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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR CAROLYN SUNDSETH

FROM: JONATHAN VIPOND, III *J.V. III*

SUBJECT: Ranking Evangelical Events for
the Next Six Months

Faith has asked me to request you in concert with Dee Jepsen and Morton Blackwell to place in rank order evangelical events during the next six months in which the President should be involved. Faith will then take these events to Jim Baker for submission to Mike Deaver and appropriate scheduling with the President. I would request that you accomplish this task within the next week so that Faith may be prepared to go forward with these activities and to argue for their inclusion on the President's schedule.

cc: Dee Jepsen
Morton Blackwell

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 6, 1982

TO: Herb Ellingwood *yes HEE*
FROM: Morton Blackwell
RE: Schedule Proposal

May we add your name to this proposal
next to RECOMMENDED BY:

Thank you.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

December 22, 1981

TO: GREGORY J. NEWELL, DIRECTOR
PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING

FROM: ELIZABETH H. DOLE

REQUEST: The National Association of Evangelicals to address its annual convention.

PURPOSE: To address 1200 major evangelical leaders from all over the country. The convention's theme "Save the Family" would allow the President to share his concerns for the family as the fundamental unit in society.

BACKGROUND: The National Association of Evangelicals is to evangelical Christians what the National Council of Churches is to ecumenical Christians. Gallup research indicates that there are approximately 45 million self-identified evangelicals in the nation. NAE membership includes 38,000 churches from 74 denominations. The leadership present at this convention represents the major theological force in the United States today, and possibly the developing new religio-political force as well. Most evangelicals were strong supporters of the President during his election, and officers of the NAE have been vigorously in support of this Administration. The National Association of Evangelicals is celebrating the 40th anniversary of its founding in the spring of 1982.

PREVIOUS PARTICIPATION:

LOCATION: Arlington Park Hilton Hotel, in the Chicago suburbs

DATE: March 2 or 3, 1982 DURATION: 20 minute speech

OUTLINE OF EVENTS: The President will be introduced, he will make a speech, pose for pictures, and depart.

REMARKS REQUIRED: Major speech

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS: 1200 major evangelical leaders from all over the country

MEDIA COVERAGE: Full press coverage

RECOMMENDED BY: Elizabeth H. Dole

OPPOSED BY:

PROJECT OFFICER: Morton Blackwell

file



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EVANGELICALS

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/(202) 628-7911

December 3, 1982

Mr. Morton C. Blackwell
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Morton:

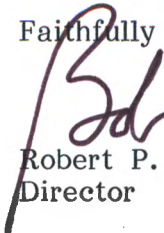
We have invited President Reagan to address the 1983 Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals, March 8-10, in Orlando, Florida. A copy of our letter is enclosed.

We believe that an address to NAE could be strategic politically, were the President to articulate his position on national defense. The National Council of Churches has already positionalized itself on the left. The National Conference of Catholic Bishops, which at present is drifting in the same direction, will finalize its stance next May. On the other hand, the third major segment of the religious community is comprised of evangelicals, who are not yet firmly positionalized on the nuclear freeze issue. They are thus, potentially, a major bloc of support for the Administration. However, evangelicals are being wooed by influential voices. The outcome is far from certain.

Our NAE Washington office is working behind the scenes to counteract some of the drift toward the nuclear freeze position. We are influencing some of our leading evangelical journals and are one of the conveners of the first major national conference for evangelicals on the subject of peacemaking in this nuclear age. That event will take place in Pasadena, California next May. We are attempting to assure that strong conservative voices will be heard in that forum.

Incidentally, the other day I participated in the Phil Donahue show when it was taped in Chicago. It was my privilege to defend the President's making public service announcements urging Americans to read the Bible during National Bible Week. The program of course triggered larger questions about the separation of church and state. The enclosed press release gives details about the show, to be aired in Washington on December 9.

Faithfully yours,


Robert P. Dugan, Jr.
Director

RPDJr:jdk
Enclosures



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EVANGELICALS

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/(202) 628-7911

December 3, 1982

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Board of Administration of the National Association of Evangelicals, I cordially invite you to address our national convention to be held March 8-10, 1983 in Orlando, Florida.

We would be delighted to have you address us on whatever subject you wish. If it is not overly presumptuous, however, let us suggest the possibility of articulating your position on national defense. Some well-known evangelical voices are attempting to draw evangelicals into support of a nuclear freeze. Your persuasive voice would have a marked impact upon the evangelical community.

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Our preference would be for you to speak to us at the climactic event of the convention, the March 10 banquet. Of course we would be honored to have you on either of the other evenings, if March 10 is impossible, or for that matter we would be pleased to adjust our daytime schedule. You would seldom have a more friendly and appreciative audience.

Mr. President, we are most hopeful that you can address us in 1983. Evangelicals respect and admire you, not only for your general leadership, but also for the moral and spiritual leadership you provide the nation.

Faithfully yours,

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Director

RPDJr:jdk



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EVANGELICALS

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/(202) 628-7911

PRESS RELEASE

December 2, 1982

Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Director of the NAE Office of Public Affairs, will appear as a guest on the nationally syndicated "Phil Donahue" program. The question discussed is whether President Reagan violated the constitution when he urged Americans to read the Bible in Public Service Announcements aired during National Bible Week (Nov. 21-28, 1982). Those announcements, sponsored by the Laymen's National Bible Committee, will be shown several times during the program.

