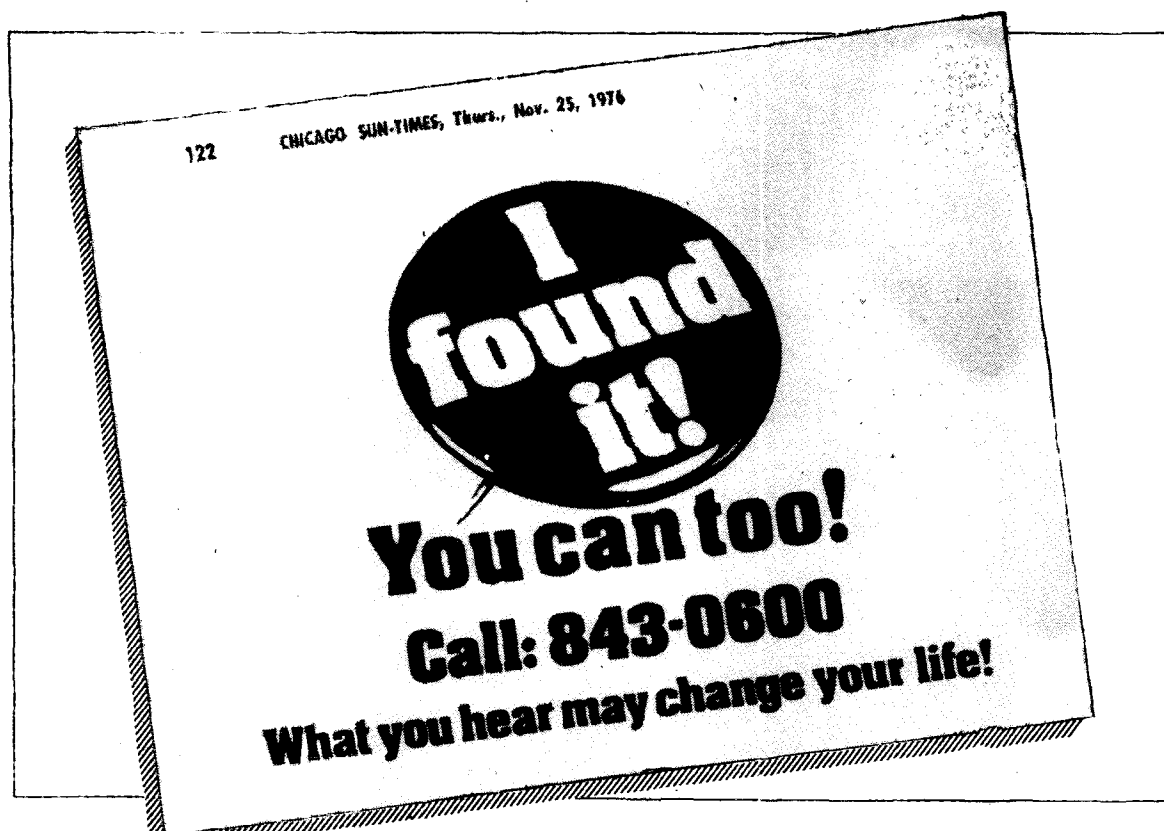


LIFE IN THE U.S.



Crusaders boost right

The major area of growth for conservative ideology is among evangelical people.

By Judy MacLean

"I found it—and you can, too!" say billboards, bumper stickers and ads in more than 100 cities. It's part of "Here's Life," a campaign to give Americans a personal experience of Jesus, masterminded by Bill Bright, director of Campus Crusade for Christ and other far-right figures.

If you call the phone number in the ads, you get a friendly volunteer who asks if you'd like to receive a booklet. The booklet has several personal accounts of Christ coming into someone's life and making them a better businessman, wife, husband or athlete. It then gives four spiritual laws to live by. A personal meeting with a volunteer and a six-week Bible study group are the next steps.

It is a massive, well-financed campaign. Here's Life claims it has raised as much as \$5 million in some cities and that 14,000 churches are participating.

On the surface, Here's Life is, as leaders claim, nonpolitical. But Bright, former Rep. John B. Conlon (R-Ariz.) and a group of conservative businessmen have been quietly trying to build a grass-roots movement that would be the basis for a new political bloc based on evangelical religion and rightwing politics. Here's Life is the latest step.

► **Voting "real Christians" into office.** Previous efforts by this group include the Christian Freedom Foundation, whose branches in 50 states organized evangelicals to vote "real Christians" into political office.

