that, economically, we can make a difference if we do that.

Our purpose is not to damage industry but to make it responsible. And if we do that, since all three networks obviously have executives who are not responsible or else they would not be putting this upon the American public, actually if the executives decided that we're going to have family oriented programming, the sponsors would have no choice but to sponsor that which is available. And no one would be hurt. Well, since the network executives won't do it, then the good people of America must do it, and I suggest to you that, if we can affect their balance sheet by a few points, they'll become more religious about this thing. And we'll find that most of the networks will have cleaner programming in the years to come.²³

When Falwell says such things as "We must deal with that," "Something needed to be done, " "Since the network executives won't do it, then the good people of America must do it," "If we can affect their balance sheet by a few points, they'll become more religious about their thing," and, "It isn't a matter of if we should, we must do it," he is proposing, in effect, to impose his morality on the television industry.

Falwell's political preaching, in some cases, not only imposes his views on others, but, in effect, also actually excludes the possibility of other points of view. For example, Falwell's arguments and appeals concerning abortion not only impose his views on anyone needing or wanting an abortion, they also have the effect of excluding the views of those who believe in freedom of choice. Falwell calls for a constitutional amendment that would prohibit anyone from having an abortion, i.e., exclude their freedom of choice, for any reason other than to save the life of the mother. The effect is to exclude the possibility of different views or, at least, their practice in the case of abortion. Under Falwell's amendment, for example, if one's wife becomes pregnant, even if she were physically and psychologically unable to carry the baby through the pregnancy or care for it after birth, or if the family were unable to afford another baby financially, she would be left no choice but to have it.

Falwell admits as much in the Penthouse interview:

PENTHOUSE: . . . Surely what your're advocating is a slight contradiction, because its freedom for people who believe in what you believe. Abortion, for instance-- your position seems to be absolutely certain and sure, which would not allow freedom to other people who don't feel the same way as you.

FALWELL: Rules and regulations, standards of behavior, are absolutely essential in any civilized society. For example, I believe in freedom of speech, but that does not permit me to stand up in this restaurant and yell 'Fire!' when there is no fire, because my freedom of speech is now infringing upon the rights and benefits and well-being of the people in this room. And I have no right to use my freedom of speech to libel or slander someone's character. My freedom of speech ends where someone else's well-being begins.

Now that is likewise true in the matter of abortion It has always been the position of the Bible that life has dignity; life begins with conception, not birth. And it's not a Roman Catholic position, abortion is not a Roman Catholic issue as the politicians try to make it. It's a moral issue. And it's to our discredit, who are not Catholics, that we've allowed the Roman Catholics to carry that ball. Now the idea of 'freedom of choice,' which is what they prefer to use rather than 'freedom to kill,' to me is an obnoxious statement and a ridiculous statement. It's like a bank robber saying, 'I have freedom to break safes, and I want my freedom.'

Well, we believe that rules, standard regulations-- and this is regardless of what anyone thinks about America; it was, indeed, founded upon Judeo-Christian ethic. Our founding fathers were not all committed Christians or committed Jews, but they were committed to Biblical principles.²⁴

The crucial point is that, on the issue of abortion, Falwell seeks to exclude freedom of choice, in fact, calls it obnoxious and ridiculous. Falwell said at the New Hampshire rally that, because of the murder of unborn babies, "like Nazi Germany, we are under the wrath of God . . . and I want to say that I think every American had better start agreeing [with us] on these issues of human rights for unborn babies."²⁵ If freedom of choice is excluded, then abortion is excluded as a possibility, and thus the necessity for discussion and debate is excluded.

It is ironic that one of Falwell's fundamental complaints against the Supreme Court decision permitting abortion is that it was done by governmental "fiat,"²⁶ that, consequently, the Liberal morality on this issue was imposed on conservative Christians, and that, therefore, the conservative Christians view was excluded for all practical purposes. Yet, Falwell is attempting to do the same thing--to impose his morality about abortion, as well as a spectrum of other issues, on Liberals and others who disagree and do it by government fiat, in this case, an act of Congress.

When one remembers that Falwell's fundamental philosophy of law is that "all law is the imposition of someone's morality to the exclusion of someone else's morality" and that it is "necessary to pass such laws,"²⁷ one is tempted to think that Falwell believes it is all right to pass such laws on still debatable issues as long as the laws reflect "his" moral views.

We may more readily understand his political philosophy of the necessity of excluding the views of others when we understand the conservative Christian doctrine of salvation, as held by Falwell and other Fundamentalists. A primary part of the doctrine of Salvation is that anyone who does not believe in Jesus as God's son, the Messiah, the Saviour, and in his death as God's atonement or payment for our sin, is dead in his sin, lost from God, and cannot go to heaven but will go to hell. It is based on several Biblical passages: "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him."²⁸ "Neither is there salvation in any other: "There is none other name

given among men whereby we must be saved";²⁹ and "Jesus saith unto him, and I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me."³⁰ The last passage is a statement made by Jesus, and the argument is, as I have heard Baptist preachers say often, that Jesus was either telling the truth or was the biggest liar who ever lived. If he were telling the truth, then there is no other way to be saved and become a child of God except by believing in Jesus. Of course, the end of such doctrine is that no one but a Christian can be "saved," be a child of God, or go to heaven and that everyone who is not a Christian is going to hell. The more conservative Christians believe a person has to believe in Jesus as they do in order to be saved and escape hell.

The importance of the doctrine of an exclusive salvation in our study of Falwell is that he seems to have carried it over into his political preaching. Rather than emphasize in his political preaching that people have to believe in Jesus in order to be saved, Falwell implies that the people who are not yet a part of the moral majority have to believe in Biblical morality, the way Falwell and the Fundamentalists do, in order for the nation to be saved. It is a political version of the doctrine of exclusivism. In his political preaching, it is not who one believes in, whether one believes in Jesus as God's Son, and it is not being saved from hell; rather, it is what one believes, whether one believes in Biblical morality, and it is being saved as a nation from certain social, political, economic, and military catastrophe, the moral equivalent of hell. And, if enough Americans will adhere to the moral values held by the Moral Majority, that

is, like Falwell and other Fundamentalists, then America can be saved from the impending and imminent catastrophe that is certain to overtake our nation if such a moral conversion does not occur.

An example of this doctrine in Falwell's political preaching is this statement in the Michigan rally:

Now, we love homosexuals. We've never had any difficulty distinguishing between the sin and the sinner. We can love the sinner and hate his sin. We have done that ever since there has been a Christian ministry. But we don't help a sinner by telling him that his sin is okay. Any more than a doctor telling a cancer patient that all he needs is a band-aid, he's just got a little benign sore. He does his patient a disservice by not telling him the truth. 'You're pervert. You need deliverance by the gospel of Christ for your sin. God loves you, but you've got to come to the Christian way.'³¹

When one considers (1) the rhetorical strategies--the denunciation inherent in the jeremiad, the accusation inherent in paranoia, the intimidation inherent in catastasis, (2) the nature of the arguments and appeals natural to those strategies, the absolutism, authoritarianism, and aggression of the style and the inconsistencies and simplicity of his reasoning, and (3) the effect of imposing his views on others, one may reasonably conclude that it could lead ultimately to a rhetoric of exclusion, a kind of exorcism, in which he seeks to exclude those individuals, ideas, and institutions whose morality is different from his and the Moral Majority.

Fisher provides insight into such a cause-effect phenomenon in persuasion when he explains "that a communicator perceives a rhetorical situation in terms of a motive, and that an organic relationship exists between his perception and his response to that circumstance; his perception determines the characteristics of his discourse and his presen-

tation."³² It may be that Falwell's attempt at exclusion is a rhetorical motive, as well as a method, in much the same way that Fisher characterizes affirmation, reaffirmation, purification, and subversion as motives.³³ Rather than seeking "to initiate an ideology" as in affirmation,³⁴ "to revitalize one" as in reaffirmation,³⁵ "to refine one" as in purification,³⁶ "to weaken or destroy an ideology" as in subversion,³⁷ Falwell more nearly seeks to exclude the views of others whose ideology is different from his. Falwell claims otherwise.

At the same time, we are not trying, we do not believe in the imposition of our religious values on others. We're against religious tests for candidates. We're opposed to voting in candidates who happen to be Baptists or born-again evangelist or fundamentalist. We are totally, and entirely supporting those candidates who are first of all capable to fill that office and who are most closely alike with ours. Every citizen should vote that way. I can honestly tell you that I could vote for a Jewish president, a Roman Catholic president, a Mormon president as quickly as I could for an Independent Baptist president providing that person held to the right values and possessed the qualities of leadership necessary to lead.³⁸

At the South Dakota rally, he said, "Those persons who think that Christian leaders are trying to mimic or copy what the ayatollah is doing are simply uninformed and ignorant. We have an obligation to help guide our country," he explained, "and create a moral climate but nothing more than that. And that's all we are trying to do."³⁹ At the Minnesota rally, Falwell insisted, "We want to have influence not control. We have no intention to run anything . . . we have a responsibility to take our stand for what is right, to create a moral conscience and climate in this country. . . ."⁴⁰ But what Falwell does not countenance is that the arguments he employs to create that moral climate, if taken to their ultimate conclusion, whether intentional or not, will

lead not only to imposing his own moral views but to excluding the moral views of others. More than merely to create a moral climate, he will impose a moral doctrine and exclude moral differences.

Falwell apparently is motivated to exclude from the open marketplace of rhetorical persuasion the discussion, debate, disagreement, and democratic decisions so essential on moral issues of public interest. He says he trusts the American people and is willing to leave the issues up to the majority of the people.⁴¹ However, in the same breath, he betrays the reason he is willing to leave it up to the people--because he firmly believes a majority of Americans agree with him on the issues he has raised.⁴²

As evidenced by the name "Moral Majority," Falwell is confident he represents and speaks for a majority of Americans. He emphasizes repeatedly that a basis both for starting the Moral Majority and giving the organization its name was the 1979 Gallup Poll which concluded that eighty-four percent of Americans still believe in the Ten Commandments.⁴³ Falwell, based at least on what he said in some "I Love America" rallies, drew the unfounded conclusion from the Gallup findings that an overwhelming majority of Americans believe the same as he does about specific moral issues. For example, he said at the Michigan rally:

A recent Gallup Poll indicated that 84 percent of all Americans still believe that the Ten Commandments are valid for today. That doesn't mean they all can quote the Ten Commandments. . . . But thank God [it does mean] that 84 percent of all Americans agree, they intellectually assent to Bible morality, decency. I want to say that the time has come when this great army, 84 percent, needs to stand up and say to Mr. Carter, to Congress, to the judiciary, and to all fifty state houses, "We're going

to return to Moral sanity with or without you,' and we need that to happen right away.⁴⁴

Falwell has not, in practice at least, left the moral issues up to the people. Rather he has sought to manipulate the perceived moral majority of Americans and, through them, the government into imposing, by force of law, the Fundamentalists' morality on the nation even if it may exclude the views of others as in the case of television and abortion.

Not only did Falwell base his movement on the perceived "fact" that a majority believed as he did, he also used that "fact" to justify imposing his views on others even to the extent of excluding other views. In what may be called a myth of the majority mentality, his thinking seems to be that, because they are a majority, there is a majority morality and that, because their morality is in the majority, their morality is right as it once was.

The fact that Falwell, in his arguments, invoked God as on his side poisons the wells of argument so that argument is no longer feasible, if even possible. For example, at the Kentucky rally, Falwell said:

. . . in the last 45 years, some things have been changing. Recently, Andy Young [Andrew Young, United States Ambassador to the United Nations] had a meeting with the PLO. I think that displeased the Lord. He dishonored his office. He lied to the press and he resigned and should have. And I say to you that whenever the United States waivers on our position on the side of the Jewish nation, we are in trouble with God.⁴⁵

Invoking God in an argument has the effect of closing argument and excluding all other views not endorsed by God or by God's "prophet."

Who would argue against God? And, if one dared, how would one argue against God?

Brooks Hays, Congressman and notable Christian, is instructive here. Although Hays avowed a "healthy function" for "religion in democracy and in politics, he had no patience with those whose goal is to polarize the electorate through claims that God supports one set of political ideas to the categorical exclusion of all others."⁴⁶

He wrote:

Early in my own career I determined that I would not identify my candidacy with a 'righteous cause.' This is not to say that from the standpoint of moral values, political campaigns do not present clear choices. . . . I am pointing out, however, that invoking divine approbation for the purpose of gaining favor at the polls is not in the tradition and should be repudiated. . . .⁴⁷

A further concern is that Falwell's political preaching is not only unethical in that it does not measure up to the criteria of freedom of choice, openness, and continued discussion, but also it is unethical in that it does not measure up to universal principles of justice. Nowhere in the political preaching of Falwell does he deal with justice or its inevitable companions, liberty and equality. Yet there are sufficient grounds for conceptualizing justice as the ultimate motive of rhetoric.

Plato has Socrates say to Gorgias, for example, that rhetoric "is always discoursing about justice."⁴⁸ Eubanks and Baker state that "the broader logic of rhetoric . . . is the maintenance of the conditions necessary to a Society of Justice" and that "the logical end of rhetoric [is] the realization of Justice."⁴⁹

Lower has argued "that nearly every persuasive speech at some point asks the audience to make a moral decision. . . . Thus, to the extent the speaker deals with fundamental values, he deals with morals, and ideally he will address himself to the value of justice."⁵⁰ Lower, proposing "that the theory of moral stages developed by Lawrence Kohlberg can make a meaningful contribution to the . . . understanding of thought processes employed by public speakers,"⁵¹ quotes Kohlberg as saying, "'the most fundamental values in a society are termed moral, and the major moral values in our society are the values of justice.'"⁵²

What Kohlberg claims for justice in moral education may apply to justice in rhetoric. "The principle central" to moral education "is justice," he says.⁵³ Justice is a "universal standard . . . the organizing principal for moral education."⁵⁴ Of Kohlberg's six stages of moral development, stage six is the highest and last stage. At this stage, the moral "right" is not defined as concrete moral rules like the Ten Commandments but universal ethical principles like, in order of priority, justice, reciprocity, equality, and respect for individuality.⁵⁵ In this last stage, justice is "an expanding capacity for empathy, for taking the role of the other. . . . The expansion of empathy . . . leads to an expansion of points of view. . . ." ⁵⁶

Perhaps the statement by Kohlberg that is most pertinent to our consideration of the political preaching of Falwell is as follows:

. . . the core of morality is justice. Unless one recognizes the core status of justice, any conscious concern about . . . developing the basic values of the society and making citizens . . . will run into difficulties . . . the values . . . should not be the values of an organized minority . . . [or] that of any organized majority. . . . Neither the government, the law,

nor the schools [nor the churches] represent a vehicle whereby the values of the majority may be imposed upon the minority. Both prayer in school and segregated education were the will of the majority as determined by the Gallup Poll before the Supreme Court decision. Yet the court had no hesitancy in defending the rights of the minority [i.e., justice?]. The basic values of our society are basic not in the sense of representing majority or even unanimous consensus; they are basic in the sense of representing universal values which either the majority or the minority must appeal to in support of their own beliefs . . . the proper content [of such appeals] is . . . the values of justice which themselves prohibit the imposition of beliefs of one group upon another.⁵⁷

Lower argued that the civil rights movements, a "persuasive" movement, adds "credence" to Kohlberg's notions, because it based "its persuasion on the moral issues of fairness and equity . . . or as Kohlberg would prefer, justice."⁵⁸ Kohlberg identifies Martin Luther King as the ideal moral leader, because "he was a drum major for justice."⁵⁹ King's rhetorical "acts of civil disobedience," he said, "flowed directly from a sense of principles of justice . . . not just propaganda or protest. . . . Justice was not just one more fine-sounding word in a eulogy, it was the essence of King's moral leadership."⁶⁰

It is precisely at this point that the political preaching of King and Falwell differs most radically. The ethical motive of King was the establishment of justice in the sense that Kohlberg described--by expanding empathy for others as he did in the "I Have a Dream" speech⁶¹ and "The Letter from Birmingham Jail."⁶² On the other hand, the motive of Falwell may be deemed unethical in that it tended toward the disestablishment of justice--by excluding rather than expanding empathy for others as he did in the "I Love America" speeches. Whereas King addressed the universal principle of justice and its fruits,

equality and liberty for all, as applied to equal opportunity in education and employment, open housing, and equal access to public facilities, Falwell addressed provincial and sectarian issues such as the suppression of sexual expression, censorship of books, magazines, television, and movies, and restriction of rights. Eventually moral rhetoric must apply universal principles to particular issues, but rhetoric must likewise measure positions on particular issues by universal principles. In his political preaching, King tended to do both, whereas Falwell tended to do neither.

Falwell applied Biblical principles to the particular issues he raised by the Biblical principles he chose to apply were not necessarily universal principles as he applied them. For example, the Biblical passage he chose as the basis of his emphasis on morality was Proverbs 14:34--"Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." Or, as Falwell usually quoted it, "Living by God's principles promotes a nation to greatness; violating God's principles brings a nation to shame."⁶³ Righteousness, as Falwell applied it, means believing as he does about abortion, pornography, homosexuality, sex, marriage, the family America, national defense, and Israel. If his political preaching is a valid indication, righteousness for Falwell does not include matters of justice, liberty, and equality. Where in his concept of righteousness does he include feeding the hungry, taking in those who are different, clothing those who need clothes, visiting those who are sick or in prison?⁶⁴

In fact, Falwell said this about helping the poor:

Or someone will say, What about the poor? We could never bring the issue of the poor into Moral Majority because the argument would be, Who is going to decide what we teach those people? Mormons, Catholics? No, we won't get into that. As private persons and ministers, we make a commitment if we feel convicted. But for Moral Majority, no! If we go in there, create jobs, raise funds, and get involved with the local pastors, the problem is, which pastors? If we say the Mormon pastors, the fundamentalists are gone. If we say the Catholic pastors, the Jews are gone, and so forth. We just have to stay away from helping the poor.⁶⁵

Falwell's Biblical principles were rather sectarian than universal as interpreted and applied by him.

There is one possible exception to my claim that Falwell does not deal with issues of justice in his political preaching. The exception is abortion. He argues that he is fighting for the rights of unborn babies. He said at the National Affairs Briefing that first on the moral agenda of the 1980s "must be the passage of a human life amendment" so that "unborn, defenseless babies might have restored to them their civil rights and the privilege and right to exist."⁶⁶

Abortion, he said at the New Jersey rally, "is a violation of the principle of the dignity of human life. And who is going to speak for voiceless, defenseless babies if we do not?"⁶⁷

But, taken to its logical and ultimate conclusion, even the ethical motive of seeking and securing justice for unborn babies is at the expense or to the exclusion of rights of others, especially pregnant women, and is ultimately unethical. Granted, securing justice for anyone or any group may limit or, in extreme cases, exclude rights of others. But in the case of abortion, the rights of pregnant women are especially excluded when the rights of unborn babies preempt the rights of prospective mothers to the extent that Falwell calls for--

denying all the mother's rights except the right to her life. What may be an ethical motive in its intent may become unethical when carried to an extreme. It is important to note that the unethical rhetoric of exclusion by which Falwell excludes the views of others could be invoked by others in another situation to exclude the views of Falwell and all whom he represents or even others like him in the future.

In summary, this chapter has shown that Falwell's arguments and appeals were such that, when taken to their logical and ultimate conclusion, they imposed their views on others, in some cases on everyone, and excluded the views of others. Falwell's political preaching, because of such arguments and appeals, is unethical. Because he considered himself and his causes so righteous, he set aside standards and practices of persuasion that led to freedom of choice and openness to differences in order to achieve what he perceived and believed to be an absolutely necessary end. The end sought was a nation living by Biblical morality which was necessary if America was to be saved. Saving the nation was so necessary that standards and practices which would not guarantee Biblical morality in the nation had to be set aside in favor of standards and practices that would. In fact, he thought the standards and practices that promoted choices and openness, in other words the rhetorical ethics of Liberals and humanists, are what got America into the situation she is in. As Falwell said,

To me it is not a matter of whether we should do it, we must do it. We have a saying down in Virginia, 'Sometimes it isn't a matter of whether the rabbit can climb the tree; sometimes he

must,' And I say to you, because of our children and our children's children and the needs of the free world, we can do no less than to survive. We must survive. We must do whatever is necessary to bring the country back to moral sanity, to moral health so that one more time this nation, a nation under God, can lead in the family of nations everywhere.⁶⁸

Like Bill Moyers, I grew up among Fundamentalist-type Baptists, among staunchly conservative Southern Baptists; he in east Texas, I in southeast Oklahoma. We grew up in the same era. And, I was attending Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas, at the same time as Moyers. Having those similar roots, I identify keenly with Moyers' assessment of the religious Right, in particular Falwell and the Moral Majority.

I know the people in this report. I was born and reared among them; they're my kin. Although long ago I made passage to another place and culture, to another way of seeing and believing, I still hear at certain times with affection echoes of their prayers and hymns. I recognize deeply imprinted within me the inherited yearning for order and authority that caused them in menacing times to cleave more tenaciously to their faith. It isn't surprising that they're fighting back against the discoveries of science, decrees of government, and dilemmas of democracy that intrude upon their fixed scheme of things. Nor is it unprecedented for people of a religious persuasion to want to affect the system, to matter politically, to try to elect to office agents of their anger who will attempt to supply the leadership for which they ache. There are precedents aplenty. I once wrote a speech for Lyndon Johnson asking Southern Baptists to rally behind the Voting Rights Act of 1965. A Catholic bishop urges his parishioners to vote for candidates who oppose abortion. Jimmy Carter prowls black churches as if they were precincts of the Democratic Party, which many are. William Sloane Coffin marshals his congregation to march on the Pentagon, and Jews pressure Washington to support Israeli government decisions based on interpretations of scriptures from the Bronze Age, precedents all. It is not that the evangelicals are taking politics seriously that bothers me. It's the lie they're being told by the demagogues who flatter them into believing they can achieve politically the certitude they have embraced theologically. The world doesn't work that way. There is no heaven on earth. Nor can our democracy agree to a moral majority that makes religious doctrine the test of political opinion. You may have that only where all are alike in thought and root and

intent, which America is not. Here, the idea has long been to protect religious freedom from a carnivorous state, political deliberation from dogmatic zealots, and militant believers from one another. So they're being misled, these people, by manipulators of politics masquerading as messengers of heaven, and their hearts will be broken by false gods who, having taken the coin of their vote or purse, will move on to work the next crowd. The same Reverend Falwell who claims a divine mandate to go right into the halls of Congress and fight for laws that will save America is caught lying in public about a meeting he had with the president . . . some majority. Some morality.⁶⁹

ENDNOTES

¹ Karl R. Wallace, "An Ethical Basis of Communication," in Ethics and Persuasion, Selected Readings, ed. Richard L. Johannesen, (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 45.

² Ibid., p. 41.

³ Ibid., p. 43.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 48-50.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 51-55.

⁶ Ibid., p. 55.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 51-52.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 52-53.

⁹ Robert C. Jeffrey, unpublished transcript of speech, "The Ethics of Public Discourse," to the Speech Communication Association Convention, 11 Nov. 1973, pp. 6, 9.

¹⁰ Douglas Ehninger, "Argument as Method: Its Nature, Its Limitations, and Its Uses," Speech Monographs, 37 (June 1970), 110.

¹¹ Walter R. Fisher, "Rationality and the Logic of Good Reasons," Journal of Philosophy and Rhetoric, 13 (Spring 1980), 122.

¹² Ibid., p. 3.

¹³ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁴ Richard L. Johannesen, Ethics in Human Communication, 2nd ed. (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1983), pp. 61-62.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ "Penthouse Interview: Reverend Jerry Falwell," Penthouse, March 1981, pp. 66, 150.

¹⁷ Jerry Falwell, "U.S. 'Sliding Down' with Political Left," Arkansas Gazette, 25 Apr. 1982, p. 1H.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Jerry Falwell, "My Turn: The Maligned Moral Majority," Newsweek, 21 Sept. 1981, p. 17.

20 "Interview with Jerry Falwell," Transcript of Meet the Press, 12 Oct. 1980, p. 2.

21 Falwell, "My Turn . . . ," p. 17.

22 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Pierre, South Dakota, 18 Sept. 1980, p. 17.

23 Ibid., pp. 17-18.

24 "Penthouse Interview . . . ," p. 66.

25 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Concord, New Hampshire, 13 Oct. 1980, p. 10.

26 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Trenton, New Jersey, 10 Nov. 1980, p. 6.

27 Falwell, "My Turn . . . ," p. 17.

28 John 3:35, KJV.

29 Acts 4:12, KJV.

30 John 14:6, KJV.

31 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Lansing, Michigan, 21 Apr. 1980.

32 Walter R. Fisher, "A Motive View of Communication," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 56, No. 2 (Apr. 1970), 132.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid., p. 136.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., p. 137.

38 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Jersey, p. 5.

39 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Dakota, p. 15.

40 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, St. Paul/Minneapolis, Minnesota, 16 Sept. 1980, pp. 6-7.

41 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Dakota, p. 11.

- 42 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Jersey, p. 10.
- 43 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, Michigan, p. 9.
- 44 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
- 45 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Frankfort, Kentucky, 16 Oct. 1979, p. 13.
- 46 Nate Coulter, "Piety Without Demogoguery Is Legacy of Brooks Hays," Arkansas Gazette, 15 Oct. 1982, p. 21A.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Plato, "Gorgias," trans. Benjamin Jowett, ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins, Great Books of the Western World, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952 ed.
- 49 Virgil L. Baker and Ralph T. Eubanks, "Toward an Axiology of Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 48, No. 2 (Apr. 1962), 161-62.
- 50 Frank J. Lower, "Kohlberg's Moral Stages as a Critical Tool," The Southern Speech Communication Journal, 47 (Winter 1982), 184.
- 51 Ibid., p. 178.
- 52 Ibid., p. 184.
- 53 Lawrence Kohlberg and Richard H. Hersh, "Moral Development: A Review of the Theory," Theory into Practice, 16, No. 2 (Apr. 1977), 56.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Lawrence Kohlberg, "The Claim to Moral Adequacy of a Highest Stage of Moral Judgment," The Journal of Philosophy, 70 (Oct. 1973), 632.
- 56 Kohlberg and Hersh, "Moral Development . . . ," p. 56.
- 57 Lawrence Kohlberg, "Moral and Religious Education and the Public Schools: A Developmental View," in Religion and Public Education, ed. T. Sizer (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1967), pp. 165-66.
- 58 Lower, p. 184.
- 59 Lawrence Kohlberg, "Education for Justice: A Modern Statement of the Platonic View," in his Moral Education: Five Lectures (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1970), p. 68.
- 60 Ibid.

61 Martin Luther King, "I Have a Dream," in Annals of America (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1976), 156-60.

62 Martin Luther King, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," in Annals of America (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1976), 143-50.

63 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Jersey, p. 5.

64 Matthew 25:35-46, KJV.

65 "An Interview with the Lone Ranger of American Fundamentalism," Christianity Today, 4 Sept. 1981, p. 17.

66 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of speech at The National Affairs Briefing, Aug. 1980, p. 3.

67 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, New Jersey, p. 6.

68 Falwell, "I Love America" rally, South Dakota, p. 19.

69 Bill Moyers, Bill Moyers Journal, Campaign Report No. 3; also quotation in Peggy L. Shriver, The Bible Vote (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1981), pp. 127-28.

Chapter 6

EFFECTIVENESS

Given the nature of Falwell's political preaching--the situation that gave rise to it, his message, his strategy, the consequent arguments and appeals and their unethical character--one wonders who he did and did not persuade with his kind of rhetoric. How effective was his rhetoric and with whom?

This chapter, therefore, will examine how effective Falwell was in behalf of the Moral Majority, first, among Christians and other religions; second, with Americans in general; third, with voters in the 1980 elections; and finally, in the passage of specific legislation.

Christians and Other Religions

It seems reasonable to assume that Falwell's kind of rhetoric would be most effective among his fellow Fundamentalists. Although he claims Moral Majority is not a Christian or religious organization, he acknowledged that "the most aggressive leaders in Moral Majority are fundamentalist pastors."¹ There are two or three reasons why they would be especially persuasible by Falwell's kind of political preaching. One is that they admire their preachers when they take hard stances on controversial issues, especially moral issues. A second reason is that they are comfortable with, even encourage, pugnacious

preaching especially when it attacks immorality. It is the nature of Fundamentalist preaching. Falwell's political preaching was very much like the preaching they were accustomed to hearing in their churches and at religious rallies. Thus, a third reason some would follow Falwell is out of a sense of identification and loyalty to one of their own kind. Though I have found no occasion when Falwell conceded that Fundamentalists comprise the majority of the Moral Majority, a study by Shupe and Stacey found that 77 percent of their supporters are Fundamentalists.²

Falwell's Old-Time Gospel Hour television audience was also a relatively substantial base of support from which to launch his moral majority movement. Shupe and Stacey found that nearly half of those who depend on radio and television for their religious experience strongly support the Moral Majority.³ With that in mind, it is important to put in proper perspective the size of the audiences of religious radio and television programs.

Estimates of those audiences have been grossly exaggerated. Martin summarized most of the estimates that were made during 1979 and 1980; Ben Armstrong, the executive director of the National Religious Broadcasters, estimated that 130 million people tuned in each week; the New York Times accepted Armstrong's figure and estimated that four television preachers drew audiences of 47 million; the Wall Street Journal put the number of weekly viewers at 128 million; U.S. News & World Report set the audiences at 50 million; New Yorker magazine estimated 130 million viewers; Penthouse said between 40 and 60 million; Playboy said 30 million tune in to Jerry Falwell; William Fore, head of

communications for the National Council of Churches, said that 47 percent of Americans watch the evangelical preachers on television each week; and James M. Wall, editor of The Christian Century, said the television preachers reach 100 million viewers each week.⁴

But Martin demonstrated, based on Arbitron and A. C. Neilson ratings data, that the average weekly audience for the top ten programs was more like 7 to 10 million.⁵ He estimated that the number of regular viewers watching Falwell was 1,267,000 per week.⁶ Hadden and Swann substantiate Martin's estimates of Falwell's audience.⁷ But this much smaller number of loyal viewers represents a significant number of potential voters to be bombarded with hour-long persuasive messages every week. Add to that the occasional viewers who Martin estimates at "two or three times" the number of regular viewers,⁸ and their political potential is even more significant. Whether Fundamentalist in doctrine or not, a substantial number of Falwell's audience would likely agree with him on the moral issues raised by him.

Falwell had already been preaching about Moral Majority issues on the Old-Time Gospel Hour before he established the Moral Majority or conducted any "I Love America" rallies. Even though Falwell's audience declined 2.3 percent from 1977 to 1980, according to Martin, it was less of a decline than any other television preacher suffered and much less than most.⁹ We may conclude, therefore, that, because Falwell's audiences were tuning him in and not turning him off, they were probably agreeing with him about religious matters while not necessarily disagreeing about moral issues, which is verified by Shupe and Stacey's study.¹⁰ The "viewers," they said, "are attending more to the

religious dimension . . . than to the [political] dimension."¹¹ But Shupe and Stacey do not suggest the viewers are unattentive to the political dimension.¹²

Further evidence that the true believers of his television audience, though not agreeing with him overwhelmingly on those issues, were not necessarily disagreeing is that the amount of money they sent him grew greatly during 1978 and 1979, the time when he was becoming measurably more vociferous and vigorous in behalf of Biblical morality.¹³

Marty argues, however, that "not even everyone named fundamentalist is under Moral Majority control."¹⁴ Even those who have historically been called fundamentalist, "we can presume," Marty says, "still remain politically apathetic or uncontrolled."¹⁵ He would include Nazarenes, Pentecostals, and Baptists. Pentecostals, he says, "are more preoccupied with praising God and being healed" and "drew back as religious politics on all sides grew meaner in 1980."¹⁶ Referring to Southern Baptists, Missouri Synod Lutherans, and evangelicals in general, Marty observed, "The New Christian Right may have converts among such bodies, but cannot count on them as groups."¹⁷ Separate out such groups, he said, and "we have another generation of 'generals without armies.'"¹⁸ But at the same time he warned not to underestimate them.