Also appearing on the program are Dr. Martin Marty, Church Historian at the University of Chicago Divinity School, Dominic Florio, President of the New York Chapter of American Atheists, and the Rev. William Finlater, Southern Baptist pastor and a Vice President of the American Civil Liberties Union. Dugan and Marty defended the President; Florio and Finlater contended the President acted unconstitutionally.

On the day the show was video-taped, a producer said that this was "one of the best programs we've ever done." The date, time and station for viewing in your area are listed below.

12/9/82

WDVM ch. 9 (CBS) Washington, D.C. 9:00-10:00 am

12/10/82

WDVM ch. 9 (CBS) Washington, D.C. 11:30 pm-12:30 am

INSIGHT



Prepared by: NAE Office of Public Affairs, 1430 K Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005. Phone 202-628-7911
Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Director/Forest D. Montgomery, Counsel/Richard Cizik, Researcher

Washington, DC / December, 1982
Volume IV, Number 12

Dear Evangelical Friend:

Reversing a trend of declining voter participation in mid-term elections, about 40% of those Americans who could have voted actually went to the polls last month. Early on, Republicans had hoped that 1982 would yield a rousing ratification of Ronald Reagan's administration. It didn't happen. More recently, Democrats were hoping for a radical rejection of Ronald Reagan's approach. That didn't happen either. The mixed and moderate results prompted columnist George Will to write: "The Republican Party deserves a reprimand but the Democratic Party does not deserve a mandate."

Normally Congress closes shop in October. This December, however, citizens have the unusual opportunity of combining Christmas-shopping with Congress-watching. Although the agenda looks fairly predictable, nobody can guarantee that a sleeper issue will not rise up in a Lame Duck session. We had better stay alert.

LAME DUCKS FLY IN

Several dozen Members of Congress who will not be back in January returned to Washington November 29 to join their colleagues for a Lame Duck session. While plans are to remain in session until December 18, some observers predict that this could be the shortest Lame Duck gathering on record, with the exception of that of 1948 which lasted less than three hours. They reason that House Democratic leadership may choose to push consideration of many matters over to the 98th Congress, when more Democratic troops will be available.

Social security is not likely to be taken up. Congressional leadership will push for passage of major appropriations bills, since only three of thirteen have worked their way through the process. The President is especially interested in defense appropriations because defense spending would effectively be reduced by inflation, should it be necessary to continue at current levels through a continuing resolution. Both parties will give attention to unemployment, although their solutions to that vexing problem will be widely divergent. When everything is said and done, we may all agree with one political cynic who compared a Lame Duck session to "Act IV of a three-act play."

LITTLE CHANGE IN SENATE The Administration's top election objective was to hold Republican control of the Senate. Maintaining the status quo at 54-46 may not seem like a great triumph, but it marked the first time since 1928 that Republicans have controlled the Senate for two consecutive elections. Five new Senators is the smallest entering class since 1914, following amendment of the Constitution to permit popular election of Senators. Defeating Republican incumbent Harrison Schmitt was Jeff Bingaman (D-NM), and defeating Democratic incumbent Howard Cannon was Chic Hecht (R-NV). Winning open seats were new Senators Frank Lautenberg (D-NJ), Paul Trible (R-VA), and Pete Wilson (R-CA). In contrast, 38 freshmen were added to the Senate by the 1978 and 1980 elections.

Margins of victory may have meaning for 1984. Two Republicans had winning percentages that rounded off to 50% and four others won with 51% of the vote. The narrowest Democratic win was at 52%. At the other end of the scale, thirteen Democrats had winning percentages over 60%, while the top Republican vote-getter was Sen. John Heinz (R-PA) with exactly 60%. Liberal Democrats made a comeback after five of their number were defeated in 1980. Only two failed to increase their winning margins of six years ago. Despite such encouragements, Democrats may have a special problem in building a minority consensus in the Senate. It will be hard to harmonize Senators Alan Cranston (D-CA), John Glenn (D-OH), Gary Hart (D-CO), Ernest Hollings (D-SC), and Edward Kennedy (D-MA) who are obviously seeking a presidential nomination. Looking toward 1984, they will be staking out individualized positions on issues, to distinguish themselves from the pack.

LARGE CHANGE IN HOUSE The White House was on record that a loss of less than 20 House seats would be a victory, while a loss of 30 or more would be a defeat. Thus the Democratic gain of 26 was considered a wash in the Oval Office, although Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill (D-MA) ballyhooed the results as a Republican disaster. The last time mid-term elections were held with unemployment over 10% was 1938, and the party then in control lost 70 House seats. On that comparison, Democrats should have done better. On the other hand, the Republican loss was the worst at the two-year point of a new administration since 1922, when Warren G. Harding was President.

All the Boll Weevils were re-elected. They are the conservative Democrats who supported Ronald Reagan in the 97th Congress. Most of the 57 new Democrats will be much less supportive of the President. In all, there will be 81 freshmen in 1983. The new Democratic majority of 269-166 represents 62%, up from 56%. Blacks added three to their number and women added one; both have record high delegations numbering 21. The Senate remains all white, with two women. In view of drunk driving legislation recently passed, it is ironic that four candidates had DWI arrests this fall. Two won anyhow.

