

- I. Roman Catholicism in the U.S.
- A. Conflicting political impulses
 1. Non-sex-and-gender issues: shifted from *conservative* to *liberal* activism (lack of economic and social equality at home and abroad; more cooperation and disarmament instead of military force in foreign affairs; more 1st-world aid to 2nd-and-3rd-world peoples and nations) – especially under **Pope John XXIII** (1958-63) & **Pope Francis** (2013-)
 2. Sex-and-gender issues (less pornography, pre-marital sex, abortion, homosexuality, birth control, continued celibacy of clergy, no ordination of women): maintained *conservative* activism – especially under **Pope John Paul II** (1978-2005), **Pope Benedict XVI** (2005-13), & **Pope Francis** (2013-)
 - B. The conservative political heritage
 1. Anti-communism
 2. Superpatriotism
 3. Authoritarianism
 - C. The transformation of U.S. Roman Catholic attitudes
 1. Explanations
 - a. Social change
 - b. Institutional change
 - (1) Vatican II and Pope John XXIII (1958-63)
 - (2) US Catholic Conference of Bishops
 - c. Theological change
 - (1) *Just war* principles
 - (a) Just cause – self-defense and retributive justice
 - (b) Last resort – no reasonable alternatives
 - (c) Proportional means – legitimate targets and minimizing noncombatant casualties
 - (2) Social, economic, and political reform
 2. New (1960s -) **liberal** Roman Catholic leaders: Pope John XXIII & Pope Francis
 3. The newer (1978-) **conservative** Roman Catholic leaders
 - a. Religious
 - (1) Pope John Paul II (1978-2005) & Pope Benedict XVI (2005-13)
 - (2) New conservative cardinals & bishops
 - b. Secular (Patrick Buchanan, Phyllis Schlafly, William F. Buckley, William Bennett, and Henry Hyde)
 - D. Abortion: the Roman Catholic response
 1. Church
 2. Laity
 - E. Is abortion a Catholic issue?
 1. *Roe v. Wade* (1973)
 2. *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (1989)

- II. The political traditions of mainline Protestants
- A. Conservative tradition:
 1. More common among laity than clergy
 2. Basic assumption: personal piety best response to social, economic, and political problems
 3. Historical periods:
 - a. 1920s: backlash against excesses of roaring twenties
 - b. 1950s: distractions of prosperity and suburbanization
 - c. 1970s-present: backlash against the cultural revolution of the 1960s
 - B. Mainline activism: sources and reactions
 1. More common among clergy than laity
 2. Basic assumption: Christians have a religious duty to reform *economic, social, and political institutions* because those generate more poverty and injustice than do the *moral failings of individuals*
 3. Historical periods
 - a. Pre-WWI: response to problems of the industrial revolution

- b. Great Depression
- c. 1960s:
 - (1) Civil-rights revolution (economic, racial, ethnic, gender),
 - (2) Vietnam War,
 - (3) Nuclear-arms race, and
 - (4) 3rd-world poverty and dictatorships

III. American Jews

A. Creed

1. The identification of liberal values with Judaism by many Conservative, Reform, and secular Jews (who are the majority) makes the Jewish community predominantly Democratic in party identification
2. The identification with conservative religious values by the most religiously *traditional* Jews (Hasidic and Orthodox) makes that subgroup more politically conservative and Republican

B. Social group status

1. Objective status: upper SES – in education, occupational status, and income/wealth
2. Subjective status: a strong sense of being socially marginalized and vulnerable – especially those middle-aged and older who remember the widespread *de facto* anti-Semitism and *de jure* discrimination common until the 1940s and 1950s
3. Consequence: Jews support those social and economic programs (sponsored by liberals) that provide a safeguard against the social and economic tensions that breed religious bigotry and persecution

C. Institutional interests

D. Forces for change

1. Urban disorder issues
 - a. Ghetto riots
 - b. Street crime
2. Civil rights issues
 - a. African-American representation or control in
 - (1) Business and home ownership
 - (2) Leadership of civil-rights groups
 - (3) Public employment
 - (4) Public office
 - (5) Public education
 - b. Affirmative action – advancement through preferential treatment (especially quotas) vs. merit criteria
3. Middle-east issues
 - a. Balfour Declaration (1917): a statement, issued by the British government favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jews but without prejudice to the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.
 - b. British mandate over Palestine from League of Nations (1920)
 - c. U.N. mandate for Israeli independence (1948)
 - d. Israeli nationalism
 - e. Palestinian nationalism
 - f. Middle-east wars
 - (1) 1948 (war of independence)
 - (2) 1956 (Suez Canal war)
 - (3) 1967 (six-day war)
 - (4) 1973 (Yom Kippur war)
 - (5) 1982 (war in south Lebanon)
4. Islamic fundamentalism
 - a. In America
 - b. Elsewhere
 - (1) Africa
 - (2) Middle East
 - (3) Asia
5. Protestant fundamentalism
 - a. Always conservative on social/moral issues
 - b. Newly conservative on economic issues -- no longer populist
 - c. Supportive of “Christian government”