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FOR Max Green
from

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Executive Director

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Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1975-1977
Assistant Secretary of Defense 1974-1975
U.S. Ambassador to NATO, 1969-1971
Assistant to the President, 1969
Member of Congress, 1961-1967

Business

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Chairman of the Board, Howmet Turbine Components Corp., Greenwich, CT
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International Institute for Strategic Studies, London (Vice Chairman)
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American Council on Germany, New York, NY (Director)
German Marshall Fund of the United States, Washington, DC (Trustee)
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Recent Publications

"Defense Budget Warning," The Washington Times, March 12, 1986
"Eine Bewertung des weltweiten militärischen Kräfteverhältnisses,"
EUROPA-ARCHIV, Vol. 6, 1984
"The Loneliness of Strength-The U.S. Looks at the 1980's," NATO's Fifteen Nations, Vol. 4, 1982
"Les aspects strategique de la defense de l'Europe," Defense Nationale, June 1981

Honors and Decorations

LL.D. (Hon.), University of Ottawa, 1969
LL.D. (Hon.), Boston University, 1970
Medal for Distinguished Public Service, U.S. Department of Defense, 1975
National Security Medal, President of the United States, 1977

Military Service

U.S. Navy, 1944-1946 and 1950-1953 (Lieutenant Commander)

dismantling apartheid and urged the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

But Mr. Reagan said that economic sanctions against South Africa would be an "act of folly" that would throw thousands of blacks out of work.

Bishop DeWitt responded: "President Reagan initiated sanctions against Af-

only one of the team of five who had been granted a visa to visit South Africa. Others on the team are Bishop Judith Craig (Michigan Area); also representing the Council of Bishops, and John E. Stumbo of Topeka, Kan.; Peggy Billings; and the Rev. Isaac Bivins, both of New York, representing the General Board of Global Ministries.

century of church-related activity around the world for peace.

Lady Winifred said she was born during World War I and believes "a passion for peace was born in me."

She said in the days just before World War II, she watched her husband struggle during an entire ocean voyage from England to Australia over what position he

be related to the society, the culture, where they are established."

He said both a global and a local church strategy are required for this new missionary age.

"The majority of Christians now are beyond the Western world," he reminded his international audience.

—DANIEL J. LOUIS

the World Federation of Methodist Women for the next five years.

Edith Ming of New Orleans has been vice president of the Women's Missionary Society of her church's 8th Episcopal District. She is married to Bishop Donald G. Ming.

A trained musician, she led more than 300 women in group singing during the organization's seventh assembly July 13-20.

Another American, Emma H.

... is a past president of the federation.

Other newly elected officers include Navamani Peter of India, vice president, and Lorraine Solomon of South Africa, secretary.

Ethel Born, a United Methodist from Salem, Va., and Wilhelmina Lawrence of the African Methodist Episcopal Church will lead the world federation's North American region as president and vice president.

—LINDA W. KESTER

U.S. firms said needed in South Africa to train blacks

By ROY HOWARD BECK
Associate Editor

WASHINGTON—An influential Episcopal bishop launched a major effort last week to increase U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa.

Bishop John Walker acknowledged he is breaking with the general consensus of U.S. church leaders. They are demanding just the opposite—a total pullout by U.S. firms.

Such a pullout was urged July 24 in testimony to a U.S. Senate hearing by the Rev. Avery Post. He said he represented agencies from 24 denominations including the United Methodist Church.

But Bishop Walker told the same Senate panel that corporations need to stay in South Africa to prepare a better future for blacks.

The next day, he began work to set up a meeting of corporate executives to help them increase their activity in South Africa.

"I'm feeling rather naked right now," Bishop Walker said during an auto ride back to his Washington Cathedral residence after the Senate hearing.

"Few church leaders are standing with me. But I'm convinced I'm right," he said.

Business leaders called to plan

Bishop Walker said he was sending letters to more than two dozen top executives of U.S. firms operating in South Africa. He asked them to meet with him in September.



"I do not want to see the economy of southern Africa dashed on the rocks even of **RIGHTEOUS** indignation ... We need to work as though we were already in the time of transition from apartheid to a democratic system."

—Episcopal Bishop John Walker

He said he hopes to provide an atmosphere in which business leaders can be challenged to expand their presence in South Africa and will plan how they can do so.

Bishop Walker said he wants corporations to train blacks better to assume economic, social and political leadership once the apartheid system of legal racial segregation is abolished.

The bishop, who has conducted church leadership training in Africa annually for a decade, denounced President Rea-

gan's policy for not including sanctions against South Africa.

He suggested to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that it adopt sanctions that end landing rights for South African airplanes, ban loans to the government and restrict new investments in South Africa.

"I do not believe that such sanctions will bring down the government," Bishop Walker said. "Well-aimed sanctions do, however, put South Africa's government on notice that in what we call the civilized

world, some behavior is not acceptable."

Firms called to 'test limits'

Bishop Walker, runner-up in last year's Episcopal Church election for presiding bishop, said sanctions should not include U.S. corporate activity (a position similar to that of the United Methodist General Board of Pensions).

He testified that U.S. corporations must retain their South African holdings so they can "move boldly and swiftly in breaking down the barriers of apartheid through actions that are highly visible."

He called on firms to "test the outer limits of the laws by breaking them and challenging the government to defend them in court." He saluted General Motors for already doing that.

The bishop suggested corporations pursue the following actions:

- Buy housing in primarily white areas and assign it to black employees.
- Move company headquarters or regional offices to areas within easy reach by black people who then can be promoted to more supervisory positions.
- Allocate franchises and territories in primarily white areas to black business people.
- Allocate stock in local subsidiaries to workers, especially black workers.

Bishop Walker also called on the U.S. government to increase its foreign aid to South Africa. Such aid should be managed without that government's involvement and should improve education and

economic development for blacks, he said.

Others: 'Profits from oppression'

Testifying to senators immediately after Bishop Walker, the Rev. Avery Post, president of the United Church of Christ, presented a very different view.

He spoke for the Churches' Emergency Committee on Southern Africa. It represents 24 U.S. denominations (including the United Methodist Church) and met in the Methodist Building the day before the testimony.

Dr. Post said the interdenominational committee believes the only action "which will declare this nation to be on the moral high road" is comprehensive sanctions that bar all U.S. corporate activity in South Africa.

"One cannot help but suspect that the underlying motive of those who oppose sanctions is that they are more concerned about the profit margins of U.S. corporate investors in South Africa than they are about the abolition of the system of state slavery that exists in South Africa," Dr. Post said.

It is time for corporations to renounce "the profits of exploitation and oppression," he said.

Post-apartheid is concern

Neither Dr. Post nor Bishop Walker directly called attention during testimony to their disagreement on corporate disinvestment.

But Bishop Walker's testimony chastised the "religious community."

"In our desire to do something, we have failed to connect actions with outcome," he said. "Our agony over the plight of the black people often has trapped us in taking actions that may be more pronounced in their symbolism than in their capacity to bring about substantive changes."

Bishop Walker told the Reporter that he is convinced that apartheid will be abolished but fears black South Africans will not have the experience to run the country satisfactorily at first.

"We in the religious community have been so busy trying to take the 'morally correct position' that we haven't looked beyond the tearing down of apartheid."

He said he fears white racists will be prepared to take the country over again at the first sign of economic collapse under black leadership.

"Post-apartheid is important to me," he said. "It is crucial that Americans not simply tear down what's there. We've got to have people ready to move into power."

His testimony to the Senate said his desire for black South Africans to inherit something good causes him to say that "I do not want to see the economy of southern Africa dashed on the rocks even of **RIGHTEOUS** indignation. I am not interested in punishing the present government but in causing it to end its inhuman treatment. ... We need to work as though we were already in the time of transition from apartheid to a democratic system."

07-28-86

3783

Celebrations follow announcement of Fr. Jenco's release**By Religious News Service**

NEW YORK (RNS) — The Rev. Lawrence Martin Jenco, held for 19 months in Lebanon by a fringe radical Moslem Shiite sect, was released July 26 because of his captors' concern for his health, according to news reports.

Almost immediately after the news was confirmed, the celebrations began. When Fr. Jenco's family heard the reports in Joliet, Ill., church bells rang for a few minutes, and that night 564 helium balloons were released, one for each day the priest was held captive.

In New York, a special "festive" mass was held in St. John the Evangelist Church on July 28 in celebration of the release. Archbishop Theodore McCarrick of Newark, N.J., and member of the board of Catholic Relief Services with special responsibility for Eurasia, was the main celebrant. Fr. Jenco had been the director of Catholic Relief Services (CRS) in Beirut before his abduction in January of 1985.

Archbishop McCarrick spoke of his personal joy and the agency's joy, noting that it was a special answer to prayer because masses had been held twice a week for Fr. Jenco's release in St. John the Evangelist since his abduction more than a year-and-a-half ago.

He said that CRS continued to work in Lebanon and will continue to do so, saying that assistance is given on the basis of need, "without regard to religious and political distinction."

The lobby of the Catholic center was decorated with 100 helium balloons and banners in celebration of the event.

According to news releases, Fr. Jenco's health, his connections to the church and recent current events may have been the important factors leading to his release. The priest suffers from high blood pressure and ongoing heart disease.

The family flew to West Germany July 28 to meet Fr. Jenco at the U.S. Rhein-Main Air Force Base. According to Catholic Relief Services in New York, the priest will meet with Pope John Paul II in Rome on July 30.

For 25 years Fr. Jenco was a missionary in Italy, Thailand, Yemen, India and Australia. He was sent to Beirut in September 1984 to head the Catholic Relief Services and was kidnapped Jan. 8, 1985, while being driven to work.

07-28-86

3785

Black Episcopal bishop urges U.S. firms to stay in S. Africa**By Religious News Service**

NEW YORK (RNS) — An influential black Episcopal bishop has launched a campaign to increase U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa, according to an article in the United Methodist Reporter.

Bishop John Walker of Washington has broken with a consensus of U.S. church leaders who have sought total withdrawal of U.S. firms from South Africa, reports Roy Howard Beck in the Dallas-based Methodist weekly's Aug. 1 issue.

"I'm feeling rather naked right now; few church leaders are standing with me," Bishop Walker told the Reporter. The church leader favors selective actions against the South African government but said penalties should not be imposed on U.S. businesses operating there. He also challenged U.S. businesses to break South Africa's apartheid laws.

The bishop told a U.S. Senate committee June 24 that corporations should stay in South Africa to prepare the way for black leadership. The next day he began setting up a meeting of corporate executives aimed at increasing their involvement in South Africa.

He said he was sending letters to more than two dozen top executives of U.S. firms in South Africa inviting them to meet with him in September. The Episcopal leader said he hopes to provide an atmosphere that will encourage business leaders to expand their presence in South Africa.

Bishop Walker said he wants to encourage corporations to focus on training blacks to assume economic, social and political leadership once the system of apartheid is dismantled.

In his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the bishop proposed sanctions to end landing rights for South African airplanes, a ban on loans to the South African government and restrictions on new investments there.