Timothy L. Smith insisted, as Marty had, that Falwell "speaks for only a fragment of . . . American evangelical Protestants."¹⁹ Smith claims that, besides the Missouri Lutheran Synod, Southern Baptists, Pentecostals, and historical Fundamentalists, "the churches of

Christ . . . stand apart."²⁰ And, he asks, can anyone seriously believe Falwell represents black evangelicals and the historic peace churches?²¹ Evangelicals, in fact, "disagree about . . . most of those [issues] on which Mr. Falwell's crew of political mechanics assert there is only one biblical position. They deplore his strident efforts to build a power bloc in their name."²²

A fundamental finding of Shupe and Stacey is that, while the Moral Majority is most "attractive to fundamentalist Christians," it is "progressively less so to conservatives, moderates, and Catholics because it is essentially a fundamentalist Christian movement."²³ Nevertheless, Falwell believed there were many other religious people besides Fundamentalists and other supporters of his television audience who were attuned to Biblical morality as he interpreted it. He claims the Moral Majority, from the first, was "made up of fundamentalists, evangelicals, Roman Catholics, conservative Jews, Mormons and even persons of no religious belief who share our concerns about the issues we address."²⁴ But Shupe and Stacey's study contradict such a claim. Questioning whether "the grass roots supporters of the Moral Majority's platform share Falwell's sentiments regarding Catholics and Jews," they found that 40 percent have moderate to strong anti-Semitic sentiments and 48 percent have moderate to strong anti-Catholic sentiments.²⁵

While the leadership of the Moral Majority may proclaim that its political platform is non-sectarian and receives broad inter-denominational support, inspection of the grass roots supporters does not validate that claim. Catholics in particular . . . are low in supporting the Moral Majority, and in turn many supporters of the Moral Majority movement show clear signs of being anti-Catholic.²⁶

Not all fundamentalists and conservative supported it . . . but its supporters were most likely to be fundamentalists and evangelicals and least likely to be in moderate-to-liberal Protestant denominations. They were least likely to be Roman Catholics. Thus, Falwell's claim to possess the loyalty and backing of persons across a broad panorama of religious groups aside, his support base seems actually composed of a rather narrow segment of Christians.²⁷

Falwell said he conferred with Mormons, Catholics, Jews, and Protestants as well as Fundamentalists before founding the Moral Majority, but the founding board consisted strictly of Fundamentalists and other men who were extremely conservative:

Dr. Greg Dixon, pastor, Indianapolis Baptist Temple, Dr. Tim LaHaye, founder of Christian Heritage College, El Cajon, CA., Alan Dye, tax attorney, and Bob Billings, past president of Hyles-Anderson College, Dr. Charles Stanley, pastor, First Baptist Church, Atlanta, GA., Dr. James Kennedy, pastor, Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church, Ft. Lauderdale, FL. . . .²⁸

The make-up of the board of Moral Majority certainly does not indicate a broad-based constituency; in fact, it reflects a narrow constituency.

Though the evidence shows that, across the spectrum of Christians, there is a fairly even distribution of opinions about the moral issues addressed by Falwell and Moral Majority,²⁹ one would expect little or no support for their political activities among the moderate and mainline or Liberal Protestant denominations. They were, in fact, among the most outspoken opponents of Falwell's Moral Majority movement. An example of their opposition is this statement issued shortly before the 1980 elections:

Christians and Christian groups--whether they be ideologically on the right, the left, or in the center--have every right to seek to influence public affairs. Nevertheless, apart from any political differences we may have with the religious right, we have strong theological objections to some of their positions

and tactics. 1. On theological and ethical grounds, we object to the list of issues which the religious right has identified as the moral agenda facing our nation . . . we find their selection of issues to be theologically and ethically inadequate. . . .
2. . . . we object to the moral criteria that many in the religious right use to evaluate candidates for public office. . . .
3. . . . we reject the assumption that human beings can know with absolute certainty the will of God on particular public policy issues. . . . 4. . . . we reject the manner in which some in the religious rights are engaging in political activity. There is no place in a Christian manner of political life for arrogance, manipulation, subterfuge, or holding others in contempt. There is no justification in a pluralistic and democratic society for demands for conformity along religious or ideological lines.³⁰

Among the signers of the declaration were the heads of Bishops of the United Methodist Church, the American Baptist Churches, the Evangelical Covenant Church, the Moravian Church, the Progressive National Baptist Convention, the Friends General Conference, the Church of the Brethren, the United Church of Christ, the Disciples of Christ; the executive director of governmental affairs for the Lutheran church; the president of the women's division of the United Methodist Church; the clerk of the United Presbyterian Church; the director of missions for the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; and the interim executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.³¹

What about the participation of Jews in the Moral Majority?

Shriver reported that

Jerry Falwell recently received a medal from the Jabotinsky Foundation at the hands of Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel 'in recognition of his many years of service to Israel and to the Jewish people everywhere.' Rabbi Abraham Hecht, president of the Orthodox Rabbinical Alliance of America, is quoted by Moral Majority Report as saying that Christian leaders like the Rev. Falwell 'are men of integrity, sharing many traditional beliefs of the Jewish people and . . . values [which] have long ago been rejected out-of-hand by Schindler and his ilk.' The national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Nathan Perlmutter, comments in a moderate tone, 'I think that looking at the fundamentalists as a monolithic

group is every bit as mischievous as viewing Jews or Catholics as a monolithic group.'³²

While Jewish leaders may praise and reward Falwell for his support of Israel, there is little evidence of their active participation in his moral organization. It shows recognition of Moral Majority activities and perhaps some sympathy with them on the issues but does not prove participation. Probably a similar relationship exists between Moral Majority and Mormons and other non-Christian religious groups.

In terms of their effectiveness with Christians and people of other religions, Falwell probably attracted few followers besides Fundamentalists and strong sympathizers with Fundamentalist Christianity. And he probably did not effectively change their opinions on what issues were important or their positions on those issues for the simple reason that they already substantially agreed with him. More likely, he was effective only in activating them politically and relatively few of them at that.

One indication of the effectiveness of Falwell and his Moral Majority movement is the number of participants. Though Falwell claims millions of members for his Moral Majority organization, it is more likely that the membership, if there is such a thing, or actual number of participants is less than a half million, the number of copies of the Moral Majority Report sent out each month. Hadden and Swann offer this explanation:

During the campaign Falwell variously claimed 2 to 3 million members for Moral Majority. . . . The numbers just don't square with the evidence. For one thing, Moral Majority doesn't really have a national membership. In October of 1980 Michael Farris, executive director of Moral Majority of Washington State, claimed that his membership of 12,000 was the largest of the fifty state

chapters. By simple arithmetic, if every state had that many members, Moral Majority would be 600,000 strong--not 2 to 3 million. By Falwell's own admission, the circulation of the Moral Majority Report at election time was 482,000. If Moral Majority itself had 2 to 3 million members, are we to believe that only one-fourth to one-sixth received the organization's newspaper? Neither Jerry Falwell nor his computer is that lax. We could go on about how 72,000 pastors would represent nearly half of the Protestant evangelical pastors in the country, about how registering 4 million new voters would have required every person on the mailing list of Moral Majority Report in the early fall to register ten people each, about how absolutely impossible it is to determine the real numerical strength. . . .³³

Shupe and Stacey agree with Hadden and Swann that this is a better index of committed support for the Moral Majority, Inc., than Falwell's free-wheeling estimates of tens of millions. . . ."³⁴ But George Gallup, Jr., reminds us that the relatively small 8 percent in his surveys who favor the Moral Majority "projects to 12 or 13 million adults nationally, a number large enough to be decisive. . . ."³⁵

Besides Fundamentalists and sympathizers with Fundamentalist Christianity, Falwell almost certainly did not effect a change in the opinions of Christians and other religions. But he may have persuaded some to become politically active in opposing him and his Moral Majority movement. Numerous religious leaders, for example, serve on the Board of Advisors for Norman Lear's People for the American Way, an organization "opposing the Radical Religious Right."³⁶

Americans in General

More important than how effective Falwell was with his own may be the question of how effective he was with Americans in general without regard to religious activity or affiliation. As the estimates about the size of the audiences viewing religious television programs

and about the membership of Moral Majority have been exaggerated, "one must tentatively conclude," according to Carol Mueller, that estimates of "the 'rise' of the Religious Right as a newly politicized moral consciousness has been overstated."³⁷

For example, in spite of the extensive media coverage of the religious Right, Falwell, and the Moral Majority during 1980 and 1981, an Associated Press-NBC News poll "said 52 percent have not heard enough to have an opinion of the Moral Majority. . . ." ³⁸ And a Gallup poll discovered, "Less than half the sample (40%) have heard or read about the Moral Majority, while even fewer--26% of the total sample--are familiar with the objectives and goals of this organization" meaning, the report noted, that 74% were either unaware or uninformed about the Moral Majority. ³⁹

As to approval or disapproval of the Moral Majority by the American people, the Gallup poll found that "disapproval outweighs approval 13 to 8%, with 5% undecided." ⁴⁰ The Associated Press-NBC poll "said 28 percent have an unfavorable opinion of the Moral Majority, while 12 percent have a favorable opinion and 8 percent are not sure." ⁴¹ As significant as these findings are regarding lack of broad support for Moral Majority, it may be even more significant that the American disapprove of their political activities. "Most Americans believe churches and the clergy should speak out on social issues, but they are strongly against churches and the clergy becoming involved in politics, according to the latest Associated Press-NBC News poll." ⁴¹ While a 58-38 percent majority agree it is "fitting and proper . . . to be active politically to restore morality to public life," ⁴² ABC

NEWS-HARRIS Survey showed that, by a 55-40 percent margin, Americans believe religious groups "violate the separation of church and state" when they back candidates.⁴³ Results of a Gallup poll indicate that "by a 2-to-1 margin, voters say it is wrong for religious groups to work actively for the defeat of candidates who don't agree with their position in certain issues."⁴⁴ But, Gallup says, "the view of at least half . . . is that it is 'very' or 'fairly' important for religious organizations to make public statements on political and economic matters as to what they feel would be consonant with the will of God."⁴⁵

Based on results from various polls and surveys, the views of Americans on the moral issues addressed by Falwell are mixed. For example, Louis Harris said that "a majority of Americans disagree with evangelical preachers on most of their political stands. Indeed, on the more extreme positions, the preachers do not even carry a majority among their flock. . . ."⁴⁶ Concerning an amendment to ban abortions, "a 61-34 percent majority of voters" oppose it.⁴⁷ And "a 61-72 percent majority of all voters rejects [the] notion" that "sex education in the schools is little more than pornography."⁴⁸ By 50-47 percent, voters disagree with teaching religion in public schools, which might include creation of science for example.⁴⁹ The Equal Rights Amendment is "favored by 56-36 percent majority of the entire country."⁵⁰ On the action to censor television programs or boycott their sponsors, "a decisive 66-31 percent . . . majority of Americans feel it is not 'proper and fitting' for the Moral Majority and evangelical preachers to pressure television networks to take off the air those shows the evangelicals feel are immoral."⁵¹

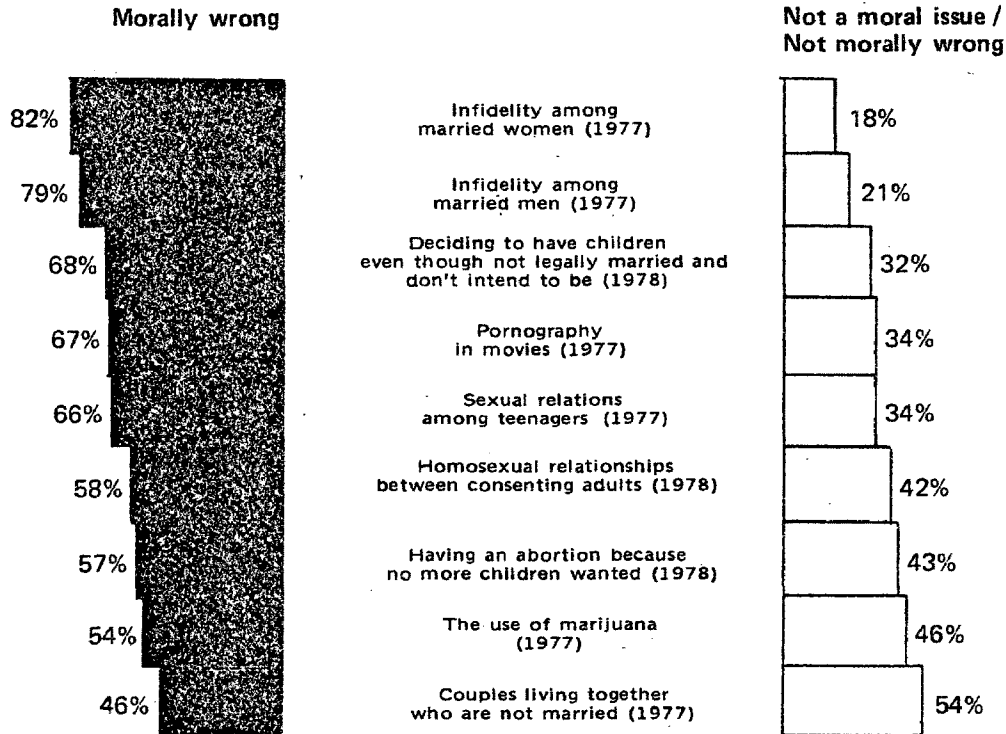
On the other hand, Burton Pines argues that the majority of Americans agree with Falwell and the Moral Majority on most of their moral issues. He wrote that

the Christian right's agenda and the culminations of the preachers mirror a broad disquiet, even anger, that has spread across much of the United States. This mood has built gradually, like the stages through which a nuclear reactor reaches critical mass. Just as great numbers of once-liberal academics, public officials and other segments of the leadership elite have grown gradually outraged at the spectacle of the U.S. economy having gone wrong, and at the spectacle of America's shrinking global position, so in that region once known as Middle America, beyond the Hudson River and outside Washington's Capitol Beltway, an almost palpable outrage has grown at the spectacle of the nation gone wrong morally.⁵²

Quoting Falwell in a fund-raising letter, "I believe that the overwhelming majority of Americans are sick and tired of the way the amoral liberals are trying to corrupt our nation from its commitment to freedom, democracy, traditional morality, and the free enterprise system," Pines asks, "Is it perhaps the suspicion that Falwell may be correct or at least may be in tune with more of his countrymen . . . that accounts for the mega-decibel excoriations hurled at the Christian right? The numbers," he continues, "lend some credence to Falwell's claim. Much of the public apparently backs critical planks of the Christian right's platform."⁵³ He concludes that "what gives the Moral Majority and the other religious groups their clout, it seems is that on many key issues the morality they proclaim is the morality of the majority."⁵⁴

Pines was responding to the findings of various polls and surveys concerning moral issues as shown by the following graphic:⁵⁵

QUESTION: Which of the following activities do you feel are morally wrong from your own personal point of view — and which do you feel are not a moral issue? (*Read item, 1977*). Do you personally think that (*Read item, 1978*) is morally wrong or not a moral issue?



Admittedly Pines and Harris are responding to data about two different sets of issues. But what is important is that they jump, literally, to two entirely different conclusions about the Moral Majority and its relation to the American public--conclusions that are opposite to each other, in fact, mutually exclusive. In other words, they cannot both be right. It demonstrates how confusing and inconclusive all the data has been about the support and impact of Falwell and the Moral Majority on the American people.

What may be more important is the general agreement among the various pollsters that there has been little change over a period of

years in the opinions of Americans on the issues raised by Falwell. It may mean that Falwell and the Moral Majority have been ineffective in either establishing or changing people's opinions on moral issues and that they have rather exploited those issues for their own purposes.

Voters in the 1980 Elections

In a November 11, 1980, release, Louis Harris stated unconditionally that "Ronald Reagan won his stunning victory last week not because the country as a whole went conservative, but because the conservatives--particularly the white moral majority--gave him such massive support. . . . The white followers of the TV evangelical preachers gave Ronald Reagan two-thirds of his 10 percent margin in the election."⁵⁶

There seems to be little doubt of the effectiveness of the Moral Majority and Falwell in the outcome of at least one congressional race. "Rep. John H. Buchanan, R-Ala., the only Southern Baptist minister serving in Congress and one of its most respected members, was turned back in his bid for reelection due to the efforts of Moral Majority."⁵⁷ Buchanan was quoted as saying:

I would say it was the decisive element in the campaign. . . . Moral Majority had a rally in my district the Monday before election day. They were not endorsing candidates, but Jerry Falwell used the occasion to hold me up as a negative example. . . . They campaigned vigorously against me and my record while upholding my friend and challenger as an example of pure virtue. . . . I think it made the difference.⁵⁸

Especially impressive is this chart prepared by the American Jewish Committee showing the outcome of senate races in which candidates received support from the New Right:⁵⁹

KEY CSFS - Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress
 RR - Religious Roundtable
 MM - Moral Majority
 CV - Christian Voice
 NCPAC - National Conservative Political Action Committee
 W - Won
 L - Lost

<u>Candidate/Senate</u>	<u>New Right Group</u>	<u>Outcome</u>
John P. East (R - N.C.)	MM, NCPAC	W
Frank H. Murkowski (R - Alas.)	MM	W
Warren Rudman (R - N.H.)	MM	W
Jeremian Denton (R - Ala.)	MM, NCPAC	W
Paula Hawkins (R - Fla.)	MM	W
Chas. E. Grassley (R - Iowa)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Don Nickles (R - OK)	MM, NCPAC, RR	W
Dan Quayle (R - Ind.)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Mack Mattingly (R - Ga.)	MM, NCPAC	W
James Abdnor (R - S.D.)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Steven Symms (R - Ida.)	MM, CV, NCPAC, RR, CSFC	W
Gene McNary (R - Mo.)	NCPAC	L
Paul Gann (R - Cal.)	MM, NCPAC, SCFC	L
Mary Estill Buchanan (R - Col.)	NCPAC, CSFC	L
Bob Dole (R - Kan.)	MM	W
Jake Garn (R - Utah)	MM	W
Paul Laxalt (R - Nev.)	MM	W

The Moral Majority lost only one senatorial race of the fifteen in which they participated. It should be noted that the elections of 1982 saw a number of New Right candidates defeated.

In spite of apparent effectiveness with voters in specific elections, George Gallup, Jr., noting the parity as well as disparity in the opinions of Christian Right and non-Christian Right, cast a shadow of doubt over how Americans will vote "if it comes down to a question of religious principles or economic well-being."⁶⁰

Gallup observed "that efforts to create a Christian voting bloc will be blunted by the fact that while there is a wide divergence of opinion on issues relating to personal morality and religion . . . ,

surprisingly little difference is found on those issues which dominate national elections."⁶¹ Evangelicals and conservative Christians have given "high priority to moral issues," Gallup said, but "when Americans are asked to name 'the most important problem facing the nation,' inflation, unemployment, international relations, crime, and energy problems are all named ahead of 'moral problems.' Furthermore, in national elections the 'bread and butter' issues of peace and prosperity tend to overshadow moral issues. . . ."⁶²

Gallup's assessment was substantiated by the research of Lipset and Raab. Arguing that many Americans, in the 1980 elections, were "registering displeasure at the diminishing status of America . . . the decline in American productivity and the growing superiority of foreign imports over our own products," Lipset and Raab said "these issues far outweigh the factor of moral backlash."⁶³ They argued that the moral backlash had begun over a decade ago but met with "no great success . . . until a general backlash mood swept the country. . . ."⁶⁴

"While the sheer amount of time and money expended by this New Right apparatus may indeed have had some practical political consequences . . . it is important, in attempting to understand the 1980 election, not to overstate that effect."⁶⁵ Lipset and Raab, referring to the five incumbent Senators targeted by the Moral Majority, explained that "the decline in their vote was almost identical with that of the Democratic senatorial candidates in eighteen non-targeted states. . . ."⁶⁶

Concerning the presidential election, Lipset and Raab stated that

according to the New York Times/CBS election-day poll of voters as they left the booths, a slightly smaller percentage of born-again white Protestants (61 percent) than of other white Protestants (63 percent) actually voted for Reagan. A comparison of the 1976 and 1980 votes indicates as well that Carter lost less support among his fellow born-again Protestants than among others. In the election-day study, he retained a larger proportion (82 percent) of white evangelicals who said they had voted for him four years earlier than of other white Protestants (78 percent). This was true of the South as well. . . .⁶⁷

Lipset and Raab cited other surveys. Miller of the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, based on 10,000 interviews, "believes that the impact of fundamentalist groups on the election outcome was much exaggerated."⁶⁸ The findings of a Los Angeles Times national survey indicated "the specific role of the TV preachers . . . seems to have been overestimated."⁶⁹ In an NBC News and Associated Press survey, only 3 percent said a recommendation by a member of the clergy concerning a candidate would make them more likely to vote for that candidate while 88 percent said such a recommendation would make no difference.⁷⁰

"What all these findings seem to indicate," Lipset and Raab conclude, "is that the efforts to mobilize a religious constituency for political purposes in America had no measurable effect on the 1980 elections."⁷¹ Based on their surveys, Shupe and Stacey concur with Lipset and Raab that "the New Religious Right is not a force to be reckoned with in most cases."⁷²

The Passage of Legislation

In assessing the effectiveness of Falwell in behalf of his Moral Majority causes, one cannot deny that they have gained and sustained an unusual amount of attention. Neither can it be denied that

they stirred up an equally unusual amount of controversy. But they may not have been as effective in achieving their overall objective as they were in attracting attention and creating controversy. Their moral issues have died in Congress.

It is important to remember that Falwell and the Moral Majority had these three overall political objectives: (1) to mobilize the Fundamentalists, evangelicals, and other conservative Christians, even though Falwell denied that his Moral Majority was a religious organization, into registered, informed, organized political activists who voted on the basis of selected moral issues and Biblical morality, (2) to elect candidates favorable to their moral causes, and, through them, (3) to enact specific legislation effecting the moral, social, political, economic, and military atmosphere they desired. The question of this section is how effective they were in achieving their ultimate political objective--the passage of specific legislation on their moral issues.

In order to assess their effectiveness, this section will, first, discuss the specific legislation on moral issues they sought to propose and oppose, to enact and to prohibit the enactment of specific legislation and then evaluate the results they achieved.

The principal moral legislation they proposed or endorsed for enactment was as follows:

- . Proposed a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion except to prevent the death of the mother.⁷³
- . Proposed a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary prayer in public schools.⁷⁴

- . Endorsed legislation to provide tuition tax credits for families whose children attend private, parochial, and Christian schools.⁷⁵
- . Proposed legislation to be introduced in various states, Arkansas for example, that would require the creation theory of origins to be taught in public schools alongside evolution theory.⁷⁶

The principal moral legislation they opposed consisted of the following:

- . Opposed the Gay Rights Bill that would recognize homosexuals as an official minority.⁷⁷
- . Opposed the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution.⁷⁸

In addition to the legislative objectives above, Falwell and the Moral Majority, especially state and local chapters, were very active in pressuring lesser legislative bodies such as state legislatures, city councils, and school boards for laws, ordinances, and policies on such matters as books in libraries, display of pornographic materials, and the activities of homosexuals. As Falwell wrote:

Those days are over and all of the misrepresentations, lies, and distortions of our positions (censors, book banners, underminers of the First Amendment, un-Christian if you don't agree with them, etc.) will not erode our right to be involved, to say what we think, and to translate our convictions into action at the polls and in the halls of Congress, our state legislatures, our courts, and our city governments.⁷⁹

Just how effective were they then in achieving their political objectives, in passing or killing legislation on moral issues? In a November 1, 1982, letter to Moral Majority supporters, Falwell assessed their accomplishments over the last two years since the 1980 elections. Although it may have been an overstatement, Falwell wrote: "I can report these victories for America."

1. The Equal Rights Amendment died its second and, hopefully, final death June 30, 1982. Phyllis Schlafly said Moral Majority was a faithful ally in her victorious battle.
2. D.C. Act 4-69, which would have legalized sodomy, adultery, bestiality, and seduction of a pupil by a teacher, was defeated soundly because of our lobbying efforts in Congress.
3. We have a majority in the U.S. Senate that favors a return of voluntary prayer to our public schools.
4. We now have a majority in the U.S. Senate who oppose abortion on demand.
5. We defeated Ted Kennedy and others in their attempt to liberalize the Criminal Code.
6. We have registered between 4-5 million voters in the past three years.⁸⁰

It should be noted that the legislation requiring creation theory to be taught was struck down by the courts as unconstitutional in each state where it was introduced. Also, though a majority in the Senate voted for voluntary prayer in public schools and for the abortion amendment, both failed because a two-thirds majority in the Senate is required for passage. But Senator Jesse Helms, who had spearheaded the battle in the Senate for the Moral Majority, has vowed to bring both up for consideration by the next session of Congress.

Shupe and Stacey, based on their research, are quite pessimistic, or optimistic, depending on your point of view, about the possibility that the Moral Majority will pass their moral legislation.

. . . to legislators we reiterate the direction to which all social findings have pointed: (1) that the New Religious Right is no true 'Majority' social movement; (2) that the conservative bent of many voters in the United States during the 1980 election was in no way initiated by or dependent upon fundamentalist-evangelical leaders such as Jerry Falwell. . . ; (3) and that in fact as of 1981 the general voting public repudiated this movement twice as often as it endorsed it when it had even heard of it.⁸¹

On the other hand, Jody Powell's assessment could be more accurate. "We overestimated them in 1980, and we're underestimating them now."⁸² We must remember that, in a time of extreme economic turmoil, they were successful in getting such social and moral legislation as an amendment concerning voluntary prayer in public schools, and an amendment prohibiting abortions, and a bill providing tuition tax credits introduced into Congress. What makes such an accomplishment even more significant is that two of the three main pieces of legislation were introduced by no less than the President of the United States.

What may have been public relations puffery in 1980 may be transformed into legislative substance in the 1983-84 session of Congress. In a May, 1982, interview, Ron Godwin, operations officer for Moral Majority, explained that their aim was to be a lot less visible, that they are now going to dig in for the long haul, and that their priority would be lobbying for legislation on their issues. He stated that, to accomplish their objective, they were then going through the early stages of a three- to four-year reorganization, that they were going to a strictly volunteer organization patterned after Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum organization, and that they were going to replace many of the state leaders of Moral Majority with younger pastors, thirty, bright, articulate, and attractive men who have fire in their bones. They planned, he said to rely on phone trees, direct mail, and letter writing campaigns and occasional rallies.⁸³

In the 1981-82 session of Congress, Falwell and the Moral Majority were remarkably ineffective in achieving their legislative objectives. That seems especially true in light of all the ballyhoo that has surrounded their activities. But, in their case, we may not be able to judge the future by the past. Only time will tell how effective they are in passing their moral legislation.

In summary, Falwell's effectiveness in attracting and influencing Christians and other religions seems to be almost entirely restricted to Fundamentalist Christians. In fact, he may have aroused much more opposition than support. Among Americans in general, other than Fundamentalist Christians, there was more indifference than either support or opposition. In terms of their effectiveness in influencing the outcome of elections in 1980, the likelihood is that they were effective in some of the elections in which they were active, were inconsequential in their effect on most of the elections they sought to influence, and were relatively ineffective overall in the elections of 1980. In effecting the passage of legislation regarding their moral issues, they were surprisingly unsuccessful considering the votes, money, public officials they supposedly controlled.

ENDNOTES

¹ "An Interview with the Lone Ranger of American Fundamentalism," Christianity Today, 4 Sept. 1981, p. 23.

² Anson Shupe and William A. Stacey, "The Moral Majority: Religious or Political Movement?" in their Born Again Politics and the Moral Majority: What Social Surveys Really Show (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1982), pp. 51-54.

³ Ibid., p. 57.

⁴ William Martin, "The Birth of a Media Myth," Atlantic, June 1981, pp. 4, 10.

⁵ Ibid., p. 11.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Jeffrey K. Hadden and Charles E. Swann, "The Electronic Communicants," in their Prime Time Preachers: The Rising Power of Televangelism (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1981), p. 51.

⁸ Martin, p. 11.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Shupe and Stacey, pp. 60-62.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 64.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Personal interview with Nelson Kenner, Chief Operations Officer of Old-Time Gospel Hour, Lynchburg, VA, 3 May 1982.

¹⁴ Martin E. Marty, "In Search of the Moral Majority," Miami Herald, Dec. 1980, p. 4M.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Timothy L. Smith, "Protestants Falwell Does Not Represent," New York Times, 22 Oct. 1980, p. Y23.

- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Shupe and Stacey, pp. 63-64.
- 24 Jerry Falwell, "My Turn: The Maligned Moral Majority," Newsweek, 21 Sept. 1981, p. 17.
- 25 Shupe and Stacey, pp. 41-44.
- 26 Ibid., p. 43.
- 27 Ibid., p. 95.
- 28 The Moral Majority, Inc. Fighting for a Moral America in This Decade of Destiny (Forest, VA: Moral Majority, Inc., 1979), brochure.
- 29 Shupe and Stacey, pp. 30-41.
- 30 Peggy L. Shriver, "Christian Theological Observations on the Religious Right Movement," The Bible Vote: Religion and the New Right (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1981), pp. 108-10.
- 31 Ibid., pp. 110-11.
- 32 Ibid., p. 71.
- 33 Hadden and Swann, pp. 64-65.
- 34 Ibid., pp. 164-65.
- 35 AP News story originating in New York, "Poll: Americans Speak on Role of the Church," Daily Siftings Herald, Arkadelphia, Arkansas, 18 Aug. 1981, p. 5.
- 36 Are We All God's People? (Washington, D.C.: People for the American Way, a project of Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc.), brochure.
- 37 Carol Mueller, "In Search of a Constituency for the 'New Religious Right,'" unpublished paper, Spring 1982, p. 15.
- 38 AP News, "Poll: Americans Speak . . . ," p. 5.
- 39 "Religion in America 1981," The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 184, Jan. 1981, p. 60.
- 40 Ibid.

- 41 AP News, "Poll: Americans Speak . . . ," p. 5.
- 42 Louis Harris, "The Evangelical Vote," ABC News--Harris Survey, 6 Oct. 1980, p. 3.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 The Gallup Opinion Index, p. 59.
- 45 Ibid., p. 60.
- 46 Harris, "The Evangelical Vote," p. 1.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Ibid., p. 2.
- 49 Ibid., p. 3.
- 50 Louis Harris, "The Conservative Vote," ABC News--Harris Survey, 11 Nov. 1980, p. 1.
- 51 Louis Harris, "Moral Majority's Stand on TV Censorship Opposed by Most Americans," ABC News--Harris Survey, 6 July 1981, p. 1.
- 52 Burton Yale Pines, "A Majority Morality?" Public Opinion, April/May 1981, pp. 43-44.
- 53 Ibid., p. 46.
- 54 Ibid., p. 47.
- 55 "Opinion Roundup," Public Opinion, Dec./Jan. 1980, p. 27.
- 56 Harris, "The Conservative Vote," p. 1.
- 57 "Confusion of Faith, Politics Leads to Defeat: John Buchanan Victim in Primary," Report from the Capitol, Oct. 1980, p. 7.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Erling Jorstad, The Politics of Moralism (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1981), pp. 101-02.
- 60 George Gallup, Jr., "Divining the Devout: The Polls and Religious Belief," Public Opinion, Apr./May 1981, p. 41.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Ibid.

63 Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, "The Election of the Evangelicals," Commentary, March 1981, p. 27.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid., p. 29.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

68 Ibid., p. 30.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 Shupe and Stacey, p. 104.

73 Tim LaHaye, "Pro-Life Movement Faces 'Real Victory,'" Moral Majority Report, 16 Feb. 1981.

74 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of speech at The National Affairs Briefing, Aug. 1980, p. 5.

75 "Dingman Testifies in Favor of Tuition Tax Credits," Moral Majority Reports, June 1983, p. 9.