Whatever else one concludes, nobody argues that there are now 218 votes in the House for a return to bigger taxes and bigger spending. Fiscal conservatism is "in" these days.

THE VALUE OF A FEW VOTES In case anyone needs persuading, 1982 demonstrated once again that small numbers can shape history. As in 1980, Republicans won the close Senate races, thus both gaining and keeping the majority by razor-thin margins. If exactly 34,297 votes had been switched in five states, Democrats last month would have regained control of the Senate and administered a major drubbing to the President's Party. Whether one applauds or deplors changes wrought by the Reagan administration, the importance of your vote is obvious. Had 1980 or 1982 produced opposite results in the Senate, there would have been no so-called Reagan Revolution. As for tight House races, eleven were won with 50% and thirteen with 51%.

HOW WAS THE PRESIDENT AFFECTED? At a luncheon the day after the election, we were surprised to hear respected Time columnist Hugh Sidey say that in his judgment Ronald Reagan gained the most from the election. "He had the most to lose, and there were no dire results." As a mid-term exam of sorts for the President, the message from the people was "to alter the course, not to change course" according to Rep. Guy VanderJagt (R-MI). The President will still set the national agenda, will probably use the veto more, and will not be able to confront Congress quite as he did in the past two years. His advisors characterize Reagan as a man of deep principle, but capable of conciliation and compromise with political opponents. His record as Governor of California is evidence. Three days after the election, White House congressional liaison Ken Duberstein told us that the President had reiterated strongly to him his commitment on the social justice issues like school prayer and abortion. Query: do the President's top advisors share that commitment? We have our doubts.

BILL WOULD REFORM SENTENCING Inspired by the thinking of Prison Fellowship's Charles Colson, Senators Sam Nunn (D-GA) and William Armstrong (R-CO) will introduce the Sentencing Improvement Act of 1982 in the Lame Duck session. For some time, we have been involved in discussions about this promising initiative and have assured the Senators of our active backing. The bill's thrust is to assure that dangerous, violent criminals must be locked up in prison to protect society, but that society does not need that protection from non-violent offenders. It instructs judges to use mechanisms it creates to sentence non-violent offenders to pay back their victims and to provide free community-service work as punishment for breaking the law. This concept of restitution has biblical roots.

The proposed Act is necessary for several reasons. First, our prisons are overcrowded at record levels. Dangerous criminals often are given probation because non-violent offenders are filling places that should be reserved for them. Second, victims have the right to be reimbursed for their losses. Third, putting non-violent people in prison can increase the crime rate in the long haul, since prisons often are simply schools for crime. While this legislation will not be considered until next year, you may want to ponder it now. For six pages of questions and answers re: the Sentencing Improvement Act, send us a large stamped, self-addressed envelope.

AN IDEA
THAT COULD
FALL FLAT

Taxpayers are burdened with the complexity of income tax forms and bothered that some wealthy people pay little or no taxes. So, the idea of a flat-rate tax has great appeal. John Chapoton thinks otherwise. He's Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Tax Policy. He contends that it should be self-evident that some taxes must go up if others are to come down, and flatly asserts that flat-rate taxes would benefit the wealthy most. Chapoton's figures are clear. With no deductions or credits whatever, a 13% across-the-board income tax would be required to raise the same revenues as today's. Under such a plan, 77% of us would have higher taxes. Flat-rates may be hard to sell, with only 23% support!

NO PROBLEM

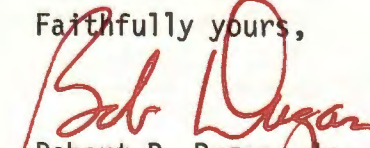
There it was, a simple news article in a major Chicago newspaper. The State Department, it seems, had opened an office to "annoy, frustrate and hassle foreign embassies in Washington" in the same manner that ours are being hassled abroad. Hmmm. Could we be in the small potatoes business of matching bureaucratic delays in visas, telephone service, and the like? The operation, in a not-so-nice touch, was called the Office of Foreign Missions.

Because of the alleged title, we checked the story out. After all, while "foreign missions" is standard diplomatic terminology, such an office might be misunderstood as a church effort. Well, there is no Office of Foreign Missions in the State Department. Nor is there such a State Department function. The story goes into file thirteen.

OUR PROBLEM

Frankly, our income is under budget this year. Readers of INSIGHT who appreciate our reliability could help us mobilize evangelicals with a year-end tax-deductible gift. Send it to NAE, Box 28, Wheaton, Illinois 60187, earmarked for Washington.

Faithfully yours,



Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Editor
NAE WASHINGTON INSIGHT

November, 1982

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Published monthly by the National Association of Evangelicals, P.O. Box 28, 450 E. Gundersen Dr., Wheaton, IL 60187. Annual subscription rate: Single copy, \$15 per year; Multiple copies (minimum order 25), 10¢ per copy per month. Postmaster send all address changes to: NAE, P.O. Box 28, 450 E. Gundersen Dr., Wheaton, IL 60187. Second class postage paid at Wheaton, IL 60187.