Saying he didn't think such sanctions would topple the government, he declared that "well-aimed sanctions" would "put South Africa's government on notice that in what we call the civilized world, some behavior is not acceptable."

Bishop Walker has argued that sanctions should not be aimed at U.S. corporate activity and that U.S. companies who keep their South African holdings should "move boldly and swiftly" in actions aimed at breaking down racial barriers. He urged companies to test the limits of South African laws "by breaking them and challenging the government to defend them in court."

General Motors has already begun to use that tactic, he said.

Companies, he said, could take these actions:

- Buy housing in predominantly white areas and assign it to black employees.
- Move company offices closer to black residential areas and promote blacks to supervisory positions.
- Allocate franchises and territories in primarily white areas to black business people.

The bishop also urged the U.S. government to increase foreign aid to South Africa outside government channels, using it to improve education and economic development for blacks.

In his Senate testimony, Bishop Walker chided the religious community, saying, "In our desire to do something, we have failed to connect actions with outcome. Our agony over the plight of black people often has trapped us into taking actions that may be more pronounced in their symbolism than in their capacity to bring about substantive changes."

07-28-86

3781

Conservative and liberal church groups battle over D.C. AIDS law

By William Bole

Religious News Service Correspondent

WASHINGTON (RNS) — National religious leaders on both sides of the issue of homosexual rights have intervened in a local dispute over a District of Columbia law which bars discrimination by insurance companies against those who contract the AIDS virus.

In the latest shot fired, representatives of nine religious denominations have sent a letter to members of Congress urging them to turn aside efforts to overturn the D.C. law, passed in June. Congress has rarely exercised veto power over District laws.

The letter, which represented eight liberal Protestant denominations and one Jewish agency, was in response to a campaign mounted by conservative fundamentalist leaders to overturn the law.

The dispute, which has become an extension of the battle between liberal and conservative groups over homosexuality, stems from a measure that makes it illegal for health insurance companies to deny coverage to people who test positive for the AIDS antibody.

"However strongly one may disapprove of certain sexual conduct, it is senselessly cruel

8 Aug '86

8 Aug '86

THE WASHINGTON POST

Bishop Wants U.S. Firms To Train Pretoria Blacks

Program for Postapartheid Period Urged

By Marjorie Hyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Washington's Episcopal Bishop John T. Walker, long active in battling South Africa's racial discrimination, has proposed a program to enlist American corporations now doing business there in preparing black South Africans to take over the reins of government when apartheid ends, and at the same time to hurry that process along.

Though he once pushed for divestment, the black churchman said he now feels that churches and other groups can be more effective by using their stock holdings to press multinational corporations to work aggressively for change and plans for the future.

The present white minority government of South Africa "is going to fall," said Walker.

"Apartheid will end, whether as the result of negotiations or by war. What happens when that does occur? Who are the people who are going to keep the country going?" he asked.

American corporations doing business there "can play a major role by providing [blacks] on-the-job training . . . internships" that can give "a postapartheid South Africa . . . a larger number of experienced persons who can assume leadership

of a democratic government and take their place in the economic and social structures of a new society," he said.

Walker proposes going beyond the Sullivan principles, which call for elimination of discriminatory practices in the work place and pressure on the government by signatory corporations to dismantle apartheid.

In recent testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Walker outlined a series of tactics that multinational corporations in South Africa might engage in to speed the end of apartheid:

- Buy houses "in primarily white areas" and assign them to black employees.
- Relocate corporate headquarters to "areas which are within easy reach by the black people who can then be promoted to more supervisory positions."
- Allocate franchises "in primarily white areas to black business persons."
- Give black workers stock options "as part of their overall wage system. With stock ownership, workers will develop an appreciation of capitalism, the notion of risk and reward, and above all, the freedom to choose," Walker said.

In addition, he urged the multinationals to "impose on themselves

an apartheid tax which should reflect a reasonable proportion" of the profits they have made from apartheid.

Such funds would be "earmarked for creating equity ownership in the enterprise that would belong to the South African people," the churchman said.

Walker said he made the proposals "based on conversations with corporate types. They're not just off the top of my head."

He has called a meeting for early September with "eight or 10" corporate executive officers, church leaders and selected government officials, he said, "to make some plans for the future" along the lines of his proposal.

Though he no longer favors divestment, Walker, who was arrested for protesting outside the South African Embassy here 18 months ago, wants the United States and European nations "to put teeth into the rhetoric against apartheid by instituting strong economic sanctions."

If the United States, and more especially the nations of Western Europe, ended both landing and airspace rights for South African airlines, "South African businessmen couldn't conduct their business," the bishop said. They would then "bring so much pressure that the [South African] government couldn't stand."

Walker said he also favors increased U.S. aid to South Africa, specifically allocated for the well-being of South African black people and funneled through black organizations "without the involvement of the present South African government."

Communist Makes Si Capitalist

CHINA, I

But the Shen was limited because size of the factory es were involved.

Among those handicapped workers signed new jobs.

Others will training and management before they are reemployed, according to agency.

The experiment securities exchange appears to be a small

A city official said securities bonds, financial shares will the time being.

The Shenyang not make clear bonds might be would be limits on individual could hold

According to the Review, published China's stocks western-style pre conventional bond

But the price in China may not business review said this year.

Stocks may not although they may it said.

N A E N I ' S O I O T H I N I C

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July 11, 1986

President Daniel Ortega
Managua, Nicaragua

Dear Mr. President:

The Institute on Religion and Democracy vigorously opposes the recent decisions by the Nicaraguan government to force into exile Bishop Pablo Antonio Vega and Monsignor Bismarck Carballo. We support wholeheartedly the protests already registered by Bishop James Malone, Archbishop James Hickey, Cardinal John O'Connor and Pope John Paul II.

These expulsions reveal the extent to which religious liberty in Nicaragua has been undermined by your government. The right of the Church to address social and ethical issues is central to the Christian faith. The view by the Sandinista government that the Church must support the government or be silent has historically been rejected by Christians from all parts of the political spectrum. Forcing the exile of these prominent Nicaraguan churchmen represents a serious abridgment of religious freedom.

It is increasingly clear that the Nicaraguan government is unable or unwilling to distinguish between those who have taken up arms against it and those who merely express independence from or criticism of the present government. Many of your most vocal critics are precisely those who earlier opposed, at considerable personal risk, the Somoza regime.

The Nicaraguan government has offered no evidence of the alleged subversion on the part of Bishop Vega or any other prominent churchman in Nicaragua. Bishop Vega has called for peace talks between the Nicaraguan government and rebel forces, but your government seems to distrust even non-violent internal dissent and to interpret as treasonous any attempt to stop the bloodshed via negotiations. Your insistence that such effort on behalf of peacemaking is support for the rebels appears to be a smokescreen for taking another step towards establishing a one-party, totalitarian state -- a state which allows no dissent. According to the Washington Post (30 June), you asserted that you were "not going to be so naive as to accept a civic opposition, because that doesn't exist anymore." Is it really any surprise that many of your own people believe that the revolution for which they struggled and sacrificed has been betrayed?

Should the Nicaraguan government persist in its most recent course, people of good will around the world will be compelled to conclude that you are following the same path that Marxist-Leninist regimes have followed before -- one which has led invariably to severe curtailment of religious liberty and human rights. You will discover that those who have opposed you in the past will be strengthened in their resolve, while many who previously have been supportive towards your government will find it impossible to continue in such a posture.

We call on you to respect religious liberty and freedom of conscience in Nicaragua and to rescind your recent actions against Bishop Vega and Monsignor Carballo.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Kent R. Hill". The signature is stylized with a cursive-like flow.

Kent R. Hill
Executive Director

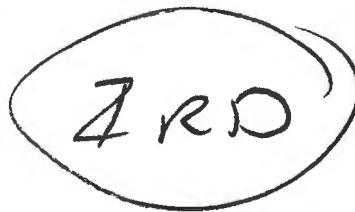
KRH/dab

cc: Ambassador Carlos Tunnerman

GUIDELINES

PEACE, FREEDOM AND SECURITY STUDIES

A Program
of the
National Association of Evangelicals



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GUIDELINES

PEACE, FREEDOM AND SECURITY STUDIES

A Program of the National Association of Evangelicals

FOREWORD

The National Association of Evangelicals has developed these *Guidelines* in an effort to improve the skills of Evangelical leadership in supporting religious liberty, promoting the security of free societies and encouraging progress toward the non-violent resolution of international conflict.

We believe that Christians have a biblical responsibility to be peacemakers. But we also believe that Christians are obligated to support the social structures of freedom, especially religious liberty. These *Guidelines* provide the outlines for thoughtful obedience in both of those spheres of obligation.

We are indebted to the hard work of many individuals who offered advice, caution and wisdom in the formulation of the PFSS program and the production of these *Guidelines*. Over 60 clergy and lay leaders, representing NAE member denominations, local churches, national organizations, colleges and seminaries, participated in the forging of this statement. In addition to personal interviews, regional seminars were held on the West Coast and in the Midwest, culminating in a two-day meeting at Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia and a final drafting session in Washington, D.C. Of special note in this year-long process is the work of Kent Hill, Robert Pickus, Kenneth Myers and George Weigel. Brian O'Connell, the program's coordinator, and other staff of the NAE's National Office and its Office of Public Affairs supervised this work and made significant personal contributions.

These *Guidelines* are a first step in what we hope will be a long and productive journey, a first step that has seemed like a major pilgrimage, marked by extended discussion, debate and research. Now, for this program to be productive, we need the combined commitment of NAE member denominations, local and state associa-

tions, churches and individual Evangelicals. We have been encouraged by the support the program has already received, support from many corners of the Evangelical community.

We welcome more involvement, not just in this program, but in the wider activities that are the focus of our work here. Evangelicals must be active participants in the programs and debates that explore roads to peace, to the protection of democracy and international human rights and to national security. We believe that these *Guidelines* will foster involvement in a way that is consistent with the theological traditions that we share and treasure.

Billy A. Melvin
Executive Director, NAE

Robert P. Dugan, Jr.
Director, NAE Office of Public Affairs

Bruce O'Connell

TO THE READER

The National Association of Evangelicals is now committed to a more serious and sustained entry into the organizational, educational and public opinion arenas which shape America's role in world affairs. Our *Peace, Freedom and Security Studies* program will guide that entry. These *Guidelines* summarize the program's rationale and explore some of the obstacles that until now have stood in the way of such an engagement.

They outline an approach to work for peace that differs significantly from patterns currently dominating the work of some other influential American religious organizations. These *Guidelines* offer a different focus, analysis and prescription for work in pursuit of peace.

It is an approach that requires leadership from within the Evangelical community capable of a disciplined and continuing commitment. Our first task is to find and develop such leadership.

Wise leadership, sensitive to the range of perspectives that exist in the Evangelical community, can contribute significantly to the currently divided and confused dialogue. The problem is not simply the inadequacy of the polar voices of left and right. The polarization of the argument itself constitutes a major part of the problem. It is difficult to meld truths present at the "Peace and Disarmament" end of the political spectrum with those heard at the "Security and Liberty" end. But that is our goal.