76 "Jim Holsted and the Story of Act 590," Arkansas Gazette, 16 Dec. 1981, p. 31A; also, "Moral Majority Backs Clark, but Has Qualms," Arkansas Gazette, 16 Dec. 1981, p. 1A.

77 Jerry Falwell, unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally, Pierre, South Dakota, 18 Sept. 1980, pp. 18-19.

78 Jerry Falwell, letter to Moral Majority supporters, 1 Feb. 1982, pp. 1-2.

79 Jerry Falwell, "U.S. 'Sliding Down' with Political Left," Arkansas Gazette, 25 Apr. 1982, p. 4H.

80 Jerry Falwell, letter to Moral Majority supporters, 1 Nov. 1982, p. 1.

81 Shupe and Stacey, p. 104.

82 Jody Powell, on "David Brinkley Report," KATV/ABC, 14 Nov. 1982. (Little Rock, Arkansas.)

83 Personal interview with Ron Godwin, Chief Operations Officer,
Moral Majority, Inc., Lynchburg, VA, 3 May 1982.

Chapter 7

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, CONSIDERATIONS, AND SUGGESTED STUDIES

Summary

Every four years, as the United States engages in the process of a presidential election campaign, there are the traditional rituals such as primaries, the Democratic and Republican national conventions, keynote addresses, choosing the vice-presidential running mates, acceptance speeches, and so on. Also, there are usually unique and unexpected developments accompanying each election such as the presidential debates in the 1960, 1976, and 1980 campaigns, the "born again" phenomenon of the 1976 election, and the third party candidacy of John Anderson in 1980.

One of the more fascinating developments of the 1980 campaign was the emergence of conservative Christians as political activists in the New Right. Probably the most visible and vocal among the religious Right activists was Reverend Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority movement which he promoted.

Because the political preaching of Falwell in behalf of Moral Majority causes was an extraordinary example of extremist political rhetoric, because the Moral Majority was the first overt and organized involvement in politics by strictly conservative Christians in several decades, and because it was among the most extensive and intensive

involvement by conservative Christians in our history, it warranted examination.

The plan and purpose of the study was to examine the political preaching of Falwell on behalf of the Moral Majority during the 1980 election campaign from five perspectives: (1) the rhetorical situation, (2) its message, (3) the persuasive means, (4) its ethicality, and (5) effects. Organized around these perspectives, chapters two through six addressed five questions: What forces in the rhetorical situation give rise to Falwell as a political preacher? What was the message of his political preaching? What persuasive means did he employ? Was his political preaching ethical? How effective was he in influencing the political process?

This chapter will summarize the conclusions drawn from an examination of the five organizing perspectives and questions. Second, the theoretical, methodological, and historical contributions of the study will be considered. And, finally, additional studies will be recommended.

Conclusions

In answering the question, what forces in the rhetorical situation gave rise to the religious Right, one would have to note the example set by the political Right, because it provided the inspiration and the model for the rise of the religious Right. During the 1980 political campaign, the religious Right was grafted onto the political Right to form a truly "new" Right. Although they reinforced each other,

they did not grow together into one organism. Falwell and the religious Right, in the media and in the mind of the public, became the figurehead and leading spokesman of the New Right.

One would also have to note the feelings of dissatisfaction and political disenfranchisement of many Americans leading up to the 1980 elections. Both the political and religious Right became aware and confident of their own potential to act with political impact and of audiences who could be mobilized and organized to influence the political process. Falwell, more than any other New Right leader, capitalized on the feelings of dissatisfaction and disenfranchisement among these audiences, the so-called "silent" and "moral" majority of Americans. Falwell, among other spokesmen of the New Right, identified Liberalism as the cause of the dissatisfaction and political disenfranchisement among Americans.

While both the political and religious Right were concerned primarily about Liberalism, the religious Right was concerned mainly about the secular humanism they claimed had been spawned by Liberalism. What gave rise ultimately to the rhetorical activism of the religious Right, historically detached from politics, was the exigence of the non-religious morality of secular humanism which they believe was pervading society. The religious Right saw non-religious morality from a Fundamentalist perspective and perceived it to be contradictory to the Biblical morality that supposedly had prevailed throughout American history until recently. Based on his Fundamentalist view of the Biblical morality, Falwell preached that the humanistic morality was anti-Biblical and thus anti-Christian as well as anti-American and that it

was actually immorality and consequently a threat to the security of America and Christianity.

Because of their commitment to Fundamentalism, they were constrained to speak and act only on those issues they could construe as moral issues based on their strict concept of Biblical morality. In his political preaching, Falwell did not address issues that he did not consider moral. It was Fundamentalism that provided both the motivation for the religious Right and the constraints on their rhetoric; that is, they addressed only those issues that could be construed as moral according to their view of the Bible.

What was Falwell's message in his political preaching as reflected, especially in the "I Love America" rallies? One conclusion is obvious from Falwell's political preaching--that, though he cast his message in positive terms such as pro-life, pro-family, pro-moral, pro-American, and pro-Israel, it was nevertheless extremely negative in the tradition of Fundamentalist preaching. As a Fundamentalist, he emphasized the negative or restrictive aspects of the Bible, especially those moral aspects of the Bible. He considered his message to be about those issues on which he had not only Biblical authority but a Biblical mandate to speak as a Christian, an obligation to speak as a preacher, and a right to speak as a citizen.

Falwell's ultimate purpose was to effect the enactment of specific legislation which would essentially embody the Biblical morality of Fundamentalism into our society. This, probably more than anything else, led to a final conclusion--that the political preaching and

activity of Falwell and his Moral Majority disturbed as much as ever before in American history the tenuous relation of church and state. Possibly it has set off a long struggle between the church and the state and may ultimately change the nature of the separation. The reason for the depth of the disturbance is the degree of the involvement of the religious Right with the President of the United States, particularly, as well as with Senators and Congressmen and with governors and legislators in the states, and vice versa.

The third question of the study concerned the means Falwell employed to make his message persuasive. Two means were examined: (1) his political preaching and (2) his use of mass marketing concepts. His political preaching was compared first to the jeremiad and then to the paranoid style of conservative rhetoric. The denunciation that characterized the European jeremiad as well as the tactic of accusation endemic to the paranoid style were shown to be present in Falwell's political preaching. Because there still remained much to be accounted for in Falwell's political preaching, a concept was needed to provide a more complete and perhaps more precise explanation of his political rhetoric. A concept from ancient drama was adapted, *catastasis*, which refers to the heightened action preceding the catastrophe. Falwell's political preaching was thus conceptualized as the heightened rhetorical action preceding the impending and imminent catastrophe they believed was awaiting the nation.

Based on the concept of *catastasis*, the primary conclusion of this chapter was that, because of Falwell's belief in the Fundamentalist doctrine of premillennialism--the belief that morally the world is

getting worse and worse and that the end of the world can occur at any moment and will during this generation, his political preaching was characterized by an urgency which in turn produced his rhetorical strategy of denunciation, accusation, and intimidation, and such consequent rhetorical methods as absolutism, authoritarianism, aggressiveness, inconsistency and simplism. Furthermore, Falwell believed that his Fundamentalist-type political preaching could be the heightened rhetorical action necessary to delay or prevent the catastrophe, whether the end of the world or the collapse of the nation.

Falwell's use of mass marketing concepts was as indispensable in achieving his political goals as his political preaching. He used the whole spectrum of mass marketing methods to market himself and his message, much the same way politicians market themselves or a business markets a product nationwide. Also, marketing concepts were employed to raise the funds necessary to support, continue, and expand his Moral Majority movement as well as his religious activities.

In chapter four, the question was raised whether Falwell was rhetorically ethical in his political preaching. To answer the question, I conceptualized ethical rhetoric, based on the work of several scholars, as the responsibility to promote, protect, and respect the free speech of others, as the habit of search and inquiry, accuracy, and fairness, and as the commitment to equal opportunity among ideas and toleration of dissent. This kind of rhetoric is the minimum necessary for a democracy to function fairly. Furthermore, the establishment of justice was conceptualized as the ultimate ethical motive or rhetoric.

On the basis of these concepts of ethical rhetoric, several conclusions were drawn about the ethicality of Falwell's political preaching. First, Falwell does not measure up to the criteria of ethical rhetoric so widely endorsed by the best thinkers in the field. Rather, he seeks to impose his views on others and exclude the views of others. In doing so, he set aside the standards of ethical rhetoric, as conceptualized in this study, apparently believing the ends of Moral Majority justify almost any means to achieve them. Second, the Biblical principles that Falwell seeks to impose on society are sectarian, i.e., Fundamentalist rather than universal principles on which a democracy depends. A third conclusion is that the point at which Falwell's rhetoric differs most from the rhetoric of Liberals, which he uses as justification for his own political rhetoric, is the establishment of justice. Falwell and the Moral Majority tend to exclude many people from justice, whereas Liberals such as Martin Luther King have tended to expand justice to include more people.

The final question of this study was how effective Falwell and the Moral Majority were in their political efforts and with whom. Several conclusions seem certain.

One is that Falwell's followers were mostly Fundamentalists. Two, the audiences for the Old-Time Gospel Hour were grossly exaggerated and were more interested in the religious dimension of the Old-Time Gospel Hour than in Falwell's political positions. Three, the less conservative a person, the less he or she will be influenced by Falwell and the Moral Majority. Four, Falwell attracted few followers among non-Christian religious groups such as Jews and Mormons. Five, there

has been more disapproval than approval of Falwell and the Moral Majority among Americans in general. Six, the opinions of Americans on specific moral issues is confused because of contradictory or inconclusive findings by various polls. Seven, the opinions of Americans about moral issues, based on polls for the last decade, have not changed notably during the time before or since the advent and activity of Falwell and the Moral Majority. Eight, Falwell and the Moral Majority probably had a determinative effect on a few elections in the 1980 campaign but a negligible effect overall. And nine, Falwell and the Moral Majority have not yet succeeded in passing even one notable piece of legislation on a moral issue they have addressed, and this was their ultimate goal.

Falwell and his Moral Majority may have aroused more opposition than support not only to themselves but to their conservative ideas. In the long run, their movement may prove to be counter-productive.

Theoretical, Methodological, and Historical Considerations

More incidentally than intentionally, this study contributes to the body of theoretical studies on the jeremiad or religio-political rhetoric in America. Concerning Bellah's theory of civil religion, it is argued that Falwell's Moral Majority movement, with its union of Fundamentalism and Americanism, would establish a radical civil religion that Bellah's theory did not envision. The study also reinforces Hofstadter's theory that the paranoid style is a characteristic of the rhetoric of American conservatism whether political or religious.

A major theoretical contribution of this study is the concept of catastasis which, in a sense, is an extension of Hofstadter's concept of paranoid style. There is paranoia underlying a catastatic style of rhetoric; however, catastatic rhetoric is characterized by the rhetorical excesses of extreme urgency, in other words, by heightened rhetorical action, and by speakers who are possessed with the catastrophic "end" of Christianity, a nation--its society and stability--or even the world. Whereas in the paranoid style the speaker demonstrates paranoia--delusions of persecution, a speaker using the catastatic style is possessed--is beyond self-control, frenzied. And his/her speech is the speech of a person possessed with a force rather than the fear or frustration that typifies the paranoid style.

The overriding theoretical contribution of this study is the case concerning the influence of Fundamentalism on Falwell's political rhetoric. At every stage in the study, it is argued that Falwell's commitment to Fundamentalism accounts for the nature, if not the existence, of Falwell's political preaching. The influence on Falwell's rhetoric of his commitment to the Fundamentalist doctrines of the authoritarian Bible and premillennialism are examples of the influence ideology can have on rhetoric.

In terms of methodology, this study again demonstrates the usefulness of Bitzer's theory of the "rhetorical situation" as a method in determining what gives rise to movements and other rhetorical phenomena. One problem with Bitzer's concept, however, is that, though he claims all matters relative to a rhetorical situation are contained in the exigence, audience, and constraints, it leaves some

aspects of motivation unaccounted for. In the case of Falwell, the motivation of his commitment to Fundamentalism would not fit neatly, if at all, into either of the three categories. While Falwell's commitment to Fundamentalism influenced his view of the exigencies, his view of the exigencies were not all that motivated him to enter the political arena. The Fundamentalist doctrine of Christ's commission to evangelize the world, for example, was in Falwell's own mind probably the main motivating force behind his political preaching. But, at best, the commission to evangelize, as a rhetorical motive, is only inversely or indirectly related to Bitzer's concept of either exigencies, audiences, or constraints.

This study has also shown again that theories concerning ethical rhetoric are applicable in evaluating a body of rhetoric such as Falwell's political rhetoric in general and his speeches, i.e., political preaching, at "I Love America" rallies. Ethical standards and practices can be defined and delineated specifically enough that speeches can be clearly judged as ethical or unethical.

Another important consideration, also related to the ethicality of rhetoric, is that speakers should be held responsible not only for what they actually say, but also for the implications and consequences of what is said when their ideas are carried to their ultimate and logical conclusions. Falwell's rhetoric did not seem nearly so unethical when one considers prima facie what he said; however, it becomes unethical, i.e., unacceptable when its arguments and appeals aim at imposing Fundamentalist moral views on others by legislation, the ultimate conclusion of his rhetoric.

It is hoped that the extensive amount of material from Falwell's political preaching included in this study and systematized by subject will be a significant historical contribution. No other study has included more than a minimum of direct materials from Falwell's rhetoric, either political or religious. Falwell's rhetorical involvement in the social system has not been insignificant and may continue to be of interest to rhetorical as well as social researchers in which case it is hoped this study may be a useful source for what Falwell said, about what, and how.

Also of historical value perhaps is the record, in this study, of a body of unique public address--Falwell's speeches on the steps of state capitals--and of a body of Fundamentalist political preaching, of which there are several examples since the advent of Fundamentalism in the late 1800s. This study also provides insights into the phenomenon of Fundamentalism, a rising religious as well as rhetorical movement of the last century.

The in-depth analysis of the conservative arguments and appeals on some of the more important issues of our era contributes to our understanding of at least the one side of the debate on those issues. After all, Falwell, more than anyone else, was the spokesman for perhaps the largest number of conservatives on those issues.

The analysis of the disruption of the separation of church and state, because of the Moral Majority movement, focuses on both sides of the debate and clarifies some of the points of contention.

Hopefully this study has thrown some light on the extreme Americanism among Fundamentalists and other conservative Christians.

The rationale for their historical patriotism, as explained by Falwell, is that they must keep America free and strong because this nation is the best, if not the last and only, base from which Christians may evangelize the world with the Gospel of Christ.

In summary, from this study we know several things. One is that there is a style of religious rhetoric, which I have termed *catastasis*, that can only be accounted for by the speaker's commitment to the Fundamentalist doctrine of the premillennial view of the end of the world. Two, we know that Falwell's Fundamentalism accounts for the rise, the substance, and the nature of his political rhetoric. Third, but certainly not least important, we know, from the extensive materials taken directly out of Falwell's political rhetoric, exactly what he said on every issue he addressed. Fourth, and the most important, we have additional insight into the rhetorical nature of Fundamentalism.

Suggested Studies

As this study comes to a close, I am impressed with what is left undone. Throughout the study, numerous other studies have been suggested. One possible study would be to analyze Bitzer's rhetorical situation concept to determine if another category concerning motivation needs to be added to his exigence, audience, and constraint. A second possibility is to evaluate the rhetoric of other active, contemporary speakers, evangelist James Robison for example, in order to establish whether the criteria for ethical rhetoric are as useful as they seem to have been in judging the ethicality of Falwell's political preaching.

Another possible study would be the extent and nature of using the Bible as a basis and premise for rhetoric in American politics, both past and present. Fourth, because of the turmoil in the relationship between church and state, scholars need to monitor the rhetoric, especially the ethicality, of the church and state debate. Fifth, Bercovitch's analysis of the American jeremiad, which he terminated with the period of the Civil War, needs to be continued to the present. Also, much more study is needed concerning the use of mass marketing methods to "sell" rhetoric. Mass marketing techniques have become rhetoric surrounding rhetoric, and we need to know the ethicality of such rhetoric and its effect on other kinds of rhetoric.

A seventh study could examine the nature and future of Fundamentalism as a radical civil religion using Bellah's study, of course, as a starting point. Eighth, I would hope that some further consideration could be given to the concept of catastasis as an identifiable style of religious rhetoric. Ninth, we need to continue to measure the effectiveness of the rhetoric of the religious Right on the political process. For example, as much research and analysis needs to be done comparing the results of the 1982 elections to the 1980 elections as has been done on the 1980 elections.

A very significant and perhaps productive study could be about what we may learn from Lawrence Kohlberg for rhetoric. Kohlberg,¹ specializing in moral development and how people make moral decisions, may be instructive to moral persuaders in understanding their audiences more intelligently and how to persuade them more effectively on moral questions.

Also, with the increase of direct mail to communicate with the American people, serious research needs to be done into the rhetoric of direct mail. If Falwell and the Moral Majority are worthy of study, probably the rhetoric of their opposition is also worthy of analysis.

Now that we have passed the peak of rhetorical activity by the religious Right and can achieve some objectivity, there should be studies comparing and contrasting the rhetoric of the religious Left of Martin Luther King in the 1960s and of the religious Right of Jerry Falwell in the 1980s.

Some insight might be gained for rhetoric in general by analyzing the negative strategy of Falwell in his rhetoric--denunciation, accusation, and intimidation. How common is it, by whom, on what audiences, and with what effect?

ENDNOTES

¹ Lawrence Kohlberg, "Moral Education in the Schools: A Developmental View," The School Review, 74, No. 1 (Spring 1966), 1-30.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Speeches: "I Love America" Rallies

Falwell, Jerry. Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally.
Washington, D.C., 27 Apr. 1979.

Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally.
Columbus, Ohio, 17 Sept. 1979.

Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rallies.
Frankfort, Kentucky, 16 Oct. 1979.

Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally.
Tallahassee, Florida, 3 March 1980.

Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally.
Columbus, South Carolina, 31 March 1980.

Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally.
Des Moines, Iowa, 7 May 1980.

Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally.
St. Paul/Minneapolis, Minnesota, 16 Sept. 1980.

Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally.
Pierre, South Dakota, 18 Sept. 1980.

Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally.
Concord, New Hampshire, 13 Oct. 1980.

Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" rally.
Trenton, New Jersey, 10 Nov. 1980.

Speeches: Other than "I Love America" Rallies

"Family in Crisis." National Association of Religious
Broadcasters Conference, Washington, D.C., Jan. 1980.

"Mobilizing the Moral Majority." Meeting of minis-
ters, Denver, Colorado, 1980 (no specific date available).

Falwell, Jerry. "Laundry List for the 80s." The National Affairs Briefing, Dallas, Texas, 21 Aug. 1980.

"Salt and Light." Sword of the Lord Conference on Revival and Soul Winning. Indianapolis, Indiana, 2 July 1981. (Reprint in Sword of the Lord, 24 July 1981, pp. 1, 12, 14-15.)

"Old-Time Gospel Hour." WTBS-TV, Atlanta, 26 Sept. 1982.

Television Program

Unpublished transcript of audio tape of television special, "America, You're Too Young to Die!" Old-Time Gospel Hour, aired nationally in July 1980.

Books

Falwell, Jerry. "Introduction." In The New Right: We're Ready to Lead. By Richard Viguerie. Falls Church, VA: The Viguerie Company, 1980.

Listen, America! Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980.

"Foreword." How You Can Help Clean Up America. Washington, D.C.: Moral Majority, 1981.

The Fundamentalist Phenomenon. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981.

Articles

Falwell, Jerry. "Mobilizing the Moral Majority." Conservative Digest, Aug. 1979, p. 14.

"Why Moral Majority?" Moral Majority Report, Aug. 1979, p. 3.

"Enforcing God's Law in the Voting Booth." Los Angeles Times, 7 Sept. 1980, Pt. 5, p. 5 (editorial section).

"Moral Majority A Reaction to Attack on Basic Values of Millions of Americans." Conservative Digest, Jan. 1981, p. 28.

"Can We Restore Morality by Political Means?" Logos Journal, May/June 1981, p. 14.

Falwell, Jerry. "My Turn: The Maligned Moral Majority." Newsweek, 21 Sept. 1981, p. 17.

"U.S. 'Sliding Down' with Political Left."
Arkansas Gazette, 23 Apr. 1982, p. 1H.

Interviews

Falwell, Jerry. Interview on "Bill Moyer's Journal: Campaign Report #3." PBS-TV, 26 Sept. 1980.

Interview with Donahue, Multimedia Program Productions. "Donahue Transcript No. 10200." 20 Oct. 1980.

Interview on Tomorrow Show, NBC-TV, with Tom Snyder, 30 Oct. 1980. (Transcribed from an audio tape of the interview.)

"Interview with Jerry Falwell." Transcript of Meet the Press, 12 Oct. 1980.

"An Interview with the Lone Ranger of American Fundamentalism."
Christianity Today, 4 Sept. 1981.

"Penthouse Interview: Reverend Jerry Falwell." Penthouse, Mar. 1981.

Pamphlet

The Moral Majority, Inc. Fighting for a Moral America in This Decade of Destiny. Forest, VA: Moral Majority, Inc., 1979, brochure.

Letters

Falwell, Jerry. Letter to "I Love America" rally registrants.
A "Special Charter Membership Offer," 12 July 1979.

Letter to Moral Majority supporters. 1 Feb. 1982.

Letter to Moral Majority supporters. 1 Nov. 1982.

Secondary Sources

- "Advocates of Church-State Wall." Christianity Today, 24 Oct. 1980, pp. 62, 64-65.
- AP News. "Poll: Americans Speak on Role of the Church." Daily Siftings Herald, Arkadelphia, AR, 18 Aug. 1981, p. 5.
- Are We All God's People? Washington, D.C.: People for the American Way, a project of Citizens for Constitutional Concerns, Inc., 1980, brochure.
- Armstrong, James. "Election Aftermath." Christian Century, 3 Dec. 1980, pp. 1182-83.
- Auer, Jeffrey, ed. The Rhetoric of Our Times. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969.
- Baker, Virgil L., and Ralph T. Eubanks. "Toward an Axiology of Rhetoric." Quarterly Journal of Speech, 48, No. 2 (Apr. 1962), 157-68.
- "Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs Statement on the Dangers of Civil Religion." Adopted and distributed as News Release, 7 Oct. 1980.
- Bell, Daniel, ed. The Radical Right. Garden City, NY: Doubleday-Anchor, 1964.
- Bellah, Robert. "Civil Religion in America." Daedalus, 96 (Winter 1967), 1-21.
- Bennett, William J., and Terry Eastland. "New Right Christians Fighting Back for Traditional American Values." Conservative Digest, Oct. 1980, pp. 18-19.
- Bercovitch, Sacvan. The American Jeremiad. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1978.
- Bergstrom, Charles V. "When the Self-Righteous Rule, Watch Out." Focus on Governmental Affairs, Dec. 1979.
- Bitzer, Lloyd. "The Rhetorical Situation." In The Rhetoric of Western Thought. Eds. James L. Golden, Goodwin F. Berquist, and William B. Coleman. 2nd ed. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1976.
- Black, Edwin. Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin, 1978.
- "The Second Persona." Quarterly Journal of Speech, 56, No. 2 (Apr. 1970), 109-19.

The Christian Century. Editorial. 22 Oct. 1980, p. 995.

Churchill, Winston S. "The Sinews of Peace." In British Public Address, 1828-1960. Eds. James H. McBath and Walter R. Fisher. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971.

Clabaugh, Gary K. Thunder on the Right: The Protestant Fundamentalists. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1974.

"Confusion of Faith, Politics Leads to Defeat; John Buchanan Victim in Primary." Report from the Capitol, Oct. 1980, p. 7.

Congressional Quarterly. 23 Sept. 1978, p. 2566.

Conn, Joseph L. "The New 'Christian Politics.'" Church and State, July/August Special Edition, 1980, pp. 14-22.

Connors, Kenneth Wray. "Public Issues and Private Morality." Christian Century, 22 Oct. 1980, pp. 1002-03.

"Conservative Protestant Leaders." Conservative Digest, Aug. 1979, p. 16.

Coulter, Nate. "Piety Without Demagoguery Is Legacy of Brooks Hays." Arkansas Gazette, 15 Oct. 1982, p. 21A.

Crawford, Alan. Thunder on the Right. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.

Davis, L. J. "Conservatism in America." Harpers, Oct. 1980, pp. 21-26.

DePuy, Norman R. "Single Issue Voting--A Bed Too Short, A Blanket Too Narrow." Report from the Capitol, Oct. 1980, pp. 4-5.

"Dingman Testifies in Favor of Tuition Tax Credits." Moral Majority Reports, June 1983, p. 9.

Dolan, Terry. "Religious Right Urged to Fight Harder on the Issues to Achieve Their Goals." Conservative Digest, Feb. 1981, p. 28.

Dunn, James. Letter to author. 14 March 1981.

----- "National IMPACT Conference." Washington, D.C., 15 March 1981. Speech.

Ehninger, Douglas. "Argument as Method: Its Nature, Its Limitations, and Its Uses." Speech Monographs, 37 (June 1970), 101-10.

Fauntroy, Walter E., Congressman. "Fauntroy Criticizes 'New Right' Politics and Religion." News release. 16 Oct. 1980.

Files, Russ. Personal interview at Liberty Baptist College, Lynchburg, VA, 5 May 1982.

Fisher, Walter R. "Rationality and the Logic of Good Reasons." Philosophy and Rhetoric, 13 (Spring 1980), 121-30.

-----, "Toward a Logic of Good Reasons." Quarterly Journal of Speech, 64, No. 2 (Dec. 1978), 376-84.

-----, "A Motive View of Communication." Quarterly Journal of Speech, 56, No. 2 (Apr. 1970), 131-39.

FitzGerald, Frances. "A Reporter at Large: A Disciplined, Charging Army." The New Yorker, 18 May 1981, pp. 53-141.

Gaillard, Frye. "TV Evangelists Seek Christian Political Climate." Houston Post, Nov. 1979, p. 12AA.

Gallup, George, Jr. "Divining the Devout: The Polls and Religious Belief." Public Opinion, Apr./May 1981, pp. 20, 41.

Garth, H. H., and C. Wright Mills, eds. and trans. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1949.

Godwin, Ron. Chief Operations Officer, Moral Majority, Inc. Personal interview, Lynchburg, VA, 3 May 1982.

Gove, Philip Babcock. Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language. 2nd ed. Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam, 1961.

Guth, James L. "The Southern Baptist Clergy: Vanguard of the Evangelical Right?" Roundtable on Rarely Studied Sub-Groups in the South, Southern Political Service Association, Memphis, Tennessee, 6 Nov. 1980.

Gwinn, Casey. "A Marriage of Convenience." Unpublished Honors Thesis, Stanford University, 1981-82.

Hadden, Jeffrey K., and Charles E. Swann. Prime Time Preachers: The Rising Power of Televangelism. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1981.

Harris, Louis. "The Evangelical Vote." ABC News--Harris Survey, 6 Oct. 1980.

-----, "The Conservative Vote." ABC News--Harris Survey, 11 Nov. 1980.

- Harris, Louis. "Moral Majority's Stand on TV Censorship Opposed by Most Americans." ABC News--Harris Survey, 6 July 1981.
- Hart, Roderick P. The Political Pulpit. West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue Univ. Press, 1977.
- Hastey, Stan and Warner Ragsdale. "Right Religion Right Politics?" Home Missions, Sept.-Oct. 1980, pp. 67-72.
- Himmelstein, Jerome L. "The New Right: An Overview." Unpublished article.
- Hofstadter, Richard. The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965.
- "Jim Holsted and the Story of Act 590." Arkansas Gazette, Dec. 16, 1981, p. 31A.
- James, Fob. Speech at "The National Affairs Briefing." Dallas, Texas, Aug. 1980. (From audio tape, not transcribed.)
- Jeffrey Robert C. "The Ethics of Public Discourse." Speech Communication Association Convention, 11 Nov. 1973.
- Johannesen, Richard L. Ethics in Human Communication. 2nd ed. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1983.
- Jorstad, Erling. The Politics of Moralism. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1981.
- Kenner, Nelson. Chief Operations Officer of the Old-Time Gospel Hour, Lynchburg, VA. Personal interview. 3 May 1982.
- Keller, Bill. "Evangelical Conservatives Move from Pews to Polls, but Can They Sway Congress?" Congressional Quarterly, 6 Sept. 1980, pp. 2627, 2634.
- , "Who's Who in the Christian Right." Congressional Quarterly, 6 Sept. 1980, p. 2628.
- Kennedy, George. Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1980.
- Kinchelo, Joë. "Music for Social Control: Horace Mann, the Camp Meeting, and the Political Rally." Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting, Southwestern Philosophy of Education Society, 1981.

- King, Martin Luther. "Letter from Birmingham Jail." In Annals of America (Vol. 18). Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1976.
- "I Have a Dream." In Annals of America (Vol. 18). Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1976.
- Kohlberg, Lawrence. "The Claim to Moral Adequacy of a Highest Stage of Moral Judgment." The Journal of Philosophy, 70 (Oct. 1973), 630-46.
- "Education for Justice: A Modern Statement of the Platonic View." In Moral Education: Five Lectures. Eds. James M. Gustafson, Richard S. Peters, Lawrence Kohlberg, Bruno Bettelheim, and Kenneth Henniston. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1970.
- "Moral and Religious Education and the Public Schools: A Developmental View." In Religion and Public Teaching. Ed. T. Sizer. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967.
- "Moral Education in the Schools: A Developmental View." The School Review, 14, No. 1 (Spring 1966), 1-30.
- Kohlberg, Lawrence and Richard H. Hersh. "Moral Development: A Review of the Theory." Theory into Practice, 16, No. 2 (Apr. 1977), 53-59.
- Krohn, Franklin B. "The Sixty-Minute Commercial: Marketing Salvation." The Humanist, 41 (Nov./Dec. 1980), 26-31.
- LaHaye, Tim. "Pro-Life Movement Faces 'Real Victory.'" Moral Majority Report, 2, No. 2 (16 Feb. 1981), 5.
- Lanouette, William J. "The New Right--'Revolutionaries' Out after the 'Lunch-Pail' Vote." National Journal, 21 Jan. 1978, pp. 88-92.
- Lear, Norman. "Rebuilding with 'American Way.'" Arkansas Gazette, 25 Apr. 1982, p. 2H.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. "Three Decades of the Radical Right." In The Radical Right. Ed. Daniel Bell. Garden City, NY: Doubleday-Anchor, 1964.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Earl Raab. "The Election of the Evangelicals." Commentary, 71 (March 1981), 25-31.
- The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1977. 2nd ed. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Lower, Frank J. "Kohlberg's Moral Stages as a Critical Tool." The Southern Speech Communication Journal, 47 (Winter 1982), 178-91.

- Marsden, George M. Fundamentalism and American Culture. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980.
- Martin, William. "The Birth of a Media Myth." Atlantic, June 1981, pp. 7, 10-11, 16.
- Marty, Martin E. "In Search of the Moral Majority." Miami Herald, Dec. 1980, p. 4M.
- Massie, Robert. Professor, Yale University. Telephone interview, 21 Jan. 1981.
- McIntyre, Thomas J. The Fear Brokers. New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1979.
- Miller, Perry. Errand into the Wilderness. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1956.
- . The New England Mind: From Colony to Province. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1953.
- Minnery, Tom. "The Man Behind the Mask." Christianity Today, 4 Sept. 1981, pp. 28-29.
- "Moral Majority Backs Clark, but Has Qualms." Arkansas Gazette, Dec. 16, 1981, p. 1A.
- Mueller, Carol. "In Search of a Constituency for the 'New Religious Right.'" Unpublished paper, 1982.
- Myers, Lisa. "The Christian Right, New Waves in Politics: Falwell Strives for Role as Political Kingmaker." Last article of a 4-part series, Washington Star, 3 July 1980, Sec. A, pp. A-1, A-4.
- "NCPAC's Terry Dolan: He's Playing Key Role in New Right's Successes." Conservative Digest, Dec. 1980, pp. 2-5.
- "The New Right Takes Aim." Time, 20 Aug. 1979, pp. 20-21.
- Nilsen, Thomas R. "Free Speech, Persuasion, and the Democratic Process." QJS, 44, No. 3 (Oct. 1958), 235-43.
- Ogintz, Eileen. "New Holy War." San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle, 20 Jan. 1980, p. 14A.
- "Opinion Roundup: Social Values in the 70's." Public Opinion, Dec./Jan. 1980, pp. 26-29.
- "Howard Phillips: Conservative Strategist." Conservative Digest, Mar. 1980, pp. 6-7.