Bright says if "God's representatives" were in Congress, they would "go there to legislate laws to get America back on a sound military and economic basis," reports *Sojourners* magazine, a progressive evangelical publication that exposed Here's Life rightwing connections.

Third Century Publishers, run by Bright and his associates, organized home-study groups similar to the Here's Life Bible groups earlier this year to push election of "true Christian" candidates.

They also rate Congress on key votes. For example, true Christians vote to decrease food stamp benefits and against school busing, loans to New York city and renegotiating the Panama Canal lease. President-elect Carter, who wasn't rated because he wasn't in Congress, probably wouldn't do well in spite of his evangelical religion. One Here's Life volunteer told *In These Times*, "I saw Carter on the debates and I think there are areas where he isn't completely yielded to Christ."

► **Intercessors for America.**

The group to watch, according to *Sojourners'* editor Wes Michaelson, is Intercessors for America, which sent letters to 120,000 clergymen earlier this year urging them to distribute a Bright pamphlet called "Your Five Duties as a Christian Citizen." It explained how to work on a precinct level to elect only "true Christians."

Bright is also connected to the Christian Embassy, a lobby that hopes to convert members of Congress to its brand of Christianity. Rolfe McCollister, its director, calls it "a bulwark against communism."

Pastors and volunteers in Here's Life insist its purpose is religious, not political, however, Rev. Larry Powell, pastor of one of Chicago's 300 cooperating churches, says, "We're just involved Christians, praying for our government." He says the big media campaign made it much easier to reach his neighborhood with Christ's message. Higher church membership may be a side effect, he concedes.

Volunteers seem to be drawn from the already faithful. Campus Crusade's three-day training course makes becoming an evangelist simple. It emphasizes each individual "speaking feely about acknowledging the Lord in his life," according to Chicago volunteer Roger Glatzhofer. All the media made people curious, he added, which made it easier to approach them. And if any potential converts raised questions not covered in training, a Campus Crusader is available for consultation.

► **Media blitz is manipulative.**

Clerics around the country have criticized Here's Life's media blitz as manipulative. In answer, Powell quotes St. Paul who said he'd become all things to all men. And Nimrod McNair, Chicago Here's Life board chairman, a management consultant, says, "If it's good enough for my business, it should be good enough for my church and if it's not good enough for my church, it shouldn't be good enough for my business."

Nimrod is typical of small business owners and lower-management executives who are Here's Life's local boosters and fundraisers. Nationally, bigger fish are involved, such as Richard DeVos, president of Amway Corp., who must encourage his employees to get involved if Chicago's sponsor list is any indication.

The campaign is not going as well as planned. Bright initially projected 5 million volunteers; his own staff claims 400,000. A major setback was Billy Graham's announcement in September that he opposed trying to bring Christians into a political bloc. And in cities like Atlanta, where Here's Life was tested earlier this year, observers say its effect has been superficial.

The campaign is part of Bright's attempt to fulfill the "great commission" and save America by 1980. Wes Michaelson believes Here's Life's mailing lists may be used politically later. Richard A. Viguerie, the New Right direct mail fundraiser, (*In These Times* Nov. 15) says the "real major area of growth for the conservative ideology is among evangelical people."

Beyond mailing lists, it's unclear exactly how Here's Life can build the right wing. One commentator argued that the effort turned Christians inward, creating an apolitical atmosphere that tends to support the status quo.

Michaelson believes Bright's connections and past attempts at forming a right wing bloc are the main dangers of Here's Life. "Its underlying motivation is deeply political," he says. ■

'Here's Life' leader is militant anticommunist

Washington. John C. Broger, the Washington, D.C., chairman of Here's Life, is a psychological warfare expert who once designed an indoctrination program for American GIs that blamed the rise of communism on Eleanor Roosevelt, Acheson and President Truman.

Called "Militant Liberty," the program was used to indoctrinate troops in West Germany by the John Birch society member, Gen. Edwin Walker, until he was removed from his command by President Kennedy in 1961.

A primary objective of "Militant Liberty" was to convert GIs into anticommunist evangelists who would in turn proselytize American civilians on their separation from the service. Here's Life similarly turns ordinary citizens into evangelists.

For 15 years, Broger has also been information director for the armed forces, where he oversees operation of the 400-station Armed Forces Radio and Television Service, publication of *Stars and Stripes* (the GI newspaper) and the military character guidance programs.

