

### A Newsletter Monitoring Trends In Contemporary Religion

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WOMEN RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP DECLINE. CONSERVATIVE GROWTH

Women are playing an increasingly large leadership role in mainline Protestant churches at the same time that these church bodies are declining and conservative faiths are burgeoning. There is nothing new or FACING MAINLINE surprising about these trends, but the proceedings of the recent joint conference of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion (SSSR) and the Religious Research Association highlighted some of the novel ways that such developments are interacting and clashing with each other. The conference, held October 27-29 in St. Louis, brought together about 500 researchers and scholars from the social sciences (mainly sociologists) in over 100 sessions on a wide range of topics. Since "Women and Religion" was the theme of the SSSR conference, many of the sessions RELIGION WATCH attended presented research on the diversity of religious expressions that have taken shape among women--ranging from the goddess movement to "fundamentalist" women preachers.

> The growing leadership roles of women in religious organizations was the subject of several sessions. Patricia Chang of the Center for Social and Religious Research at Hartford Seminary presented research showing that women have made substantial gains in finding parish employment after leaving seminary. Before 1970, about 60 percent of qualified female clergy did not get jobs as pastors after almost two years out of seminary. The amount of time between leaving seminary and finding employment is often determinative of whether prospective clergy can find a "fast track" position that can lead to other career advancements, according to Chang. From 1970-1980, the gender gap between men and women finding employment shortly after seminary went from being almost three times higher for men than for women to about 1.5 times higher. From 1980 to 1990, the difference between men and women finding parish employment two years out of seminary was only about 1.2 times higher for men.

There was not, however, strong optimism about present and future opportunities for women clergy in mainline church bodies as they continue to move into decline. In a study of the Presbyterian Church (USA), it was found that the number of ordained women will be about equal to that of men by the year 2024 if current trends continue, according to Edgar Mills of the University of Connecticut. Such growth does not mean that women are moving into full-time pastorates. Many men are leaving temporary, part-time and other unclassified positions and there is a "disproportionate increase of women" who are replacing them. While these unclassified positions may be meeting the needs of women clergy, such as mothers, they may also serve to "ghettoize" women into marginal positions, he adds. The growth of women in the pastorate will also mean

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that the clergy will be more elderly than in earlier periods, since many women clergy enter the ministry at later stages of life. If the Presbyterian clergy can be seen as representing the rest of mainline Protestantism, there is also likely to be more division along liberalconservative lines. Women clergy are still about 20 percent more liberal than their male counterparts, even though there is a new growth of conservatism among both male and female clergy, according to Mills. Paula Nesbitt of the Iliff School of Theology says that the "shrinking positions [in mainline churches] create competition and a chance of backlash [against women clergy] competing for these positions." Some of the papers read at the conference tended to downplay objective, social scientific research and sought to apply feminist interpretations on more traditional religious themes. Thus, the growth of conservative religion and the Christian right taken together with the mainline decline often fed into talk of a "backlash," or a roll-back of feminist reforms. For instance, the evangelical activism against feminism that flourished in mainline churches and the resulting denominational calls for moderation in response to the controversial Re-Imagining conference (which invoked female imagery for God) was the subject of several critical papers making use of the backlash theme.

Since most of the scholars specializing in church growth forecasted an increasingly conservative religious future, the above tensions are likely to intensify in the mainline church and academic worlds. Rodney Stark of the University of Washington says that not only will the evangelicals and other religious conservatives come to dominate the religious scene but that some mainline groups will also shift toward a more conservative position and "become new players in the religious growth market." This is because gaining social status is increasingly becoming irrelevant as a reason for joining the mainline clergy, thus making spiritual and religious factors the sole factor for seeking ordination in these churches. Roger Finke of Purdue University continued on a similar track of thought in presenting research on the growth of traditional Catholic women's religious orders. Finke, who with Stark has written on how "strict" churches tend to grow much faster than more liberal or lax churches, found that more traditional orders are twice as likely to have recruited members than less traditional ones.