- Pines, Burton Yale. "A Majority for Morality?" Public Opinion, Apr./ May 1981, pp. 42-47.
- Plato. "Gorgias." Trans. Benjamin Jewett, ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins. Great Books of the Western World. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952, Vol. 7.
- Plowman, Edward. "Is Morality All Right?" Christianity Today, 2 Nov. 1979, pp. 76-82, 85.
- Powell, Jody. Statement on "David Brinkley Report," KATV-ABC, 14 Nov. 1982.
- "Private Religion, Public Morality." Editorial of New York Times, 8 Oct. 1980, p. 188.
- Puckett, Richard G. "Christian Politics or Christians in Politics." Church & State, Oct. 1980, p. 23.
- Letter to constituents. 10 Oct. 1980.
- "Q & A: Questions and Answers." Washington, D.C.: People for the American Way, 1980, brochure.
- Quinn, Tony. "Evangelical Christians: Born Again Political Activists." California Journal, July 1980, pp. 268-70.
- Rather, Dan. "Onward Christian Voters." Transcript of Sixty Minutes. CBS-TV, 21 Sept. 1980.
- The Reader's Digest Great Encyclopedic Dictionary. Pleasantville, NY: The Reader's Digest Association, 1967.
- "Religion in America 1981." The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 184, Jan 1981, pp. 57-66.
- Rossiter, Clinton. Conservatism in America, The Thankless Persuasion. 2nd rev. ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.
- Routh, Porter. Letter sent to Richard McCartney, Editor, Baptist Messenger. Oklahoma City: Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma, June 1980.
- Self, Rev. William L. Speech to American United Conference. "What God Hath Put Asunder, Let No Man Join Together." 24 Sept. 1980.
- Shriver, Peggy L. The Bible Vote: Religion and the New Right. New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1981.

Shupe, Anson and William A. Stacey. Born Again Politics and the Moral Majority: What Social Surveys Really Show. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1982.

Smith, Timothy L. "Protestants Falwell Does Not Represent." New York Times, 22 Oct. 1980, p. Y23.

"A Tide of Born-Again Politics." Newsweek, Sept. 1980, pp. 28-36.

Vignuelle, Rick. Assistant Director of the "I Love America" rallies. Personal interview. 3 May 1982.

Viguerie, Richard. The New Right: We're Ready to Lead. Falls Church, VA: The Viguerie Company, 1980.

Wallace, Karl R. "An Ethical Basis of Communication." In Ethics and Persuasion, Selected Readings. Ed. Richard L. Johannesen. New York: Random House, 1967.

Weyrich, Paul. "Look Out Liberals." Conservative Digest, Sept. 1980, p. 26.

----- "Organizing the Conservative Movement." Conservative Digest, July 1979, p. 15.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF TWO "I LOVE AMERICA" RALLIES

(Transcribed from audio tapes)

Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" Rally
Frankfort, Kentucky, 16 Oct. 1979

Thank you, Don. All right. I want to begin as I did yesterday in Nashville saying, "Thank the Lord for the weather." He alone did that for us and there is no way to have as exciting a meeting inside as we are going to have outside today. These shining young faces back here are my sons and daughters; we have a large family. There are 4100 of them in the Liberty Baptist schools in Lynchburg this year. They're training to serve the Lord. The girls asked me to mention that they're all single and will be standing around here after the service to talk with you.

We're glad to have some outstanding pastors here from all over the great state of Kentucky, blue-grass country, and some great Christian school administrators and principals. You know, we only invited about a thousand Christian school students and we planned to have 1200. Already we have twice that or more. That doesn't hurt our feelings, we're glad you're here. Thank the Lord that in spite of what it looked like this morning early and what the weatherman said, we're out here.

In a few moments you are going to hear from your esteemed governor. You are going to be hearing from Governor Carroll and I know what that means to those of us in the Christian school movement. I want to say just a few words to you before we begin.

We are visiting the state capitols of all fifty states during an eighteen month period - about four or five a month, excluding December and the summer months. Most of the time the general assembly is in session.

When I say "we"...there are 15,000 Christian day schools in America today. That's a little more than that really...one every seven hours in America is starting. We had 1400 schools in 1961. It's the fastest growing religious movement in the nation and I think it's the American phenomenon that can change the course of American history the next decade.

These boys and girls are being taught not only academics in an excellent fashion, they are being taught that. Our standardized testing this last year, the 15,000 Christian schools in America tested out one year to one and a half years ahead of the public schools. But far more important than all

that, the Christian school movement in America is teaching young people not only how to make a living but how to live, how to establish families and homes.

They are being taught patriotism, respect for that flag, respect for authority, respect for government, and good citizenship habits. They are being taught respect for each other. They are being taught Bible morality. They are being taught the importance of the home, one man for one woman for one lifetime with children who are being taught the love of God through the Word of God. They are being taught the importance of the local church as the Bible-teaching, Bible-preaching center where they worship and serve the Lord with the family of God. They are being taught how to be productive Christians and productive citizens, and productive parents and productive leaders. And we believe that in the next ten years, this is that phenomenon that can change American history, bring us back to that foundation stone, back to the faith our our fathers, back to the pinnacle of greatness that America once knew and we believe will know again. We're optimistic.

Why are we here? As I shared with your governor just a few moments ago, we're attempting in every state to create a dialogue, a cooperation between the legislators (and you'll be introduced to some of those today) and the pastors and the Christian schools so that, instead of confrontation, we can have cooperation.

In New York state where we've been having a terrible time, three of our pastors have been indicted and were facing possible imprisonment for the simple crime of having Christian day schools that were not approved by the Department of Education in that state and were allowing their children to attend that school. We had a rally of five to six thousand people on the steps of Albany a couple of weeks ago and the superintendent of schools was there (among others of the state leaders). Later, she's a lady, she came over to our meeting with a hundred and fifty pastors and said to me, "Doctor, I've had a misinterpretation in mind of what the Christian school movement was all about. I saw your kids, I could tell the boys from the

girls without a medical examination. I saw their respect, I saw them pick up the paper off the ground when they left the rally," and she said, "I want you to know that as long as I am superintendant of schools here, you are not going to have any problems in the state of New York."

And so things have happened, indictments have been dropped and New York state, our problem area, is getting almost as good as Kentucky. And we thank God for that and we believe that.

You see all of this is happening, and this is the exciting thing, all of this is happening without one dollar of tax money. And we're saying that we're not taking tax money because with shekels come shackles and secondly, since we're not taking tax money, we don't want much advice. We just want to be left alone to do our thing, within the law of course and health and fire regulations, of course we want to meet those. We don't want any philosophical advice because we believe that we've got all that we need right here.

And so, today we want to come to the steps of the state capitol in Frankfort, Kentucky, what I think every one of your hearts are saying, "I Love America."

...SINGERS...

Thank you young people, we love America. During our 203 years of history as a free republic, thousands and thousands of American boys have left their blood, their arms, their legs, their eyes on foreign soil to make this meeting possible here today. And I submit to you that it is our responsibility to see to it that they did not do that in vain. The military cemetery and the public and private cemeteries of America and other lands are filled with the bodies of boys who believed in America.

I remember when I was in elementary school during World War II. I remember, I was born in 1932 you hecklers, I remember boys going down to the recruitment office and lying about their age just to defend their country. Today they run to Canada as cowards to prevent defending their country, to escape that responsibility. We in the Christian school movement believe in the armed forces of the United States. We believe in strong

national defense. We believe the best defense is a good offense.

We're not aggressors and we're certainly not war mongers. But we believe that the Marxists have never changed their original and stated commitment to world conquest. Therefore, we believe that, as a nation, we need to support the military. We need to be not just as strong but stronger than the Soviet Union because they are aggressors.

And so, today, in spite of the unpopularity in some areas of the military, the army, the navy, the air force, the marines, the coast guard, we want to say, "We Love America." We love our fighting boys and we want to pay tribute to all branches of the armed forces and in memory of those who have made the supreme sacrifice.

...SINGERS...

In Christian schools in America, every day we pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States. We have never allowed and there's not one instance on record in a Christian school of conservative, Bible-believing, Christ-centered Christian schools, of a flag being desecrated, or burned, or worn on the seat of someone's pants. We've often wished someone would because of the urge of planting a foot on the north end going south. But it's never happened because the parents of our children put them in our schools because they agree with what we agree with, that America is one nation under God.

I was in Washington Sunday afternoon speaking to a group of senators, congressmen, pastors, and leaders on our national day of fasting and prayer. Between two and three million Americans fasted and prayed with us last Sunday for revival in America. And these leaders did the same thing.

Across town in Washington, marching up and down Pennsylvania Avenue, were 25 to 50,000 homosexuals. Christians love homosexuals as they love all sinners, and regard them as just boys and girls, men and women with a deep, deep moral problem. God loves the homosexuals like He loves all men. But I said to those congressmen, "We have no

contempt for those young people out there. We've just seen them committing immoral acts in public and saying vulgar and dirty things." They've come there from all over the nation attempting to gain passage of the Gay Rights Bill which would give them minority status like blacks, like women, like Hispanics, etc., which is beyond being ridiculous. "But," I said, "we have no contempt for them because each of those boys and girls have left behind them a trail of broken hearts. Moms and Dads who love them and pray for them in many cases and whose hearts are wounded and broken because of what has happened in their lives."

And so we make a distinction between the sin and the sinner. We hate what they do, we love them. Because of those mothers and dads who are saying, "Don't hurt them, help them, bring them back," we reach out in love to them. We have a staff in our church of professional counselors who minister to them. But because we're honest and believe the Bible, we call it "moral perversion." God did not create Adam and Steve, but Adam and Eve. And God ordained the family to be that basic unit in society that He can bless. We love all Americans. We believe in the civil rights of all men. But we also believe in right and wrong and we know the difference because we believe the Bible.

Right now because we are Christians, because we are Americans, Robby Hiner, a graduate of Liberty Baptist College who came to us from Coldwater, Mississippi, bare-footed, driving a fifteen-year-old horse for his car, not quite that bad, but maybe so, and the Liberty Baptist Singers, "The Red, The White, The Blue."

...SINGERS...

Thank you Robby and thank you young people. After this next song you're going to hear from Governor Julian Carroll. I want to apologize to him. We didn't get previous notice, he has a 12:00 luncheon in another city. The Secretary of Labor from the United States, from Washington is here and he's been gracious enough, he's going to ride in a helicopter there to be a little late for that. He'll be in on a little part of this and after this next song you're going to hear him.

Two thousand years ago, our Lord and Savior died upon a cross; he was buried; he arose from the dead; and he established a church in his own blood. And that church, down through two millennia has withstood the test of time. What is the hope of America? Thousands of Bible-believing, soul-winning local churches and Christian schools that are starting one every seven hours and by 1992 one authority in the field has said there will be more private Christian schools in America than public schools. I say to you this is the hope for America.

We're not for the abolition of public schools. We just want the right as free Americans to educate our sons and daughters in Christian schools. I say to you that the church of the Living God, that Church Triumphant has come through 2000 years of peril and trouble and problems. There have been times when our leaders have been martyred as heretics. Sometimes elevated to sacred leaders.

The old ship of Zion has sailed through storms and tempest before. The hull of the ship is battered and beaten but here 2000 years later, while many of our brethren in China, Russia, Cuba are in prison for their faith, there are more of us than ever before. The church is alive and well. And all is dry down inside that old ship and she's going to arrive safely on the other shore one day.

Right now, Rick and Mick Vignuelle, twins from Birmingham, Alabama, and the Liberty Baptist Singers sing of the real hope for America, "The Church (God's Church) Triumphant, Alive and Well."

...SINGERS...

Boy, that would get a Cumberland Presbyterian excited, wouldn't it? And speaking of Cumberland Presbyterian, Governor Julian Carroll is a Christian and unashamedly testified to that. And he's the governor of your great state, the governor of Kentucky. My father-in-law, 55 years ago, worked on the power lines in Catlettsburg, Kentucky, and I have had the privilege many times of preaching up and down this state. This has been my highest day in your state because of being here with you, and pastors, and people, and meeting your great governor of the state of Kentucky, the honorable Julian Carroll.

Thank you so very much Dr. Jerry Falwell. A great Kentucky hospitality welcome to one of the world's greatest Christian leaders and everybody watches the "Old Time Gospel Hour" even the governor of Kentucky, let me assure you of that. Indeed we appreciate it very much and enjoy it. We also are deeply moved today by these beautiful singers from Liberty Baptist College. Haven't they been fabulous? Thank you so very much. You really have been.

One of the jobs that I've had through the years in my church was leading the singing. For five years I led the singing in my church. So any time, I'm going to be unemployed soon and I'm looking for a job. On one occasion we were practicing for a T.V. show and the pastor who was a dear friend of mine came up to the front of the church and said, "Julian, let's try it one time without you singing" and it sounded so good that from there on I just led the choir. And I noticed, you don't sing, you just lead the choir. And I think so much of myself.

Well indeed it's a tremendous pleasure having Dr. Falwell in Kentucky today. I was telling him earlier and some of my minister friends in the audience will remember, back as we celebrated the 200th anniversary of our nation, Kentucky was the only state in the United States that celebrated 200 years of religious freedom.

And I told Dr. Falwell earlier that we invited the pastors of Kentucky to come to the mansion grounds and have chicken dinner with us. And do you know that 6000 preachers

showed up? Never before have you seen so much chicken eating in all your life! I helped them eat it now 'cause as you well know I enjoy serving my Lord also. And I'm unashamed of the fact. I am a born again Christian and I'm proud to say it.

And Dr. Falwell, I would say to you that of all the things that have happened to you on the capitol steps of the commonwealth of Kentucky, in our many years of history, and we became a state in 1792. Now we know that Virginia was ahead of us and we know that we used to be a part of Virginia, but indeed I can not think of any event that has ever occurred on the capitol steps of the commonwealth of Kentucky more important than this event here today.

I was telling Dr. Falwell earlier that indeed of the great religious revival of the 19th century, Kentucky was the great foundation. For much of that foundation as it moved Westward. And indeed my church, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was born out of that great revival here in Kentucky. And indeed there were other denominations. Particularly great Baptist born out of that revival right over here on the edge of Shelby County. And indeed, when you go back and read the history of that great religious movement in America, one of the things which impresses me most is the history books describe the old rough and tumble men whose fingers were broken from work with their bibbed overalls on who had come to the rallies with their wives and their children and how those rough, tough men got on their knees under the trees of the grounds on which the preacher was going on and thanked God that they were in America and thanked God for the fact that he had given them life.

No matter what we are or who we are or where we are we should never fail to thank God for America. But He's given us this great country where we can train one generation to carry on the heritage of generations past. And of many times I've been in the pulpits of your church, I said, "The greatest threat facing America today is the fact that we're so pre-occupied with the economic and social demands of our time that we don't have any time for God and what He stands for." And the fact that we do not go to church and we're not training another

generation to pick up the Christian heritage that we received from our forefathers. But thank God for schools like Liberty Baptist College and so many others and many of our elementary and secondary schools, they are great in training America's youth to out do us. I want to see them do better than what we did in this generation, better.

Dr. Falwell, I promised my staff I wouldn't preach today. This is your day and not mine but I want to ask a member of my staff to bring me a couple of items over here that I wanted to present to you. This is indeed a preacher's son, he is my scheduler and his father, who is a minister and our dear friend for many years, and I told his father I would like his son to work for me, I would like for good people to work for me...so he was born and raised in a Christian home and indeed you see he is working now for the governor of Kentucky. Who knows where you might be headed? You know? You might even be governor...maybe the first woman governor of some state, you know?

Dr. Falwell, indeed one of the nicest things that has happened to me in my Christian work is a Christian book written on my life by Charles Paul Carnes put out by one of the Christian Press and I would like to give that to you and show you what an old Kentucky boy has done in his religious work as well as his political work. Now I'm getting ready to quit the politics so I can do more of the former.

Also, we know that you've had a lot of accommodations given to you in your lifetime for your great work around the world particularly "The Old Time Gospel Hour," Liberty College, but one that we just could not pass up the opportunity to give you and we don't mean in any way to say that it's more important than your reverend title, nor more important than your brother title, but it might run a close second to your doctor title...but we want you to be known as a colonel, a Kentucky Colonel might you say. So it's my pleasure at this time to name Dr. Jerry Falwell as an aide de camp on the staff of the governor of the commonwealth of Kentucky and the rank of a colonel. And so now he can be one of my chief religious advisors. Dr. Falwell, congratulations and thank you for coming to Kentucky.

God Bless you and thank you Governor Carroll. Let's give him a hand in appreciation, Governor Carroll from the state of Kentucky. Amen. God bless you Governor. Thank you. I gave this yesterday and didn't give it back, where is it? Who, to whom do I give the watch? Would you hold that please? Thank you. Well, what an honor. Wasn't that tremendous? Governor Julian Carroll of the state of Kentucky. He's late for his next appointment in order to fulfill this one.

The only person unhappy about this meeting today is Madeline O'Hare. We're so thrilled to be here and we're not violating church and state. We're not because you happen to be on your state capitol steps. These steps belong to you; they're yours as citizens of this great state. This doesn't cost Kentucky anything.

I think your coming here is a great tribute, a great honor bestowed upon the great leadership of your state. I would like all of the senators and representatives, delegates of the state to stand. We have others here and I have missed you. I want you all to come this way, I've met several as I came down and this dear lady is coming now and somebody I met right up here, where are you? Just come right on up, I want you to identify yourself, just come on down will you? Tell us who you are and where you're from, because these are your people. And I want to say thank you for coming and...Sir, would you identify yourself and where you are from?

I'm Representative Claudia Riner*and and I'm from Louisville and I just want to make your wife a Kentucky Colonel (HA!HA!) just to say that my husband and I claimed a Bible verse, Proverbs 12:24, "the hand of the diligent shall bear rule but the sloughful shall be under tribute" so God bless you for your work..we're praying for you.

You are so sweet and God bless you Thank you very much. We've got another one, now, how about that? Well, I'll tell you...I thought I had one over my wife for once. (HA!HA!) All right.

I'm Representative Aaron Arnold and I live in Mount Sterling.*

Thank you.

*Names appearing in these transcriptions may not be spelled correctly.

I'm Representative Dexter Wright, 38th District. Reverend Butler is a very good friend, Louisville, Kentucky. I'm very happy to be here, very happy to have you here in Kentucky.

Thank you, God bless you and thank you so very much.

Would you bring me my book please? There's a verse in this book, it's found in Proverbs chapter 14, it's verse 34. It says, "Right living exalts a nation, wrong living is a reproach to any people." We believe that America has been blessed beyond all nations in human history because to a greater degree, the United States of America has lived by the principles of this book. All of our Founding Fathers were not dedicated Christians, some were deist, but all of them were dedicated to Biblical principles and were influenced by the Puritans and the Pilgrims, Jonathan Edwards, Increase Mather, John Wesley, and others, George Whitfield, who preached the gospel of grace up and down New England and the eastern seaboard and tied together what became the original states of the United States, and documents such as the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights were all products of the philosophy established in the hearts of our Founding Fathers by those great religious leaders who put this nation together several hundred years ago.

America unlike any nation in history is one nation under God. Our doors are open to all - but the Judaeo/Christian ethic is the philosophy that America is predicated upon and that God was honored and that is why the United States of America is special to God.

There are three special reasons why I believe that God wants to bless America and that God through the Christian school movement and Bible-believing, soul-winning churches in the next few years will bless America again.

I'm not a pessimist. What I read in the newspapers today does not upset me or cause me to be a prophet of doom. For I believe first of all that God raised up America to give the gospel to the world in these last days of the 20th Century.

The United States of America has sent out more missionaries in the last 200 years, has sent out more gospel ministers in the last 200 years, than all the nations of the

earth combined. And that is the ultimate goal for the gospel. Christ did not die for America but for the world. And the Great Commission is "Preach the gospel to every creature." We are important to God only as His Priorities are ours and the Great Commission is His number one priority.

Number two, America is special to God and God wants to bless America because America is a free nation. That's what the Pilgrims and the Puritans had in mind. A nation where this Book could be preached without harrassment; without being inhibited, without being intimidated. Where God's men and God's women could live the Christian life and have meetings like this one.

You can't do this in Red Square. In spite of what Jane Fonda and Dick Gregory and other drop-outs from society think, America is the greatest nation on earth. If there is no interest in a human race, if Jane Fonda is so interested in human rights, let her take her campaign to Moscow, to Peking, to Havanah. The ground would swallow her up.

God has blessed America because America has given to the church in America the freedom to preach the gospel of Jesus. The Internal Revenue Service, the FCC, and other federal agencies from time to time have tried to put a monkey wrench in the works. The Old Church Triumphant has sailed right over them and will continue to do so because God raised up Americans as a society in which a free church could preach the glorious gospel of Christ.

America is important to God and God wants to bless America again because America is the only protector of the Jew in the world today. If the United States were to withdraw her support of tiny Israel, she would be driven into the Mediterranean overnight. You say, "Why is that important to God?" Because God told Abraham, the father of the Jews, 4000 years ago in this book, Genesis 12, "I will bless them that bless you and I will curse them that curse you." If we could call Adolf Hitler out of hell today, he would say, "Amen," to that statement. And God has cursed Hitler and the Pharoahs and Emperors who dared to touch the apple of God's eye, the chosen nation of Israel. So, America is important to God and God has blessed America because for 200 years His

priorities have been our priorities.

But, in the last 45 years some things have been changing. Recently, Andy Young had a meeting with the PLO. I think that displeased the Lord, he dishonored his office, he lied to the press, and he resigned and should have. And I say to you that whenever the United States wavers on our position on the side of the Jewish nation, we are in trouble with God.

Why are we having an energy crisis today? Is it the major oil companies causing the problem? Is it the federal government causing the problem? What is the real problem behind the energy crisis in America? I don't know. I'm not smart enough to know that. But, I know this, that God who governs in the affairs of men has permitted it to happen and I think to get the attention of the American people, and to cause us here in the United States who understand that whenever God wants to bring us down to our knees, He can do it without ever firing a shot.

Why is the American dollar experiencing a nose-dive on the international market today? Why are we experiencing 17% inflation today? Why are we in a recession and a time of inflation, uncontrollable inflation with no one seeming to know what to do? I don't know either. But I know God has permitted it. And I say to you that all these various things that are happening in America today, are no more than the result of a deeper problem in America, and that's a moral problem.

America faces three major crisis as we face this Decade of Destiny, the 1980's. In less than 90 days, about 75 days, the bells will toll in a new decade...January 1, 1980. The first time in the history of the republic we face a decade in which the freedoms and liberties of American republic are in great question. It is a matter of fact that we are no longer the military might of the world today. Admiral Morra, General Graham, Former Secretary of the Navy - Bill Mittendorf and many other impeachable authorities are telling us that we are a distant second in military power in comparison to the Soviet Union. And the fact is that unless we do something drastically of a revolutionary nature in the

Congress, in the White House to build up our defenses and there's nothing wrong with strong defense...that's the only language the communist understand. Somewhere in the 1980's our President, whoever he may be, could well receive one telephone call demanding capitulation. And don't think that that's a wild eyed dream. It is a distinct possibility.

Another crisis we face in the 1980's, I remind you, I said earlier I'm optimistic and I don't believe these things are going to happen...I'm saying they can. And the hope for the turn-around is right here today and in similar audiences nation-wide, Bible-believing churches, pastors and Christian schools.

The second crisis we face is the family crisis. We are now approaching a 40% divorce rate in America. That is horrendous, it almost is unacceptable. Worse than that, the television industry, the Hollywood movie industry, the publishing industry seem to be in a concerted effort to glorify the broken home, to magnify the lifestyle of those who have denied Bible standards for the family in the home and to glorify and magnify persons who are living immoral lifestyles. And so because of that industry, the media industry, the family is being threatened.

The homosexual/bisexual revolution in America is nothing but an assault upon the family. What are we saying when we allow, as is the case in several states, a man to marry a man and adopt children...boys of course; and women to marry women and adopt children...girls of course. We are saying that the Bible standards for the home - a man for a woman for a lifetime is no longer relevant. We are repudiating God's plan for the family and we are endorsing perversion, reprobate abominable perversion. That's an assault upon the family.

The feminist movement today is an assault upon the family. Someone asked me recently, "Why do you oppose the Equal Rights Amendment?" I'll tell you that I don't oppose the Equal Rights Amendment because I don't believe in equal rights for women. . . . Christians believe in superior rights for our women. We believe we ought to help them on with their coats and open the doors for them and work for their support and protect them on the battlefields

and love them and care for them. We believe in superior rights for women. But we do not, I emphasize do not believe in the ambiguous wording of the Equal Rights Amendment because it may one day be that our women will have to enter unisexural toilets and fight on battlefields where men belong and lots of other unacceptable things. So we oppose it because we believe in superior rights for women. And the Bella Abzugs and Gloria Steinems and Betty Freidens and the other female failures who are leading the movement are trying to bring the elevated womanhood of America down to their base level. And we are not willing to submit to that.

Well, the feminist movement is an attack upon the family and the home. Then the children's rights movement of today is an assault upon the family. They call it International Year of the Child this year but it's an on going program born in the United Nations and established and instituted by the same leaders of the feminist movement. Everyone is against child-abuse. A man or a woman who would abuse a child is worse than an animal. But I say to you that Children's Rights Movement is not a matter of child abuse but child ownership. Who owns the children? Parents or the state? I know. I'd say the parents in this audience know the answer to that. And I would say if you come after our children you better come loaded for bear because we own our children, this is a free nation. And I say to you that International Year of the Child is a very subtle and dangerous thing. Don't get caught up in it. One of the programs they're advocating is federally funded Day-Cares nation-wide with mandatory school attendance at age two. Why do they want that? So they can get our children, not at age six as they do now, but at age two. Brain-wash them with humanism, and atheism, and moral permissiveness. They're not going to do it.

Well, abortion. In 1972, in 1973, January, the Roe vs. Wade decision of the Supreme Court legalized abortion on demand in America. Do you know what's happened in America since then? Between five to six million babies have been murdered under the protection of the highest court of the land. Do you know what's going to happen this year? One point two million babies will be murdered in America. And do you know

that if God was angry at Hitler for murdering six million Jews in a three and a half year time, God must be furious with America that has already reached that goal and there is no end in sight and few people are saying anything about it.

I'm not Roman Catholic but I had to admire the Pope as he passed through America saying, "Abortion is murder and homosexuality is perversion." And I say that abortion is not a Catholic issue, it's a Bible-issue, it's a human rights issue.

I believe the family is in danger. Why should a young teen-aged girl...80% of all abortions last year were unwed teen-aged mothers. What are we saying to those little girls? Live like animals and murder the consequences, no payment for your sins. Why get married? Live with him, don't have his children, kill them. Keep living with him and we destroy not only those little babies but those teen-aged girls and boys. The highest court in the land will stand before God Almighty accountable for the blood of everyone of them.

I say to you that the hope of America is in this audience right here. You and I have been second class citizens for too long. We've allowed them to tell us that religion and politics don't mix. Who said so? When the righteous are in authority the people rejoice. I'm not talking about running for anything. I'm in the highest office in the land as you are preacher, why step down? I'm talking about helping men who believe, and women who believe in Biblical principles to get into office and to get those who don't out.

On the steps of the State Capitol in Nashville yesterday, I repeated what I said in Washington. I was asked by ABC in Washington Sunday afternoon, "Who are you going to endorse for the Presidency?" I said I haven't decided yet. I'll tell you who I'm not going to endorse. Oh, and all the cameras started turning. I said, "I'm not endorsing Teddy Kennedy," and the question was "Why?" And I said, "Because at Chappaquiddic he disqualified himself to be dog-catcher much less President and I...my most charitable interpretation of Chappaquiddic is this (and I said this for the major networks, all three): A senator went to a drunken party with a woman, not his wife, and he joined

other national leaders, men and women who were not their wives, and the end result...in his drunkenness he could not navigate a bridge and a poor innocent girl lost her life. I said I would have gone to the penitentiary for that and should have. And I said that as far as I'm concerned, a man who is a governor, or president, or a congressman, or a member of the state government ought to meet the same standards as preachers and Christian leaders because we not only make decisions, we set lifestyle examples for others to follow.

Well, somebody is thinking, "Jerry, you must be a Republican." No, I'm not. I'm a Baptist. And I happen to believe what this Book says, and with me it isn't a matter of Republican or Democrat but what thus saith the Word of God. Hey, fellows, if you and I are going to have a part in changing America, we're going to have to decide that it's more important to be right than popular. It doesn't really matter what the crowd thinks about us. It makes a lot of difference what He thinks. We've got to raise up the leadership and that's what the Christian school movement is all about.

The young people in America who ought to be our leaders in the next ten years have grown up in schools that have taught them Humanism. The foundation of humanism is atheism. Its message is amorality, situation ethics, do your own thing, if it feels good do it. And its ultimate goal is one world socialism. And I'm against socialism like I'm against rattlesnakes.

Look at Great Britian, look at the Soviet Union, look at Cuba, look at China...we cut off the wheat and money to the rest of the world they couldn't survive. Capitalism, the free-enterprise system has its roots in the book of Proverbs and on this earth it's the best thing human beings have ever put together. I say to you that these people who want to be leading us in the next ten years have grown up under a government that has taught them welfarism. That you deserve a living just because you belong to the human race. That's not very scriptural. Paul said, "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat."

I told the story, you know I believe that we ought to take care of the aged, the sick, those who can not work but there's a great big crowd out yonder who wouldn't

work in a pie shop eating the holes out of doughnuts. And I say let them starve, to the glory of God, let them starve. They won't starve long, that's merciful.

We have four dogs at my house, we had seventeen but my wife made me get rid of some of them. Two of them live in the house, they're watch dogs...they're little poodles...if they hear something at night they jump up in bed and watch with us. Two of them live outside...they're Irish setters, the most beautiful and dumbest dogs in the world, Ruff and Heidi. When the fellow gave them to me, he owned a supermarket, he said, "Now preacher, here's what they eat" and he told me what kind of meat, how much, where to get it...the longer he talked, the more I knew I couldn't afford those dogs! When he left I went to another supermarket (not his) and I bought a great big fifty pound bag of Purina, you know those hard chunks that don't cost that much? And I gave them two big heaping bowls full and sure enough they wouldn't eat a mouthful of it...but four days later they did.

You get them bums hungry enough, they'll find a job and they'll go to work and become productive citizens in society. So, I say to you that we need to produce some leaders today that know how to work.

Yes, America does have a bright future when you consider that there are 108,000 Bible-believing, soul-winning local churches in America. That's a third of them of all that are. When you believe and realize that there are 15,000 Christian schools like these and there are going to be more Christian schools in 1992, 12 years from now, than there are public schools...that's where the leadership is going to come from.

Thank God for you school masters and you pastors and you parents who pay tax money to educate your kids in public schools but instead put them in private schools and pay tuition there...God bless you for double taxation, you're doing the right thing.

Right living exalts a nation, sin is a reproach to any people. Can we turn the nation around? Let me give you quickly as I close what I believe to be the formula for revival in America.

Number one, prayer. You can not deny the formula of II Chronicles 7:14..."if my people (that's us)

called by my name (that's us) will humble themselves and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven, forgive their sin, (here's the punch line) I will heal their land." God can heal America.

Secondly, we've got to preach for revival. Preachers I want to challenge you to call a spade a spade. I mean if hell busts wide open say it like it is...God will give you two replacements for every one you lose. We've got to get some preachers who don't care what the papers think about them, who are not interested in what the T.V. fellows are saying, who could care less what the Gallup poll reports, but will preach sin call it what it is, call the nation back to God, call it what it is.