From 1954 to 1956, Pentagon records show, Broger was a psychological warfare consultant to the joint chiefs of staff. During the three years before that, according to his Pentagon biography, he

traveled throughout "Asia, the Middle East and Greece, surveying communist techniques and activities." He also lived in China during the civil war (1946-47) and in the Philippines during the "communist" insurgency there (1948-49).

Sources at Armed Forces Radio and Television Service's Rosslyn Studios say Broger "sometimes ties up the studios for days" producing special religious programs for broadcast throughout the network. Sources also say Broger uses service facilities and personnel to duplicate religious material onto extra tapes to send to military chaplains and friends. Broger also likes to record "testimonials" on the value of Christianity in daily life from influential congressional figures.

The service broadcasts news produced by commercial networks, but inserts religious-oriented "public service" announcements in place of commercials.

One disgruntled staffer said all political commentaries carried by the service are screened for "acceptability" before they are allowed to be aired. Commentaries by Walter Cronkite or John Chancellor, the source added, were rejected when they spoke unfavorably about the Vietnam war.

—Jeffrey Stein

Wage gap between men and women increases

Washington. A study released recently by the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics reveals the gap between men's and women's average earnings has actually increased in 20 years.

The report acknowledged that more women were in higher-income brackets than ever before, but showed nonetheless that the vast majority of workers at marginal-income levels were women.

The average employed woman earned 57 cents for each dollar earned by a man in 1974; she earned 64 cents in 1955.

The average male worker's income in 1974 was \$11,835; the average woman's \$6,772.

The bureau study noted that a large increase in the number of women entering the labor force had affected the statistics since new workers usually earn at the so-called "entry" level—that is, the lowest wage levels. Women are 3.7 times more likely to earn less than \$5,000 a year than men, the report said.

Fifty-three percent of women workers earn between \$5,000 and \$7,000 a year. Only 18 percent of working men earn in the same range, according to the study.

"These differences between the earnings of men and women suggest that women are being paid less for doing the same job,"

the report said. On the other hand, the differential between men's and women's starting salaries for comparable jobs has shrunk significantly in five years, although it remains "rather startling."

In the professional/semi-professional area, the report concluded: "The absolute dollar gap between men and women widens with increasing levels of educational attainment." Women constitute only 5 percent of those earning above \$15,000 a year.

Minority women were predictably worse off than white women. Their earnings amounted to, on the average, 94 percent of those of white women, 73 percent of non-white men and 54 percent of white men.

—Tim Frasca

Correction

The Dec. 6-12 issue of *In These Times* lists Holt, Rinehart and Winston as publishers of *The Phone Book*, by J. Edward Hyde. The Henry Regnery Co. of Chicago published the book.

Workers strike against alternative paper

By Joel Parker

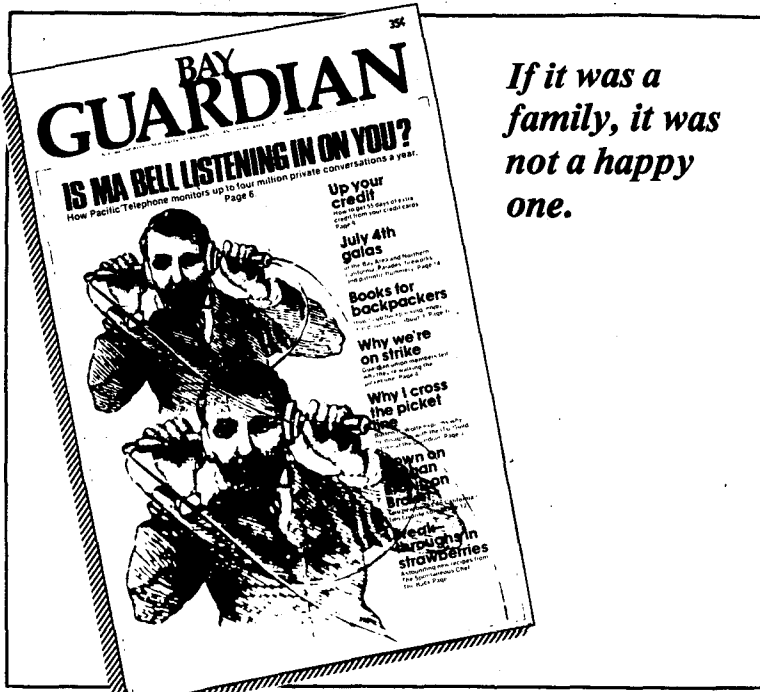
San Francisco. The upstart "alternative" newspaper here, the *Bay Guardian*, marked its tenth anniversary this year with a picket line at the front door. The struggling weekly, which built a reputation as a liberal muckracker by groundbreaking exposes of public utilities and corrupt redevelopment schemes, faces the longest newspaper strike in the city's history.