Finke theorized that reforms of religious orders after Vatican II, such as downplaying or eliminating the vows of poverty and obedience, eroded the strong sense of community necessary to nurture religious commitment and identity. The traditional orders, while not reviving pre-Vatican II religious life, have reasserted the vows of obedience and the vow of poverty, thereby creating the community values and sense of purpose and commitment that tend to bring in recruits. Other research highlights from the conference include:

\* A survey by Nancy Ammerman of Emory University on the different kinds of male-female relations in conservative, moderate, and liberal feminist congregations. Ammerman found that traditional conservative churches emphasize "community over gender," with men and women having similar rates of church participation and spiritual concern. In moderate churches, the women outscore the men in spiritual life and participation in religious activity. These congregations don't talk much about gender and are united by their "anti-fundamentalist" attitudes. In the feminist congregations, men and women "score equally on care for the community," but they also show the greatest gender differences. The women are more

social activist and anti-evangelical, while the men are more evangelicaloriented. Ammerman concludes that women's participation in these churches is "as much a rejection of traditional religion as an affirmation of feminist identity..."

- \* In the Seventh Day Adventist Church, there is the trend of younger members dropping out because of the denomination's refusal to ordain women, according to Ronald Lawson of Queens College in New York. The church turned down a proposal to ordain women at its summer convention. There is a 40 percent drop-out rate of younger members and many are found to be disillusioned with the church's position against women's ordination, according to research by Lawson. More liberal American Adventist congregations are also giving less to international church organizations and causes because Adventists outside the U.S. are strongly supportive of the denomination's stance against women's ordination.
- \* Because many black denominations do not ordain women or appoint women pastors, there has been a gradual movement of African-American women seeking to serve as pastors into white mainline denominations, especially Presbyterian and United Methodist congregations, according to Delores Carpenter of Howard University. These black women pastors have a stronger political activist-bent than their white counterparts; they are more likely to emphasize preaching in their ministries; and they are more likely to be influenced by Pentecostal and charismatic practices.
- \* Preliminary results from the national survey of Purdue University's Catholic Pluralism Project found a significant decline among young Hispanic Catholics. Patricia Wittberg of Indiana University in Indianapolis notes that the survey found that "young Latinos are among the most likely to be bothered by sexist language in the liturgy, and are equally likely as young whites to say that women should be priests and that one can be a good Catholic without going to Mass." The survey, however, also found that Catholic baby busters were more conservative than baby boomers on such traditional teachings as Mary, the pope, and the Trinity. In fact, the belief that Mary is the Mother of God was one of the most salient beliefs for all the respondents, outranking belief in the Trinity, the real presence of Christ in communion, or the resurrection.

**PENTECOSTAL HOLINESS** CHURCH MODERNIZING

The International Pentecostal Holiness Church, one of the largest American Pentecostal denominations, is moving away from its strongly traditional and hierarchical structure as it decentralizes its ministries DECENTRALIZING, and liberalizes many of its strongly traditional practices, according to Charisma magazine (November). Until now, the 2.3 million-member denomination has remained more traditional in its leadership and worship styles and membership requirements as other Pentecostal bodies have updated their ministries in order to attract "seekers," and a new generation of members. The changes are evident in the recent renaming of the church's headquarters in Oklahoma City to the Pentecostal Holiness Resource Development Center. "We decided that what had been the headquarters was not supposed to be there to dictate. It's there to provide support and resources to the local church," says B.E. Underwood, general superintendent of the denomination.

Congregations will have a wider latitude in choosing which of the denomination's 75 ministries are suited to their needs. Such a "menu"based program is tied into the denomination's greater interest and involvement in technology, such as computer communications and radio and television. A new emphasis on evangelism in the denomination is also changing the focus of outreach from its traditional rural base to urban church planting, reports Marcia Ford. The move away from its rural base has brought other changes. Worship has become more "charismatic" (such as in using contemporary music); younger people are now being drawn to Pentecostal Holiness congregations; and strict behavior requirements among members have been relaxed, such as prohibitions against wearing jewelry, dancing and the use of alcohol. "The challenge for Underwood now is to speed up the process of change in the two years remaining in his term," concludes Ford. (Charisma, 600 Rhinehart Rd., Lake Mary, FL 32746)

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES *CHANGE* **END-TIME TEACHINGS** 

The Jehovah's Witnesses are now revising their positions on the end-times and on the related issues of leadership in the organization in the face of an aging and disappearing generation of leaders, according to recent official church publications. The Jehovah's Witnesses have traditionally AND LEADERSHIP taught that only the generation born during the prophesied year of 1914 (who are viewed as the generation who would see Christ's return in the book of Matthew) can ascend to the high levels of leadership in the organization [see January 93 RW for more on this issue]. Articles in the October 15 and November 1 issues of the Watchtower magazine reinterpret the 1914 prophesy as to no longer refer to a literal generation of a set number of years, but rather to a broadly defined group of people who "see the sign of Christ's presence but fail to mend their ways" in the time period between 1914 and the end times.