These *Guidelines* show how the NAE program can serve that end. They reject those programs that would make religious organizations simply an arm of one or another secular political current. They chart the task of establishing an arena in which competing perspectives can be searchingly explored and improved upon. The *Guidelines* are less concerned with mobilizing votes on an issue than with examining the sources of our disagreement and unearthing new understandings which can move us toward common ground. They recognize the difference between a church and a political organization, and they expect the dialogue that takes place in a church to reflect that difference.

Evangelicals are well situated to encourage the needed dialogue. Our understanding of the human condition armors us against naive utopianism. We are confident in, and know our responsibility to, our country; but we know also our responsibility to an authority higher than any state.

These *Guidelines*, however, are more than a call to dialogue. They suggest a direction for our work and the standards by which we will measure our progress. They outline the basic agreements— theological, political and institutional—that had to be reached before the *Peace, Freedom and Security Studies* program could be launched. The document is the product of over a year of work involving wide-

spread and intensive discussion within the Evangelical community.

These *Guidelines* mark an important milepost in the growing involvement of Evangelicals in American public life. Some religious and some secular voices have decried this development. Some who have successfully established their values and political judgments in key centers of leadership in the American religious community, and in other educational and intellectual centers do not want their values and judgments challenged. These *Guidelines* constitute such a challenge.

We challenge those religious leaders who claim to speak for peace or the liberation of the oppressed but who, in our view, serve other destructive ends. We also challenge the claim that all that should be done is being done to reduce the risk of war and to defend belief in the God-given dignity of the individual human being.

One reason for the National Association of Evangelicals' decision to launch the *Peace, Freedom and Security Studies* program was a profound sense of dismay as we surveyed the role American religious leaders often played in the foreign policy arena. One would not expect them to enter the discussion in ways that undercut freedom of religion. But consider the testimony of Armando Valladares, a Cuban Christian and poet recently released after 22 years of imprisonment in Cuba. Reflecting on the way American religious leaders' statements supporting Fidel Castro's dictatorship were used by Cuban Communists to demoralize their prisoners, Valladares lamented:

Incomprehensibly to us, while we waited for the embrace of solidarity from our brothers in Christ, those who were embraced were our tormentors.

Consider the fact that the same tragic pattern is now being repeated, not simply by individual religious leaders, but by major American religious organizations in their response to the plight of persecuted believers in Nicaragua and the Soviet Union.

Different voices are clearly needed in the American religious community. The *Peace, Freedom and Security Studies* program will strengthen the Evangelical voice. We will not serve as apologists for those who would crush religious belief. We will stand for religious liberty because religious liberty is essential if we are to move away from a world dominated by war.

But our purpose in expanding our work on problems of peace and freedom is not to establish a political position in opposition to the political pronouncements of, for example, the National Council of Churches. Nor is it to support the security agenda of the religious New Right.

We begin instead with a problem: The inadequate response of American religious organizations, including our own, to the great problems of moral purpose and judgment that confront us in the defense and foreign policy arenas.

We stand humbled as we confront the destructive role religion sometimes plays in some of the world's bloody conflicts. We believe religious leadership has a more constructive vocation.

We understand the error of not engaging in thoughtful consideration of the choices our country faces. While innocents are assaulted, while old patterns of violence and old tyrannies are confirmed in their power, and while new and terrible weapons threaten our future, the religious community should not remain silent. Patterns of thought in the Evangelical community have sometimes made us comfortable in nonengagement. We are no longer comfortable. We must now be active.

We also understand the error of current religious fashions in the peace arena. Church offices sometimes issue statements on a host of issues in the name of church leaders who have neither the time nor the training to consider them thoughtfully. Great national church and ecumenical organizations have become the instrument of political activists particularly on the left, though also on the right, whose primary commitment is to an ideological position. We have seen the consequences of their disregard for the primary purposes and well-being of their religious communities.

It is no advance for churches to go from passivity to active error. Surely it is an error when, in the name of overthrowing tyranny, religious leaders become handmaidens to even more complete and profound forms of oppression. It is a scandal that American religious leaders provide a significant support system for one of the most repressive governments in Central America. It is shameful when religious exchange programs which falsify the plight of controlled or persecuted churches in the Soviet Union are celebrated as contributions to progress toward peace. It is a tragedy when the urgent need to aid refugees is distorted, as it has been in some religious branches of the Sanctuary movement, to serve the political ends of those who are the enemies of democracy. Yet such conduct now characterizes some of our most influential religious agencies.

We recognize that one could make another list of inadequacies from the other end of the political spectrum. The problem there is not an optimistic and inaccurate picture of Soviet reality; it is the denial of the possibility of change in Soviet society, and an almost total lack of creative effort or even interest in how constructive change can be encouraged there. On the far right of the political spectrum the problem is not Third World demagoguery recycled for American audiences; it is an inadequate sense of responsibility to help deeply deprived Third World societies demanding change. In this perspective, human rights violations in the Soviet Union are highlighted while those occurring in nations allied to the United States are muted or excused. The looming horror of nuclear war is not, as on the left, exploited to develop support for political prescriptions that will do little to prevent it; but, at this end of the spectrum, it is often treated as if only one response were possible: enlarged American military capabilities.

Few in the Evangelical community are now ready to deal with these complexities. Many of us know the biblical basis for our work, but few of us have had experience in analyzing current problems, putting biblical insight into historical perspective, and then assessing the probable consequences of different policy proposals. Without perspective and without preparation, an awakened, religiously-based concern will only prepare the ground for political demagoguery.

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Not all who shared in the discussion leading to these *Guidelines* agreed with every idea and programmatic approach spelled out here. Some wanted no program at all. Others wanted a program based on very different values and goals. An attempt to summarize these "other voices" appears in Appendix A, along with an indication of what in their approach was accepted and what did not fit within the agreement that was achieved.

The *Guidelines* are a living document. Continuing revision and reassessment will be required as we grow in depth and sophistication. Additional guiding state-

ments will be appended to the basic document as work develops on Church education programs, problems of citizen responsibility, conscience and war, and other specific program areas outlined in Section VII.

A *Guidelines* statement adequate for the serious, continuing, in-depth program envisioned is necessarily lengthy. Work for peace, particularly in the complex world of Evangelicalism, is a difficult and complicated task. Undertaking such work in a responsible way requires careful thought and planning. Few American religious leaders work on both alternatives to war and the defense of democratic values. Fewer still have undertaken the requisite study. There are among us some committed to a religious witness against violence. But, for many of us, a prophetic voice marking the evil of war is not enough. The equally important task of wisely relating values underlying that witness to the world must be pursued. That is the purpose of this new NAE program.

We are beginners in the difficult task of charting the road to a world secure against the outrage of war, more open to the development of free societies. But we begin with the knowledge that few of the answers now in the public arena successfully meld a commitment to peace and to freedom, and that none offers a sure road to security. We would share in the creative task ahead.

Much depends on your response.

If the *Peace, Freedom and Security Studies* program is to help the Evangelical community better define and conduct its work in its churches, schools, and publications, it will do so only as some among us take this responsibility as their own.

Should you?

Those of us responsible for helping guide the affairs of the National Association of Evangelicals await your response.

The NAE Executive Committee

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October 1986

Section I PROGRAM HISTORY

This section describes the history and the purpose of this program.

The NAE decided to launch the PFSS program because NAE leadership believed that Evangelicals could make a distinctive and needed contribution to the debate on security issues in our country and to progress toward a world, safe for free societies, that resolves international conflict without war. The primary purpose of the program is to develop within the Evangelical community informed leadership committed to those goals and capable of guiding our work.

A. History

The National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) is the principal umbrella organization of Evangelical denominations, agencies and churches in the United States. The NAE is an association of over 45,000 churches from 78 denominations, including 45 member denominations. Through its affiliates and subsidiaries, such as World Relief and the National Religious Broadcasters, it serves a constituency of 10 to 15 million. The NAE has committed itself to raise the awareness of Evangelicals on issues of public policy through its Washington, D.C. Office of Public Affairs. The *Peace, Freedom and Security Studies* program will pursue that goal with sustained attention to matters concerning America's role in world affairs. It will guide NAE's entry into organizational, educational and public opinion arenas in which that role is defined.

The PFSS program grew out of two years of discussion between senior NAE officials and the World Without War Council (WWWC). The WWWW is an organization whose singular experience in aiding those who want to relate religious values to progress toward peace and freedom drew NAE's respect. The Council was able to demonstrate why it was appropriate, how it was feasible, and why it was important for the NAE to take on this added responsibility. Given the increased weight of Evangelicals in American political culture, and the concern in the Evangelical community over the sanctity of human life, a thoughtful Evangelical engagement with the central issues of war and peace was long overdue.

Could this engagement offer an alternative to those religious voices that resist the development and use of only American power? Could it serve the values of a free and pluralistic society as it worked for peace? Could it apply study of Biblical teachings to the complex dilemmas of American choices in world affairs? Could it aid in building agreement in our country on a peace and security strategy worthy of the name? Is it possible to shape such an engagement in ways appropriate to the Evangelical community? As promising answers to these questions emerged, the Executive Committee of the NAE authorized its Washington, D.C. office to begin work.

B. Program Purposes

1. To define and help guide the engagement of Evangelical churches and institutions in arenas in which America's role in world affairs is debated and determined.
2. To prepare Evangelical agencies and individuals for wise and continuing activity in those arenas consistent with Evangelical theological understandings.

The NAE undertakes this work fully aware of the realities of adversary power in the international arena and of the legitimacy of American security concerns. The program will confront the harsh facts of totalitarian power. We want to do so, however, in ways that will move us toward a world more capable of resolving international conflict without war: a world more hospitable to a growing sense of mutual responsibility. It is not our intention to add one more voice to a foreign and defense policy debate that is presently incapable of charting ways to act simultaneously for peace, freedom and security. We want our work to contribute to developing that needed capability in our country. We are committed to working for peace and freedom.

Since our primary concern is to develop Evangelical leadership qualified to address these matters, the initial focus of our work will not be within government but rather on the educational institutions, publications and agencies of the Evangelical community.

We recognize that some of the legitimate reasons for inactivity involve our perception of the complexity of these problems. Many within our community fear that proposals advanced in the name of peace will in fact move us closer to war. Others are uncertain about the more basic problem of the appropriate relation of the Church to problems which are political. Anxieties have also been expressed about the possible damage to the Evangelical community that might occur in confronting these potentially divisive issues. We recognize these and other legitimate concerns and have tried to be sensitive to them in developing these *Guidelines* for our work.

These *Guidelines*:

- a) State the Biblical and theological foundations of our call to be peacemakers;
- b) Make clear the political understandings and ethical beliefs that will inform our work and identify the program's policy goals;
- c) Identify some of the obstacles to effective work that now exist in the present peace movement, in our Evangelical community and in the larger society;
- d) Define the initial objectives of the PFSS program;
- e) Establish the criteria by which we can evaluate the program's work; and,
- f) Explain the program's administrative arrangements.

Section II OUR INTENTIONS

This section examines the nature of the problem this program addresses.