Number three, we've got to train several million young people in all the principles of our religious heritage; of the meaning of that flag, of the inerrancy of this Book, of the importance of the home, the family, the church, to respect the government, to believe in free enterprise, to accept the philosophy that by the sweat of our brow, hard work will earn our bread. Teach young people to work hard for what they get, to grow up to be great men and great women.

Finally, according to the Gallup poll there are fifty million, between fifty and seventy-five million men and women in America who profess a new birth experience like the governor talked about. They're not all Baptist, they're not all Presbyterian and Methodist, they profess a "new birth" experience. Here's what we've got to do...if you read Time magazine two weeks ago, they quoted me, I said to some preachers in Ohio, Governor Rhodes was there Preaching hell hot with us, I said, "Fellows the three things we've got to make our priorities in the 1980's are these: 1. We've got to get people saved. 2. Baptized. 3. Registered to vote."

There are eight million born again Christians in our Bible-believing churches who are not registered to vote. Do you know what we did in our church this year? I asked everyone who was not registered to vote to stand up, I wanted to know who the sinners were. Then I gave them a sheet of paper that told them for every county in our membership, every county seat, every city, every town-

ship, where to register, what time, how to do it...so that nobody could have misunderstood. Next week I said, "Everybody stand up who's not registered." We kept on til we got every bloomin' one of them registered to vote. We have 17,000 church members (that's a fourth of our town) and that makes a difference because if they start monkeying around with the Christian schools and the churches in our town we say, "Hey, back up," and they do. That's what the saints can do in America. You get the saints as the largest minority block in America because it means black, white, red, yellow, rich, poor, young, old, it crosses all boundaries. You get the saints registered to vote AND secondly informed on the issues. Everyone of those men and women running for public office has got to meet minimal moral standards. And when they do we need to stand with them and when they don't we need to stand against them.

Hey, we're first class citizens. It was our grandfathers who put this thing together. They did it with their own blood. Let's put it back together, let's do it now so that our children will enjoy that same America we have known. And God will hold us accountable at the judgement seat of Christ if we don't.

I want everybody to stand and join hands. Husbands and wives you should have been doing this and haven't for a long time, join hands. Boys and girls everywhere, across the seats, across the ailes, join hands. Everybody join hands. I want us to sing a prayer. Everyone knows this one. It's called "God Bless America." It's asking God to do for us what He alone can do, but He can do it. Let's ask the Lord to bless America again. Let's sing it like we've never sung it before so that all around Frankfort, Kentucky, and everyone of the office buildings and offices and in those houses will say, "Hey, what's that coming down the street?" "God Bless America" with 3000 or more people singing it. Can we do it? And let's make it our prayer from our hearts unto God.

Don's going to sing a new verse to it. We'll join him on the chorus.

Unpublished transcript of "I Love America" Rally
Columbia, South Carolina, 31 March 1980

Thank you Don and I see the young people made it today. And the wind is blowing but it isn't raining and we thank the Lord for beautiful weather.

I want to begin by having all the pastors, every pastor and all the elected officials to please come and take your seats right here in the front. Make your way through immediately and we will recognize our elected officials a little while later. But right now we want to tell you what we're doing.

Buses are still coming, young people are still arriving. But the "I Love America" rallies are being held in all fifty state capitol steps across the United States. This is number fourteen. We began, actually this is number fifteen, we began on the U.S. Capitol steps in Washington. Our goals are these: First of all believe that America is in serious trouble and we believe that the Godfearing people of America have an obligation through prayer, through Christian involvement, through speaking our convictions aloud in high places to help lend our influence to the turning around of this nation and bringing America back to God.

Secondly, we are making an effort to deal with the moral issues which we feel are vital to the survival of this republic. We predicate everything we're doing on the verse of scripture in Proverbs, chapter 14, it's the 34th verse, in the King James version; it reads this way, "Righteousness exalthe a nation but sin is a reproach to any people." Let me paraphrase that. "Living by God's principles exalts a nation to greatness, violating God's principles brings a nation to shame."

The United States of America will be 204 years old July 4th. For about 180 years this country without any question was the leading power in the world in every area, the greatest nation on earth. When I grew up and attended elementary and high school I found that Americans were glad to be Americans and the rest of the world respected us. In the last 25 or 30 years, America has been in a moral tailspin. The United States Supreme Court, because of the petition of an avowed atheist, Madeline O'Hare, expelled Almighty God from the public school and the public school system in America from that day to this has become the spawning ground for every kind of moral and

spiritual disease. Drug epidemics, moral permissiveness, academic deterioration, almost constant danger for school teachers in the larger metropolitan areas, and all of that because of the expulsion of Almighty God from the arena of education in America where He had been an invited guest for the first 180 years of our nation's existence.

I would say to you that the Christian school system in America, 16,000 schools like yours, growing at the rate of one new school every seven hours, nearly four new schools a day, and the growth, the acceleration of growth is such that by 1992 it will now seem that we will have as many Christian, conservative Christian, Bible-believing Christian, Christ-oriented schools in America as we have public schools. I see that as the hope for these United States and we in the Christian schools attempt to train up a generation of young people who can in the future become the leadership in this republic.

We are not out for the abolition of public schools, just the improvement. But beyond that we are also for the creation of an alternate school system, a Christian school system where we Christian parents and pastors can be assured that our sons and daughters are getting not only academic excellence but are getting character training, are being taught right and wrong, are being taught a love for God and a love for family, and a love for America.

We are addressing the moral issues and I believe that as we are standing here in this beautiful South Carolina day before this very beautiful state capitol building, in Columbia, South Carolina, I believe what we are saying in every other place is needed and necessary to be said here and that is this: that if living by God's principles exalts a nation, then our nation needs a moral turn around, a moral reformation, or we are going to lose our freedoms in this Decade of Destiny, the 1980's.

The family in America is in serious trouble, divorce rate is at 40%, we have a homosexual revolution today, and those who believe the Bible believe that homosexuality is perversion, and we are having today in America a breakdown in the traditional monogamous family unit because of pressure from the federal government, perverse

movements like the White House Conference on Families and other efforts by those in high places to do away with that cornerstone of the republic, the family, the home as God designed it.

So we're here today in Columbia, the young people of Liberty Baptist College behind me, boys and girls who have surrendered their lives to serve God, the I Love America Singers who are taking a year out of their lives to travel thousands of miles with us up and down the highways of America to say everywhere what we're going to say here today that it's revival or ruin, it's spiritual re-awakening or it's the end of our nation.

We're optimistic. We're not just cursing the darkness but we're trying to light a candle. And I want to thank you pastors and you Christian school administrators and school teachers, and parents, and I want to thank you boys and girls, what a beautiful sight, for coming here today, by your presence saying "Amen, I agree and I want to be a part of bringing America back together."

...SINGERS...

This country will be 204 years old July the 4th and in our 204 years of history, America has been made the free republic she is by the continual sacrifice of our fighting men; men of the Army, men of the Navy, men of the Coast Guard, thousands who have lived and died because they believe that this is a nation under God, God's country unlike any country on earth. And if that be true and if this nation is indeed founded on the Judeo/Christian ethic, and we believe it is, then this book, the Word of God, is the foundation stone. It is the document on which our republic is established. And when that ceases to be as de Togueville said, "America has been great because America has been good." When America ceases to be good, she'll cease to be great.

Recently, we found in the White House an edict that was sent to the Congress which promptly disallowed that women ought to be drafted into combat or at least into the military forces and obviously ultimately into combat. That of course was the ERA mentality coming through as though it were a reality. The fact is that this country

has been defended in the trench lines, the front lines, by men who did not go out to fight for the bureaucrats or out to fight for buildings and houses and automobiles, but who went out there to fight for wives, children, moms, sisters, women who were left behind, and who believe that this country was worth fighting for. And today, we here in Columbia want to pay tribute to the fighting men of the armed forces, every branch, men who have given the supreme sacrifice; some who have died that we would have the right of free and public assembly here today.

Do you realize that we could not do this if we were in Russia? If we lived in the Soviet Union we could not meet in the Kremlin like this, Red Square. We might meet once, that's all. If this were Peking there would be no meeting like this. If this were Havanah, Cuba, there would be no meeting like this. And I hear the Jane Fondas and the Dick Gregorys and the Benjamin Spocks and a host of other anti-American, anti-government people decrying this nation, I can not help but think that if they would try what they are trying here for 30 seconds on Red Square the earth would swallow them up.

This is the greatest nation on earth and with all of our problems, with all of our faults, America is still worth living and dying for. Today when we, the young people, reach your particular branch of the armed forces, beginning with the army, you make your sentiments known, make a little noise like South Carolinians have been known to do in the past on many issues. So, here they are...

...SINGERS...

And because of the sacrifice of our fighting men who have made our freedom available to us, we come here today and pay our tribute to them. We also pay tribute to the flag, "Old Glory," the red, white, and blue. There were days when you and I remember, patriotism was popular. It still is among Christians and Godfearing people. When you watch television and see those alleged Iranian students who have, in my opinion never seen the inside of a school building, burning our flag, and desecrating Old Glory, it makes you want to get a group

of boy scouts together and go over and clean their plow. That's about what it would take.

The problem in America today is not the people. The problem is the leadership. We have long since lost the courage of a President Sadat who runs his own country and tells the Iranian lunatic and other idiots where to hang it. The United States of America needs that kind of leadership. And I say if we could have that kind of leadership in the White House and in the Congress, in our state houses, men and women who are not afraid to stand up for what is right and stand up against what is wrong, that flag could still mean the same around the world that once it meant. The only reason why a Khomeini and the group of, I think, Marxist young people would dare to take fifty American hostages is because by our example of the last few years they knew we'd do nothing about it and that is what we did.

The reason why the Soviets marched into Afghanistan is because they knew we'd do nothing about it and that's what we did. And the reason there are thousands of Soviet troops in Cuba today is because they knew we'd do nothing about it and that's what we did.

The United States in the last twenty years, in its SALT agreements with the Soviet Union the last ten years, its negotiations with communist powers, has taken on the unbelievable stance and position that the communists have good intentions and that we can peacefully coexist in this world without military strengths, that strong national defense is not necessary. And so our leaders have put us in this year, 1980, in probably the most compromising position the United States has been in since Pearl Harbor. A position of being unable to defend ourselves or even to protect the Persian Gulf and our oil interests.

We find ourselves today without that courageous leadership that is willing to take the stand at any costs and lead the American people back to that proud position of number one in the world, and that's where we must be if we're going to survive. No Christian is a war-monger, we hate war. That's why I was at a press conference recently advocating that since the Soviets are always the aggressors and we are not, we do not need military equal-

ity with the Soviet Union, we need military superiority. And whatever it costs to meet that goal, we ought to make that kind of commitment.

And the argument is always forth coming from the Washington politicians, "Where are we going to get the money?" I read the other day that the President is proposing a \$220 billion welfare budget. That's a good place to start, and if we could from that point - could begin making some expenditures - it would not be very long until our country could once again stand up proudly underneath that flag, the flag of the United States of America, Old Glory.

...SINGERS...

Thank you, Robby. How important is America to God, to the world, to the cause of freedom in the world? First of all, I believe this scripture, the Book clearly teaches that freedom is the basic moral issue of all. I would suggest to you that in Afghanistan today abortion is not a very important subject, or pornography, or divorce or homosexuality. Why? Because, today survival is the only thought. Because the Hammer and Sickle flies high.

And if the United States loses her freedom, you can bet your life this Book, the Word of God, will be confiscated as is the case in every communist country in the world today. And those of us who believe in this Book and preach this Book and who teach this Book to our boys and girls will find it impossible to do so as we have done in the past.

My question to you is this: "If freedom is important to us and if Americans - the last bastion of freedom left in the world - then we had better stand by America and see that America stands by this Book while there is yet time to do it. I am for freedom. It is the issue.

I'm glad for all the pastors here, I'm glad that all three television stations are here, I'm glad that Life magazine is here and I believe the hope for the nation is not with the media, not the politicians, the hope for America is with a God-fearing people. And this great America according to a recent Gallup Poll, 84% of all the people still believe that the Ten Commandments are still valid for today.

That doesn't mean that everyone is living up to what they believe in but it means that we preachers have a 84% majority out there who if we preach and practice and minister as we should before them, we can be sure that we have a ripe and fertile ground which to minister.

Now that's so, and I believe it is. Why are we allowing the other 16% to run the country into the ditch? It is because 30 years ago, we allowed the liberals and the pornographers, and those on the left side of the spectrum to tell us, "Religion and politics don't mix. You Christians stay out of politics, that's dirty business. You leave that to us." We left that to them and they've about sunk the ship. And it's high time for God's people to take a stand on the issues.

A very liberal senator in Washington asked me recently, he and I are friends but we could not be farther apart on the moral issues--he votes for federal funding of abortion every time, I consider abortion whole sale murder, he votes for the elimination of all censorship so that pornography, a dirty, vulgar, rot-gut pornography, can wreck the minds of young people of this America, he votes for every possible break-down of the traditional family, and he is for homosexual marriages, lesbian marriages, etc. He's for all those kinds of dirty things, and I was chatting with him and his statement was, "Jerry, when are you preachers going to get out of the political issues?" I said, "When you politicians get away from the moral issues." We have allowed them to dictate what is right and wrong in this country. As far as I am concerned the time has come when every Christian in America needs to be informed on the issues, what the issues are, and to be registered to vote, and to be aggressively and actively involved in changing America for the good.

Now, just because abortion, pornography, homosexuality, and all the moral issues have become very political in recent years, does not preempt us from dealing with them. These were moral issues before there was a United States government or U.S. Supreme Court. And we have not only a right, but an obligation to preach and set forth the example and to create a moral climate in America that makes it easier for politicians to do

right than to do wrong.

So, that's what this is all about. In just a few moments I'll be addressing those issues, but I believe the greatest force for freedom in America, or any society, are the people of God who believe the Bible, who are managing Bible-believing, soul-winning churches successfully. These pastors down here in South Carolina, black and white, red and yellow, and young and old, and rich and poor, mostly poor, which are criticized and maligned and condemned and so forth because they stand by the Book, and because they stand up for Bible righteousness and against unrighteousness, I believe that the 110,000 fundamentalist pastors in America and the forty plus Americans who align themselves with it, hold the future of this nation in their hands.

And I think that this year, if America doesn't begin to have a spiritual rebirth, we're not going to come out of the 1980's a free nation. Because remember, living by God's principles exalts a nation and if God promotes this nation to greatness it will be because we come back to the principles on which the nation was established: The Church of the Living God.

Madeline Murry O'Hare, last Thursday, filed a formal petition against me with the FCC and the IRS. I was called from Austin, Texas. The reason she did that is because next Tuesday, a week from tomorrow, we'll be on the state capitol steps in Austin and Madeline and her group will be 100 yards away on the state capitol grounds with her atheist rally and I would fight and die for the right for her to have hers. Fortunately we can crank those speakers up where she might as well go home, but I would just say that we would do it gently of course.

But I would say that the lines are drawn. The question is are we going to allow a little minority to bring this country to shame? Or are we enough in love with our families and our God and our children and our America to rise up millions in number and strength and say, "We've had enough!"? I think the churches of America can do it. I am traveling 250,000 miles this year, I traveled that many last year. I was able to put together 70,000 pastors already. They're not all Baptist, some of them I can't even pronounce what they are, but they're

all pro-life, pro-family, pro-moral, pro-American. That is what all good people used to be in this country. And they're willing to live and die to be sure that our children and our grandchildren enjoy the same America that we have known.

My son Jonathan is over here somewhere, where are you Jonathan? And my son Jerry is here with me. I'll tell you, I want my boys and my little girl to grow up in the same kind of America I've had the privilege of growing up in and knowing. And if that's true, and it's going to happen - it's going to take more than just talk, it's going to take action.

Madeline O'Hare and all the God-haters in America stand together, and the liberals, you know they're always cussing us in the media ministries because we raise millions of dollars they say and it's true. The problem is not where we raise it but how we spend it. Nobody talks about the fact that Hugh Hefner and Larry Flint and the other smut peddlers raised four billion dollars last year, to wreck and damn boys and girls, homes and families. Nobody talks about the fact that a million and a half babies were murdered last year in abortion clinics in America and those abortion clinics voted legal by a seven to two vote by the brethren who will stand before God with bloody hands, produced two million dollars last year for murder on demand.

Why don't we get upset about that? Why don't we get incensed, I think we are. And I think the time has come when we're not afraid of the adversary anymore. We're not second class citizens, we're first class citizens. And because we are and because this nation was built by God-fearing people, Madeline O'Hare didn't help build America. Her kind has never helped build anything; they've torn down a lot of things, they've never built anything. And the liberals and the socialists and the "pinkies" around haven't built anything. They have just taken away human rights and freedoms.

There are enough of us today and we still have enough liberties left, that if we, under God through prayer, (and I'll give you what I think to be the formula for saving America in just a few moments) if we band together, not theologically, you know most of us are very theologically

unique, I'm a Fundamentalist and separatist, wherever you are I'm probably to the right of you, but we're not talking about that, we're talking about survival, we're talking about America, and I'm saying that we ought to learn how to get together, fight together right now so that we can fight each other later. We better learn how to pull this country out of the gutter. We better forget our little differences while we save our country.

And that's happening all over America, from Austin, Texas - Friday, when I got the phone call from the reporter, she said, "Madeline said a lot of bad things about you. Would you like to say something about her?" I said, "Well, I don't think so." I'm reminded of my friend Dr. Lincoln, the old 80-year-old Virginian preacher who said, who told the story about the hound dog and the skunk who were preparing to fight. The skunk and the hound dog were looking eyeball to eyeball. The skunk said, "Let's get with it," and the hound dog said, "Sir, I think I can whip thee but I do not think it would be worth it." And so we're not into a personality battle, we're out to win the war for the nation. This is a battle of issues; the survival of the home, the family, the freedom that those little children deserve to have ten years from now.

But right now, we're going to talk about as these kids sing, that one institution that has made this the greatest nation on earth, The Church, the Church of the Living God. Oh, we're being beaten and battered... everytime I'm on a talk show...did you see the Donahue Show? Every talk show I get on usually it's me and if I can get two or three inside, that's our crowd, everybody else is hostile. But I'll tell you what, the Old Ship of Zion, the old church, has been through battles before and we've been at it for 2000 years. The old hull is battered and we've got scars on all sides, but not one drop of water has gotten inside and when the show is over and the trumpet is sounded, she is going to come through to the other side with all the cargo, the Church, intact. And we're going to have - you see I'm not worried about Madeline or Senator Kennedy or Birch Bayh or the rest because I've read the last chapter - I know how it's going to come out.

...SINGERS...

May I now take fifteen minutes to discuss with you what I believe to be the crisis, the unique crisis facing America in the 1980's?

As I see it, the United States of America is facing three crises in the 1980's she has never faced before. We're facing a freedom crisis. We have never in my lifetime ever stood at the beginning of a decade as we are now in the 80's in the which the very existence of ours as a free nation was challenged in a bonafide way.

I was eight years old Pearl Harbor Day, when Pearl Harbor Day occurred. I remember World War II, I remember Korea, the Vietnam conflict. I remember these things, they were serious and critical times in American history, but I don't think any of us seriously thought that we would be invaded and lose our freedoms here in the United States. The fact is now Admiral Moab, former chairman of the joint chief-of-staff concurs, and I heard the present chairman of the joint-chiefs-of-staff, General David Jones, and the Secretary of Defense Wilson, and others comment on this...even Secretary Kissinger in SALT hearings...that today we are desperately inferior to the Soviet Union. Two-to-one in offensive weaponry and forty-seven-to-one in defensive weaponry and the gap is widening daily because we have made no commitment whatever to change that. I certainly, as I said earlier, do not believe in war...I don't think any sensible person does...but I don't believe that when the Bible says a man who will not care for his household is worse than an infidel, it's easy to transpose that to say that any government that doesn't care for or protect its citizenry is worse than an infidel. And we find ourselves in that stance today.

A second crisis we face is this; we face a crisis of the family. We are at a 40% divorce rate right now. The family right now, that is the traditional, monogamous, husband/wife legally married relationship, is in serious condition and I constantly find myself in media discussions and debates battling over what the family is.

When President Carter was campaigning last time, he promised to spotlight the family; thereby to hold a conference on the family. Four years have past and so now it's finally coming a reality but...it's not called the White House Conference on the Family, it's called the White House Conference on Families, plural. The forty-one persons who control that conference, called the National Advisory Committee, were appointed by President Carter and forty of them are anti-traditional family persons. That is they favor homosexual marriages, they favor abortion and other anti-Biblical, moral principles. Only one of them, Barbara Smith, a Mormon, is pro-family. That's a loaded deck.

And then across the nation as the fifty governors, and I'm sorry that your governor elected not to attend here today, in almost every state we've had the governor and most of the legislative, legislators. I realize the assembly is not in session but we usually have the governor anyhow because usually the governor is standing with us on these issues and I hope that's the case here. But I would simply say this, that I am convinced that the family is the most vital, the most important entity in American life and society and I believe that if America survives the family must survive.

I would like to say that the government has become the arch-enemy of the family and the White House Conference on Families has now begun to develop a definition of the family as I quote, "Any two persons living together." Think that one over and you will get the idea of how perverted this conference has become.

So perverted that in Virginia we had to almost ambush at a spiritual ambush in order to get our delegates elected and we did and now they are thinking about going to court to disallow our delegates who were elected by popular vote. The same thing happened in Mississippi, Arkansas, across the nation.

Well, at the same time, the governor of Alabama felt that the definition that was coming out of the White House Conference on Families was so anti-family and so foreign to what Alabama people feel about the family that he withdrew the state of Alabama from the conference. We were there two weeks ago when he did that. Ah, three weeks ago. Then the state of Indiana, by the governor's decision, did the same thing. And state after state now, the governors

are making decisions now to possibly withdraw from the conference. What a tragedy that the governors of the states have to rebuke the President of the United States on such a vital issue as the family.

And we have found it necessary to conduct a competitive conference on the family that will meet in the Long Beach Municipal Auditorium with 12,000 people, July 12 - the same day that in Los Angeles the White House Conference is having its capstone concluding meeting with 2,000 people. And we're planning on having most of the people, leaders of America who believe in right and wrong. What a tragedy that the people have to say on behalf of the government what is right and fight the government who is supposed to be our friend and represent us.

Then you look at the television industry. I'm not talking about private television stations. I'm talking about the three major networks and the executives who control those networks. They have made a vicious decision obviously, that they have no responsibility for the well-being of the American public. Therefore they have begun to totally let anything go in prime-time, in the soap operas, you name it, bedroom scenes, suggestive language...so that most parents have found it impossible to allow their children to watch prime-time television anymore - I mean, if we care about our children. And that, I think, is an anti-family effort. If you have taken the time as some have to make a real study of prime-time television, you'll find that most, that is a majority of the families in prime-time are broken homes, compared to a minority of united homes. We feature homosexuality in prime-time as an alternate lifestyle, and so forth.

Then look at the homosexual revolution! I realize that in any area there are those people who will say, "Don't you believe in human rights for homosexuals?" Of course I do. Homosexuals, like a bank robber, like a criminal, like a thief, is a sinner who needs a savior. But, if he becomes a Christian, II Corinthians 5:17 holds true, "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creation, old things become new." I believe that God loves homosexuals, that's

why we have a counseling center in Lynchburg where hundreds of homosexuals come every year because they know we love them. But, because we love them we don't tell them that "What you're doing is all right." We tell them it's sin. We tell them that what they're doing according to Romans 1 is reprobate, according to the Old Testament it's an abomination, even the animals don't practice it and we tell them that the only hope is to believe the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ and through the blood of Jesus get a cleansing for eternity. And I can tell you, by the way, that we have in our congregation in Lynchburg former homosexuals who have been saved through the grace of God who are our leading proponents in reaching homosexuals for Christ and helping deliver them from a perverted lifestyle.

Now, I wouldn't care much for a medical doctor, when I went for a medical examination and had cancer, who, rather than hurt my feelings, would tell me that I had something less than cancer. I want him to tell me the truth. And then whatever treatment, surgery, chemotherapy, whatever, begin it as soon as possible. I want to be delivered from what's wrecking and ruining my life. And I want to tell you that if God destroyed Sodom and Gormorah because of homosexuality, America need not think that she is exempt. And we have today a government in Washington that has in the Congress a "gay-rights" bill which if it passed would establish homosexuals as a bonafide minority, like blacks, like women, like Hispanics and all other persons who are, by God Almighty, made different.

We're all different, every one of us. We Christians are a minority. But I want to tell you, that one who has decided to be immoral and reprobate immediately waves all right to minority status and until he or she ceases to be a law breaker and begins keeping the laws of man, and there's a law in South Carolina that still says that sodomy and homosexuality is a crime and there are laws in this Book that call it a sin. Until we begin meeting the statues of man and God, then call it what it is.

Then you look at the pornography industry with a four billion dollar budget last year and realize the family is under vicious assault. And I often am asked, "Don't you believe in freedom of the press and freedom of

speech?" Sure I do.. I believe in that, that's why I'm standing here today. But, I believe that my freedom of speech ends where your welfare begins. And if I decide to libel and slander you with my speech, I have broken the law. I don't have the right in a crowded theatre to yell "fire" because I have violated the wellbeing and rights of others. And I say that Larry Flint, Hugh Hefner, and all the rest, have no right to pour their rot-gut and vulgar pornography into the minds of boys and girls and we ought to have laws to prevent it and put the pornographers in jail.

Someone recently asked me, "Don't you think those two years ago, don't you think that Larry Flint is a Christian? That he, Ruth Carter Stapleton led him to Christ?" I said I'd know in 30 days. "What do you mean?" "If another copy of Hustler hits the stands, he's not. Because if a man's a Christian, he ceases to publish pornography." Two years have past and I say Larry Flint's a phoney as are all other pornographers who claim to be religious and still continue in their evil and wicked ways.

So, the family is in danger in America today. Beyond that, we have a leadership crisis. The men and women ages 25 to 40 today in 1980 who would normally during the 1980's assume the leadership, every area of society, in medicine, law, business, and education, and government... have grown up for the main part in homes where the primary baby-sitter has been the television set; from which they've learned moral permissiveness. They've grown up in public schools where primarily they've learned secularly humanism.

Humanism is nothing more than glorified atheism whose primary message is amorality, nothing is absolutely right or wrong and whose ultimate goal is one world - socialism. And if growing up under a public federal government that is advocating welfarism, socialism, something for nothing, in violation of the work ethic in this Book. Let me say to you that if the apostle Paul were alive today in America, he would be called a radical because Paul said, "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat." And that is a pretty good deal for today.

I tell the story across the country about my dogs. I have four of them, used to have seventeen, but

my wife made me get rid of some of them. I have two watch-dogs who live in the house - little poodles who if they hear something at night, jump in bed and watch with us. We have two Irish-setters who live outside. These are bird dogs and the fellow who gave them to me owned a supermarket. He told me on the day he gave them to me what kind of meat they ate and how much and where to get it and the more he talked the more I realized I couldn't afford them. When he left, I went and bought a big bag of Purina and I gave them two heaping bowls full. Sure enough they wouldn't eat it, but four days later they did. And if you get these bums in America hungry enough, they'll go out and find a job and they'll go to work and become productive citizens.

I certainly believe in Social Security for the aged. Of course we do. We believe in welfare for those who are sick or those who can not work because work is not available, but I believe there's a great multitude of professional indigents out there who would not work in the pie shop eating the holes out of the doughnuts. And Paul said if they won't work, let them go hungry. This country has got to get off the welfare wagon or we are going to lose the ship.

So, I believe that America is facing a freedom crisis, a family crisis, a leadership crisis. What's the hope? First of all these Christian schools are the hope, sixteen thousand schools, four new ones a day nearly. Great things are going to happen in the next ten years I believe. I believe that we have to take part of the blame for the fact that America has murdered seven million babies since the Supreme Court edict January '73, Rowe vs. Wade. We have stood by, we have said very little, we have allowed the Catholics to carry this haul all by themselves. We need to support men like Senator Helms and others who are trying to put a human life bill through Congress to stop this carnage and stop it as quickly as possible.

We need a revival of prayer in our churches. Not just talking about prayer; but practicing prayer. Sec-

only, we need in our churches to inform our people on what the issues really are. How many of our people really know what the issues are? I know there are some sophisticated and complicated political and economical issues of which I am not versed enough to discuss, but, I believe that the foundation, the real support of this country lies with the moral issue.

And if we're going to have God in the camp with us, we've got to know that abortion is murder and if you want to know where life begins read Psalms 139 when you get home. We're told that life begins at conception and because we believe the Bible is the Word of God, we believe that is true. Medical doctors also now believe it, but it's a very lucrative business to kill babies.

Secondly, we need to be very informed about the break-down of traditional family in America and the pornographic deluge that is corrupting our land. And we need to learn that there is something we can do about it. What do you do accidentally when you take poison? Well, you need an antidote and I believe that the moral scene in America is being polluted with poison and we need the Christians, we need the churches to become the antidote.

I see the police officers out here. God bless them. There was a day when the police officer had the support of the court. That isn't true anymore. The courts are against the police officers and too often the national media when the fact is these are men who give their time and their lives and of their own existence to preserve us our constitutional privileges. God bless these men, let's pray for them, let's support them, let's stand behind them.

Beyond that, we need to get our people registered to vote, every one of our people. I, last September, learned that eight million evangelical, fundamentalist Christians were not registered to vote. Well, I'm glad to tell you that since Christmas two million of those eight million have registered and there's a massive Good Citizens campaign in progress in the churches of America today to register all the people. Now that does not have to be a political issue, that's a citizenship issue. In some states, I don't know if you can do it in South Carolina, you can do it right in the church building. You can in most states. If not, and you can not in Virginia, you need to find out how many of your people are registered, get them registered so that they can be responsible, God-fearing Christian citizens who are rendering unto Caesar that which is Caesar's.

And then finally, we need to get involved. I am asked often by the media, "You preachers are mixing religion with politics and the Founding Fathers advocated separation of church and state." So do we. We are very strong on separation of church and state but we do not believe the Founding Fathers had in mind separation of God and state. That is what the liberals are advocating. We believe that government needs an invasion of God and we believe that you and I, the Christian leaders in America, the Christian citizens in America, have a responsibility to create a moral climate that makes it easier for politicians to do right than wrong. That has not been proved in recent days if you have been following what is happening in Washington. The special interest groups have hammered through their anti-family dogma.

Well, the tide's changing. I'm glad to tell you that all across America I see what I see in South Carolina. The good people of America, and they're not all Baptist, the good people of America are saying, "We have had enough," and they are standing up and they are doing something. They are going to the polls and as far as I'm concerned, the time is long past overdue when the good people, the moral majority of America, Godfearing, Christ honoring, stood up together and said, "We're not going to have a man in Congress, in the Senate, in the House, in the Presidency, in the Governorship, who does not meet minimal moral standards himself or herself." If that is true of pastors it ought to be true of political leaders as well.

I do not think that every political leader needs to be a born again Christian. I simply believe that we need men and women who believe in Biblical, moral principles. God blesses the principles in spite of the persons. And if every Congressman as well as our President and every state leader were unbelievers as far as the gospel is concerned, but believed in Biblical and moral principles and practiced and enforced them, God would bless America because he blesses His word, He blesses principle.

I believe that we need to take special attention to where our politicians are. We need to ask them, we need to speak out loud, "Sir, where do you stand on this, and this and this?" We have met with most of the presidential candidates of both parties long before any of them had played out. That is, we met with everybody but Mr. Kennedy, we never considered him a candidate. And we, one by one, asked the question, "Sir, what do you believe on this issue and that issue?" And the fact is that it's surprising.

Our men go to Washington and present one message and they come back home and kiss that babies and fool the people and say we're good conservative, Bible-oriented men. We need to find out for sure whether they are and if they do not meet up to minimal moral standards, we need to put a little pressure on them and change it. And if we can't change them, we need to send them home, for good. And that applies to the Congress, and that applies to every State House in America. The day has come when God's people have taken this stand and I'm glad I'm one little part of what's happening in this country.