> Writing on NUREL, a computer discussion group on new religious movements on the Internet, Joel Elliott of the University of North Carolina writes that while the Witnesses still "contend that armageddon is imminent, officially, they no longer are committed to the view that the great tribulation must begin within a literal generation of 1914." Elliot also notes that in a related change, the group claims a new revelation indicating that members outside of the "anointed class" of the 144,000 (mostly comprised of the now very elderly individuals who were alive in 1914) can now assume positions of leadership in the organization. (For more information on NUREL, send e-mail to: nurel-l@ucalgary.ca)

MILK *MIRACLE* **BRINGS HINDU** REVIVALS

A series of alleged miracles involving the Hindu god Ganesha has generated a "revival" among Hindus as well as having demonstrated the rapid fire and close ties of communication in world Hinduism. Hinduism Today newspaper (November) reports that the phenomenon started in New Delhi when a man dreamt that Lord Ganesha, the elephant-headed God of wisdom, craved a little milk. The man rushed to the nearest temple where he offered milk to the small stone image of Ganesha and witnessed the statue allegedly consuming the milk. Within hours, news of the event spread across India, whereupon other Hindus offered milk to the Ganesha images and other statues in their temples. Then Indian Hindus began calling their relatives in other parts of the world--also communicating via faxes and the Internet-encouraging them to also experience the phenomenon at their temples.

## FINDINGS & FOOTNOTES

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#### PRESSNOTES

- \* The November/December issue of the conservative <u>American Enterprise</u> magazine is devoted to religious conservatism. The special issue provides a section of statistical research on religious conservatives and articles covering such issues as: Jewish-evangelical relations, the evangelical men's group Promise Keepers, religion and the press, and the evangelical sub-culture (which serves as a good map of the American evangelical institutions and leaders). The magazine also features 41 profiles of religious conservatives, both well-known and unknown. The issue costs \$5 and is available from: American Enterprise, 1150 17th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
- \* In the November Atlantic Monthly, well-known theologian Harvey Cox of Harvard University turns journalist to examine the rapid growth and influence of Regent University, which is headed by Pat Robertson. Cox notes his surprise in finding more freedom of discussion of controversial religio-political issues among faculty and students, and even sees similarities between the teachings at Regent and that of Third World liberation theology. Both focus on working for the kingdom of God and the call for institutional change over the traditional emphasis on personal conversion. Cox sees Regent University as the major symbol of the rapidly growing influence of religious conservatism in American academic life. While criticizing Robertson's writings on dominion theology, Cox calls on fellow liberals to eschew their preoccupation with postmodernist and deconstructionist scholarship and to dialogue with scholars at Regent who focus on contemporary issues.— By Erling Jorstad, RW contributing editor.
- \* The role of Christian television in American life receives an extended, candid assessment in the October 2 issue of Christianity Today. Once considered primarily a tool for traditional church activity, such as preaching and evangelism, Christian TV also functions as a powerful voice for entertainment and political activity. Author John W. Kennedy examines Christian TV's history, its major voices, such as Pat Robertson, Mother Angelica, mainline groups, such as ACTS and VISN, and the media's leadership in cutting edge technology. With the embarrassments of Jimmy Swaggart and Jim Bakker behind them, religious televangelists are poised to claim an even larger market with their decision to use the entertainment potential of their media to tell their story. For more information, send to: Christianity Today, 465 Gundersen Dr., Carol Stream, IL 60187)-- By Erling Jorstad.
- \* Religion, State & Society is a new journal that analyzes developments in religion in the former communist countries. Published by Keston College, a British institute which has long monitored religious affairs under communism, the journal carries articles by theologians and other cholars both on historical issues surrounding religion and communism d current developments in post-communist areas. A recent issue tures a study of the growth of the Hare Krishnas in Hungary, an mination of the Russian Christian Democracy movement and an overview hurch-state relations in Eastern Europe. A subscription costs \$72, so

readers may want to ask their local libraries to subscribe. Write to: Carfax Publishing Company, 875-81 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139)