Facing the twin threats of nuclear destruction and totalitarianism, and the difficulty of defining appropriate patterns of work on these problems by religious agencies, many people prefer to ignore international political issues altogether. Others call for involvement in which passion and arrogance combine to chart unwise or inappropriate roles for the Church. Christians, who are committed to freedom and peace—and who know how easily entry into political arenas can corrupt our primary mission—do right to enter such arenas carefully and thoughtfully. The intention of this program is to develop within the Evangelical community leaders whose reflection on the theological, moral and political problems involved in the pursuit of peace and freedom in a fallen world will lead to realistic opportunities for an American contribution to a world safe for free societies, in which international conflict is resolved without war.

Although the NAE recognizes the existence and value of theological and political diversity within its ranks, a commitment to Biblical authority is a fundamental reference point for Evangelicals affiliated with the NAE. Since its formation in 1942, the NAE has affirmed the Bible as "the inspired, the only infallible, authoritative Word of God." We recognize, however, that diverse hermeneutical theories, theological conclusions and human fallibility create an environment in which agreement in interpretation can not always be achieved.

Among the assumptions guiding the NAE and the PFSS program is a belief in the legitimacy of appropriate Evangelical involvement in political affairs. Though Evangelicals may differ with respect to the precise nature of this engagement, it is clear that Christians are called to be involved in a significant way with the welfare of the general society. The Gospel deals with human beings within the context of the broader community. Evangelicals affirm the sovereignty of God and recognize His providential activity within this fallen world to restrain sin and to promote justice.

The NAE's PFSS program also begins with an affirmation of the value of democracy, an affirmation rooted in the Christian insistence on the dignity of the human person. At its best, democracy is a remarkable system that has demonstrated the possibility for diverse individuals and groups to coexist and deal with their conflicts without resorting to tyranny or violence.

Finally, the NAE and the PFSS program affirm Evangelical efforts to minimize violence in world politics, even as we recognize the legitimacy of a concern for the common defense.

Against this backdrop, our goal in this program is the promotion of balanced,

thoughtful, and productive discussion of the issues related to peace, freedom and national security. We hope to develop a framework for discussion involving all theological and political viewpoints within the Evangelical world. Out of such a dialogue can come, we believe, approaches to the related problems of peace, freedom and security that will advance the public debate rather than reflect its current polarization.

If we are successful, all in the Evangelical community, even those in as profound disagreement as are pacifists and advocates of "peace through strength," will welcome the opportunity to engage in respectful, honest dialogue. We hope, out of that dialogue, to offer alternatives to the present debate, which is too often sterile and rancorous.

"Peace" programs are viewed very skeptically by much of the Evangelical community, as well as by many nonevangelical Americans. This is in part a product of simplistic notions of what constitutes effective work for peace. For example, lobbying against expenditures for military arms is assumed by some to be equivalent to work for peace. Others believe that peace is advanced in direct proportion to the expansion of the defense budget.

We need to get out of these ruts. The name of the program we are establishing has been chosen to reflect one route of escape: the recognition that peace is not an isolated political achievement. We must be concerned simultaneously with peace, international human rights, democratic values and national security.

Specific policy proposals are *not* the primary focus of this program. Rather an effort has been made to formulate for Evangelical individuals, organizations and churches, guidelines which are capable of encouraging a new kind of debate: one in which the goals of peace, freedom and security are sought together; one which faces honestly the threat of war, the threat of totalitarianism, and the ever present danger of chaos in world affairs; one which affirms the dignity of the human person as our country seeks moral responses to the dilemmas of world affairs; one which helps a divided America pursue its inescapable moral tasks in the world.

Peace, Freedom And Security: The Nature Of The Problem

Many today see the Western democracies as nervously steering a perilous course between the Scylla of slavery and the Charybdis of cultural and possibly total annihilation. Fleeing one monster seems inexorably to draw us towards the jaws of the other. According to this scenario, the contemporary Odysseus casts about for a way to escape totalitarianism without risking a nuclear holocaust.

This particular formulation of the problem may well be false or unnecessarily limited, but it is quite common. Our choice must not be either acquiescence to totalitarian power or life lived under the constant threat of nuclear war. One of the objectives of the PFSS program is to recognize the reality of the threats of both slavery and annihilation, but to encourage the search for achievable alternatives to these stark destinies.

American Evangelicals cannot avoid dealing with these issues. We would be neither victims nor executioners. If our citizenship means anything, surely it entails an obligation to help discover the ideas, commitments and policies that can help lead the world away from a choice between freedom and mass violence.

We seek to make America a leader in progress toward a world where conflicts can be resolved through means worthy of those who have been created in the image of God. A religious engagement with the forces of disintegration that threaten

world security should help strengthen those forces of mutuality, of a responsible shared life for all men everywhere, that are affirmed in our Christian tradition. We believe such a religious engagement can respond constructively to the social and political revolutions of our century: to help bring them out of the violence, tyranny and chaos they have so often spawned, toward the fulfillment of their promise of human well being.

Religious reflection on and action in these issues should be undertaken not only without utopianism but with that profound reading of the human condition that is proof against sentimental approaches to problems of world politics, and proof too against fear.

We do not begin in fear. Human intelligence and will, guided by God's grace, can find ways to secure greater measures both of peace and of freedom, and to preserve and protect the dignity of man.

Section III BIBLICAL FOUNDATIONS

This section surveys some of the fundamental theological insights that will guide this program.

The Christian doctrine of sin teaches that man is in a fallen state. Evil has its source in sin, and the ambiguities of many moral choices are the product of a sinful world. The Church has had many different understandings of the appropriate role of the state and the state's use of force. This program will call attention to the richness and complexity of Christian attempts to understand and to transcend war.

In addition to the doctrine of sin, reflection on the questions of peace and freedom also requires other doctrinal support, including the insistence on the primacy of spiritual ministry in the Church, the meaning of loving service and reconciliation, the tensions of the epoch between the two comings of Christ, and the Biblical vision of the future.

A. The Challenge of Choices

Tyranny and war are old threats. Yet these twin specters of doom have been rendered more sinister because of 20th-century secularism and technology.

In response to these threats, Evangelicals first insist that evil is the result of sin, estrangement from God, which is a constant reality in the human condition. Sin is prevalent in the individual mind and heart, it distorts our relationships, our institutions and decisions, and its effects become entrenched in the structures of society and culture.

Christians assert that redemption, the cancelling of sin and the mitigation of its effects, is found only in union with Christ, whose atoning death paid the moral penalty for sin. The Christian confronts sin and its concomitant evils with the spiritual strength of the indwelling Holy Spirit, with the wisdom granted by God and defined by Scripture, and with a compassion that reflects God's holy love.

But moral choices and their consequences are not simple matters for the Christian. The complexity of moral dilemmas becomes more perplexing when matters of social and political involvement are considered, in part because of the choices simultaneously being made by other moral beings, in part because of the finite knowledge of complex issues, and in part because of the inherent difficulty of applying an array of diverse Biblical principles to a multifaceted problem. In addition, Christians acting out their faith in the context of public life must recognize that not all fellow citizens share that faith or the conclusions to which it leads them. Christians are thus further obligated to give an account for their advocacy of certain programs in light of that pluralistic situation.

Perhaps no problem has perplexed and divided Christians more than the question of justifying or condemning the use of force by the state. There are those who insist that all use of lethal force is morally wrong, even that which is meant only to ward

off aggression against oneself or one's family. Others have believed in the propriety of a "holy war." To advance or to protect fundamental values, most Evangelicals, along with the majority of all Christians, have rejected both of these responses and believe that, though the use of force should be a last resort, there are some occasions when it is justifiable.

Within the Evangelical community, the Mennonites and the Brethren are among the proponents of the pacifist position, while those in the Reformed tradition have often endorsed a "just war" perspective. Wesleyan/Arminian Evangelicals have usually been closer to the Reformed view, though pacifists may be found here as well. Clearly, given such diversity, any meaningful exchange of views must encourage respectful, but frank dialogue in these matters. Each tradition has its own strengths to bring to the discussion. But none have successfully pointed the way to end war or those monstrous forms of tyranny currently embodied in totalitarian forms of government.

Beyond the question of the use of force *per se* are the more difficult questions of degree: when, where, and how much force should be employed? Does the destructive capability of nuclear weapons mean that they should be rejected as part of our defense arsenal? Or does their threatened use act as an effective deterrent to nuclear blackmail by an enemy? Would it be better to risk totalitarian subjugation than a nuclear war? Would acquiescence to totalitarian power prevent war, or might it make war more likely?

Within the just war tradition, the question of the justice of the cause always preceded the question of the appropriateness of means. What is being defended, and against what, had to be evaluated before the morality of the instruments of defense was considered. This makes the problem even more complex. In terms of sheer numbers, more people have probably perished internally in totalitarian regimes in the 20th century than in international wars during the same period. Where then lies the greatest prospect for the loss of human life: Is it in preparing for war to deter an aggressor, or is it in rejecting the use of weapons because of their destructive potential? Does our responsibility require that we ignore numerical calculations and insist on adherence to certain fundamental affirmations whatever the consequences?

These are the kinds of questions which Evangelicals have struggled with when the appropriate response to evil has been debated. It is essential that these difficult issues be confronted in an atmosphere of mutual respect and a common desire to come to conclusions that are pleasing to God.

Our goal in this program, however, is more ambitious than even the difficult goal of respectful dialogue. More is needed than a repetition of sterile arguments, no matter how courteously they are conducted. Can we discover new approaches to the threat of totalitarianism, approaches that bring effective, non-military pressures for change to bear on adversary societies? Are there means for encouraging the Soviet Union to move toward a more open society? Is there hope for new institutional forms and processes that can help to resolve conflicts? Can we devise ways to challenge all centers of power in world politics, calling them to accountability for the advance of peace and freedom? Are there new forms of witness that might aid in this task? Could new and gathered currents of spiritual renewal be brought into more effective relationship to the quest for peace, democracy and security? What new ideas and understandings are needed to break the fruitless log-jam of public debate and, by doing so, help regather America for its inescapable responsibilities in the world? The PFSS program will address these kinds of questions as well.

B. Fundamental Principles

Evangelical responses to peace, freedom and security issues must be based on certain Biblical principles.

1. The Primacy of the Spiritual Task

When a Pharisee questioned Jesus concerning the greatest commandment, Jesus responded:

"Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind." This is the first and greatest commandment. And the second is like it: "Love your neighbor as yourself." (Matt. 22:37-39, New International Version; also cf. Luke 10:25-27).

The Church must never forget that its primary function is spiritual. Christians individually and corporately are to worship and glorify God. Beyond this, Christians have been commanded to make disciples.

Following his resurrection, the agenda which Jesus set for his disciples was evangelical:

Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you (Matt. 28:18-20, NIV).

The primary task of the Church in making disciples does not preclude Christian activity in social and political matters. The phrase "teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you" certainly includes Jesus' command to care for the poor and his admonition to be peacemakers. And the Great Commission is not an exhaustive description of the activity of all Christians.