May I say to you that what I'm preaching and advocating is not popular everywhere. But, I think we need to decide that it's more important to be right than to be popular. And I want to tell you that I do this. When I'm on a talk show in Baltimore, live as I was last Friday, with every kind of possible opposition, when I'm in Chicago, New York, or wherever, where the heat is the hottest, I say it the hardest. Because I believe that if we will say it long enough and support it with a great volume of prayer, men and women, parents, pastors, Christian educators, I believe God will help us to turn our nation around.

Yes, I believe God loves America. We alone have the means by which to give the gospel to the world and Jesus died for the world, not just America. I believe Jesus died for the world.

Secondly, I believe that God raised up America to take care of the Jews. I believe that little, tiny Israel

would not last thirty days if it were not for America. And I'm challenging everyone in key positions because of what God said. God said to Abraham over 4000 years ago, "I'll bless them that bless you, I'll curse them that curse you." And I want to be blessing until the Rapture and throughout all eternity. My Savior was a Jew, and we better stand by the children of Abraham.

And I believe that God raised up America to win people to Jesus Christ. God was willing to save Sodom and Gormorah if there had been ten righteous people. We're called the salt of the earth and salt is a preservative that prevents spoilage. If there are fifty or 60,000,000 born-again believers in America, I believe that God has a vested interest in this country. And I think that Madeline and others are enjoying the greatest standard of living the world has ever known because this old land is sprinkled with a whole lot of good salt. The saints of God nation wide who love everybody, but who just because we love sinners, doesn't mean we've got to love their sin. And we know the difference between the sinner and the sin and we have a message to declare.

Can God bless America again? I think he can. Don Norman, I want you to come up here please. I want us all to sing a prayer. I'm forty six years old so I'm old enough to remember Kate Smith and a song that we and every chapel in public school would sing at least once a week, "God Bless America." You know, that's a prayer. A fellow from NBC asked me recently, "You know preacher, what do you think America needs most? Energy resources, or economic revival?" No, more than anything else in the world, America needs God would bless her once more. We need the blessing of God more than we need a revival of the dollar, more than we need a change of government, more than we need tap-pings of the oil in the Southwest and in Alaska that is there now adequate enough to provide all of our needs forever. I say more than anything else, we need that God would bless America. And I want us to sing that prayer, and to sing it so loud and so clearly that everybody in Columbia, South Carolina, will hear it.

We were in Jackson, Mississippi, the other day, on the state capital steps, there's a twenty-five story building right beside the steps and as we were singing

"God Bless America," we looked up and the windows were opened all the way up on that state office building and people were out the windows, holding hands, singing "God Bless America." We were pledging allegiance to the flag and all the windows were open and everybody had their hand on their heart, pledging allegiance with us. That's what we've got to have.

This nation was built by people like you and me, not those folks. And we've got the job right now, we've got the responsibility right now, of meeting God's condition so that God can bless America again.

Hey, join hands, everybody stand and join hands. Everybody. You husbands and wives, it would be a good idea to do that again. Everybody join hands somewhere. Don Norman is going to sing the verse and a chorus and then on the last verse and chorus he is going to ask you to join. Don't join in until he asks you but when he asks you, I want you to sing this like you never have before. Then I'm going to ask Bill Monroe to come and lead us in our closing prayer, but right now, all over, you police officers, our good friends, join hands out there. Everyone join hands. State employees we're glad you're here. Join hands and let's sing it together. "God Bless America." Don?

...SONG...

Boy, that would get a Presbyterian excited, wouldn't it? How many Presbyterians here? Raise your hands. Does that get you excited? Amen.

I wish all the elected officials, I know that the Assembly is not in session, if you are here and you would like for folks to know you're here would you come on up here? I'll let you introduce yourself and God bless you for coming. Real quickly now, just before we have the closing prayer...any Representatives? or Senators? I see Judge Dalkins back here, my good buddy. God bless you, he's one of us, Amen. Anybody at all, I'll be glad to recognize you and tell the folks that you're here. Next time we hope we can come when everything is in session. Maybe create a little more excitement.

All the pastors and Christian school administrators, I'd like for you to meet us at the Holiday Inn at 1:00, that's thirty-five minutes from right now, that's 630 Assembly Street, not far from here, someone said.

One o'clock for a free luncheon, we're paying for it; we just want you there.

I'd like to talk with you in detail about what we can do to change our nation. I hope you will be there. I believe our nation is worth saving. I've just asked God to help me during this next year. To stir up enough dust, get enough folks mad or glad, one or the other, to do something about it. The time for neutrality is over, the lines are drawn.

I want to challenge you preachers, we need some Patrick Henrys today who will stand up on their hind legs and call it like it is. I kind of think that's what you crowds, you look like to me that kind of a crowd, and I want to thank you for being here.

Bill Monroe, where are you? Here's an old boy from Florence, South Carolina. He brought 500 people with him. Isn't that something? Bill Throtner, how many did we register here today? 2500 people registered! Those who walked in without registering we didn't count you, we're glad you're here, but 2500 registered, signed up and came in, that's tremendous.

And I hope that this is the beginning of a turn around in this state and in our nation. Do you know what Governor James down in Alabama told us? We had 10,000 on the Montgomery steps two weeks ago, he came out there with that wonderful wife of his, she preached first; I didn't have enough time left, she came out against the Equal Rights Amendment. She said, "I'm for equal rights for women but I'm against the Equal Rights Amendment. I'm for the family but I'm against the White House Conference on Families," and she gave all the Biblical reasons. Then her husband said, "Honey, can I say a word?" Then he got up and preached and here's what he told 10,000 of us, he said, "Hey, we're Catholics, Jews, Mormons, Fundamentalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, you name it if you can pronounce it, we have it." He said, "Hey, you folks are what this country is all about. We don't all agree but we all agree on one thing and that's America," and he said, "Go back and get another 500,000 and come down here and tell us how to run this place. Take it over."

I want to challenge you. I would rather your governor tell you this but I'll tell you for him. Come up

here and take this place over for God, for morality, run this place. Put men in here who believe something. Take your stand for righteousness.

I was looking around a moment ago for Tom Moore, where are you Tom? Is Tom in this crowd? Come here a minute Tom. Here's a fellow, he's running for Congress over in Charleston the first Congressional district. He's a Bible-believing, fundamentalist Christian. Now, it is not legal for me to endorse anybody so I won't do that, but I just want to introduce my brother in Christ to you. And Marvin, I want you to get to know him over there. How many of you folks from that area? Raise your hands. I want you to get to know him, Tom Moore's his name. Loves the Lord, he's everything I've preached today and a little more. Just wanted you to meet him. Tom, say a word of greeting.

(Word of greeting)

Here is a preacher who pastors the Florence Baptist Temple. He was a gospel singer but he survived that. This young man with the old hair, your Don Norman and Robby Hiner, God sent them to me to keep me humble. So he survived it and he pastored one of the great churches of our country. He's one of the Board of Directors at Liberty Baptist College, and by the way, he's the state chairman of the Moral Majority in the state of South Carolina, many of you are members and we, ah, the national chairmen, just want to say thank you. Although this is not a Moral Majority Meeting, I want to challenge you to get involved.

Let's put our hand to the wheel. And the more they tell us we oughtn't, do the more. Rather I tell you we've got them on the run. That's why they're raising the devil. We've got them on the run. Let's keep them on the run.

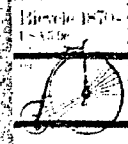
All right. God bless you, lead us in prayer will you Bill?

APPENDIX B

SAMPLES OF THREE LETTERS RECEIVED FROM JERRY FALWELL
AND THE MORAL MAJORITY

JERRY FALWELL
MORAL MAJORITY
499 S. CAPITOL ST.
SUITE 101
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

Aug 5 '82



**DOOMSDAY
REPORT**

CONTENTS OF SAMPLE 1



DOOMSDAY REPORT

August 5, 1982

Mr. Roy Buckelew
Route 1 Box 368
Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71923

Dear Mr. Buckelew:

I have shocking news to share with you about Nuclear Freeze.

In fact, this news is so controversial and explosive that I've condensed it into a special report that I'm making available only to special friends of the Moral Majority.

I call it my "Doomsday Report".

And I feel that every moral American concerned about preserving his freedom should have a copy of this terrifying, yet informative, document.

My "Doomsday Report" contains vital, up-to-date information on:

- * Where the United States stands in the arms race,
- * Which states and towns would be destroyed first by a nuclear holocaust,
- * What America's chances are of surviving a nuclear war,
- * What America's alternatives are,
- * And much, much more.

This report is comprehensive and reveals the true facts about why America must not adopt a nuclear freeze policy at this time.

Mr. Buckelew, I want to send you my "Doomsday Report" because I believe you love America as much as I do and want to help save her.

But I can't afford to send this document to you for free.

Right at this very moment, we are working and

lobbying in Washington against a well-financed army of nuclear "freez-niks", and it is costing us thousands of dollars.

So I'm offering this disturbing, yet truthful, "Doomsday Report" to friends like you who send a special gift of \$25 or more to help us underwrite this project.

Mr. Buckelew, I can't impress upon you enough how vital it is that we continue opposing a nuclear freeze.

The liberals are pushing hard for it, and unless we let the President and Congress know right away that not all Americans want their freedoms jeopardized, a handful of hysterical radicals will end up dictating the destiny of our nation via unilateral disarmament by the U. S.

A nuclear freeze now would play right into the Soviets' hands!

All the radical "peace government" groups here in America are helping to pave the way for the Russians who are spending lavishly to finance anti-nuclear demonstrations all over Europe and North America.

These "peace" advocates oppose U. S. nuclear weapons no matter what the cost. But I believe our freedoms are too high a price to pay.

The Communists have proven time and time again that they will not follow the United States in a unilateral disarmament program.

They know there is no defense like a good offense, Mr. Buckelew!!

America did not become great and powerful by being passive and scared. America became great because its people were willing to fight to preserve their freedoms.

Today liberals like Jane Fonda and Ed Asner are asking us to lay down our arms and turn our country over to the Communists and that's exactly what will happen if the United States submits to a unilateral nuclear freeze.

President Reagan and many concerned citizens and Congressmen are working hard to keep America strong and free.

But they are running into much opposition and unless you and I act fast, the liberals may win a

victory that could cost us our freedom -- even our lives.

The vote on the nuclear arms issue is very close in Congress, Mr. Buckelew.

And the Gallup Polls say that the majority of Americans agree there should be a nuclear freeze and an agreement made with Russia right away.

But the liberals aren't telling Americans the truth! They aren't telling us about the impending doom we face if there is a freeze.

You can read all about this in my "Doomsday Report".

So please Mr. Buckelew, won't you rush me your special gift of \$25? I must have your answer right away. Time is running out.

And in appreciation for your generous support, I am going to send you your own copy of my shocking "Doomsday Report".

Will you help me save America? I will be anxiously awaiting your reply.

Sincerely,


Jerry Falwell

P. S. Mr. Buckelew, believe me, after you've read my "Doomsday Report", you will see why it's vital we prevent Congress from imposing a nuclear freeze.

Please send me the largest gift you can immediately and in return for your aid, I'll rush you your own personal copy of this explosive report.

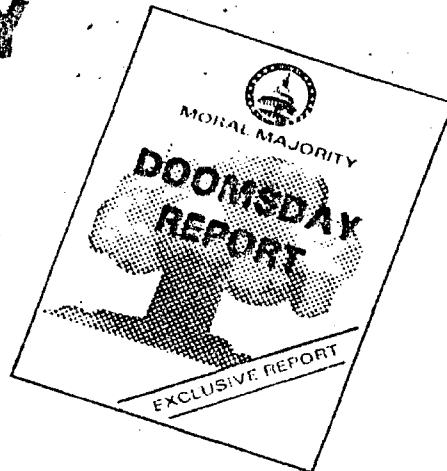
SHOCKING, EXPLOSIVE DOOMSDAY REPORT

Today there is much controversy over whether or not the United States should adopt a nuclear freeze policy.

Jerry Falwell has put together a terrifying yet factual report showing why and how a freeze would jeopardize America and our freedoms.

His Domsday Report contains vital information on:

- Where the U.S. stands in the arms race
- The states and towns that would be destroyed first by a nuclear holocaust
- And much, much more



So don't delay! Send for your copy today.

PLEASE RETURN THE ENTIRE SHEET WITH YOUR CONTRIBUTION

DOOMSDAY REPORT REPLY FORM

Dear Jerry,

I want to help the Moral Majority work to oppose a nuclear freeze. Enclosed is my special gift to help. I understand in return for my financial support you will rush me my own copy of the "Doomsday Report."

ENCLOSED IS:

\$25

\$50

\$ _____ other

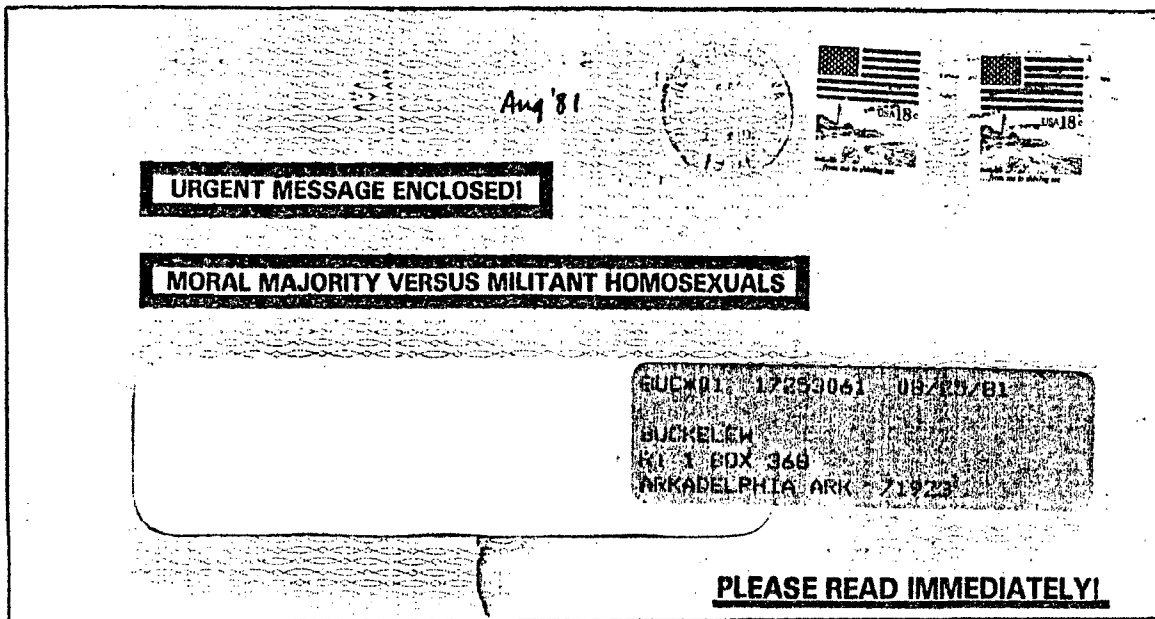
THANK YOU. YOUR GIFT IS GREATLY APPRECIATED. (NOT TAX-DEDUCTIBLE)

Mr. Roy Bucklew
Route 1 Box 368
Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71923

007511536 H2RAE

PLEASE MAKE YOUR CHECK PAYABLE TO: MORAL MAJORITY, INC.
P.O. Box 190
Forest, VA 24551

CONTENTS OF SAMPLE 2



MORAL MAJORITY VERSUS MILITANT HOMOSEXUALS

Dear Mr. Buckelew:

Where will it all end? The militant gays are on the attack again.

And they have vowed to put us under!

They know we are one of their major obstacles and I'm seriously alarmed because legislation has been introduced in the Congress which would give legal minority status to homosexuals.

We must not allow this legislation to become the law of the land.

The militant homosexuals have been reading the newspapers and they know we are going through a difficult financial period right now.

And they know there is a tendency for moral Americans to go back to sleep after the victories of the last few months.

They also know the attacks on the Moral Majority by our enemies have hurt us deeply.

But are we going to let them get away with passing legislation that could go far toward making homosexuality an acceptable lifestyle in this country?

I say "absolutely not!"

And this is why I'm writing you today, Mr. Buckelew.

I desperately need your help to alert decent Americans everywhere about what the militant gays are trying to do so that we can defeat this "Gay Rights" legislation once and for all.

But this calls for sacrifice. There is no other way to win!

Therefore, I am asking you to send a special gift of \$50.00 immediately.

Mr. Buckelew, I realize this is double the amount of the largest gift you've sent us this year, but believe me, your help has never been

needed more.

If we don't fight to stop the militant gays, who will?

Religious groups cannot effectively combat them because there is legislation involved.

But the Moral Majority can!

We can go right into the hallowed halls of Congress and fight till our last breath to defeat this legislation.

And the militant gays know this!

That's why they have vowed to destroy the Moral Majority.

They are already harassing me everywhere I go. Hundreds of them gathered together to stage a protest at my rally in Hawaii! They did the same thing in Madison, Wisconsin....and many other places.

Believe me, the four-letter vulgar words, and obscenities they chant are disgusting, and their behavior is even worse.

I have enclosed a special newsletter for you today so that you can see for yourself just how bad the situation really is.

Militant gays visited Lynchburg recently and conducted a demonstration in front of the office at the Moral Majority. They called themselves the "Oral Majority".

They shoved literature into the cracks of our front doors. The literature indicated that they are mobilizing a national campaign to wipe out Moral Majority.

So the fight is on!

Either we fight them in Congress or later, in the classrooms if school boards are forced to hire militant and flaunting gays.

Which will it be? The answer is up to us now!

We can and we must stop this "Gay Rights" legislation now before it gains any more momentum.

At least 45 members of Congress have already agreed they will co-sponsor this bill!

You can see for yourself -- the gays are slowly but surely gaining support for their side.

So we haven't a moment to lose! Every day counts!

Just think what will happen if the gays succeed in their efforts to become recognized as a legalized minority group. This new bill would:

- 1) Prohibit discrimination on the basis of affectional or sexual orientation, which is defined in the bill as meaning male or female homosexuality, heterosexuality, and bisexuality by orientation or practice.
- 2) Add protections by law to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and provide extension of the law to homosexuals for a cause of action in equal employment, housing sale, rental, financing and brokerage services, prevention of intimidation, and in federally assisted opportunities.

In effect, this legislation would not just prevent discrimination against militant homosexuals but give social acceptabilities to a perverted lifestyle.

Anytime a homosexual failed to receive a job, he could use this law against a prospective employer claiming he did not receive the job because of his sexual preference! Every school board and school principal would immediately be under tremendous pressure to expose our school children to militant and flaunting homosexuals.

Well, I say it's time the militant gays know once and for all we will not tolerate this kind of pressure!

Does the law protect drug pushers?

Does the law protect bootleggers?

Does the law protect rapists?

Why then should the law all of a sudden start protecting militant homosexuals who want to flaunt their perverted lifestyles in our faces?

So if you believe in the work that the Moral Majority has been doing in the past on your behalf, won't you help us now?

Your generous gift for the amount I've requested of you today could make the crucial difference whether or not we can alert enough Americans in time to defeat this legislation once and for all.

Believe me, we haven't much time.

The gays are working this very minute to get more co-sponsors to back their bill.

They have vowed to put us under.

Now it's up to you and me to make sure they don't succeed.

Please, please rush your gift of \$50.00 back to me immediately -- and then sit down and write your Congressmen to let them know how you feel about this vital issue! When you write your Congressmen refer to House Bill H.R. 1454 called the "Civil Rights Amendments Act of 1981".

So don't delay! Let me hear from you immediately.

Working to Save America,

Jerry Falwell

P.S. Remember -- there is nothing the militant gays would like better than to see the Moral Majority destroyed.

We can't let this happen!

So please -- dig deep into your pockets today and try to send me a gift for \$50.00 right away, Mr. Buckelew, to help us work to defeat the gay rights bill and continue the overall efforts of Moral Majority to return America to moral sanity.

Believe me, your help has never been needed more.



MORAL MAJORITY, INC.

MORAL MAJORITY VERSUS MILITANT HOMOSEXUALS

REPLY FORM

Mr. Roy Buckelew
1401 N. Broadway
Shawnee, Oklahoma 74801

HQR1D

Yes Jerry! HERE IS MY GIFT TO HELP
COMBAT THE GAY RIGHTS LEGISLATION AND TO HELP WITH
THE OTHER MORAL MAJORITY PROJECTS.

ENCLOSED IS MY GIFT OF:

\$ 50.00

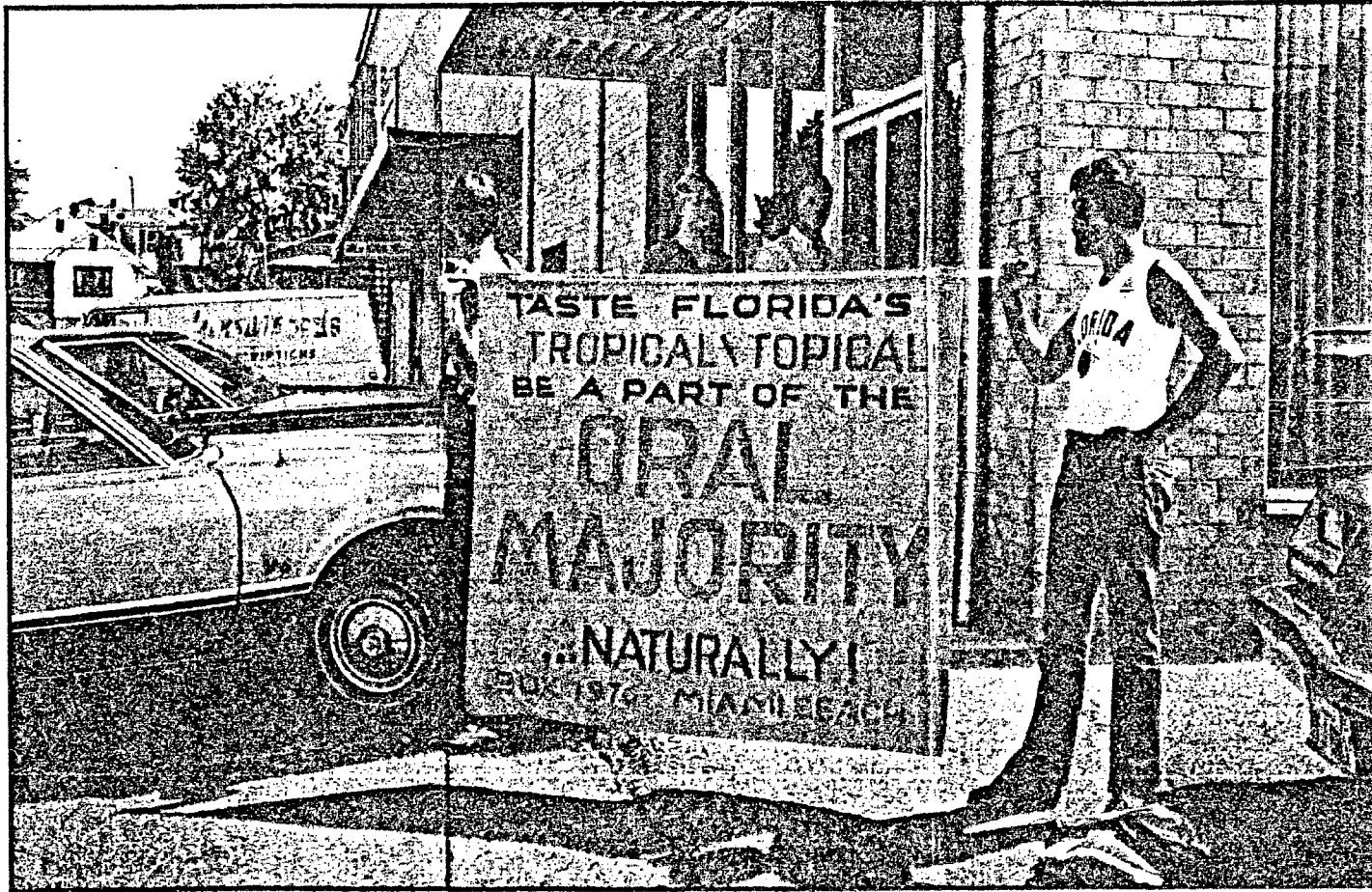
\$ _____

MAKE YOUR CHECK PAYABLE TO:

MORAL MAJORITY, INC
P.O. Box 190
Forest, Virginia 24551


THANK YOU! All contributions are deeply appreciated.
(Not Tax deductible)

PLEASE RETURN THIS ENTIRE FORM IMMEDIATELY!



Recently, this group of homosexuals, calling themselves the "Oral Majority", demonstrated in front of the Moral Majority Headquarters.

MORAL MAJORITY



SPECIAL REPORT

AUGUST 1981 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003

MILITANT GAYS VOW TO PUT THE MORAL MAJORITY UNDER!



Wide World Photos

Is this what America is coming to? Men loving men and women loving women? Look how these militant gays openly flaunt their affection for one another as they parade around half dressed.



This is the crowd that greeted me at my rally in Hawaii. I had to block out this four-letter word in this sign which means fornication because it is offensive. But words like this are chanted aloud by these perverts and are frequently found on the signs they carry.



The two militant gays holding this sign recently marched in front of the Moral Majority National Capital offices. They call themselves the "Oral Majority."



UPI Photos

Now gays can legally marry! Notice the two male figurines on the wedding cake. Isn't this repulsive?

**H.R. 1454, "CIVIL RIGHTS AMENDMENTS ACT OF 1981"
BY REPRESENTATIVE TED WEISS OF NEW YORK**

SPONSOR

THIS PROPOSED MEASURE WOULD:

1. Prohibit discrimination on the basis of affectional or sexual orientation, which is defined in the bill as meaning male or female homosexuality, heterosexuality, and bisexuality by orientation or practice, by and between consenting adults. (HR 1454 - Sec. 8)
2. Add protections by law to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and provide extension of the law to homosexuals for a cause of action in equal employment, housing sale, rental, financing and brokerage services, prevention of intimidation, and in federally assisted opportunities.

THE FOLLOWING LAWMAKERS ARE CO-SPONSORING THIS LEGISLATION

California Anthony Beilenson (D) John Burton (D) Phillip Burton (D) Ronald Dellums (D) Julian Dixon (D) Mervyn Dymally (D) Don Edwards (D) Vic Fazio (D) Augustus Hawkins (D) Paul McCloskey (D) Robert Matsui (D) George Miller (D) Fortney Stark (D) Henry Waxman (D) Edward Roybal (D)	District of Columbia Walter Fauntroy (D)	Michigan John Conyers (D) George Crockett (D)	Frederick Richmond (D) Benjamin Rosenthal (D) James Scheuer (D) Richard Ottinger (D)
	Florida William Lehman (D)	Minnesota Martin Sabo (D)	Ohio Louis Stokes (D)
	Illinois Sidney Yates (D) Cardiss Collins (D)	Missouri William Clay (D)	Oregon Les AuCoin (D)
	Maryland Michael Barnes (D) Parren Mitchell (D)	New Jersey James Howard (D)	Pennsylvania Bob Egar (D) Thomas Foglietta (D) William Gray III (D)
Colorado Patricia Schroeder (D)	Massachusetts Barney Frank (D) Edward Markey (D) Gerry Studds (D)	New York Jonathan Bingham (D) Shirley Chisholm (D) Robert Garcia (D) William Green (R) Charles Rangel (D)	Texas Mickey Leland (D)
Connecticut Steward McKinney (R) Anthony Moffett (D)			Washington Mike Lowry (D)

JERRY FALWELL'S
COMMENTS ON
PROPOSED
GAY RIGHTS
LEGISLATION



- Homosexuality has been viewed as an abnormal condition. This measure would look upon it by law as a normal condition in which certain laws should be extended to assist homosexuals.
- In effect, this measure would not just prevent discrimination against homosexuals but give them special privileges protected by law. Anytime a homosexual failed to receive a job, he could use this law against a prospective employer claiming he did not receive the job because of his sexual preference. It could lead to the type of pressure which would intimidate employers who might not want to have homosexual employees in their establishment or could create a situation where some employers would hire homosexuals to avoid bad publicity or a courtroom confrontation.
- There are certain professions in which other rights must be considered. Parents may not want to have their children taught by homosexuals. Yet, this measure would prevent public schools from refusing to hire any homosexual. Some of the homosexuals are the militants who would use their positions as teachers to recruit and convince others — an activity which would be in opposition to the moral beliefs of many parents.
- The situation of homosexuals is not the same as those discriminated against because of race, color or national origin. A person's race, color or national origin is not a matter of personal choice; homosexuality is by choice! Homosexuality is a condition viewed by the overwhelming majority of moral people as abnormal, a disorder or unusual sexual preference. There is not real justification for such protection in the law.
- Throughout history, homosexuality has been looked upon as an abnormal condition, a violation of the very purpose of sex (e.g. marriage, family, etc.). This type of measure would give sanction by law to homosexuality.

When a local issue is at stake in any community across the land, we need to be able to help the side that stands for what is right and decent in America.

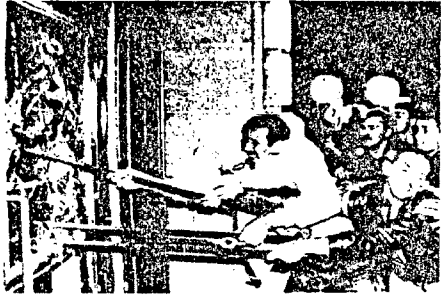


Photo: News Service Photo

When militant gays can't get their way — WATCH OUT! Demonstrations often get out of hand and scenes like this occur.



Associated Press Photo

Here two gays openly show their affection for one another. You will often find them hugging, kissing, and fondling each other in public.

HERE'S HOW YOU CAN HELP . . .

Write to your United States Representative and ask him how he or she stands on the Gay Rights Legislation HR 1454 now being proposed by Representative Ted Weiss of New York.

Be kind in your request for information on his or her stance but be equally firm in your request for an answer. Finally, please send to this office any and all correspondence you receive from your Representative. The Moral Majority office is working diligently trying to gather all the information necessary to defeat this bill.

This is why your help is so important! Please write today to:

The Honorable _____ (Your Congressman's Name)
House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Send his reply to our office at:

The Moral Majority
Suite 1, 499 S. Capitol St.
Washington, D.C. 20003

If we are to succeed, we must all work together and do it now. If we flood each Representative's office with letters letting them know how the citizens of their state feel about this issue, they will know the importance we place on defeating this new measure. We will keep you informed of each step that the Moral Majority is taking in your behalf. This is a matter of survival for our homes and families. We need you ! ! ! ! ! Please write your Representative today.

JERRY FALWELL
MORAL MAJORITY, INC.
499 S. CAPITOL STREET
SUITE 101
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003

Oct 1 '81



**WHO IS THE
#1 ENEMY OF
THE AMERICAN FAMILY?**

CONTENTS OF SAMPLE 3

WHO IS THE # 1 ENEMY OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY IN OUR GENERATION ?

October 1, 1981

Dear Friend,

I'm about to name the man that some people believe to be the greatest threat to the American family in our generation.

This man has been slandering and discrediting me and the Moral Majority for several months now. And if he has his way, I will tell you what will happen...

...everything you and I have fought so hard for -- will go right down the drain!

Here's the man's name: NORMAN LEAR!

But why do some people consider him to be so dangerous?

Because many, many people believe he is the man who has successfully brought filth and sexual perversion into our living rooms and led the way to today's gutter programming.

Please let me explain:

Do you remember the program, "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman"? Well, Norman Lear was the man responsible for this filth.

In fact, he's responsible for the series "Maude", "All in the Family", and many, many others.

Here are some of the program plots on the "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman" show:

- ①. Mary's grandfather was found exposing himself to little girls.
- ②. Mary's sister was so promiscuous that she didn't know which of her many boyfriends had fathered her baby.
- ③. Meryl and Wanda, friends of Mary's, on

their wedding night went their separate ways -- he went to visit a prostitute -- and she went to visit another woman with the idea of a possible lesbian attachment.