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Second Class Postage
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Publication No. 508950

Jack

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

1/21/83

TO: WILLIAM HENKEL (Coordinate with E. Dole)
FROM: WILLIAM K. SADLEIR
SUBJ: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

PLEASE IMPLEMENT THE FOLLOWING AND NOTIFY AND CLEAR ALL PARTICIPANTS. THE BRIEFING PAPER AND REMARKS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO RICHARD DARMAN BY 3:00 P.M. OF THE PRECEDING DAY.

NOTE: AS PROJECT OFFICER FOR THIS ACTIVITY, IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SUBMIT A COMPLETE, CONFIRMED LIST OF STAFF AND ATTENDEES, IDENTIFIED BY TITLE, TO THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS AND SCHEDULING WITHIN FIVE (5) DAYS AFTER THE EVENT.

MEETING: Address Convention of National Association of Evangelicals

DATE: March 8, 1983
TIME: To be determined
DURATION: To be determined
LOCATION: Orlando, Florida
REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes
MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office
FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: No

Ray Hughes *ave. transport*
~~change your world~~
5:00
7:00
8:00
9:00

cc: A. Bakshian M. McManus E. Dole
M. Brandon J. Rosebush
R. Darman B. Shaddix
R. DeProspero W. Sittmann
D. Fischer L. Speakes
C. Fuller WHCA Audio/Visual
W. Henkel WHCA Operations
E. Hickey A. Wroblewski

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM HENKEL

FROM: RED CAVANEY

SUBJECT: Presidential Address to National Association of
Evangelicals

We have checked with Bob Dugan of the NAE as to his preference for the time of the President's appearance. In order, they would prefer, on March 8:

8:00 p.m.

7:30 p.m.

8:30 p.m.

5:00 p.m.

Their full contingent is not now scheduled to be present until the evening of March 8 but they could make arrangements to gather people early if the President would prefer to speak in the morning or early afternoon.

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WASHINGTON

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FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: No

*Ray Hughes eve. forget
change your world
7:00
8:00
9:00*

- cc: A. Bakshian
- M. Brandon
- R. Darman
- R. DeProspero
- D. Fischer
- C. Fuller
- W. Henkel
- E. Hickey
- M. McManus
- J. Rosebush
- B. Shaddix
- W. Sittmann
- L. Speakes
- WHCA Audio/Visual
- WHCA Operations
- A. Wroblewski
- E. Dole

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RED CAVANEY

FROM: DEE JEPSEN *DJ*
MORTON BLACKWELL *MB*

SUBJECT: NAE CONVENTION

On March 8, POTUS is addressing the convention of the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in Orlando, Florida.

This is an excellent forum for him to echo and reinforce some of the strong stands which he took in his recent speech before the National Religious Broadcasters (NRB). (That speech, incidentally is still being talked about and replayed on National Christian Television and radio -- cited as the best speech ever made by any President).

The NAE has been very concerned about the Lubbock, Texas case where a Federal Court of Appeals judged as unconstitutional a school district policy granting equal treatment to religious and nonreligious student groups meeting during noninstructional time. As you will recall, POTUS has on several occasions spoken against instances of discrimination against religious forms of student speech, such as students saying grace at meals. Specifically, as part of the NRB speech, he decried the Lubbock decision. He then went on to say that he would present the voluntary prayer amendment again and again until it passed.

Senator Denton has introduced a bill which would address the issue from an approach that complements POTUS amendment. It would make it unlawful to discriminate against religious forms of voluntary student speech. This approach addresses discrimination and freedom of speech utilizing the weapons and catchword, which liberal opponents of the Administration use so often and so well. This is a new strategy which seems to be surfacing among proponents of voluntary school prayer as a good way to win a quick victory in the battle and pave the way for an amendment.

Senator Hatfield has a similar bill which was introduced last session and will be submitted again soon. Hatfield's bill is based on the same premise, however, it only addresses secondary school students. Denton's extends to elementary students and to teachers also.

At the NAE convention, the President should address the issue again and endorse this basic concept, as well as both Senator Denton's and Senator Hatfield's bills -- stressing the necessity of accomplishing the goal whether it is by means of the prayer amendment or through legislation.

MEMORANDUM

Page 2

February 18, 1983

The "Value of Human Life" issue is coming into prominence on an increasing basis for a variety of reasons in addition to the abortion issue -- surrogate mothering, infanticide, genetic experimentation, etc. In speaking out against abortion at the NRB, the President cited the pain suffered by the unborn at the time of abortion. This is a concern that he also focused on during the recent meeting with the pro-life leaders.

The evangelical, conservative, pro-family, and pro-life communities have been given "new hope" on the so-called "social issues" in the last six weeks. They will be watching and listening closely for the President's continuing active commitment and the Administration's corresponding actions.

It is very important that the NAE speech parallels the NRB speech without being a verbatim rendition of the President's positions, etc.

At the NAE convention, he should call for hearings in Congress on infanticide, which is a step beyond abortion and is intensifying the debate and concern in the area of the value of human life. He should ask that these hearings be conducted to determine how wide spread the practice of infanticide is. He should also call for hearings on pain to the unborn at abortion. There are some good studies around and available. Focusing on infanticide and the pain to the unborn at abortion broadens the abortion issue to one of the value of human life and will help us place our opponents on the defensive and increase public support for the President's stand on abortion. It will help us start framing the issues and setting the debate.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mark
12/23/82
Date: 12/23/82

TO: ELIZABETH DOLE

FROM: **KATHERINE CAMALIER**
Staff Assistant to
James A. Baker, III

Information

Action

FYI from Jim Baker. We sent the original to Scheduling for their response.