\* To understand the Catholic Church today, it is advisable to get a grasp of the various traditional and conservative groups and movement which are now influencing Catholicism. The new book <a href="Being Right">Being Right</a> (Indiana University Press, 601 N. Morton St., Bloomington, IN 47404, \$18.95), edited by Mary Jo Weaver and R. Scott Appleby, can serve as such a primer as its authors map the diverse conservative and traditional Catholic terrain. The book is unique in that it draws together essays by both scholars and "insiders," that is, conservative Catholic leaders, on a variety of topics, including: neoconservative Catholics; the Marian movement; prolife activism; conservative Catholic alternative schools and colleges; and new currents in Catholic traditionalism (a movement seeking to roll back the reforms of Vatican II). In the conclusion, Appleby compares all these different movements and groups and evaluates how much they will influence wider Catholicism.

\* The validity of religious revivals are increasingly concerning

evangelicals as they encounter claims of such phenomena at their own door steps. This concern can be seen in two recent critical appraisals of revival or renewal movements by evangelical scholars. The book Holy Laughter & The Toronto Blessing (Zondervan, \$10.99) by James A. Beverley, is an investigative report on a popular yet controversial phenomenon (started in Toronto) among charismatics where laughter is seen as a sign of a unique outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Beverley writes from an evangelical perspective, presenting the arguments of both critics and proponents. He challenges the view that the phenomenon is manipulated by the various leaders (such as Rodney Howard Browne and John Wimber) while criticizing the movement for its anti-intellectual nature and divisiveness, especially in relation to the many prophesies condemning those who doubt the blessing is authentic. Accounts of a Campus Revival (Harold Shaw Publishers, \$8.99) edited by Timothy Beougher and Lyle Dorsett, is a comprehensive account of the revival which broke out at Wheaton College in Illinois in March of 1995 (which has spread to other evangelical colleges since then). The editors and contributors, who are officials at the school, present general surveys of revivalist history and theology and then chonicle in detail the events at Wheaton and other colleges. They find that the Wheaton revival has followed the general pattern of acknowledgement of sin, confession, absolution, and commitment to share their faith with others. A key element in the Wheaton revival was the public nature of the event,

# ON/FILE: A Continuing Survey of Groups, Events, Movements and People Impacting Religion

where participants acknowledged their shortcomings. -- By Erling Jorstad.

1) The <u>Catholic Alliance</u> was formed by the Christian Coalition to Catholics more fully into Christian right activism on issues so fighting abortion and promoting government-funded school vour group has a panel of Catholic lay leaders, a staff in Washi range of activities geared to Catholic voters. The alliar attempt by the Christian Coaltion to boost its Catholic about 250,000 to at least 1 million by the year 2000. (So Island Catholic, September 13)

"This 'milk miracle' may go down in history as the most important event shared by Hindus this century, if not in the last millennium. It has brought about an instantaneous religious revival among nearly one billion people," according to the newspaper. The report estimates that about 10 percent of Hindus are skeptical of the events, claiming with scientists that the phenomenon is the result of "capillary action" and mass hysteria. Interestingly, the Western media was less critical of the occurences than the secular and Marxist-oriented Indian press, which claimed the phenomenon was part of a plot by nationalist Hindu political parties to win the next elections. To Hindu devotees, the phenomenon represent portents or signals of a "future event of great import" which can be interpreted by astrology. Most swamis and astrologers contacted by the newspaper see the alleged miracles involving the acceptance of milk by a god as a "very good omen." (Hinduism Today, 107 Kaholalele Rd., Kapaa, HI 96746)

AMERICAN MUSILIMS DEBATE MEDIA COVERAGE ON THEMSELVES As American Islamic groups pay increasing attention to its public image in the media, there is increasing division and debate about the role of the Muslim press in this religious community, according to the Minaret (October), an American Muslim magazine. There are four distinct tendencies in the Muslim practice of journalism. 1) Religiously motivated groups hold that the Muslim media should focus mainly on information relating to faith and rituals. 2) Politically motivated groups argue that the Muslim media should focus only on exposing the "enemies" and other dangers to the faith. 3) "Self-centered Muslim leadership feels that the Muslim media should focus on promoting Muslim organizations and personalities," with little negative or critical coverage of such leaders. 4) There is also the emerging trend of professional groups pressing for an integration of Muslim precepts with the standards of the journalism industry.