- ④. A teenager who massacred a family of five also wound up killing two goats and eight chickens to give the show a "comic touch".
- ⑤. A male human with a "sexual problem" is taken to a veterinarian who offers him a testicle from a Great Dane.

Incest, adultery, homosexuality, were only a few of the major themes that took Lear to fame!

It is no wonder that after viewing many of his programs -- anyone could say that Mr. Lear has perhaps contributed more than any other single person to the decline of moral values in our nation!

It has been estimated that as many as 150 million man-hours a week have been spent watching Lear-produced programs. So I ask you, do you want your family exposed to this type of programming?

Would feel comfortable leaving home with your children watching some of these Lear-produced television programs?

I think decent Americans like you would answer this question with an emphatic "NO!"

But Norman Lear says you feel differently and now he's accusing us of trying to control the airwaves!

And if he succeeds in his slanderous attempts to discredit me and the Moral Majority -- there is no telling what the future for television will hold for the American family.

I am not afraid to stand up against Norman Lear because I know we are standing for what is right!

But there are some people who are believing his distortions and it is hurting our organization. And now, Mr. Lear is accusing us of "censorship" and of denying Americans their First Amendment rights.

Well, we aren't trying to "censor" anything or anyone -- nor are we denying the public their First Amendment rights.

All we are doing is exercising our First Amend-

ment rights to speak out against the smut, homosexuality and pornography with which Lear and his associates are so irresponsibly filling our airwaves.

After all, Lear had First Amendment rights to spew out his anti-moral values in his programs. So, don't we have the right to object to this filth if we do not want it brought into our homes?

Many impressionable children and young people believe what they see on television. It influences their moral values!

But do these programs reflect the morals of Americans as a whole?

Or do they reflect the views and life-styles of a minority of individuals who are convinced that these are the type of programs the people really want?)

So what is Norman Lear so upset about? And what is he really up to?

Is Mr. Lear upset because he had possibly hoped to help bring R-rated movies and shows to national television?

Earlier this year, Moral Majority and the Coalition for Better Television succeeded in getting the major advertisers in America to refuse spending any further money on television programs with gratuitous sex and violence.

Is Mr. Lear upset because he is afraid to learn the truth -- to learn that the public doesn't really want his type of programming?

He has mentioned that he is afraid that groups like the Moral Majority will keep his daughters from living out their fantasies -- but he never states what those fantasies are!

So what is Norman Lear's true purpose for launching an all out war on me and the Moral Majority?

What is his purpose for slandering our good name?

I think I know the answers -- and I'd like to share them with you by sending you a "Confidential Report on Norman Lear" so you can decide for yourself what his motives might really be.

I want to send you this "Confidential Report" in return for your financial support to the Moral Majority.

Here's why I need your help.

As I mentioned earlier, Norman Lear has formed an organization to fight against us. It is called "People for the American Way". And he has already raised thousands and thousands of dollars and has produced nationwide television spots aimed against us.

This is why I urgently need your financial support...

...because in order for the Moral Majority to survive this slanderous assault we must run television spots immediately to correct the damage that is being done by Norman Lear and his organization.

And at the same time, we need to continue our efforts to clean up television.

And -- we need to continue publishing the Moral Majority Report newspaper and producing the Moral Majority Report radio program -- advising the American public of the moral crises facing us.

But my hands are tied without your help.

Your gift of \$15, \$25, or even \$100 could make the crucial difference whether or not we can "set the record straight" and stop the lies that are being spread about us once and for all.

We plan to do this by: (1) filming and distributing television spots to combat Norman Lear's (2) printing the truth in our Moral Majority Report newspaper which is distributed to nearly 1 million homes, and (3) continuing our radio program on over 400 stations.

So don't delay, please rush your gift of \$15, \$25, or even \$100 back to me immediately in the envelope I've enclosed.

And in return for your special contribution, I will send you a copy of our highly "Confidential Report on Norman Lear".

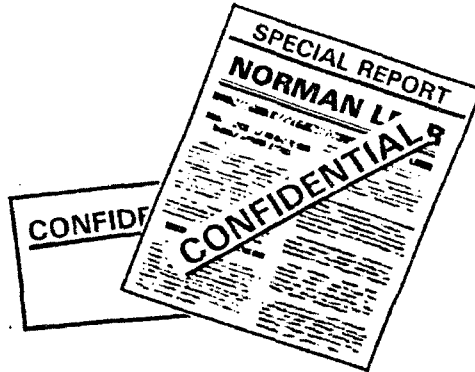
I will be anxiously awaiting your reply.

Working to Save America,


Jerry Falwell

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

- What exactly is Norman Lear up to?
- Why has Mr. Lear launched a personal vendetta against Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority?
- Learn the answer to these and many other questions in the "Confidential Report on Norman Lear."
 - Lear's "hidden agenda".
 - Why Lear is so angry with pro-moral citizens in America.
 - Why Lear would not meet with Dr. Falwell.
 - And much, much more.



Send For Your Confidential Report Today!

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT REQUEST REPLY CARD



Mr. Buckelew, could you possibly send a special gift of \$50.00 at this time?

YES I want to help correct the damage being done to the Moral Majority by Norman Lear and others. Enclosed is my special gift to help with this and the other national programs.

Please send me a copy of the highly "Confidential Report on Norman Lear".

Mr. Roy Buckelew
Rt 1 Box 368
Arkadelphia, AR 71923

HLJAD

ENCLOSED IS:
<input type="checkbox"/> \$50
<input type="checkbox"/> \$ _____

PLEASE MAKE YOUR CHECK PAYABLE TO: MORAL MAJORITY INC.

(NOT TAX DEDUCTABLE)

APPENDIX C

SAMPLES OF MATERIALS FROM FILES OF "I LOVE AMERICA" RALLIES
AND FROM THE UNOFFICIAL ARCHIVES OF FALWELL'S
ACTIVITIES AT LIBERTY BAPTIST COLLEGE

STATE OF KANSAS



DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION
Division of Architectural Services

*Stiff Busby
Rich Virgimille's
file. As
arrangements
for I LA rally
in Kansas*

JOHN CARLIN,
Governor
JOHN B. HIPP,
Director

12th Floor
State Office Building
Topeka, Kansas 66612
(913) 296-3811

June 20, 1980

Old Time Gospel Hour
Langhorne Plaza
Lynchburg, Virginia 24514

Attention: Carol J. Hummer, Rally Coordinator

RE: "I Love America" Rally at Kansas State Capitol
on April 13, 1981

Dear Miss Hummer:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 5, 1980 concerning
the above subject activity.

I am no longer involved in coordinating and approving the activities on
the State Capitol Grounds.

All future communication should be directed to Mr. William G. Nace,
Superintendent, Buildings and Grounds Services, Room 1, Kansas Judicial
Center, 301 West Tenth, Topeka, Kansas 66612, phone 913/296-3116.

By copy of this letter, I am forwarding your correspondence to Mr. Nace
for further action.

Very truly yours,

Arthur D. Jones

ARTHUR D. JONES

ADJ:gda
cc: Mr. William Nace

Need Confirmation

*Need to contact
Mr. Nace*

rec'd 6-26-80

STATE OF KANSAS



DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION
BUILDINGS & GROUNDS SERVICES

JOHN CARLIN
Governor

301 West 10th St., Room 1
Topeka, Kansas 66612
913.296.3116

July 17, 1980

OLD TIME GOSPEL HOUR
Langhorne Plaza
Lynchburg, Virginia 24514

Attention: Carol J. Hummer, Rally Coordinator

Dear Ms. Hummer:

Re: "I Love America" Rally at Kansas State
Capitol on April 13, 1981

In reply to your letter of June 5, 1980, permission is granted to hold a patriotic and inspirational rally on Monday, April 13, 1981, on the south steps of the Capitol building from 11:00 a.m. until 12:30 p.m.

Electrical hook-ups for two 30-amp lines and three or four 20-amp lines is available.

The Capitol Area Security Patrol will advise you of parking availability upon your arrival April 13, 1981, between 6:00 and 8:00 a.m.

As per a telephone conversation with your staff member on July 15, 1980, you will make arrangements to hold this rally in another location, perhaps the City Auditorium, in case of inclement weather.

If there are any further questions, I may be reached at 913/296-3116.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "William G. Nace".

William G. Nace
Buildings and Grounds Superintendent

WGN:em

cc: Jim Murphy, Spec. Asst. to Secy. of Administration
Captain Richard Hutcherson, C. A. S. P.
Arwin Bauman/ Carol Ogle/Dale Greeve
Robert Menish/Lawrence Crawford



I LOVE AMERICA ★ OLD-TIME GOSPEL HOUR ★ LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA ★ 24514

*From Rich
Vignelli
Materials of
"I Love
America"
rallies*

SPRING ITINERARY "I LOVE AMERICA" RALLIES

11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

Capitol Steps

FLORIDA	Tallahassee	Monday, March 3, 1980
ALABAMA	Montgomery	Tuesday, March 4, 1980
LOUISIANA	Baton Rouge	Thursday, March 6, 1980
MISSISSIPPI	Jackson	Friday, March 7, 1980
SOUTH CAROLINA	Columbia	Monday, March 31, 1980
ARKANSAS	Little Rock	Monday, April 7, 1980
TEXAS	Austin	Tuesday, April 8, 1980
OKLAHOMA	Oklahoma City	Thursday, April 10, 1980
MISSOURI	Jefferson City	Friday, April 11, 1980
MICHIGAN	Lansing	Monday, April 21, 1980
WEST VIRGINIA	Charleston	Tuesday, April 22, 1980
INDIANA	Indianapolis	Monday, May 5, 1980
ILLINOIS	Springfield	Tuesday, May 6, 1980
IOWA	Des Moines	Wednesday, May 7, 1980

* Additional Information - Old-Time Gospel Hour Rally Office
Carol Hummer - 528-0531



I LOVE AMERICA ★ OLD-TIME GOSPEL HOUR ★ LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA ★ 24514

December 4, 1980

Mr. William G. Nace
Room 1, Kansas Judicial
301 West 10th
Topeka, Kansas 66612

Dear Mr. Nace,

Per my phone conversation with your office December 1, 1980, concerning the confirmation details for the patriotic and inspirational "I Love America" rally. I am writing in reference to the change in the rally dates from April 13 to April 23, 1981.

Our plans upon receipt of a confirmation letter will be for the rally to start at 11:00 A.M. until 12:30 P.M. with clearance desired after 6 A.M. on the capitol steps to set up sound equipment. The remaining details have already been written to you in a prior letter which I hope met with your satisfaction.

We look forward to coming to Topeka and appreciate the warm reception we have already received from your office.

If I can be of further assistance, or perhaps more informative, please do not hesitate to call me - 804-237-3798 or 237-3932.

Sincerely,

Rick Vigneulle
Assistant Coordinator
"I Love America"

RV/br

STATE OF KANSAS



DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION
BUILDINGS & GROUNDS SERVICES

JOHN CARLIN
Governor

301 West 10th St., Room 1
Topeka, Kansas 66612
913/296-3116

December 16, 1980

Mr. Rick Vigneulle
Assistant Coordinator
"I LOVE AMERICA"
Old-Time Gospel Hour
Lynchburg, Virginia 24514

Dear Mr. Vigneulle:

Re: "I LOVE AMERICA Rally--South Steps
State Capitol Building, Topeka, Ks.

In reply to your letter of December 4, 1980, permission is granted to change the date of your patriotic and inspirational rally from Monday, April 13, 1981, to Thursday, April 23, 1981, as requested, prior approval having been granted July 17, 1980.

Electrical hook-ups for two 30-amp lines, and three or four 20-amp lines are available.

The Capitol Area Security Patrol will advise you of parking availability upon your arrival April 23 between 6:00 and 8:00 a.m.

As per our telephone conversation in July, you may wish to make arrangements to hold the rally in some other location in case of inclement weather.

Sincerely,

WGN
William G. Nace
Buildings and Grounds Superintendent

WGN:em

cc: Jim Murphy, Spec. Asst. to Secy. of Administration
Capt. Richard Hutcherson, C.A.S.P.
Arwin Bauman/Carol Ogle/Dale Greeve
Robert Menish/Lawrence Crawford
Capitol Complex Activities

*Confirmed on phone - Mr Nace said Fri. April 24, 1981 would
be OK. 3/10/81*



**TOPEKA-DOWNTOWN
KANSAS**

February 11, 1981

I LOVE AMERICA SINGERS
Mr. Rick Vegneulle
701 Thomas Road
Lynchburg, VA 24514

Dear Mr. Vegneulle:

This is to confirm the following arrangements made at Holiday Inn Downtown: A total of 17 rooms for May 23, 1981 has been blocked. Please send us an advanced rooming list and a 50% deposit by May 9, 1981.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank you for making these arrangements with us and can assure you that our professional staff will accommodate your every need.

If we can be of any additional service to you, please contact our Sales Office at 913-232-7721.

Sincerely,

Larry Lovett
Director of Sales

Marge Short
Director of Catering

LL:MS/jn

Enclosure

Holiday Inn

914 MADISON
TOPEKA, KANSAS 66607
PHONE 913/232-7721

OPERATED BY BROCK HOTEL CORP. UNDER LICENSE



Holiday Inn® OF TOPEKA-WEST

605 FAIRLAWN
TOPEKA, KANSAS 66606

February 12, 1981

Mr. Rick Vignuelle
I Love America
701 Thomas Road
Lynchburg, Virginia 24514

Mr. Vignuelle:

Thank-you for scheduling the I Love America Luncheon at Holiday Inn West of Topeka for April 24th, 1981. We will look forward to hosting your group as you continue your tour of the State Capitols.

I have reserved six (6) sleeping rooms in Randy Rubolds name for arrival on the 24th of April. Four of these are double rooms; the other two are singles. The singles are side by side rooms, near the lobby for a Mr. Bill Faulkner.

Your confirmation for the luncheon is enclosed. Could you please check the details to insure they are correct, sign it and return it to me. There is a copy marked customer for your files.

If I can be of further service to you, please call me.

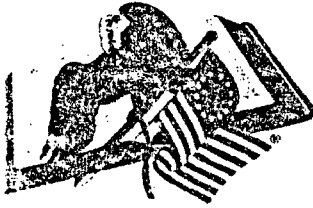
Sincerely,

Annette Cavanaugh
Annette Cavanaugh
Catering Coordinator

Enclosure

changed to the 23rd.

★ YOUR HOST FROM COAST TO COAST



**Accelerated
Christian
Education,
Inc.**

Donald R. Howard, Ph.D.
President

Ronald E. Johnson, Ed.S.
Vice President
Development

Daniel Maddalena
Vice President
Finance

Lewis Bridges
Vice President
Extension

2600 Ace Lane
Newcastle, Texas 75067
(214) 462-1776

February 19, 1981

Rick Vigneulle
Associate Director
I Love America
701 Thomas Road
Lynchburg, VA 24514


Dear Mr. Vigneulle:

Willard French of the A.C.E. Office of Political Education mentioned you would like a list of churches that use the A.C.E. Program in Kansas. His understanding was the list would be used to promote the I Love America Rally in that state.

Although it is a long standing policy for A.C.E. not to send out lists of churches that use the program, we certainly want to cooperate with you in the rallies.

If you will send the material to Willard French, he will be glad to mail it for you from here.

Because of Calvary,


Lewis Bridges
Vice President
Extension Division

LB:mb

STATE OF KANSAS



DEPARTMENT OF ADMINISTRATION
BUILDINGS & GROUNDS SERVICES

JOHN CARLIN
Governor

March 10, 1981

301 West 10th St., Room 1
Topeka, Kansas 66612
913/296-3116

Mr. Rick Vigneulle
Assistant Coordinator
Rally Office
701 Thomas Road
Lynchburg, Virginia 24514

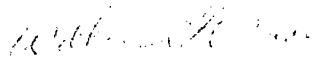
Dear Mr. Vigneulle:

Re: "I Love America" Rally--South Steps
State Capitol Building, Topeka, Ks.

This letter is written to confirm your telephone call of March 10, 1981, with this office requesting the date of the "I Love America" rally be changed (because of a typographical error) from Thursday, April 23, 1981, to Friday, April 24, 1981.

If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,


William G. Nace
Buildings & Grounds Superintendent

WGN:hr

cc: Jim Murphy, Spec. Asst. to Secy. of Administration
Capt. Richard Hutcherson, Capitol Area Security Patrol
Arwin Bauman/Carol Ogle/Dale Greeve
Robert Menish/Lawrence Crawford
Capitol Complex Activities

Holiday Inn®

OF Topeka West

BROCK HOTEL CORPORATION

ROOM Versailles C

Banquet Function Agreement

FUNCTION Luncheon

IN CHARGE Rick Vignuelle/ Randy Eubold

ORGANIZATION I Love America

DAY Friday DATE April 24th, 1981

TIME 1:00p.m.-3:00p.m.

DATE ARRANGED February 11th, 1981 BY Annette Cavanaugh

ADDRESS 701 Thomas Road Lynchburg, Virginia 24514

BUSINESS PHONE 1-604-237-3798

HOME PHONE _____

Food Service

TIME OF SERVICE 1:00p.m.

NUMBER OF PERSONS 100-250 - (100-200)

WILL LET KNOW

MENU

Bricket of Beef Jardinerra
Tossed Green Salad; Dressing
Corn O'Brien
Crisped Buttered Potatoes
Milk and Butter
Beverage (coffee, tea or milk)
German Chocolate Cake

COFFEE BREAK: None

TIME BEVERAGE FOOD

Floor Plan & Equipment

Raised head table for 10 w/ podium, 6 Mike

Tables to be set so the guests can best see the guest speaker.
Will bring their own sound system.

*SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS

Bar

TIME None TYPE _____

NUMBER OF BARS _____

SPECIALS _____

ALL FOOD & BEVERAGE SUBJECT TO 15% GRATUITY & SALES TAX

Payment & Guarantee

PRICE PER COVER \$6.25++ - \$7.50 inclusive

BREAKFAST COFFEE _____ SOFT _____
DANISH TEA _____ JUICE _____

BAR MINIMUM _____

ROOM RENTAL _____

None

THERE WILL BE A CHARGE FOR FUNCTIONS CANCELLED LESS THAN _____ PRIOR TO SCHEDULED TIME. ALL CANCELLATIONS MUST BE MADE DIRECTLY WITH THE CATERING OFFICE.

DEPOSIT None required

BILLING ARRANGEMENTS Direct Bill

CATERING OFFICE OPEN 9 AM TO 5 PM MON. THRU FRI

Guaranteed Number of Persons

OUR CATERING DEPARTMENT REQUIRES 45 HRS. NOTICE PRIOR TO THE DATE OF THE FUNCTION AS TO THE GUARANTEED NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO WILL BE ATTENDING. THIS IS THE NUMBER YOU WILL BE CHARGED FOR. ALL PRICES ARE SUBJECT TO 15% SERVICE CHARGE, LOCAL AND STATE SALES TAX.

(3.5% sales tax)

NUMBER OF PERSONS _____

ORGANIZATION I LOVE America

SIGNATURE Rick Vignuelle

CUSTOMER

Updated Spring "I Love America" Rally Schedule:

Monday, April 20, 1981.....Denver, Colorado
 Tuesday, April 21, 1981.....Cheyenne, Wyoming
 Wednesday, April 22, 1981.....Travel
 Thursday, April 23, 1981.....Lincoln, Nebraska
 Friday, April 24, 1981.....Topeka, Kansas

Thursday, May 14, 1981.....Billings, Montana (Look Up America)
 Friday, May 15, 1981.....Helena, Montana
 Saturday, May 16, 1981.....Travel
 Sunday, May 17, 1981.....Travel
 Monday, May 18, 1981.....Olympia, Washington
 Tuesday, May 19, 1981.....Salem, Oregon
 Wednesday, May 20, 1981.....Travel
 Thursday, May 21, 1981.....Boise, Idaho
 Friday, May 22, 1981.....Salt Lake City, Utah
 Saturday, May 23, 1981.....Travel
 Sunday, May 24, 1981.....Travel
 Monday, May 25, 1981.....Travel
 Tuesday, May 26, 1981.....Carson City, Nevada
 Wednesday, May 27, 1981.....Travel
 Thursday, May 28, 1981.....Honolulu, Hawaii

FALL RALLY SCHEDULE:

Monday, September 21, 1981.....Augusta, Maine
 Tuesday, September 22, 1981.....Montpelier, Vermont
 Wednesday, September 23, 1981.....Boston, Massachusetts
 Thursday, September 24, 1981.....Providence, Rhode Island
 Friday, September 25, 1981.....Hartford, Connecticut
 Monday, October 5, 1981.....Dover, Delaware
 Tuesday, October 6, 1981.....Annapolis, Maryland

*one was held in Massachusetts
 for all the New England
 States. They treated
 them as one in promotion
 and follow-up.
 Cancelled due
 to advance of
 Feltwell's
 stiff concern
 about his
 safety. They
 planned further
 life*



I LOVE AMERICA ★ OLD-TIME GOSPEL HOUR ★ LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA ★ 24514

To: Members of the LBC Faculty
From: Randy Rebold

The 1981 "I Love America" touring season has already come upon us. The "I Love America" team is comprised of the LBC Singers, the Sounds of Liberty, and approximately ten other students from LBC. Over the years, misunderstandings resulting from a lack of communication have occurred, and we sincerely desire to prevent this from ever happening again. For this reason, I am writing you to ask for your full cooperation in helping to aid the students who have to be gone from school for the I.L.A. rallies. (In no way am I asking you to make the course any easier for the student, I am asking you, however, to help me with a creative alternative for the time that they are traveling). Contrary to popular belief, the young people on the I.L.A. team must work very hard in order for the rallies to be successful. A typical schedule would be:

- * Travel to the state where the rally is to be held
- * Meet at the Capitol at 6:00 AM
- * Set up equipment (2½ hours)
- * Get dressed, rehearse, have devotions (done by 9:30 AM)
- * Greet people
- * Pre-rally music begins at 10:00 AM
- * Rally begins at 11:00 AM and ends at 12:30 PM
- * Guys tear down equipment
- * Girls host Pastor's Luncheon
- * 3:30 PM - Leave for the next state. (Usually an all-night drive)

As you can imagine, the "fun" disappears very quickly. It is a very tiring schedule both physically and mentally. It is unreasonable to expect the students to do everything required of them as a result of the rallies, and at the same time be able to do an entire week of school work.

Dr. Falwell, Dr. Guillerman, and Don Norman have all asked me to inform the teaching staff of the schedule, and to discuss any problems that might occur as a result of it. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me. My office phone is: 237-3932.

In Calvary's Bond,

Randy Rebold
Director of I.L.A. Rallies

RR/jp



I LOVE AMERICA ★ OLD-TIME GOSPEL HOUR ★ LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA ★ 24514

MEMO: To all LBC Faculty

SUBJECT: Students involved in the Spring "I LOVE AMERICA" Rallies

The two enclosed letters are of importance to you if any of the students listed below are in any of your classes.

Ralph Hagner

Donna Pinchbeck

Brad Frailey

Lois Starr

Bob Gallina

Natashia Coley

Chip Petite

Vanessa Davis

Marty Bawtinheimer

Jenny McCoy

Luann LaTour

Jeff Hartman

Kerry Beckstrom

David Fagg

Joni Berry

Danny Scruggs

Mindy Duttera

Greg Rice

Monica Parsons

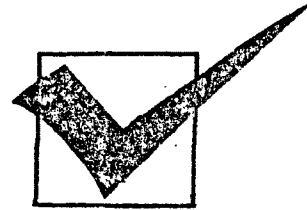
Dan Shook

Brian Freese

Lynn Derks

P.S. Also enclosed is a copy of the Spring and Fall "I LOVE AMERICA" itinerary to show the dates that the above students will be out of class.

"I Love America"



STATE Minnesota
 CITY St. Paul
 DATE OF RALLY Sept. 16, 1980 TIME OF RALLY 11:00a.m. - 12:30p.m.
 LUNCHEON TO BE HELD AT The "Radisson" TIME OF LUNCHEON 1:00p.m. - 3:00p.m.
 ADDRESS 11 E. Kellogg Blvd. St. Paul, Mn. 55101 PHONE # 612-292-1900 Ext. 2237

DISTANCE FROM THE CAPITAL 3 or 4 blocks
 RESERVATIONS PLACED IN THE NAME OF Rick Vigneulle (CAPITAL BALL ROOM)
 HOTEL EMPLOYEE IN CHARGE OF LUNCHEON Mary Doyle - Ann DeJoy
 NUMBER OF RESERVATIONS MADE 150-200 COST \$ per person 7.50 + 4% + 15%
 MENU Turkey & Dressing, Mashed Pot.w/Gravy, Cranberry Sauce, Buttered Corn, Rolls, ApplePie
Coffee, Tea, Milk
 STAFF HOTEL Holiday Inn State Capital

ADDRESS 161 St. Anthony PHONE # 612-227-8711
 RESERVATIONS PLACED IN THE NAME OF I Love America -Randy Rebold or Rick Vigneulle
 NUMBER OF RESERVATIONS MADE 6 COST \$ 38.00 Single
45.00 Two per Room

NAMES OF THOSE STAYING IN HOTEL

2	Dr. Falwell	_____	_____
	Bill Faulkner	_____	_____
1-	Don Norman	_____	_____
1-	Robbie Hiner	_____	_____
2	Randy Rebold	_____	_____

DISTANCE FROM THE CAPITAL Across the street
 TEAM HOTEL Travel Lodge
 ADDRESS 149 East University Ave. St. Paul 55101 PHONE # 612-227-8801

RESERVATIONS PLACED IN THE NAME OF I Love America - Randy Rebold
 NUMBER OF RESERVATIONS MADE 10 Rms. 5 rooms w/5 people COST \$ 390.55 Total
2 Rooms 2 rooms w/3 people
3 Rooms 3 Rooms w/2 people
 NAMES OF THOSE STAYING IN HOTEL 12



I LOVE AMERICA ★ OLD-TIME GOSPEL HOUR ★ LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA ★ 24514

October 1, 1979

Dear Pastor and Administrator:

I need your help to make the "I Love America" Rally a success. It is being held in Raleigh on your Capitol Steps at 11:00 a.m. on Friday, November 2, 1979.

I know you want to be there because you believe in freedom for our Christian schools and you stand with us in our fight against abortion, homosexuality, pornography, and intrusion by the government in the affairs of local churches.

Following the rally you and your associate with your wives are invited to attend a luncheon. I would like to take this time to fellowship with you and further discuss what we can do to bring America back to God.

I sincerely plead with you to attend this rally and bus as many of your people as possible. You and your people are needed to take a stand for fundamentalism and religious freedom.

I know it is a sacrifice to give up a day from your busy schedule--also, it will take sacrifice to pay the cost of transportation and meals... I know because I will be conducting rallies in most of the state capitals.

But sacrifice is the essence of Christianity and sacrifice is the foundation of our nation.

We must convince state legislators that the Bible-believing churches and the Christian schools are a powerful force for good in each state. And, they must be made to realize that we are large in number, growing rapidly--and will not be harassed!!

I read the other day that the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence made a sacrifice. Most of them either lost their money, their families or their lives, because they were willing to back their signature with total commitment.

I humbly ask you to have your people at the State Capitol by 11:00 a.m. on November 2, 1979, to let the nation know that Christians will defend their freedom.

COPY

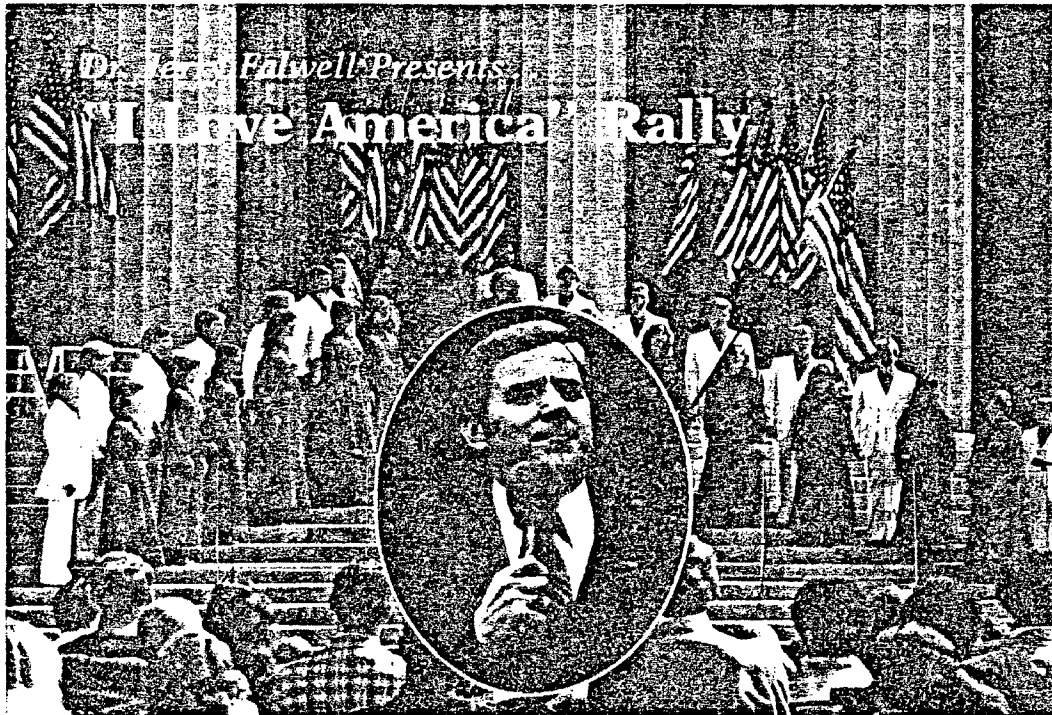
DATA SHEET FOR "I LOVE AMERICA" RALLY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Thursday, November 1, 1979

1. The rally begins at 11:00 A.M. on the Capitol steps. It will end at 12:30 P.M. (A preliminary music program begins at 10:00 A.M.)
 2. It is imperative that one representative from each church, school, or organization check in at the registration table as soon as you arrive at the rally site.
 3. Pastors and administrators, be sure to take your place in the reserved seat section as designated. You will be introduced, whom you represent, where you are from, and how many came with you to the rally.
 4. Students and chaperones should bring a box lunch to eat on the bus.
 5. Each school is responsible for their own students. Make sure there is a "count" on each bus before you leave Atlanta. Please bring enough adults to supervise the students.
 6. If you intend to visit historical sites in the area, please make your own plans and schedules.
 7. Testimony is so important at public functions, please observe signs concerning the grass and no littering. In order to hold the rally, we must stay off the grass.
 8. We suggest that no posters or banners be brought to the rally.
 9. If there is any problem (lost items, missing students, etc.) please phone the Capitol Police.
 10. The luncheon for pastors and school administrators for the "I Love America" rally is located.

Marriot Hotel	(reservations only)
Courtland & International	1:00 P.M.-2:30 P.M.
Atlanta, GA 30303	
 11. Girls and women in dresses would be appropriate.
 12. Since this is a "Rally"--enthusiasm and cheering is welcomed.
 13. We suggest you bring only students in the 7th grade or older unless you live within the metropolitan area.
 14. Restrooms are available in the nearby public buildings.
 15. Buses should park, unload and load, along the west side of Washington Street. Please do not block entrance and exit driveways.
 16. In the event of rain the rally will STILL be held. Check in at Capitol grounds as to the rain location.
 17. Additional Information: Rally Co-ordinator--Carol Hummer
Phone: 1-804-528-0531
- Note. From Rick Vigneulle. A typical guide sheet for an "I Love America" rally.



Dear Friend,

I will soon be in your state capital for an "I Love America" Rally. With me will be Don Norman, Robbie Hiner and the "I Love America" Team.

I know you will enjoy the program. Please come and show your love for our country.

We hope you can bring as many of your friends as possible.