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
EVANGELICALS

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/(202) 628-7911

December 3, 1982

1500 people.

The Hon. James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff & Assistant
to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Baker:

We have invited President Reagan to address the 1983 Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals, March 8-10, in Orlando, Florida. A copy of our letter is enclosed.

We believe that an address to NAE could be strategic politically, were the President to articulate his position on national defense. The National Council of Churches has already positionalized itself on the left. The National Conference of Catholic Bishops, which at present is drifting in the same direction, will finalize its stance next May. On the other hand, the third major segment of the religious community is comprised of evangelicals, who are not yet firmly positionalized on the nuclear freeze issue. They are thus, potentially, a major bloc of support for the Administration. However, evangelicals are being wooed by influential voices. The outcome is far from certain.

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Faithfully yours,

Bob
Robert P. Dugan, Jr.
Director

P.S. Thank you again for that fine meeting on September 14. Report!

RPDJr:jdk
Enclosures

it in October newsletter

■ NAE COMMISSIONS □ Commission on Chaplains □ Evangelical Churchmen Commission □ Evangelical Social Action Commission □ Evangelism and Home Missions Association □ Higher Education Commission □ Stewardship Commission □ Women's Fellowship □ World Relief Commission ■ AFFILIATES □ American Association of Evangelical Students □ Evangelical Foreign Missions Association □ National Association of Christian Schools □ National Religious Broadcasters □ National Sunday School Association ■ SERVICE AGENCIES □ Evangelical Family Service, Syracuse □ Evangelical Child and Family Agency, Chicago □ Family Ministries, Semitas, Calif. □ Evangelical Purchasing Service
■ National Office: 350 S. Main Place / Box 28 / Wheaton, Illinois 60187 / (312) 665-0500



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EVANGELICALS

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS/1430 K STREET NW/WASHINGTON DC 20005/(202) 628-7911

December 3, 1982

The President
The White House
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December 2, 1982

Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Director of the NAE Office of Public Affairs, will appear as a guest on the nationally syndicated "Phil Donahue" program. The question discussed is whether President Reagan violated the constitution when he urged Americans to read the Bible in Public Service Announcements aired during National Bible Week (Nov. 21-28, 1982). Those announcements, sponsored by the Laymen's National Bible Committee, will be shown several times during the program.

Also appearing on the program are Dr. Martin Marty, Church Historian at the University of Chicago Divinity School, Dominic Florio, President of the New York Chapter of American Atheists, and the Rev. William Finlater, Southern Baptist pastor and a Vice President of the American Civil Liberties Union. Dugan and Marty defended the President; Florio and Finlater contended the President acted unconstitutionally.

On the day the show was video-taped, a producer said that this was "one of the best programs we've ever done." The date, time and station for viewing in your area are listed below.

12/9/82

WDVM ch. 9 (CBS) Washington, D.C. 9:00-10:00 am

12/10/82

WDVM ch. 9 (CBS) Washington, D.C. 11:30 pm-12:30 am

THE WHITE HOUSE

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The Vice-President
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Hon. James Baker III
Hon. Edwin Meese III
Hon. William Clark
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Dr. James Andrews, Stated Clerk, The Presbyterian Church
U.S.; 341 Ponce de Leon Ave. Atlanta, GA 30308

Dr. B. Robert Biscoe, Executive Secretary
American Council of Churches, P.O. Box 816
Valley Forge, PA 19482

Dr. Robert Campbell, American Baptist Churches in the U.S.
Valley Forge, PA 19481

Roy Chappel, General Supervisor, Pentecostal Church of
God, P.O. Box 850 Joplin, MO 64801

Arthur Climenhaga, Secretary, General Conference of the
Brethren in Christ; 1093 T.R. 1704, Rt. 4 Ashland, OH 844805

Rev. James Crumley, Lutheran Church in America; 231 Madison
Ave, NY., N.Y. 10016

Bishop W. Dale Cryderman, Free Methodist Church of North
America; 901 College Ave Winona Lake, IN 46590

H.H. Dick, Moderator, Mennonite Brethren Church, 1362
L Street Reedley, CA 93654

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James Robertson Parkway, Nashville, TN 39219

Bishop Charles Fpggie, African Methodist Episcopal Church
1200 Windermere Dr. Pittsburgh, PA 15218

The Rev. Leonard Hofman, Stated Clerk, Christian Reformed
Church; 2850 Kalamazoo Ave. S.E. Grand Rapids, MI 49560

Ray Hughes, General Overseer, Church of God; Keith at 25th
N.W. Cleveland, TN 37311

Rev. Archbishop Iakovos, Greek orthodox Archdiocese of
North and South America; 10 E. 79th Street N.Y., NY 10021

Rev. T.J. Jemison, National Baptist Convention; 405 E 31st
Chicago, IL 60616

Ivan J. Kauffman, General Secretary, Mennonite Church
528 E. Madison Street Lombard, IL 60148