The June 15 walkout was precipitated by bread and butter issues. Agreement has been reached on a modest wage increase plus fringe benefits. But the strike has become for publisher Bruce Brugmann a holy war against what he sees as a union plot to destroy the *Guardian* on behalf of the two commercial daily newspapers.

For the strikers "the issue is whether we'll have a union at all, let alone a union shop and job security," as one of them put it.

Both sides agree on the conditions that provoked the strike—long hours, little pay, no job security—conditions mirrored in many similar organizations throughout the country. *Guardian* workers endured 10- to 14-hour workdays with no overtime pay, \$135-a-week maximum salaries, no sick leave and no grievance procedure or recourse if fired.

For Brugmann, the paper's crusading image, its inability to turn a profit and his own long hours of sweat and sacrifice jus-



If it was a family, it was not a happy one.

A post-strike issue of the *Bay Guardian* with an article by star reporter Burton Wolfe entitled "Why I cross the picket line."

tified workers sacrifices. Talking to him one senses he regards the strike as a personal betrayal—the staff had been a family, with him as the father.

If it was a family, it was not a happy one. Discontent gradually surfaced over worsening working conditions. When Brugmann settled an anti-monopoly suit against the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Examiner* out of court for \$500,000 in June 1975, it became even harder for the staff to accept conditions.

Workers began organizing for a union that fall. Amid the organizing drive, the day after Thanksgiving, 16 people were

laid off. Many had been vocal union advocates. "Most of us were caught by surprise," striker Nancy Dunn said. "We didn't expect Bruce to fight his own workers with the same gusto he goes after the Bank of America."

A month later, workers voted to affiliate with the Newspaper Guild and the International Typographical Union by a 37-to-3 margin, the first time an AFL-CIO union had won a toehold at an alternative newspaper. By the time of the strike, cutbacks in hours and "harassment" had forced several resignations. Other workers had been fired and strikers were reduced to 23, joined by

five or six regular freelancers.

Underlying the decision to strike was Brugmann's use of the \$300,000 left after taxes and attorneys fees from the *Chronicle/Examiner* settlement to purchase a building, invest in new equipment and switch to weekly publication from the original bi-weekly format.

The sudden influx of money and the decision to go weekly meant big changes.

The *Guardian* had always been an uneasy blend of lifestyle features and political articles. Brugmann points with pride to the *Guardian's* investigative articles.

News coverage of women, labor, community, gay and consumer issues was augmented by cultural features reflecting the lifestyle of the paper's readership—young, white, college-educated.

Going weekly to Brugmann meant "making it a different paper." He explains, "You can't have the same percentage of political things."

"Brugmann had decided to make the *Guardian* into a slick commercial paper," striker Bill Wallace, former East Bay Bureau chief, recalls. "People became suspicious. It no longer seemed like a crusade. You lost the sense of working for a cause."

Editorial content was also more rigidly decided by Brugmann and management. Ken McEldowney, former consumer writer, remembers that before the settlement "it was loose enough so that all the editorial people had some input. That all

changed. A very clear line was drawn between management and staff. When staff could no longer participate in decision-making, it created ideal conditions for organizing a union."

The strikers originally raised demands for more editorial control. They dropped the demands when they met stonewall opposition from Brugmann, a decision some now regret. Brugmann is almost astonished that the strikers feel they had the right to encroach on his editorial power.

In Brugmann's eyes the strike has already failed. "They're gonna take our last offer or nothing," he told *In These Times*. In November he turned down the strikers' offer to go back to work and put the remaining unresolved issues into binding arbitration. The paper continues to hit the streets pretty much on schedule, published by supervisors, management loyalists and about two dozen strikebreakers.

The strikers haven't given up. They point out that the advertising lifeblood of the paper has dropped almost 50 percent. Strikers distributed almost 25,000 copies of their own newspaper to explain their side of the issues.

As one striker put it, "We don't think the people in this town who kept the paper afloat for 10 years will let Brugmann get away with union busting. They won't let him rest on his liberal laurels without questioning whether the *Guardian* really is a progressive alternative to the monopoly press."

Yes indeed, In These Times still needs distributors.

Write our circulation manager today.