2. Called To Serve The World

In our enthusiasm to honor God and spread the Gospel, Evangelicals must not neglect what Jesus declared to be second in importance only to worship: "Love your neighbor as yourself." In other words, Christian discipleship is to be intimately involved with the lives of our fellow human beings. Love means hurting with those who suffer and working tirelessly to alleviate that suffering.

In Luke, Jesus uses a parable to give a description of what he means by the concept of neighbor. He does *not* mean a good friend, or even an acquaintance. The Samaritan who stopped to help the bleeding stranger was the exemplary good neighbor (Luke 10:29-37, NIV).

Paul is unequivocal in describing what is expected of the Christian in matters of rendering assistance to others.

Let us not become weary in doing good, for at the proper time we will reap a harvest if we do not give up. Therefore, as we have opportunity, let us do good to all people, especially to those who belong to the family of believers (Gal. 6:9-10, NIV).

Given this mandate, surely the plight of believers under oppressive regimes should be a concern of all Christians. The response of some American religious leaders to the plight of Christians in the Soviet Union, for example, is a scandal we must address. As we consider the millions who have suffered and died in this century, we must take seriously the stern warning found in Proverbs.

Rescue those being led away to death; hold back those staggering toward slaughter. If you say, "But we knew nothing about this," does not he who weighs the heart perceive it? Does not he who guards your life know it? Will he not repay each person according to what he has done (Prov. 24:11-12, NIV)?

If Jesus' words are to be taken seriously, piety must not exclude social responsibility. The Christian life involves horizontal no less than vertical responsibilities.

3. The Ministry of Reconciliation Between God and Human Beings

Christians manifest their love for the people of this world by being involved in the ministry of reconciling human beings to their Creator. According to Paul, it was through Christ that God reconciled us to Himself, and we now are responsible to spread the message of that reconciliation to others (2 Cor. 5:18-20, NIV).

The bridging of the gulf which separates human beings from God, thus bringing reconciliation, results in a peace beyond any that this world can give. As the time for his own crucifixion drew near, Jesus comforted his disciples:

Peace I leave with you; my peace I give you. I do not give to you as the world gives. Do not let your hearts be troubled and do not be afraid (John 14:27, NIV).

4. The Ministry of Reconciliation Among Human Beings

In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus made very clear his feelings about those who work for peace. "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called the sons of God" (Matt. 5:9, NIV).

Here is the Christian call to a ministry of reconciliation between human beings. That ministry can take many forms. In the PFSS program, we wish to acknowledge the important ways in which law and political community contribute to reconciliation among men. Law and democratic governance are institutional means to resolve conflict without the parties resorting to personal or mass violence. In this important sense, law and political community are instruments of reconciliation. Law and political community may promote, in a fallen world, the best available means to meet the challenge of peace, freedom and security. This is not a utopian dream; it is a matter of wise and steady work building a foundation for political community across national borders.

Such an approach to reconciliation takes full account of Jesus's injunctions on how Christians ought to deal with evil:

You have heard that it was said, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." But I tell you, do not resist an evil person. . . . You have heard that it was said, "Love your neighbor and hate your enemy." But I tell you: love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, that you may be sons of your Father in heaven. . . . Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect (Matt. 5:38-39, 43-44, 48, NIV).

This text is the pacifists' cornerstone, and the force of it is sometimes carelessly ignored by proponents of the just war doctrine. Many Christians, however, have carefully concluded that it does not apply univocally to the civil sphere. Others question whether it should even function in all personal situations. Some have deferred the Sermon on the Mount to a dispensational future.

But one thing is certain: Christians are expected to be involved in the task of peacemaking. Law and political community are instruments of this worldly reconciliation which pacifists and non-pacifists can both work to strengthen (where they exist) or create (where they do not).

5. Biblical Realism

Christians believe that the gracious end of human history has been assured in the resurrection of Jesus Christ: God's Kingdom will triumph, in God's time beyond time. We live now between the resurrection and the eschatological Kingdom. Sin and death have been conquered in Christ; but sin remains a dominant fact of life on earth in this "time between." Conflict—between persons, nations, states, ideolo-

gies—is a constant of the human condition this side of the Kingdom come in its fullness. The persistence of conflict is the political meaning of the doctrine of original sin.

The Christian call to worldly responsibility must take full account of the abiding reality of sin, and its effects on individuals and communities. “Biblical realism” urges us to be skeptical—on theological grounds—of all schemes of social perfectibility short of the final Kingdom. Such schemes often reflect a human pretentiousness which is a contemporary expression of the sin of Adam and Eve. The God of Jesus Christ calls us from pretentiously plotting our own perfection to an acknowledgment of our weakness and our inclination to “that which I would not do.”

Biblical realism is not worldly cynicism. Biblical realism teaches us that there is a great gap between things as they are and things as they ought to be. It also teaches us that work to close that gap is of the essence of our Christian vocation.

6. Biblical Visions of the Future

The prophet Isaiah was full of hope when he wrote:

They will beat their swords into plowshares
and their spears into pruning hooks.
Nations will not take up sword against nation,
nor will they train for war anymore
(Isa. 2:4, NIV).

The wolf will live with the lamb,
the leopard will lie down with the goat . . .

for the earth will be full of the knowledge of the Lord
as the waters cover the sea
(Isa. 11: 6,9, NIV).

Almost a millenium later, the following vision of a “new Jerusalem” was recorded by the Apostle John in Revelation.

Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away. . . . There will be no more death or mourning or crying or pain, for the old order of things has passed away (Rev. 21:1,4, NIV).

Few topics within the Evangelical world are more controversial than how to interpret properly these Biblical passages. Some insist that these texts are Messianic and cannot be fulfilled within a fallen, secular society. Others, who emphasize the social Gospel, are more comfortable talking about the Gospel transforming unregenerate society, if not perfecting it as a cultural force.

It is clear, however, that these prophetic utterances stood in stark contrast to the realities in which their authors lived. And today, the fulfillment of the promises seem to many as distant as ever. The challenge is continually to move towards the ideal of the divine promise, while at the same time recognizing that there can only be partial success so long as fallen human beings are given by God the latitude they presently possess.

Whatever our divergent interpretations of the apocalyptic literature of the Bible, Evangelicals are agreed that the coming of the Kingdom in its full glory is a matter of God’s action, not man’s. The fullness of Shalom in the Kingdom is a horizon against which the present can be judged, and towards which future action can be oriented. We shall not reach the Kingdom through the works of our hands. But the works of our hands—such as law and political community—can create conditions more conducive to the pursuit of a more just world than the confusion of international politics today. We cannot create the Kingdom of God; we can nurture a human future more congruent with that Kingdom’s values.

Section IV CURRENT OBSTACLES

This section examines some of the ideas which have blocked the road to a wise and effective Evangelical involvement in work on foreign policy and war/peace questions.

It is no easy matter to confront the issues of how nations might avoid war; why liberty is a good thing and how it can be protected; and what a Christian’s responsibility is in a world of conflict and oppression. Many succumb to easy answers: to a temptation, for example, to reduce Christianity to a merely spiritual religion; to the assumption that the refusal to use power is in itself a virtue rather than a denial of responsibility. Too few have been willing to give these problems the sustained attention they require.

Many of the errors involved could be avoided if Christians more carefully examined the presuppositions behind certain conclusions, being especially wary of the distorting effects of fear and vengeance, and mindful of the Scriptural teaching about wisdom.

A number of problems must be addressed before Evangelicals can make significant progress in helping advance the public dialogue on issues of peace, democracy, international human rights and national security. Here are some common misunderstandings that must be confronted:

A. Common Misunderstandings

I. “Religion Is Limited to Personal Spirituality”

Though Evangelicals have understandably focused on the primacy of the spiritual life in their Church activities, there has sometimes been a regrettable lack of attention to the Biblical mandate to be involved in the fate of society as a whole.

Narrowly introspective religious practice represents a departure from at least some of the Evangelical past. For example, during the 18th and 19th centuries. Evangelical revivals spawned major involvement in social reform, such as the abolition of slavery. This activist part of our heritage is already being studied and revived in certain parts of the Evangelical world, but the process needs to be expanded further, but only if the dangers and distortions that come with entering social and political arenas are understood and guarded against.

In correcting the tendency to privatization, we must remember that not everyone must be involved with the same intensity, or with the same issues. We must also recognize that involvement is not itself a virtue. The key question is not *whether* Evangelicals are to be involved, but *how*: to what ends, through what appropriate means, measured by what standards.

2. "Politics Requires Unacceptable Moral Compromise"

Too many Evangelicals consider politics to be a "dirty business" in which high moral ideals cannot survive. Relating moral purpose to the responsibilities of power involves a thicket of problematic choices. We do well to be aware of the difficulties, but we cannot avoid them.

Indeed, we do live in a fallen world. But the need to drive the ploughshare of moral responsibility into the hard soil of political reality remains. That means being aware of consequences and avoiding moral arrogance. It requires that we be sceptical of single-villain theories. It also requires that we be as aware of those dangerous combinations of passion and ignorance that are too often the engines of protest as we are of the costs of apathetic non-involvement.

We have much to learn, but learn we must.

Far from avoiding involvement in such issues as peace, freedom and national security, Evangelicals have a responsibility to seek positions which most advance high ideals rooted in Biblical standards. The failure to accept what many regard as imperfect options may well insure the victory of options which are much worse. Ironically, the unyielding idealist can be a stumbling block to meaningful progress, but a witness to the highest values can also serve a more humane politics.

3. "Why Bother? The End Is Near"

Some Evangelicals are so convinced that we are living in the end times that they believe it is pointless to be personally involved in the problems of tyranny and war. This position has one trait very much in common with secular fatalism—the tendency to withdraw from direct involvement with present crises.

This is not the place for a debate on whether or not we are living in the end times. The Evangelical world contains a great deal of healthy diversity at this point. The point here, however, is that even if we are living in the end times, Evangelicals must still be involved in the difficult task of alleviating suffering and seeking to avoid war.

In Jesus' parable of "The Ten Minas," the nobleman instructed his 10 servants to put the money he had given them to work "until I come back." (Luke 19:13, NIV). For many Evangelicals, this means that so long as we live and the Lord does not intervene, we are obligated to minister to the world, not withdraw from it.

4. "Here Is The Answer"

Equally as dangerous as the refusal to engage in political debate is ill-informed engagement. If there is anything as dangerous as not thinking about war and peace, it is not thinking about them enough.

Unfortunately, religious involvement with war/peace issues has sometimes tended to be long on enthusiasm and short on thoughtful analysis. Both political right and left in church circles tend to focus only on facts and events which support their own particular policy preferences.

Church groups which consider that America can do no wrong often make no effort to supply their members with intelligent critical commentary on U.S. foreign policy. On the other hand, the materials available in other church bodies on foreign policy are indicative of the same problem. The assumption that U.S. foreign policy is usually wrong has been so strong in many activist church groups in recent years, that literature available to participants rarely includes the official positions and rationale of the Administration. The tendency of some to not believe anything American officials state, while accepting at face value the allegations made by

almost any foreign or domestic critic of U.S. foreign policy, is irresponsible.