Spencer Kimball, Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints;
50 E. North Temple St. Salt Lake City, UT 84111

Dr. Louis King, Christian and Missionary Alliance; Box C
Nyack, NY 10960

Dr. William Kohn, Assn. of Evangelical Lutheran Churches;
12015 Manchester Rd. St.Louis, MO 63131

Dr. Thomas McDill, President, Evangelical Free Church of America
1515 East 66th Street Minneapolis, MN 55423

Dr. Rolf McPherson, International Church of the Foursquare
Gospel, 1106 Glendale Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90026

Dr. Warren Manguson, General Secretary, Baptist General Convention
2002 South Arlington Heights Road Arlington Heights, IL 60005

Rev. Torkom Manoogian, Armenian Church of North America;
630 Second Ave. N.Y., NY 10016

Rev. Carl Mischlee, President Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran
Synod; 3512 W. North Ave. Milwaukee, WI 53208

Col. John Needham, National Commander, the Salvation Army;
120-130 W. 14th Street N.Y., NY 10111

Dr. Bill Pennell, Southwide Baptist Fellowship; 923 Valley
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Dr. David Preus, The American Lutheran Church; 422 South
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Dr. J.A.O. Preus, Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod; 500 N.
Broadway St. Louis, MO 63102

Dr. Russel Shive, General Director, Conservative Baptist
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Wallace Smith, President, Reorganized Church of Latter Day
Saints; The Auditorium, Independence, MO 64051

Bishop Alvin Tate, Soul Saving Station Denomination;
P.O. Box 200 N.Y., NY 10027

Metropolitan Theodosius, Primate, Orthodox Church in America;
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Rev. William Thompson, United Presbyterian in the U.S.;
475 Riverside Drive, N.Y. NY 10027

D. Frederick Wertz, New Presiding Bishop, United Methodist Church;
100 Maryland Ave. N.E. Washington, D.C.

20002

Dr. W. A. Willard, American Baptist Association, P.O. Box 176
Benton, AR 72015

Rev. Cleveland Williams, Church of God in Christ Int.;
170 Adelpia Street Brooklyn, NY 11205

Dr. Leonard Wynmore, Christian Churches and Churches of Christ;
N. American Christian Convention. 3533 Epley Rd. Cincinnati, OH 45231

Thomas Zimmermin, General Superintendent, Assemblies of God;
1445 Boonville Ave. Springfield, MO 65802

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Morristown, NJ 07960

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Paul Crouch, Trinity Broadcasting Network; 2443 Michelle at Chambers
Tustin, CA 92680

Rev. Jerry Falwell, The Old Time Gospel Hour, 701 Thomas Rd.
Lynchburg, VA 24515

Dr. Billy Graham, 1300 Harmon Place Minneapolis, MN 15218

Oral Roberts, 7777 S. Lewis; Tulsa, OK 74174

Dr. Pat Robertson, CBN Center, Virginia Beach, VA 23463

Dr. James Robison, P.O. Box 18489, Ft.Worth, TX 76118

Dr. Bob Schuller, Garden Grove Community Church, Garden Grove,
CA 92642

Jimmy Swiggart,

Rex Humbard, 2690 State Road, Cuyahoga Falls, OH 44223

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Conference of Catholic Bishops: 3031 Fourth St. N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20017

Father Alvin Illic, Bishops Commission on Evangelization,
National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1312 Fourth St.,
Washington, D.C. 20017

Bishop Thomas Kelly, National Conference of Catholic Bishops,
1312 Mass Ave. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005

Msgr. Francis Lally, Secretary for Social Development and
World Peace; U.S. Catholic Conference; 1312 Mass Ave. N.W.
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Terence Cardinal Cooke, Archbishop of New York; St. Patrick's
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Massachussetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Rabbi Alex Schindler, Union of American Hebrew Congregations;
338 5th Ave, N.Y., NY 10021

Marshall Wolke, President, United Synagogues of America, 155 5th Ave,
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INDIVIDUAL PASTORS OTHERWISE NOT LISTED

Dr. Myron Augsburger, Mennonite Church, 3051 N st. NW
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Bishop Voy Bullen, Church of God; 2504 Arrow Wood Drive, SE
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Dr. Louis Evans, The National Presbyterian Church; 401 Nebraska Ave,
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Rev. E.V. Hill, Missionary Baptist Church, 1300 E. 50th St.
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Rev. Raimundo Jimenez, National Hispanic Coordinator, American Para
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1776 Mass Ave, NW Washington, D.C. 20005

Al Janney, American Association of Christian Schools;
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Dr. Kenneth Kantzer, President, Trinity College, 2077 Half Day
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Dr. David L. McKenna, President, Asbury Theological Seminary,
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Dr. Elmer Neufeld, President, Bluffton College, Bluffton, OH 45817

Dr. Roger Palms, Editor, Decision, 1300 Harmon Place, Minneapolis,
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Dr. Paige Patterson, Criswell Bible College, 525 North Ervay Ave.
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LEADERS OF SUPPORT AND/OR SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

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Jerry Ballard, World Relief Corp. P.O. Box WRC, Wheaton, IL 60187

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Rev. Tim Lahaye, Family Life Seminars; 2100 Greenfield Drive
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Edward McAteer, Religious Roundtable, 1500 Wilson Blvd, Suite 502
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Ted DeMoss, Christian Businessmen's Committee of the USA,
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Dr. Billy Melvin, Executive Director, National Association of
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Ted Pantaleo, National Unity Inc., 5029 Clairmont Court,
Virginia Beach, VA 23462

Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, Foundation for Christian Living,
Pawling, NY 12564

Dr. Claire Randall, General Secretary, National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive N.Y., NY 10115

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Dr. Jay Kelser, YOUTH for Christ International, Wheaton IL.