Sincerely,


Jerry Falwell

Make plans to be there
Cheyenne, Wyoming — Capitol steps
11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.
Tuesday, April 21

Rally Office
Old-Time Gospel Hour
Lynchburg, VA 24514

Non-Profit Organization
Bulk Rate
U.S. Postage Paid
Permit No. 140
Lynchburg, VA

at last?

All evidence points to the death of her neighbor Sally, the world's largest female Indian elephant in captivity. She died Feb. 12 of old age after 40 years as the chief attraction at the zoo.

Sally and Dali had lived in adjacent stalls since 1976, when Dali arrived in the Scottish capital. From the beginning, Dali was terrified of venturing out into the yard. She stayed in her 25-by-20-foot quarters, pacing anxiously or trumpeting loudly. Even at feeding times, her hind legs were safely anchored inside the cell-like enclosure.

Nothing the frustrated zookeepers could do would cajole Dali to leave the security of her stall.

Last Friday, less than three weeks after Sally died, Dali took a walk through the yard for the first time. The zoo staff was stunned.

She went out again Saturday and Sunday, staying in the yard for longer and longer periods.

"On Sunday she was in and out of her stall all day," journalist Nick Radcliffe reported. "But she only exits backwards so she can still keep a watch on the inside of her stall. Maybe she's forgotten how to come out forward."

"She's calmed down considerably. Before she was really almost paranoid."

"She is well aware of the fact that Sally is no longer there," said a zookeeper. "We were a



"I LOVE AMERICA" RALLY WITH JERRY FALWELL.

Join Jerry Falwell, the "I Love America" singers, Don Norman, Robbie Hlner, and patriotic Americans from your great state as they speak on moral issues.

**Montgomery
Capitol Steps
11:00 AM - 12:30 PM
March 4**

*Typical I Love America
Montgomery
etc.*




2915 EASTERN BY-PASS

Open Daily 10 a.m. til 7 p.m.

**A REMINDER TO
OUR AMANA
CUSTOMERS:**

In a continued effort
to help you completely
enjoy your Radarange

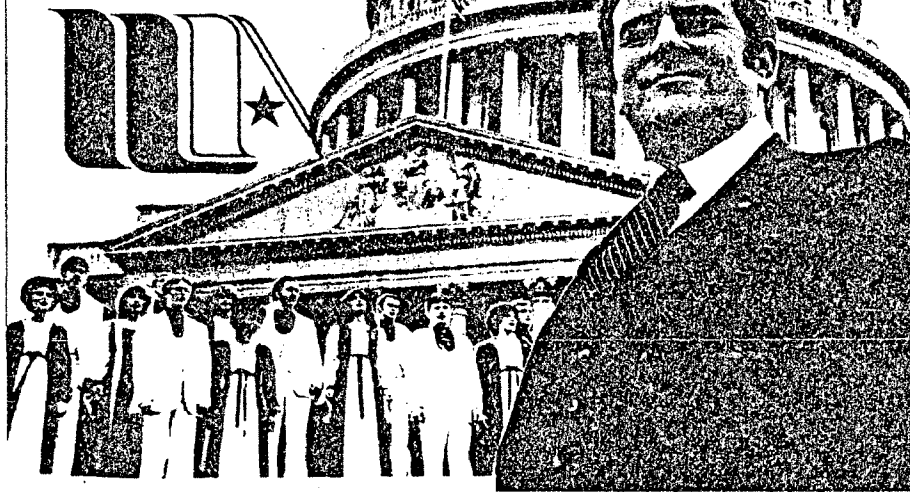
Cook Meal To The Peak Of Perfection With
Amana
 TOUCHMATIC Radarange



Cooks by time or cooks to temperature with remarkable

"I Love America"

RALLY
with Jerry Falwell



Come join Jerry Falwell on the steps of your State Capitol!

Stand beside Jerry Falwell, your state legislators, I Love America Team, and patriotic Americans from your great state as they speak out against abortion-on-demand, homosexuality, pornography, interference in the Christian school movement, and other important issues.

This is a rally you won't want to miss!

Honolulu, Hawaii

Thursday, May 28, 1981

11:00 AM — 12:30 PM



Pastors and Administrators Registration Card

Please reserve a seat for me at the "I Love America" rally on my state capitol steps -

Topeka, Kansas
Friday, April 24, 1981
11:00 AM - 12:30 PM
R.S.V.P. by April 14, 1981

Address Rt 2 Box 50K
City Penner Springs State Ks Zip 66412

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name Pastor S.D. Seaba
Associate Wayne K. Ota
Church Elm Grove Baptist
School _____
Phone (913) 441-3554
How many will attend rally from your church or school?

How many will attend luncheon? 2
(Pastors, associates, and wives only, please.)

Wayne K. Ota
Signature

For Official Use Only



Pastors and Administrators Registration Card

Please reserve a seat for me at the "I Love America" rally on my state capitol steps -

Topeka, Kansas
Friday, April 24, 1981
11:00 AM - 12:30 PM
R.S.V.P. by April 14, 1981

Address RR-1 Box 45
City OTTAWA State Ks Zip 66667

(PLEASE PRINT)

Name Alton B. Oglesby
Associate _____
Church Community Service Center
School S. B. C. Christian Academy
Phone (913) 242-4475
How many will attend rally from your church or school?

How many will attend luncheon? 7
(Pastors, associates, and wives only, please.)

Alton B. Oglesby
Signature

For Official Use Only

62

August, 1979

Clean Up America HOTLINE REPORT

Special to "I Love America" Club Members

PUBLISHED BY THE OLD-TIME GOSPEL HOUR
JERRY FALWELL, DIRECTOR

"I Love America" Rally Comes To State Capitals

Taking a stand for God and country is the thrust of the "I Love America" Rallies being held in state capitals throughout the country.

Following the theme of the "I Love America" Rally held earlier this year at the nation's Capitol, these state rallies will be focusing on the issues of abortion, pornography, sex and violence on TV, homosexuality, textbooks in the public schools and the need to bring this country back to God.

Additionally, a portion of the rally will be dedicated to the Christian school movement and will discuss the intrusion of the government in the affairs of Christian schools and local Bible-believing churches.

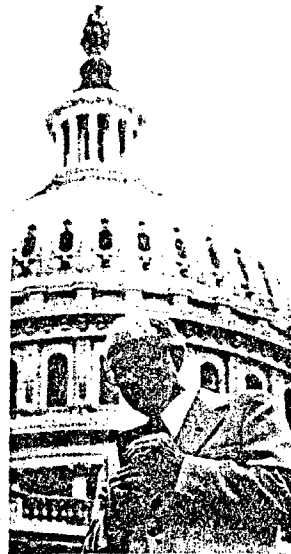
Each rally will be held from 11:00am to 12:30pm and will take place on that state's capitol steps.

During September rallies are planned for:

- Richmond, Virginia
Thursday, September 13
- Columbus, Ohio
Monday, September 17
- Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
Tuesday, September 17
- Albany, New York
Monday, September 24

Dr. Jerry Falwell, the "I Love America" team, Charles Hughes, Robbie Hiner, and Don Norman will be challenging our leaders to enact decent moral legislation. National, state and local officials will join Dr. Falwell in taking a stand for goodness, righteousness and Christian principles.

Churches, Christian schools, individuals and groups standing for righteousness are invited to attend.



If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land.

II Chronicles 7:14

I LOVE AMERICA RALLY
SPECIAL GUEST

PLEASE PRINT

CITY

HOTLINE REPORT, Aug. 1979--continued

Pro-Life Amendment Wins House Vote

The United States House of Representatives voted 241-180 in favor of the Hyde Amendment to the Labor/HEW Appropriations Bill. The Hyde Amendment reads: "None of the funds provided in this Act shall be used to perform abortions except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus was carried to term."

After defeating two objections to the language, the Labor/HEW Appropriations Bill with the Hyde Amendment moved to the Senate.

The Senate Appropriations Committee reported out this appropriations Bill on July 13. As this issue of *Hotline Report* went to press, the bill was reaching the Senate floor.

It will be a happy day for this nation when the American government and judiciary get out of the business of murdering little babies — and financing it with taxpayers' money.

Aborted Fetuses Cry For Life; Communities Begin To Take Action

"In an east London hospital, a 20-week-old aborted fetus cried out in a public ward, sending an inescapable ripple of uneasiness through its corridors. . ."

—The *Times-Picayune*
New Orleans, Louisiana
June 3, 1979

"Abortions at the Wilmington Medical Center during the past month have resulted in the births of two living babies now struggling to survive in the

premature infant intensive care unit. . ."

—*Evening Journal*
Wilmington, Delaware
June 4, 1979

"The jury had to decide whether 'Baby Girl Weaver,' as the fetus was known, was ever legally alive outside her mother's womb, and whether the actions (or inactions) of Dr. Waddill led to her death. . ."

—*Time*
May 22, 1978

Stories like these are appearing with more and more frequency. An aborted fetus cries for life — and then what? Hopefully, the infant will be at a hospital that will place the child in an intensive care unit until it is adopted. Unfortunately, the child is often too weak to survive or is in the hands of someone willing to continue the murderous action.

Scripturally, God says life begins at conception. And, although the Word of God does not need a second opinion, science agrees that life begins at that time. Dr. Raymond Gasser, a professor of anatomy at Louisiana State University Medical School, said in the *Times-Picayune* article that he is upset by ignorance that views a 10-week old fetus as merely a mass of tissue. Dealing with completely scientific information, Dr. Gasser notes that when the male and the female eggs are joined, a new individual cell begins that has never existed before. (Dr. Gasser has completed intensive studies on the development of the fetus.)

Until recently, liberals avoided the issue of "when does life begin?" They intellectually rationalized abortion as a woman's right, a means of controlling population, a way to weed out birth defects, and a method of eliminating unwanted

babies. However, state and local governments are beginning to take action against the slaughter of the unborn human life.

The City Council of Santa Ana, California, recently passed a resolution declaring "that unborn children have the God-given right to life." The resolution urges the banning of abortion in both clinics and hospitals.

Akron, Ohio, passed an ordinance requiring physicians to tell the woman that the fetus is "an unborn human life from the moment of conception."

An estimated 1.5 million abortions will be performed this year. Grass-roots actions such as those taken in Santa Ana and Akron are the first steps in eliminating such atrocities.

Robison's TV Show Reinstated "Without Compromising"



James Robison

DALLAS (EP) — Evangelist James Robison's weekly television program has been reinstated by WFAA Television after an agreement reached June 26 at a Dallas crusade. "We have reached a solution," Mr. Robison said, "and we in no way are compromising our message."

"I am pleased to be back on

HOTLINE REPORT, Aug. 1979--continued

WFAA Television after a four-month absence. After numerous conversations with station management, I am fully satisfied with the intent of their policies and understand their program guidelines and policies," Mr. Robison said. "I am convinced I can abide by these policies without compromising my message."

Mr. Robison expressed his gratitude to WFAA station management for their willingness to work out a reasonable solution. Station manager Dave Lane who was present at the crusade service received a resounding ovation from the crowd when the announcement was made that the program would be reinstated in two to three weeks.

WFAA Television cancelled Robison's weekly program in early March following a February 25 broadcast in which he referred to homosexuality as sin. Free air time was later given to the Dallas Gay Political Caucus to defend the homosexual lifestyle.

Robison will proceed with pleadings by his attorneys before the Federal Communications Commission to determine the application of the Fairness Doctrine to religious broadcasting. "I only ask for the right to preach the Bible as it is, to men as they are," Mr. Robison said.

IYC Seeks Government—Controlled Children

In seeking to solve the problems of children, the International Year of the Child looks to government for the solution. Suggesting that "experts" be given taxpayer



How much government control will this child experience? IYC will bring more than can be imagined.

money to enable government agencies to replace normal parental functions, the United States Commission for IYC says that it is the basic function of society to provide for the care and nurturing of children.

Instead of encouraging a strong moral family home in which every child can grow, IYC seeks to control the environment which will influence the child into adulthood.

In Proverbs 22:6, God says, "Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it." Here, God stresses the importance of training young children and throughout the Bible, God gives examples of parents' responsibility to train children. However, nowhere in the Bible does God leave society or government with this responsibility.

Contrary to God's Holy Word, the IYC seeks to minimize the influence of the family and maximize government controlled

child rearing through intensive promotion of a social welfare system for children.

What other society promotes children's rights through government controls? The Soviet Union and communist countries accomplish this task with such success that children choose the government over their families. These countries recognize the importance of training a young child in order to mold his character in a desired form. The IYC is seeking to accomplish the same kind of control through more government regulations.

Needing support at the state and national level, the IYC is looking for millions of tax dollars to institute its humanistic programs including the federal funding of day care centers and expansion of the welfare system. Elected officials considering legislation on such issues must be informed of better ways to promote children's rights through pro-life, pro-family and pro-morality programs.

Children's rights are clearly defined in Ephesians 6:4 as God says, "And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." To be raised in the ways of the Lord — not the government — is truly the right of every child.

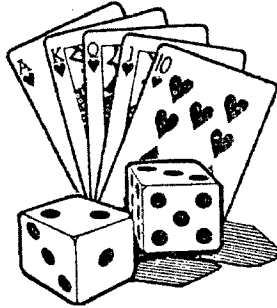
Sociologist Reports On Hidden Action In Legalized Casino Gambling

After a three year study of the social risks of casino gambling, sociologist Jerome Skolnick reported on the effects of legalized gambling. The report, printed in July's *Psychology Today*, indicates that advocates of legalized casino gambling offer controls that "look better on paper than in enforcement practice."

Not surprisingly, the article reports that casino gambling invites street crime. Losers desperate to get their hands on any money will resort to robbery. Prostitutes are attracted by the free flow of money. Skolnick wrote, "According to Edwin J. Roth, New Jersey Commissioner of Public Safety, Atlantic City experienced about a 25 percent rise in crimes of assault and robbery, car theft, prostitution, and larceny after the Resorts International opened in May 1978."

As a result of these crimes, Skolnick said that casino gambling is likely to attract organized crime, dirty money, and profit-skimming.

"Americans seem reluctant to legalize vice, in accord with our waning Puritan heritage — unless the vice can be made to pay its way," said Skolnick as he advised



states considering the legalization of casino gambling to think twice. While advocates emphasize the new tax revenues and job opportunities, Skolnick urges that states look at the effects on the surrounding community.

God says in 1 John 2:17 "And the world passeth away, and the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever." Based on lust for money, gambling encourages sin.

If your state is considering legalization of any form of gambling, make your feelings on the subject known. Keeping the wheels-of-chance out of your area will not be easy.

Lights Out On L.A. Cross

After an atheist group objected to the county paying the electric bill, the Los Angeles County counsel's office said the lights should be turned off the 50-foot cross near the Hollywood Bowl. As reported in the *Los Angeles Times* on July 4, the counsel's office said that the existence of the cross on county land is probably unconstitutional.

The lighted cross has become such a landmark that it appears on the Los Angeles County seal.

Various religious organizations are attempting to keep the landmark by leasing the county land it stands on and by paying the \$100-a-year electric bill. The American Atheists have let their objections be known regarding such action.

Wonder when the American Atheists will ask the city of Los Angeles (which means "city of angels") to change its name using the argument that its name advances the cause of religion?

Grass Roots Resists Liberal Trends

An article in *Time* magazine about the election of Dr. Adrian Rogers to President of the Southern Baptist Convention said that his victory was "an example of organized grass-roots resistance to liberal trends in current religious thought and behavior."

Contrary to various Southern Baptist seminary professors, Rogers stands firm on the issue of the Bible being the error-free Word of God.

Medicaid To Pay For Sex Change Operations

In Iowa, a federal judge has ruled that the Iowa Medicaid program must pay for a sex change operation on the grounds that it was "medically necessary."

As reported in *Action Line*, a publication of the Christian Action Council, "It is clear that medical necessity is no longer limited to the straight and narrow priorities of ethical medicine, but has been distorted by the courts to embrace the gay and permissive whims of troubled individuals."

December 1979

Clean Up America

HOTLINE REPORT

Special to "I Love America" Club Members

"Flesh And Blood" Protested; TV Morality Fight Grows



Rev. Cecil Hodges, leading prayer group in front of CBS affiliate WTOC, said, "If we don't get involved, we're just supporting the efforts of the pornographers."

The CBS television network recently broadcasted one of the most offensive programs ever aired. "Flesh and Blood," a two-part, made-for-television movie, centered on the relationship between a young boxer and his alcoholic mother who begin an incestuous affair. One of the most successful protests against the film was organized in Savannah, Georgia.

When the Rev. Cecil Hodges, pastor of the Bible Baptist Church, learned of the planned airing of the movie on station WTOC, an affiliate of the CBS network, he and other ministers in the city led a demonstration against the film. "Within less than a week, we formed a telephone committee to contact local ministers," said Rev. Hodges in a telephone interview. "Over 50 percent of the area churches were represented at the rally in front of the WTOC station.

"The rally included speakers

and lots of prayer. While some pastors did not want to get involved, we reminded them that through their silence they were supporting immorality on the public air waves." The protesters were joined by representatives of the state and local Parent-Teacher Associations and the YMCA.

The *Savannah Morning News* reported that the WTOC apology came after a threatened advertisers' boycott of the station and two organized protests which drew a total of 750 people to the station's front door. Even though the protesters did fail to stop the televising of the controversial film, the groups did organize a watchdog committee called "People for Decency."

People for Decency will screen future programs far enough ahead to allow sufficient time to work with advertisers and

(continued on page 3)

Resolve To Pray

George Washington called for fasting and prayer during the Revolutionary War. Abraham Lincoln did the same during the Civil War. In the Iranian crisis, President Carter and relatives of the hostages joined together in prayer. During a crisis, Americans have always turned to God for guidance and strength.

As a nation we have forgotten to thank God for the bountiful blessings He has given us during the past 200 years. As individuals we have forgotten to give God credit for the opportunities and freedoms He has given us. As editorialist Richard A. Viguerie said in the November 13 edition of the Lynchburg *Daily Advance*, "Perhaps many of our personal and national problems have developed because we have



forgotten to thank God for our blessings, our opportunities, our freedoms, and our great country."

In his editorial, urging a national day of fasting and prayer, Viguerie said, "We, as a nation, need collectively to get down on our knees, acknowledge our God and ask for His guidance and blessings, for forgiveness for

our sins, and for deliverance from our enemies. We need to give credit to God for all the good in our lives."

As we enter this "Decade of Destiny," let us remember to pray earnestly for our country and our leaders. The crucial times ahead are in God's hands and we must rely on Him for deliverance from our sins and for the necessary strength and wisdom to meet the challenges with which we are confronted.

We must continue to claim his promise in II Chronicles 7:14, "If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin and will heal their land."

An "Expression For Horror"

Punk rock is no longer just a new musical fad like "disco fever." It is now an expression for horror — at least for thousands of teen-agers in the middle-class community of Huntington Beach, California known as "punkers."

According to the September 23 issue of the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, thousands of teen-agers are dying their hair bizarre colors, opting for death-shades of make-up, sticking pins in their cheeks for fun, slicing their limbs and chests for pleasure, and rolling their bodies in broken bottles. They are vandalizing houses and business establishments. Although the use of LSD and PCP is common among hard-core punkers, it

appears that many are completely sober during their involvement with self-inflicted pain.

In the article, Huntington Beach Police Lt., Jim Walker stated, "They feel a strong allegiance to Charles Manson and Adolph Hitler. The whole gimmick seems to be to determine how much physical pain can be endured."

Confused parents, public school authorities, and the city police departments are attempting to control the punkers. In many cases officers are stopping, photographing, and interviewing the "hard cores." Community meetings are being held. Most high schools will not allow punk rock bands to perform at school functions and some enraged citizens have even resorted to buying guns.

The article noted that most of the problem stems from parents who do not care, or that actually condone the activity. One high school junior said that her mother thinks some of the punker costumes are "neat."

Although measures to combat the punkers may slow down the activities, neither government nor civic-minded individuals can solve the problem. The answer is found in Christ. Parents must adhere to the biblical advice found in Proverbs 22:6, "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it." Because parents have not obeyed God's commandment to train up our children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, there is chaos and strife in homes and schools across the country today. Teen-agers, not

Spring Rallies Scheduled

The "I Love America" Rallies held in Atlanta, Georgia and Raleigh, North Carolina had an attendance of 3000 and 2000 people respectively. Pastors, teachers, government leaders, and concerned citizens joined Dr. Falwell and the "I Love America" team in their stand for righteousness.

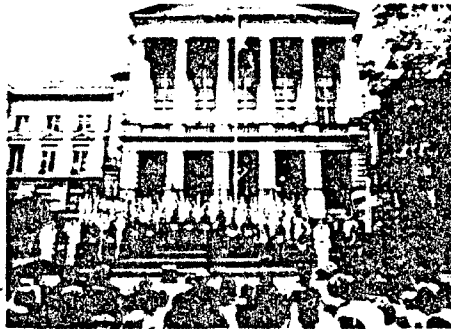
For the eight Rallies held this fall an estimated 35,000 people

attended. "We're looking forward to a successful spring, and anticipate even greater crowds as our momentum grows," said Dr. Falwell.

"As we enter this Decade of Destiny, it is imperative that we speak up for moral principles and the cause of freedom. For if we neglect our duty to resist the immoral trends of the nation, we will fail our children, our

country, and our God. We must turn America around for all our sakes."

In the spring, Rallies have been tentatively scheduled for Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Michigan, West Virginia, Illinois, and Indiana. Details will be announced soon.





June 1980

Clean Up America

HOTLINE REPORT

Special to

"I Love America" Club Members



False Stats Useful Tool

Jacqueline Kasun, an economics professor and specialist in statistics, found that the "epidemic of teenage pregnancies" was non-existent and merely a term used by Planned Parenthood to present its programs as a cure. As reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 25, Mrs. Kasun studied material prepared by Planned Parenthood and the State Department of Education for use in her local schools.

This material, "Education for Human Sexuality," includes a 160-page study guide. Mrs.

continued on page 4

Romans 1:22-32 should be read in conjunction with this issue of *Hotline Report*. These scriptures speak of man's sin nature in regards to the reprobate mind.



Children at this age are receiving sex education funded by tax dollars without parental review.



Crowds like this one in Charleston, West Virginia have amassed 135,000 participants in 23 states and the nation's capital.



The Vignuelle twins, Rick and Mick, with the "I Love America" Singers, present the song, Church Triumphant.



May Rallies Show Mo



Crowds at the "I Love America" Rallies grow in numbers. The Michigan and West Virginia rallies saw crowds of more than 6,700 and 3,500 respectively. Several state legislators participated in each rally and, in West Virginia, Governor John D. Rockefeller IV joined the platform.

The May rallies drew 10,000 in Indiana, more than 12,000 in Illinois, and 2,000 in Iowa. This pushes the grand total for attendance at all the rallies to

over 135,000.

The Indiana Rally was attended by Lt. Governor Robert D. Orr and many state legislators.

In Illinois, Governor James Thompson, Jr. and 35 legislators represented the people of the state at the "I Love America" Rally. Phyllis Schlafly, a leader of the anti-ERA movement, and many hundreds of her supporters were also present.

The crowd on the Illinois capitol steps was perhaps the most varied in denominational beliefs. Mormons, Catholics, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Methodists joined us in taking a stand on the moral principles as outlined in the Bible.

Iowa's Lt. Governor Terry Branstad and many state legislators were present on the platform in Des Moines. Due to Governor Robert D. Ray's trip



Falwell presents the moral issues affecting the direction of America.



mentum



to Egypt he was unable to attend.

Thanks to your support, the "I Love America" Rallies have been able to reach a great number of people across the United States, encouraging them to take a stand and get involved with the issues that are degrading this nation. The next issue of Hotline Report will contain a tentative schedule for fall rallies.

Porno Promoted Through Mail

The Psychological Interviewing Systems, Inc. of New York has been promoting a pornographic survey questionnaire in which participants selected at random must pay \$5 for each survey to which they wish to reply.

The material asks participants to answer questions about acceptable sexual behavior. These include questions about sex between consenting adults, sex involving minors, rape, incest, group sex, and other deviate acts.

"Each questionnaire is accompanied by an exhibit that includes pornographic films, books and photos and we cannot mail them without your written consent."

The piece states, "Legislators are struggling to draw the line between free speech and the need to protect community standards. Your opinions can help shape new laws." It urges readers to "help us tell the opinion shapers how America really feels about pornography."

This promotional piece takes the attitude of openness in surveying the moral climate. However, it does little else than use the public mail service to sell pornographic smut.

Parents Protest Planning Clinic

Fearing that a family-planning clinic would boost sexual promiscuity among teenagers, a citizens group in Mt. Vernon, Illinois is fighting

the proposed clinic with a "petition drive against release of federal money for the project."

According to the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, February 27, 1980, Bonnie Gleason, who heads the opposition drive stated, "This would increase the problems of sexual involvement by teenagers, with the law allowing 13-year-olds to get contraceptives without parental consent. We don't want this type of thing in our community."

"This is an invasion of parental rights . . . This will encourage a breakdown of communications between parents and children, as if parents aren't qualified to discuss this with their children."

Gay Teens Get Hideaway

A home for gay teens in Los Angeles provides a place for homosexual teens to find acceptance, says the *Brentwood Westwood Press*, March 20.

According to the home social worker, Ed Doyle, these teens, "have no trouble getting into a car with some guy or other and having sex 10 times a night . . . But try to get them to sit down and have a conversation—just socialize—and they have no idea what to do."

To remedy this, these teens are taken to gay meetings and music clubs to learn how to socialize with other gays.

Offering the teens the opportunity to cope with their sexuality, the tax-funded home creates an atmosphere of support and not one for change.

CBS Shows Reprobate Life

It's not often that television can be congratulated for presenting the facts in an accurate unbiased manner. However CBS deserves a pat on the back for its program "Gay Pride, Gay Politics."

With the exception of its portrayal of the police as brutal and ready to take advantage of the homosexuals, the program depicted, in a vivid and realistic manner, the destructive life of gays and the political power they wield.

Based on the gay community of Castro Street in San Francisco, CBS investigated the sado-masochistic bars showing the torture chambers and noting that many of these establishments have a doctor and nurse on hand to sew up the wounded and tend to other physical needs. Complete with

whips and chains, these establishments attract men who have an affinity for torture.

The program interviewed children who were afraid to go in nearby public parks to play because of the homosexual activity. In these parks gays meet for a sexual encounter behind bushes, under trees, in the open or anywhere. According to CBS, the gays at these parks rarely even

exchange names and though frequently attracting crowds, they continue their activity.

More specifically, the program outlined how politicians were courting the gay vote showing Mayor Diane Feinstein kissing the city's "leading" transvestite.

As someone said, "If America gets by with her sin, God will owe an apology to Sodom and Gomorrah."

Episcopal Press Prints Porno

"Animal Copulating Defended" reads the headline of a book review by the Rev. Lester Kinsolving. The book, *The Sex Atlas*, was printed by the publishing house of the Episcopal Church. According to Rev. Kinsolving's review, the book contends that "as long as

the animal is not hurt or mistreated there is no need for social interference in the case of sexual contact between humans and animals." The book furthers its offensive views with photographs of primitives involved with dogs and water buffalo.

The Sex Atlas also states that as long as the child is willing, sex crimes such as child molestation and incest should not be outlawed.

Writings such as this must have come directly from the devil's hand. Surely, the leaders of the church have made a sad and tragic error.

In a similar incident, the Methodist leaders are suffering a back lash in support from people who resent the church's production of an explicit sex education film. The film, according to reviews, was nothing short of pornographic.

How can churches win the lost to Christ or make any positive impact on society when they dabble in such sinful activities?

False Stats Useful Tool

continued from page 1

Kasun reported in the *Eureka Times Standard*, February 29, on the contents.

Beginning at age 3, the book provides children a study of sexual intercourse. By age 6, the children are discussing family problems such as sexual molestation and physical abuse. "By age 9 they begin to study menstruation, conception, ejaculation and nocturnal emissions. They read Planned Parenthood booklets which say, masturbation is a perfectly acceptable, useful, comforting

thing to do . . ."

Children take field trips to family planning clinics and drug stores to learn the methods and availability of contraceptives.

"They learn that the decision for using contraceptives or getting an abortion is theirs alone to make, requiring no consultation with their parents. They study the law regarding 'emancipated minors' who are making their own decisions."

Mrs. Kasun urged that the local school board be allowed to approve such a program before it is implemented. Her thorough research and analysis brought a delay to the program.

APPENDIX D

LYRICS OF THREE SONGS PRESENTED AT THE RALLIES

BY THE "I LOVE AMERICA" SINGERS

(Transcribed from audio tapes)

I LOVE AMERICA

I Love America
America, land that I love
America the land I love
Fashioned by courageous men
Who fought for liberty
Strengthened by each generation
Stretched vitality.
Tall among the nations now
And proud of history.
That's why I'm an
That's why I'm an American--American.
And in times of trouble
In the worse demands.
Reaching out across the years,
And joining hands.
Pilgrim of the earth
That only Freedom understands
That's why I love America.

I Love America
My home sweet home
I love America
With its 50 states to roam.
Spacious and beautiful
With my people great and free.
Oh, I love America,
Sweet land of liberty.
America, America
America, America
Liberty, Sweet Liberty,
The land I love.

THE ARMED FORCES MEDLEY

Over hill over dale we have hit the dusty trail
And those caissons go rolling along.
In and out, hear them shout,
Soldiers marching right about.
And those caissons go rolling along.
For its high, high hee in the field artillery,
Count marching numbers loud and strong.
1,2,3,4 1,2,3
And where ere you go, you will always know,
And those caissons go rolling along.

Anchors away, my boys, anchors away,
Farewell to college joys, we sail at break of day.
Through our last guide and shore
Where ere you roam,
Until we meet again.
Here's wishing you a happy voyage home.

Off we go into the wild blue yonder,
Flying high into the sky.
Here we come zooming to meet our thunder,
That a boy, give'er your gun.
Gunner guys, fighting a flame from under,
Off we fly, peril the roar.
We're met, we're seen with a gallant gleam,
For nothing will stop the U.S. Air Force.

From the halls of Montezuma
To the shores of Tripoli,
We will fight our country's battles
In the air, on land and sea.
We shall fight for right and freedom
And to keep our honor clean.
We are proud to claim the title of
United States Marine.

Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine!

THE CHURCH TRIUMPHANT

Let the church be the church;
Let the people rejoice;
For we've settled the question,
We've made our choice.

Let the anthems ring out;
Let the victory anthems swell;
'Cause the Church Triumphant
Is alive and well.

This old ship's been through battles before,
Storms and tempests and rocks on the shore;
Though the hull may be battered,
But inside it's safe and dry;
It will carry its cargo to that mansion on high.

God has always had a people
And many a foolish conqueror has made the mistake
of thinking that because he forced
the Church of Jesus Christ out of sight
he had killed its voice and snuffed out its life.

But God has always had a people.
The powerful current of a river is not diminished
because it is forced to flow underground.
Why they tell me that the purest water
is the stream that burst crystal clear
in the sunlight after having fought its way
through solid rock.

Now there have been charlatans like Simon the magician
who sought to barter on the open market
that power that cannot be bought or sold,
But God has always had a people,
Men who could not be bought
and women beyond purchase.

THE CHURCH TRIUMPHANT
(continued)

Yes, God has always had a people.
There have been times of affluence and prosperity
when the church's message was nearly diluted
into oblivion by those who sought to make it
socially attractive, neatly organized to
financially profitable.
It has been gold plated, draped in purple
and encrusted with jewels.

The church's message has been misrepresented,
ridiculed, mocked and scorned.
These followers of Jesus Christ have been
according to the wind of modern times,
elevated as sacred leaders
and martyred as heretics.
But through it all there marches on
that powerful army of belief,
God's chosen people who cannot be bought,
flattered, hurt or stilled;
on down through the ages they march.

The Church Triumphant--Alive and Well!

Let the Church be the church;
Let the people rejoice.

Praise the Lord you cynical skeptic!
You haven't killed God into unbelief;
He's Alive!
So Family of God, lift your voices
and praise the Lord,
for God's Church is still alive and doing well!

Praise God, Praise God;
The Church is Alive.