To make matters worse, when these one-sided church stances are dressed up in scriptural, theological and moral warrants (all too often presented as if these are the *only* legitimate "Christian" positions), the stage is set for division within the Church.

Furthermore, pronouncements made under such conditions are frequently of little help. They often fail to recognize the complexity of very difficult issues. Proverbs 18:17 (NIV) makes us recognize that matters are not always as simple as they first appear. "The first to present his case seems right, till another comes forward and questions him." Persisting in open dialogue, gaining in knowledge and charting roads to agreement are among the goals in the PFSS program.

The search for the simplistic solution is also evident in the use of Scripture. Evangelicals who share a deep reverence for the Bible must recognize the temptation common to us all to seek justification for positions arrived at by other means. Citing Scriptures to support one viewpoint can be very misleading if there is not a frank and honest discussion of the hermeneutical presuppositions we bring to our exposition of the Bible, the context of the quotation cited, as well as an acknowledgment of other passages which may present a different perspective. Drawing inferences from Scripture is a delicate and fallible exercise. Every effort must be made to understand the legitimate Biblical and rational grounds for opposing viewpoints. An appreciation of different denominational traditions is critical in coming to grips with divergent understandings of crucial Biblical passages.

The Evangelical commitment to the authority of the Scripture necessitates a willingness to take the entire Bible seriously. Matters are often not as clearcut as we would like them to be; truth often resists confinement within moral platitudes and mathematical formulas. Consideration of Scripture for Evangelicals must involve the illumination of the Holy Spirit, an awareness of Church traditions, faith and the careful use of reason.

Finally, Evangelicals must avoid the illusion of thinking that something has been accomplished for peace, just because the stated goals of an activity have been in the name of peace. Jeremiah was furious with the people of Jerusalem for lying to themselves and each other about their condition. Speaking for God, he warns of judgment precipitated by duplicity:

They dress the wound of my people as though it were not serious.

"Peace, peace," they say, when there is no peace (Jer. 6:14, NIV).

May it never be said of us that we cried "peace, peace," when in fact we had only in the name of "peace" set the stage for war and suffering.

5. "That Was Then, This Is Now"

Evangelicals are not immune to a problem which is widespread in American culture: ignorance of and lack of appreciation for the past. We frequently are unaware of our religious and political roots. This is a tragedy, because there is much that could be learned by serious study of history, especially of the history of theology. Ours is not the first generation within the Church which has struggled with what is appropriate Christian conduct relative to the use of force. Prominent early Christian thinkers were frequently very sophisticated in their handling of complex and difficult theological and political questions. We could benefit from a study of their thought.

The PFSS program is committed to a recovery of the legacy of the Church's wrestling with these matters, and to encouraging the wisdom that comes from

understanding the experiences of other people and nations in other times.

6. "Truth Is Always Halfway Between Two Extremes"

In avoiding the adoption of unexamined, unbalanced extreme positions, we may fall victim to an equally treacherous pitfall—the view that everybody is half right, and therefore, that the truth in every issue lies in the middle. Societies which champion pluralism and tolerance are prone to become increasingly embarrassed with the very concept of the sovereignty of truth. Evangelicals must not fall prey to this insidious temptation.

Contemporary examples of the power of this myth in foreign policy debate are quite common. For example, many assert that the United States and the Soviet Union are both superpowers, committed to their own ideologies, engaged in immoral actions in pursuit of their respective national interests, and involved in political propaganda which is more false than true. The conclusion is then often drawn that both powers are morally equivalent, and the solution lies in debunking about half of what each side asserts, while accepting the other half.

The myth that truth lies halfway between two polarized positions leads swiftly to the conclusion that the evil fostered by the democratic West is equivalent to that found in the Communist world. Yet this "answer" is flatly contradicted by history and current events. An obsession for condemning all powers equally does not work in the interest of truth.

Only open and thoughtful discussion will get all available information before us so we can come to terms with the complexities of issues such as Central America or the defense budget. Only on this basis can appropriate decisions be arrived at. Truth will sometimes be found on the "right," sometimes on the "left," and sometimes in the "middle." Truth may indeed be found, at times, ahead of the current argument. Truth is not finally subject to majority vote. The Church must not lose faith in the sovereignty of truth as rooted objectively in God, not subjectively in man.

B. Avoiding the Pitfalls

Just as some predictable pitfalls prevent us from coming to grips with problems of peace and freedom, there are a number of perspectives that can assist and clarify our thinking. Some of them have been mentioned above. Here are a few others:

1. Remember the Importance of Context

We must learn to explore issues in depth. This involves a careful analysis of the differing systems of moral reasoning and of the assumptions which underlie various policy positions and proposals. We must become adept at recognizing positions and attitudes that reflect simple ignorance, that express rigid ideological allegiances, and that are based on unexamined or mistaken presuppositions.

Context analysis could make it clearer, e.g., why all the facts about the evils of totalitarianism seem to have no effect on some who, surveying the possible effects of nuclear weapons, propose unilateral nuclear disarmament. It may well be that fear of extinction has become so consuming that no other reality can break into the discussion. In such a situation, it may be necessary to point out the theological problem involved in sacrificing everything for survival. But it may also be advantageous to make the case that survival may be even less likely if unwise proposals are adopted.

We need to be able to identify proposals which reflect little or no perspective of human experience beyond their own. Many people fortunate enough to be born in the West and who have had no first-hand contact with political repression or the documentation which describes it display a distressing lack of perspective when comparing life under different existing political systems. The same is true of those who are uninformed about the awful consequences of military conflicts, especially in a nuclear age.

In short, we must be much more attentive to the assumptions beneath various alternatives in theory and practice. And of course we must be willing to examine the biases and motivations of our own positions as well.

2. Avoid Approaches Based on Fear and Vengeance

The basic motivation for Christian action should not be fear, but rather a steadfast commitment to divine love and justice. The notion that the ultimate evil is death, whether it be through a nuclear war or totalitarian repression, is not a Christian position. Of course, life is a creation of God and to be treasured as such. But material existence has never been for the Christian the ultimate good. Nor can escape from suffering under totalitarianism be considered an ultimate good. The will of God is our ultimate goal, and we must not be presumptuous in assuming that His will is always to our advantage.

In our struggle against tyranny and war, if our motivations are truly Christian, they will be based on something more than simple fear of extinction and desire to avoid suffering. Nor should our actions spring from hatred and the desire for revenge. A constant within our tradition is the divine command not to seek vengeance. "Do not hate your brother in your heart. . . . Do not seek revenge or bear a grudge against one of your people, but love your neighbor as yourself. I am the Lord" (Lev. 19:17-18, NIV). In Deuteronomy 32:35, God claims the right to avenge. Paul insists on the same point in Romans 12:19. It should be noted that it is within this context that Paul justifies the legitimate use of the sword by the State, as an agent of God's wrath.

To the extent some Evangelicals endorse the possession of nuclear weapons, the rationale for deterrence should not be hatred. If deterrence is to be considered a Christian moral option, it must be linked to more positive affirmations, e.g., that the desire to preserve freedom and peace is consistent with divine notions of love and justice. The issue of whether the means are appropriate to the goal will have to be addressed as well.

3. Insist on Biblical Realism

The Evangelical commitment to God, and His truth, must be absolute. Truth is no respecter of political or theological spectrums. Truth remains the truth regardless of what cost its proclamation may involve.

As Evangelicals we are committed to following the will of God to the best of our ability and our understanding. We affirm the desire to advance divine love and justice. They are absolutes for us. Yet, the means by which we advance divine love and justice are not always completely agreed upon by Evangelicals. Evangelicals committed to a pacifist position believe that certain means are wrong irrespective of the consequences of refusing to use force. The Christian community must respect this perspective when it is part of a religious witness beyond the political arena. It has a long and venerable history within the Christian tradition. When, however, it enters that arena it must be judged by the same attempt to assess the consequences

of action as apply to any other proposed policy.

Most Evangelicals believe that advancing the cause of love and justice does involve, on occasion, the use of force by authorized agencies. Within this understanding, consideration of the consequences of proposed policies is right and appropriate. It is not fair to identify such considerations with simple utilitarianism, any more than it is just to dismiss pacifism as irrelevant utopianism.

What is often missing in our discussions is an informed and realistic assessment of the likely consequences of the programs for "peace" or "defense" that are commonly advanced. Evangelicals should heed the warning of Jesus to his disciples: "I am sending you out as sheep among wolves. Therefore be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves" (Matt. 10:16, NIV). Christians involved in discussion of peace, freedom and security issues must strive to maintain that delicate balance between innocence and shrewdness.

Section V POLITICAL UNDERSTANDINGS

This section enumerates a number of general political premises that will guide our program.

While the Bible does not teach democratic theory, democratic theory rests on Biblical insights about the inalienable dignity of the human person. As a result, Christians should not be afraid of affirming their support for such institutions and should seek to extend the benefits of such institutions to others, especially those living under totalitarian tyranny. American Christians should also be unafraid to take advantage of the resources of their own nation in pursuing that goal, while avoiding overweening nationalism and jingoism. Above all, Christians must take the threat of modern war seriously but not hysterically, and must seek alternative methods of settling international disputes.

The *Peace, Freedom and Security Studies* program will not undertake partisan electoral activities. But "politics" also refers to attempts to define the good society, to conceive the public good, to establish standards of conduct and responsibility for social interaction, and to chart accurately the realities of power and purpose which all who wish to advance this program's goals must confront. Such a political engagement is appropriate for religious agencies. Any Church undertaking work on peace, freedom and questions of national security should state the political as well as the theological beliefs that guide its work. Political action on these matters by religious agencies inevitably communicates certain attitudes toward our system of political authority and toward work for change within it.

Therefore, we state here the political understandings which will undergird the work of the *Peace, Freedom and Security Studies* program:

■ We are committed to the national community of which we are a part, but we set considerations of the national interest in the context of additional commitments to the glory of God, to the good of all peoples, and to the search for the resolution of international conflict without mass violence.

■ We affirm the virtues of democratic political systems because of their root values: the sanctity and dignity of the individual person. We have high regard for the democratic process by which the right of the majority to rule and the rights of political minorities, including the right to work to advance their views, are protected. We will demonstrate respect for individual conscience *and* for institutions of law and will encourage the processes in a democratic society by which each can improve and reform the other. Our work will seek to improve and extend the democratic process so it is strengthened as a reality and not simply maintained as an ideal.

■ We believe that the public climate should not be dominated by coalitions of passion and ignorance that endanger the nonviolent character of democratic processes. Encouraging discussions of problems of peace and freedom in ways that call forth man's capacity for reason and mutual respect, we wish to model ways in which agreement may grow out of conflict.

■ We recognize that, although responsible activity depends upon informed political judgments, very few of us will ever qualify as experts. Our role remains a crucial one: setting the goals we wish to see achieved and stating the values we wish to serve, thus influencing the direction and character of governmental decision-making.

■ We recognize that the initiative for policies aimed at the non-violent resolution of international conflict is unlikely to come from government alone. Government can implement goals, but religious agencies and other non-governmental elements in American society can provide the religious and moral impetus for progress toward peace, freedom and security.