Dr. James Petersen, Christian Medical Society, Lexington, MA

Mr. Julius Poppinga, Christian Legal Society, Newark, NJ

Rev. Jack Wyrzten, Word of Life Fellowship, Schroon Lake, NY

file

JS BELL & ASSOCIATES

30 PIERSON DRIVE • BELLE MEAD • NEW JERSEY • 08502 • (201) 874-5732

Mr. Morton Blackwell
Office of Public Liaison
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Blackwell,

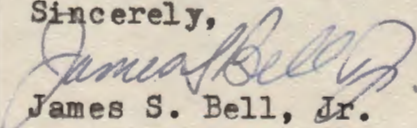
Leonard Holihan asked me to send some materials to you concerning the Evangelical Left's attempt to persuade the entire constituency to join the Freeze and disarmament ranks.

I am including a copy of a "secret" poll that the Leftist organizers tried to slide by Bob Dugan over at the National Association of Evangelicals. As former director of the Princeton Religion Research Center under George Gallup, I convinced Bob to do a poll with Gallup of what Evangelicals think of the morality of nuclear arms, the Nuclear Freeze, and the President's policies.

As you will see from the workshops at the Pasadena conference, the workshops are stacked heavily in favor of the Left. We are working on getting other speakers from the conservative position. If at this conference the media concludes that Evangelical leaders are for the Freeze, we will begin to erode the last religious bastion solidly behind the President.

We will continue to provide you with information and would appreciate anything you might be able to do to help us in this area. Richard Wirthlin sees the significance of the Left's poll and has recently received my evaluation of it at his request. Leonard sends his regards.

Sincerely,


James S. Bell, Jr.

Marketing Survey
First Draft

The enclosed research survey will be revised through the end of January, 1983. It will then be mailed to each Conference Registrant. Data from the returned surveys will be compiled, analyzed and made available to Speakers, Panelists, and Workshop Leaders prior to the Conference. The audience will be surveyed with this research instrument again on the final day of the Conference, and the results of the second polling will be compared to the initial research conclusions.

Questions #1-10 provide biographical information.

Questions # 11-39 measure attitudes and perceptions.

Questions #13-37 are twelve sets of paired questions, examining the same issue from opposing perspectives. For example, #17 and #30 both measure the respondent's view of the Old Testament's teaching on war. The twelve pairs measure the following areas:

The Situation:

Opinions About Hiroshima
History of the Nuclear Arms Race
War in the Nuclear Age
The Nature of the Soviet Threat
Positions in the Arms Race
The Likelihood of Nuclear War

The Biblical Insights:

Evangelism and Social Action
Old Testament Teachings on War and Peace
New Testament Teachings on War and Peace
Interpreting Matthew 5:38-48 and Romans 13:1-7
God's View of the United States
Eschatology and the Threat of Holocaust

Faithful Response: Questions #38,39 measure barriers and options for responding faithfully to the nuclear arms race.

Questions # 40-51 inquire about the respondent's interest in potential educational services to be offered as Conference follow-up.

Marketing Survey

First Draft

December, 1982

I. Biographical Information

1. Age

Under 20	46-50
21-25	51-55
26-30	56-60
31-35	61-65
36-40	66-70
41-45	Over 70

2. Gender

Male	Female
------	--------

3. Marital Status

Married
Single

4. Number of Children

None
One
Two
Three
Four
Five or more

5. Education Completed

High School
College
Masters
Doctorate
Other _____

6. Annual Income

Under \$10,000
10,000-15,000
16,000-20,000
21,000-25,000
26,000-30,000
31,000-40,000
Over \$40,000

7. Vocation

8. City

9. State

10. Zip

II. Attitudes and Perceptions

11.	Please describe your level of knowledge about the following:	<u>I know nothing</u>	<u>I'm minimally informed</u>	<u>Moderately informed</u>	<u>Well-Informed</u>	<u>Expert</u>
a.	The nuclear arms race	1	2	3	4	5
b.	The just war theory	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Christian pacifism	1	2	3	4	5
d.	the theory of nuclear deterrence	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Which of the following statements most closely describes your view of war?					
a.	All war is wrong.					
b.	Certain wars are justifiable.					
c.	War is appropriate in order to establish democratic freedom.					
		<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Unsure</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Strongly Agree</u>
13.	Bombing Hiroshima was necessary to stop the war with Japan.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	The pursuit of peace and justice is as important as the verbal proclamation of the Gospel.	1	2	3	4	5
15.	There is only a remote chance that a nuclear war will occur in my lifetime.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	The Soviet Union is just as responsible for the escalation of the arms race as the United States, if not more so.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	War is obviously validated in the Old Testament, and the use of nuclear weapons against evil is still a moral possibility.	1	2	3	4	5
18.	There is basic equality between the US and the USSR in the nuclear arms race.	1	2	3	4	5
19.	God is involved in the life of the United States in exactly the way He is involved in the life of other nations.	1	2	3	4	5
20.	War is basically the same as it always has been, except the weapons are more powerful.	1	2	3	4	5