This last group argues that the Koran teaches principles of honesty and truth-seeking and that such responsibility to a higher authority helps journalists adopt a "very critical approach to events, especially [of] those people and organizations who claim to speak on behalf of Islam and Muslims." The editorial continues that such journalism can only be conducted "when Muslim organizations and leadership opens up. The problem is that Muslim organizations are reluctant to speak to Muslim media the way one finds other American groups and institutions speaking to the media. They only want to use the media for their publicity purposes. That's why whenever we find a critical report in a Muslim magazine, the leadership reacts in a panic style and starts calling names. Rather than looking at the issue raised in such reports, the leadership becomes defensive and [wages] a battle against the media." (The Minaret, 434 South Vermont, Los Angeles, CA 90020).

GROUP RITUAL IMPORTANT FOR DYING ELDERLY Regular attendance at religious services may well be the most effective means of reducing the fear of dying among older people, according to a study by researchers Robert Duff and Lawrence Hong. The National & International Religion Report (October 2) cites the study, which was first published in the Review of Religious Research, as showing that visits from family and even private religious practices, such as prayer or Bible reading, do not significantly reduce the fear of death among

people in the final stage of life. Rather, "It is primarily the ceremonial acts that provide the life-enriching effects of religion. Rituals provide a sense of togetherness. They sustain us by fostering a sense of going beyond," according to Duff. (National & International Religion Report, P.O. Box 21505, Roanoke, VA 24018-0560)

CATHOLIC CHURCH-STATE CONFLICT IN PERU A growing conflict between the Catholic Church and the government of President Alberto Fjimori of Peru over contraception is also serving to highlight growing tensions in church-state relations throughout Latin America, reports the Washington Post (October 11). Fujimori has recently started a voluntary sterilization program in Peru— a course of action which shocked many church leaders throughout the continent. Unlike most other Latin American leaders, Fujimori has publicly challenged the Catholic Church and its teachings, in one instance calling bishops "sacred cows." Church officials criticize Fujimori's plan for ignoring Peru's declining birth rate and blaming the poor for the country's economic problems. Fujimori's drive to limit population and encourage Peruvians to practice birth control is linked to his government's shift to market-oriented economic policies, "putting Peru in conflict with the church and making the country a critical testing ground for the Vatican. According to church leaders, politicians and others here, the outcome of the struggle between the two powers in the shantytowns could have broad implications for Latin America," writes Gabriel Escobar."

He continues that "With almost all countries now embracing market-driven economics--and to different degrees all facing severely skewed distribution of wealth-many church leaders are critical of the economic trend, putting themselves at odds with such popular presidents as Carlos Menem of Argentina and Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil." For Fujimori, who is Catholic, the stand against the church "seems to have paid off. Polls indicate he is more popular than he was before he announced his population control plan, with the church consistently at a disadvantage. Analysts say the church has been left little choice but to temper its criticisms and reassess its strategy." In one poll, 80 percent of Peruvians said they support the use of contraceptive methods for family planning. Peruvian policy analyst Hector Rivera says that Fujimori's stand "may open a road for others. There used to be the myth that the church was untouchable. In practical terms, this has resulted in legislation that redefines what constitutes a family. It ensures free sterilization to men and women and eliminates a husband's prior consent. It also recognizes informal unions that are popular among the poor and gives poor women, traditionally voiceless, unprecedented rights."

CHARISMATICS HARASSED AS 'CULTS' IN GERMANY In Germany, "Harassment and intolerance of charismatic churches by the media and government have increased in recent years," report <u>Charisma</u> magazine (November). Two prime targets of harassment are independent charismatic leaders Terry Jones of Koln and Wolfhard Margies of Berlin. Both are pastors of the largest charismatic churches in their cities, with attendance averaging more than 1,200 each. The media has accused the churches of "psycho-terrorism," because they practice speaking in tongues, healings, and "breaking demonic oppression." Margies' church came under attack by the media after the Berlin Senate officially

declared his church a cult. Steve Selthoffer writes that since the reunification of Germany in 1989, "thousands of former East German political officials have been quietly assimilated into the new German government. With a built-in intolerance for people who don't conform to the established order, they exercise their power to see that people do." Jones says that "The only recognized churches in Germany are the Lutheran and Catholic churches. Everything outside of that is considered a cult."