■ We are aware of the current commitment of *all* states to the use of war as the ultimate instrument for resolving international conflict, and recognize the fundamental threat to peace posed by such commitments. We reject political perspectives which define work for peace as involving only opposition to American use of military power. We mean to face as realities both our own nation's use of violence and the organization and use of violence by other states and political forces, and to propose or support *alternatives* to violence in world politics.

■ We believe that our work must include an accurate assessment of hostile Communist states, and other contemporary anti-democratic governments and ideologies, recognizing their variety, their political, economic, and ethical appeals, and the serious threats they pose to the values of this program and this country.

■ We want to encourage American initiatives to alter the current Soviet agenda and to develop pressures—both coercive (yet non-violent) and persuasive—on and within that system capable of moving that country toward more open society and toward a partnership with us in progress toward the non-violent resolution of international conflict and the well-being of our peoples.

■ We believe in the necessity and desirability of American engagement in problems of world politics. American withdrawal from international problems would deny that responsibility. We will emphasize ways to fulfill our responsibility by means other than the threat of war.

■ We believe that peace and freedom have an organic relationship, realizing that democratic societies are the least likely to engage in wars of aggression.

■ We believe that peace and justice are also related, but, understanding that there are competing views of justice, we will give priority to the discovery of processes by which competing views of justice may conduct and resolve their conflict without violence.

■ We realize the terrible threat that modern weapons pose to human civilization, but reject the idea that survival is the primary value, or that engendering a climate of fear, or an acquiescence to the most brutal forces in world politics are ways to assure survival.

■ We recognize that choices regarding participation in war by an individual or a nation are often morally ambiguous. Most see war as an evil and a threat to human continuity. For some, a moral witness against war is their first responsibility. Such a witness can serve humane ends. It can also be distorted to serve other, destructive ends. There are dangers, too, in the action of those who see the obligation to provide for the common defense as a fundamental one in any human community and recognize that one side's refusal to engage in war is no guarantee that others will also refuse. We accept, therefore, that good men may differ on the morality of war. Our appeal is that all, whatever their views on the use of national military power in a particular instance, join in action to develop alternatives to reliance on war for justice or security.

Section VI POLICY GOALS

This section describes the long-range policy goals that the program will pursue:

- *Peace*
- *Freedom*
- *Security*
- *Political Community*
- *A Change in the Soviet Agenda*
- *Reversing the Competition in Arms*
- *Change and Economic Development*
- *Change Without Violence*
- *Government Which Respects the God-Given Dignity of Every Person*

In seeking to advance the policy goals listed below, we hope to improve the quality of activity in the arenas of public opinion and public policy in which America's role in world affairs is determined. We begin with our own activity, seeking to demonstrate models of study and public dialogue in which emotional blackmail and rancor are replaced by a search for truth; in which passion and ignorance are supplanted by an observable respect for reason.

We believe that the proper role for religious institutions in society is that of teacher, not as competitor for political power or as military strategist. We wish to assist in laying the groundwork for agreement in society on our country's right role in world affairs. We encourage Evangelicals to take seriously and responsibly the articulation of their own perspectives on specific policies.

Wise policy can only emerge from a serious process of study and reflection. In that study the program will seek to advance the following goals:

A. Peace

A primary goal of this program is to encourage American leadership in progress toward a world that resolves international conflict without war. The peace we are seeking to encourage in this program is a limited peace: it is not the inner peace of a relationship with God, nor the absence of all conflict because of the fulfillment of God's Kingdom, but the peace which is possible between organized political communities, achieved as law and political processes provide alternatives to the violent resolution of conflict.

B. Freedom

We will demonstrate a commitment to the values and institutions of a free society and we will support those in other societies who wish to build those values and processes into their own future. We will uphold the idea that peace and the advancement of human rights, especially religious liberty, are inextricably linked.

C. Security

Our general commitment to the well being of all human beings does not entail the abandonment of our sense of responsibility to our own political community. In a violent world, we share a commitment to the common defense. We want an America strong enough to resist attack and to influence the course of world affairs; yet an America that is continually seeking realistic alternatives to war as a means of resolving international conflict.

D. Political Community

International and transnational legal and political institutions could provide alternative procedures for resolving conflict. They can function, however, only as a common sense of identity and shared values makes possible growth toward international political community. The inadequacies of today's international institutions are apparent; consider, for example, the gap between the Charter of the United Nations and its present role in world affairs. We want to aid in the long work of building world institutions which do not traduce their own charters. We want to strengthen that sense of community which, across all the barriers that divide us, could move all peoples toward participation in a world community safe for free societies.

E. A Change in the Soviet Agenda

We are committed to more creative initiatives from our own country. But we see little hope for constructive change in international affairs without a radical shift in the Soviet agenda. Can American action, by means other than the threat of war, help change Soviet policy? Can our action change the context for negotiations and create pressures and incentives for needed change that do not erode the ground on which future agreement could be based? Exploring these and other related questions will be one aspect of our work. We want our work to help change rather than confirm the present Soviet agenda.

F. Reversing the Competition in Arms

In no arena are initiatives more needed than in efforts to reverse the competition in arms. The sorry history of efforts at arms control and disarmament leads to a warranted skepticism, but not to an abandonment of continued effort. There are new realities in Soviet society and in the world strategic arena. The shift to defensive weapons, for example, could lead to a massive expansion of arm expenditures. It could also provide the occasion for new efforts at mutual security arrangements—action to protect people of the U.S. and the Soviet Union from nuclear attack. America could take the lead in bringing such security arrangements into being, not simply for us and for our adversaries, but for a world now dominated by the threat of nuclear war. Such efforts, when allied to the pursuit of the other goals listed here, could lead to conditions in which major cuts in all forms of military expenditures become feasible. With the clear recognition that progress in limiting arms requires change in our adversaries as well as ourselves, we will pursue that goal.

We will enter the arms debate, but not to argue for or against particular weapons programs. War has come with weapons buildups; it has also come as a consequence of not matching power in the hands of adversary nations. This program will focus its energies on realistic alternatives to reliance on national military power for security, alternatives capable of confronting and altering present patterns of power in world politics.

G. Change and Economic Development

Conditions of deprivation and exploitation, and the awareness that such conditions need not be tolerated, have created a climate of revolutionary change in our century. The promise in that demand for change has often been unfulfilled. New and sometimes more brutal masters have replaced old ones. Too often, even the basic material conditions of life have deteriorated rather than advanced. We want our work to help assure that the demand for economic, political, and social change, and America's response to that demand, actually help produce real progress toward more adequate material standards of life and greater respect for human dignity and political freedom. We want to aid those who work without violence for such goals.

H. Change Without Violence

Since values must be defended and needed change sometimes forced, those who want alternatives to violence must understand and help develop other ways to prosecute and resolve conflict. In addition to the legal and political processes referred to above, the PFSS program will therefore study and seek ways to apply that spectrum of possibilities for change without violence that runs from nonviolent forms of social organization for the defense of values to new concepts of communication and conflict resolution.

I. Government Which Respects the God-Given Dignity of Every Person

We enter this program as committed Christians and as committed Americans. As Christians, we are impelled to this work by our recognition of the God-given dignity of every human person, which is the root of the Biblical injunction "Thou shalt not kill." That dignity is the source of those basic human rights whose protection is one crucial responsibility of rightly-ordered government. A peace which sacrifices human freedom—particularly religious liberty—is morally bankrupt and not an option for Christians to consider. The PFSS program will work to reconnect the goals of peace and freedom, and will seek, in ways that concurrently promote the prospects of peace and security, to aid those whose basic human rights are now systematically violated. We will refuse to silently acquiesce in human rights violations for the sake of a spurious "peace." We will also refuse to abandon work for a genuine peace as we defend human rights, human freedom and religious liberty.

Section VII PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

This section summarizes the program's initial specific projects and activities.

Since one of the chief obstacles in working for peace and freedom is careless thinking about what they mean, the PFSS program will be largely educational. Three initial categories of activity will be pursued: the training of leaders; the providing of material resources; and the assistance of Evangelical media coverage. These areas of service will be coordinated through the NAE's Washington office.

As the program begins its work, there are several specific activities we intend to pursue:

A. Leadership Development

1. The development of a strong core of Evangelical leaders capable of providing guidance and direction for its work.
2. The incorporation of the efforts of the program into long-standing NAE leadership training events (e.g., Federal Seminar, Washington Insight Briefing, *NAE Washington Insight*, National Congress on Christian Education, etc.).
3. The establishment of summer intern programs to give future leaders (and their advisors) an opportunity to study the full range of Evangelical perspectives on these concerns.
4. The development of new training seminars dealing with the problems of appropriate and effective work for peace, freedom and security. Such seminars will be geared for various age groups, and for various levels of experience.
5. The support of college and seminary faculties and staffs as they work to improve their understanding and teaching on these matters, and the encouragement of their students to assume the serious responsibilities discussed in these *Guidelines*.
6. The discovering of new ways for churches, denominations, associations and individuals to express publicly their concerns on these matters.

B. Resource Center

1. The establishment of a clearing house of information about the various Evangelical theological foundations to thinking about peace, international human rights (including religious freedom) and national security issues.
2. The development of study kits, visual aids, and other youth and adult education material, including bibliographies on specific problems and issues, e.g., Christian ethics and war, regional foreign policy conflicts, nuclear weapons, etc.

These kits will be designed for individual, informal groups, and Sunday school settings, and would be distributed throughout the NAE network.

3. The creation of a speakers bureau that could provide qualified people representing various viewpoints for church Sunday school programs, college seminars, etc.
4. The production and distribution of publications that would give Evangelicals exposure to the many available perspectives on questions of foreign policy.
5. The development of events and materials which examine the complexities inherent in problems of conscience and war, which can help chart the standards for moral choice that offer the best hope of supporting democratic values and encouraging peace. They will be designed to aid young people and their advisors in addressing the responsibilities of citizenship and religious conscience.

C. Media

1. The support of Evangelical media through the production of articles, reports and programs that probe the moral and political complexities of questions surrounding peace, freedom and security.
2. The dissemination of Evangelical thinking in the secular media by promoting qualified Evangelical voices capable of representing that thinking on public affairs programs, and in magazines and newspaper articles.

Section VIII ASSESSMENT CRITERIA

This section isolates a number of general and specific tests that will demonstrate whether or not the program is doing what it set out to do.

For the PFSS program to have any significant positive effect, it must constantly refer back to first principles. Those first principles include Biblical teaching about man, sin, society, the task of the Church and God's will. Other first principles originate in historical and social observations. Still other principles are stated in the goals of this program, including both its theoretical foundation and its training and administrative responsibilities. All of these must be kept in mind by the NAE staff, advisors and participants in the PFSS program.