22

	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Unsure</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Strongly Agree</u>
--	------------------------------	-----------------	---------------	--------------	---------------------------

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21. Taken as a whole, the New Testament clearly teaches that a nuclear war could never be morally justified. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 22. In Romans 13:1-7 Paul instructs Christians to respect government officials. Such respect requires us to share our opinions with our elected representatives and to trust them to do what is right. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 23. The USSR is more concerned with defending itself than with global domination. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 24. The United States is ahead in the arms race. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 25. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki cannot be morally justified. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 26. We will probably experience a nuclear war in the next fifty years. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 27. The Gospel calls Christians to verbally proclaim salvation through Jesus Christ, and all types of social concern are secondary. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. A loving God will not permit a nuclear war to destroy the world. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29. The United States has led the nuclear arms race from Hiroshima by developing almost all the weapons systems before the Russians. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 30. No Old Testament text can be legitimately interpreted to teach that nuclear war could be moral. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 31. Jesus taught us to love our enemies (Matt 5:38-48). This teaching applies to relations between the US and the USSR. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 32. The Soviet Union is ahead in the arms race. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Unsure</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Strongly Agree</u>
33. The United States is a nation specially blessed by God.	1	2	3	4	5
34. Because of the destructive capabilities of nuclear weapons, we now live in an age that is different from any time in history.	1	2	3	4	5
35. The Soviet Union intends to dominate the world militarily and economically.	1	2	3	4	5
36. There are no New Testament texts that absolutely rule out the use of nuclear weapons.	1	2	3	4	5
37. God has allowed humankind to suffer the consequences of its actions, and He may allow a nuclear war to occur.	1	2	3	4	5
38. Please evaluate the following as barriers that keep you from studying the nuclear arms race more seriously than you have to-date. I don't study the arms race more seriously because:					
a. Even if I knew more I'd be powerless to change anything.	1	2	3	4	5
b. The whole issue is so complex and I'm not sure I can understand it if I tried.	1	2	3	4	5
c. I don't have the time or interest.	1	2	3	4	5
d. I'm afraid to learn a great deal about the likelihood of nuclear war or its impact on the people and places I love.	1	2	3	4	5
e. I don't want to find out that I might not have a future.	1	2	3	4	5
f. The nuclear arms race poses no serious threat to humankind.	1	2	3	4	5
g. Our government leaders know what they're doing and they can handle the problems with their combined expertise.	1	2	3	4	5
h. I'm not sure any source of information about the arms race is trustworthy.	1	2	3	4	5

	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Unsure</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u>
39. Our government should pursue the following options in response to the nuclear arms race.					
a. Continued development of space and biological weapons.	1	2	3	4	5
b. Continue START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) negotiations with the Soviet Union.	1	2	3	4	5
c. Continued development of the MX system.	1	2	3	4	5
d. Bilateral freeze	1	2	3	4	5
e. Trident nuclear submarine	1	2	3	4	5
f. Negotiations with other nuclear nations	1	2	3	4	5
g. Cruise missiles	1	2	3	4	5
h. Unilateral reduction of United States nuclear arsenal	1	2	3	4	5
i. B-1 Bomber development	1	2	3	4	5
j. Economic conversion away from the production of nuclear weapons	1	2	3	4	5
k. Develop first-strike weapons	1	2	3	4	5
l. Convene a United Nations session on nuclear weapons control	1	2	3	4	5
m. Limit and reduce production of conventional weapons	1	2	3	4	5

III. Interest in Educational Services

- | | | |
|--|-----|----|
| 40. My local church or school has a group concerned about peacemaking. | YES | NO |
| 41. I would be interested in seeing a film on the nuclear arms race featuring evangelical Christians I trust. | YES | NO |
| 42. I would be interested in listening to cassettes, made by evangelical Christians, on the following topics: | | |
| a. Biblical views of war and peace | Yes | No |
| b. The just war theory and nuclear weapons. | Yes | No |
| c. Modern Christian voices on the arms race. | Yes | No |
| d. Weapons systems: technical information for the layperson. | Yes | No |
| e. The nature of the Soviet threat. | Yes | No |
| f. Military spending and the poor. | Yes | No |
| g. Parenting for peace and justice. | Yes | No |
| h. Practical options for peacemaking in the local church. | Yes | No |
| i. The use of spiritual gifts in peacemaking. | Yes | No |
| 43. I would be interested in reading a journal that offers specifically Christian analysis of the arms race from a variety of political viewpoints and biblical interpretations. | YES | NO |
| 44. I would like my local church or school to bring a speaker (or speakers) to present the nuclear issues with balance and objectivity (not arguing from any certain point of view). | YES | NO |
| 45. I would like to have access to a comprehensive annotated bibliography of literature on the arms race. | YES | NO |
| 46. I would attend a local conference on Christian peacemaking if it provided a forum for voices from diverse political and biblical perspectives. | Yes | No |