SEVERAL GROUPS TARGETED WITH NEW RELIGIOUS RESTRICTIONS IN JAPAN

The Japan's government move toward restricting religious freedom in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks by Aum Shinrikyo is likely to be felt by other religious groups as well, according to the Economist (October 14). Under the new restrictions being planned, jurisdiction over religious organizations with activities in more than one prefecture would be shifted from local to central government. The groups would also have to disclose more about their finances and the government would get new powers to pry into them." There are signs that the Aum incident [see July-August RW for more on this controversy] has caused a new sensitivity about involving religion in the nation's politics. This could be seen in the recent resignation of Japan's justice minister Tomoharu Tazawa, who had accepted a "questionable" loan from Rissho Koseikai, a Buddhist group he belongs to. Normally, Tazawa's loan would not be of much interest, but in the charged climate after Aum, the incident raised new suspicions about religious-political ties. The magazine also reports that there are other factors in the government drive for church-state reforms. The main opposition group, the New Frontier Party, is backed by Soka Gakkai, a powerful Buddhist movement. Thus the reforms could serve to intimidate Soka Gakkai, "and so sap its support for the opposition."

SCHOOLS IN MIDDLE EAST STILL TEACHING RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE Although there are increasing gestures of peace and reconciliation throughout the Middle East, the educational system of the various nations in the region are still teaching intolerance and condemnation of other faiths and nationalities, according to the Long Island newspaper Newsday (October 22-27). A 28-page special report examines the Israeli, Jordanian, Egyptian, Palestinian and Syrian educational systems and finds that "political militancy is wrapped in a coating of religion and served up to youngsters with their version of the ABCs." Arabs in the past condemned Israel in secular terms mainly as a "foreign body implanted in the region by colonial and imperialistic powers. Israelis analyzed the conflict as the clash of two nationalisms, their own and the Palestianians'. But for today's Arab students and for those Jewish students in Israel's religious schools, politics is increasingly being taught through the filter of religion," writes Susan Sachs. Religion is particularly intertwined with politics in the Arab schools. In Egyptian, Palestinian, and Jordanian schools, such fundamentalist Muslim groups as the Muslim Brotherhood were given a free hand to write textbooks, train teachers and make educational policy.

In such classrooms, "Arab children are taught to hate Jews, to see the Arab-Israeli conflict as an eternal religious war and, often to reject secular authority as un-Islamic...Scholarly King Hussein of Jordan does not speak of Jews as 'idolators' whom God considers 'depraved...animals.' But the textbooks do--and they are required reading in all of Jordan's schools," Sachs writes. Even in more secular Syria, the schools are not

averse to playing the "Islamic card," as when a textbook teahing students that "There is no mercy for those who do not join the 'jihad' in order to cleanse Palestine of the Jews." Only in Egypt is there an attempt to encourage free discussion on Middle Eastern issues and purge the schools of militant Islamic influence, often without much success. In Israel, the secular schools have inaugurated the only curriculum that teaches peace issues and religious understanding in the Middle East, although Judaism is studied as the defining element of national identity. The fast-growing religious schools (now teaching 30 percent of Israel's students), however, "reflect the ideology of the powerful religious parties that are militantly opposed to the government's peace plan...many of these schoolchildren are being taught that giving up Hebron and other parts of the West Bank is an offense against God."

ISLAMIC
MILITANCY
FAILING TO
GET HEARING
IN EGYPT

Islamic militancy appears to be losing influence in Egypt just tviliminil after the movement was threatening to violently change the course of the moderate iviusiim nation, g to the New York Times (October 22). "After a two-year battle, the rnment, with a lot of passive public support, seems to have qui e Muslim militants in Cairo and seriously disrupted their network in Upper Egypt. Tourists are streaming back and last week Cairo hosted the World Tourism Organization's annual convention," writes Thomas Friedman. The failure of Islamic militancy in Egypt may be because the "austere and humorless demeanor of the Muslim extremists never fit easily on Egypt's body politic... Unlike Algeria, Egypt never had secularism or Marxism forced down its gullet, with the inevitable counterreaction that produces." The militants, including such groups as "Jihad" and Jama'a Islamiya," may also have "overplayed their hand. They lost much popular support when, in indiscriminately attacking Government officials, they killed many innocent bystanders. This allowed the Government to turn the Islamic threat from a question of religion and state to one of law and order."

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