

of Pete Seeger and his creative efforts to survive the Hollywood broadcasting blacklist and bring his Popular Front sensibility to the social movements of the 1960s and beyond. A well-edited, smartly chosen collection of essays, *Liberty and Justice for All?* deserves to be widely read and taught.

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*Moral Minority: The Evangelical Left in an Age of Conservatism.* By David R. Swartz. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. 376 pp. \$47.50.)

In this remarkably rigorous, richly contextualized, and generally exhaustive exploration of the evangelical Left, David R. Swartz returns readers to a time when theologically conservative Protestantism was “politically up for grabs” (p. 2). More significantly, he joins Doug Rossinow, Kevin Mattson, Thomas Frank, Simon Hall, and others in documenting the enduring, sometimes-ironic impact of 1960s radicalism.

Taken as a loosely organized, often contentious, and tenuously transnational whole, Swartz’s evangelical Left aspired to be a “third way” to social change, transcending “categories of right and left by establishing micro-communities of authenticity, peace, and justice directed by Jesus” (p. 87). It defied the culture wars through its marriage of the secular New Left’s communitarianism and liberationist politics and the Christian New Right’s doctrinal and sexual traditionalism. Swartz first records how 1950s postfundamentalists sided with 1960s young evangelicals, including those in groups such as the Christian World Liberation Front and the Sojourners (begun by the former Students for a Democratic Society member [and now Barack Obama adviser] Jim Wallis). Together, post-fundamentalists and young evangelicals challenged historically apolitical Protestant publics to find God in civil rights, antiwar, and anti-poverty organizing. Aided by “ethnic evangelicals” such as the Peruvian evangelist Samuel Escobar and the Evangelicals for McGovern founder Ron Sider, and energized by the left-

leaning, born-again politicians Mark Hatfield and Jimmy Carter, expectations for a globally persuasive progressive evangelicalism did not seem unfounded. However, the movement—if it could ever be called that—quickly suffered the same internal divisions that had plagued earlier student pressure groups. When the Democratic party embraced abortion rights and marriage equality, varieties of southern and sun-belt evangelicals co-opted countercultural political activism in the name of Jesus, Jeffersonian individualism, and the June Cleaver household. Wallis, Sider, and their followers were recast in supporting roles as critics of a conservative Christian America that, in ways, they had been advocating all along.

It is worth reflecting as to why such a vibrant theopolitics, which once captured the attention of the mainstream press, has since been overlooked by historians inside and outside of religion. Certainly, Swartz is correct to note his subjects’ “continuing inability to coalesce around a viable identity and to build a substantial constituency” (p. 243). Yet his claim that the movement “failed to thrive” after 1976 could be better qualified (p. 234). In fact, it is the fate of all genuinely “third-way” groups to be forgotten. Their function is not to sell one billion bumper stickers or to build a blessed 501(c)(4) organization but rather to maintain “micro-societies” of the dispossessed (p. 109). Just ask the equally ignored World Council of Churches, with a self-described “third way” that, after World War II, anticipated several of the aims of the contemporary evangelical Left. For such networks of restless souls, to be “politically homeless” is to be home (p. 6). Swartz is compelling in his claim that progressive evangelicals will always be present, although they will need to remember where they really began: not within the Democratic party, but on college campuses.

*Moral Minority* is required reading for everyone involved in the study and practice of contemporary faith and politics. It should also be on the short lists of scholars who are just beginning to map out the long 1960s.

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