A. Biblical and Theological Foundations

1. Does our work reflect the priority of our commitment to the Lordship of Jesus Christ?
2. When people encounter the PFSS program, do they encounter a distinctively Christian enterprise, or merely another partisan political force?
3. Do our programs acknowledge the full range of Biblical perspectives on war, peace, security and freedom?
4. Do we understand that the Kingdom of God is a matter of God's time, not our own? Have we defined responsible, morally sound ways to bring considerations of that vision into our work in the hard soil of this world's realities?
5. Have we defined "peace," "justice," and the relationship between them in ways that take account of both the eschatological meaning of Shalom and our historical responsibilities and opportunities this side of the coming of the Kingdom in its fullness?
6. Does our moral analysis of peace, freedom and security issues take account of the responsibilities of governmental leaders in circumstances where choices must often be made between relative evils? Does our work deliberately try to create situations in which better policy options can be responsibly pursued?
7. Have we avoided, in our work, the converse temptations of arrogant self-righteousness and cynical despair?
8. Have we entered the foreign and security policy arena without sacrificing an understanding of the primacy of our spiritual task which is to worship God and proclaim the gospel?
9. Does our work challenge national arrogance, seeking to embody in political affairs a striving for human dignity and the rights of all peoples? Listening to the Gospel, do we understand what it means to love our enemies, while defending our values? Does our work demonstrate the conviction that God is

present in history, asking us to be His instruments in a search for peace and in defense of human dignity?

10. Does the program demonstrate respect for a religious witness against war when that witness measures itself by transcendent values and acts in accord with those values? When pacifist belief enters the political arena, contesting there for political influence, does the program subject the suggested proposals to critical criteria, evaluating the consequences as well as intentions of policies?

B. Developing Leadership

1. Have we developed within our constituencies a core of lay and professional leaders who want to relate religious values to problems of peace, security and freedom? Do they understand how such an effort can be undertaken in ways congruent with Evangelical biblical and theological understandings?
2. Have they studied these *Guidelines*?
3. Are they applying them in work, in their denomination and in the public arena?
4. Is the program in regular communication with them?
5. Is their number growing?

C. Clarifying Ideas

1. Does the work of these leaders reflect awareness of the realities of adversary power in world affairs and of the legitimacy of a concern for American security? Does it confront the harsh facts of the expansion of totalitarian power? Does it do so in ways that move us toward a world more capable of resolving international conflict without war? Does it affirm human dignity and foster a growing sense of responsibility for all, including those living under governments which are our adversaries?
2. Do our programs reflect, and bring into fruitful dialogue, the full range of social-ethical perspectives on issues of peace, freedom and security now found among American Evangelicals?
3. Does the program, in its recognition of evil and its source in the fallen nature of man, yet recognize our human capacities for civic goodness, love and compassion, along with a duty to use our God-given capability to fashion political community so as to make peace and freedom possible?
4. Have we clarified confusions surrounding the word "peace," distinguishing concepts of peace: 1) as an inner state which arises from a proper relation between the individual and his Creator; 2) as the absence of all conflict because men live in harmony in a world governed by love and understanding; 3) as the antonym of war, a peace between organized political communities, achieved because law and political processes make possible the non-violent resolution of conflict?
5. Work is needed on all three concepts of peace. Has this program, as distinguished from the full mission of Evangelicals, explained why it focuses its work on the last definition above?
6. Does our work demonstrate an understanding of the relation of the attainment of justice to peace? Given competing views of what is just, does it also teach

why a primary need of our time is to establish morally sound, non-violent processes by which conflicts over what is just may proceed without war?

7. Have program materials and projects provided opportunities to explore the political understandings and the peace, security and freedom goals which this program seeks to advance?

D. Fostering a Sense of Responsibility to Our Own Political Community

1. Does the program's work demonstrate a biblically responsible commitment to the United States of America and to responsible citizenship? Does it build agreement on America's right role in world affairs? Does it demonstrate a thoughtful understanding of the facts of power in world affairs?
2. Do our programs frankly acknowledge the different political judgments to which contrasting social-ethical perspectives lead? Do they seek to chart common political ground to advance the causes of peace, freedom and security?

E. The Right Role for Evangelical Organizations

1. Has the program aided participants in sorting out the right relation of NAE member denominations and local churches to their own members in this field?
 - a) To other religious bodies?
 - b) To the public arena?
2. Do we better understand the appropriate engagement of religious bodies in the peace, security and freedom public policy process?
3. Is there a growing consensus, rather than increasing polarization, on these problems within our Association?
4. Is the spiritual integrity and intellectual quality of our discussions, events and materials clearly an improvement on the peace and security debate in other arenas?
5. There is a politics of "peace" which sees America as the primary villain in world affairs; which effectively resists only American military programs; which teaches American withdrawal from contests of power (often in the interest of the most brutal forces in world politics) rather than a wise engagement; which urges Americans to believe leaders of adversary societies rather than our own; which tends to confirm the Soviet agenda, rather than to change it. Have we demonstrated a wiser model of how American religious bodies can contribute to progress toward peace? Is it visible in the public arena? Have we engaged those committed to the "peace" politics described above in the kind of dialogue that can lead to greater wisdom?
6. Does the approach we take also challenge those who would rely primarily on military power to preserve the peace and who make no effort to find and develop other-than-military means for achieving security and defending values?

F. Work

1. Have we developed models of how to forward the program's goals:
 - a) in Evangelical colleges and seminaries
 - b) in the Evangelical press and media

- c) at the denominational level
- d) in state associations, local churches and Evangelical agencies
- e) in Sunday schools and youth education programs?

2. Have we developed a curriculum and materials for educating responsible and continuing leadership for the work of Evangelical agencies in this field?
3. Have we developed a resource center which can provide objective information, advice, publications, study kits, speakers, bibliographies, etc. on Evangelical interaction in the peace, freedom and security arena?
4. Have we developed materials for young people and their advisors which explore problems of national defense, ethics and war, and aid in thoughtfully considering the responsibilities of citizenship and problems of religious conscience and war?
5. Have we established a network for those interested in forwarding program goals? Are we in regular touch with them?
6. Have we established a process for drawing up annually an agenda describing the work our program and the NAE Washington, D.C. office will do on the program's goals?
7. Have we provided opportunities for leaders in the Evangelical community, as individuals, to address in thoughtful policy statements the issues on our agenda? Does our work on issues relate specific policy choices to the purposes and values of this program?
8. Are we helping Evangelical leaders evaluate and improve their sources of information and opinion on peace, security and freedom issues?
9. Are we encouraging Evangelical churches to make this program's perspective visible in the press and public life of their community?
10. Through participation in this program have individual church members broadened their horizon, enhanced their ability to relate the Gospel and their Christian faith to problems of peace, freedom, and security and deepened their understanding and constructive interaction with those people who hold differing views?
11. Have we provided opportunities for personal contact with people in adversary societies in ways which advance the goals of this program?
12. Are we active in defending religious liberty abroad? Are we aiding pro-democratic forces? Are we advancing human rights concepts in international politics? Are we exploring ways to return international institutions and organizations to the purposes of their charters? Are we advancing policies and ideas that improve the chances for the non-violent resolution of international conflict? Are we arming program participants against sentimental approaches to peace that ignore the realities of power, and also against a simple acquiescence in those present realities that, unless changed, assure a continuation of war? Has our work strengthened an open, rational, non-violent public policy process on peace, freedom and security issues?

G. Administration

1. Do we have an *Advisory Board* worthy of the confidence of Evangelicals in the various regions and denominations that make up the National Association of Evangelicals? Does it represent competing currents of thought moving in our churches?

2. Do we have a panel of *Consultants* qualified by their knowledge, experience and belief to help assure wise program engagements?
3. Do we have qualified and responsible *staff*?
4. Have we built an *adequate financial base* for the continuation of this program?
5. Have we adequate *reporting and evaluation procedures* which will assure the full support of this program by the NAE's Board?
6. Have we established a *leadership network* which defines clear standards for those who accept leadership responsibilities in this program and which enables communication with NAE related denominations, state and local associations, seminaries, colleges, publications and regional centers?

SECTION IX ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

This section explains how the program will be administered and lists the people currently responsible for guiding it. It also describes how the program will disseminate the results of its work through a network of Evangelical denominations, institutions, state associations and regional contacts.

The guiding responsibilities of the NAE's Peace, Freedom and Security Studies program are as follows:

A. Administrative Responsibilities

The NAE Board of Administration and Executive Committee have ultimate decision power on all activities of the PFSS program.

Dr. Billy A. Melvin, Executive Director of NAE, will provide overall responsibility and direction for the program.

Dr. Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Director of NAE's Office of Public Affairs, assumes administrative oversight for the program.

Mr. Brian F. O'Connell, PFSS program Coordinator, will staff work on the program done from the NAE's Washington office.

B. Consultants/Advisors

Mr. Robert Pickus, of the World Without War Council (WWWC), and Mr. George Weigel, of the James Madison Foundation, will serve as senior consultants to the program. The Council's experience in helping non-governmental and religious agencies define appropriate entry into peace, freedom and security issues will aid the program's development. The quality of their concern for the moral dimension in American foreign policy as well as their commitment to both peace and freedom gives value to their input. Mr. Pickus and Mr. Weigel will provide advice, caution and programmatic help to the PFSS program, but will not direct it.

An Advisory Board, approved by the NAE's Executive Committee will help direct the program and provide specific guidance to its activities. We plan to complete the formation of the 20-member group by the end of 1986. Those already approved by the Executive Committee are:

1. Dr. Mark Amstutz, Chair, Political Science Dept., Wheaton College (IL)
2. The Honorable William L. Armstrong, U.S. Senator (R-CO)
3. Dr. Myron Augsburger, Pastor, Washington Community Fellowship (DC)
4. Dr. John A. Bernbaum, V.P., Christian College Coalition (DC)
5. Dr. Arthur Climenhaga, Chair, NAE Theology Committee
6. Dr. Robert P. Dugan, Jr., Director, NAE Office of Public Affairs (DC)

7. Dr. Robert Duncan Culver, Professor of Theology, Winnipeg Theological Seminary (Canada)
8. Dr. Dean C. Curry, Chair, Political Science & History, Messiah College (PA)
9. Dr. Mark Elliott, Director, Institute for the Study of Christianity and Marxism, Billy Graham Center (IL)
10. Dr. Carl F.H. Henry, Lecturer-at-Large, World Vision (VA)
11. Dr. Kent R. Hill, Executive Director, Institute on Religion and Democracy (DC)
12. Dr. Ray Hughes, President, NAE
13. Dr. David McKenna, President, Asbury Theological Seminary (KY)
14. Mr. Kenneth A. Myers, Editor and Author, Philadelphia (PA)
15. Dr. Fred P. Thompson, Emmanuel School of Religion (TN)

C. Regional Contacts/Organizational Network

The PFSS program will develop an organizational network of contact people in each evangelical college, seminary, member denomination, local and state association, evangelical publication and agency. Each member of the program's network:

1. Will have an understanding of the program's purposes, ideas and materials for explanatory duties and be able to interpret projects and activities.
2. Will receive program materials and be asked to give their critical assessment of them.
3. Will communicate to their peers those aspects of the program most applicable to their respective environment.
4. Will identify people in their arenas that are suitable for further leadership development by the program.
5. Will aid in the regional activities that the program sponsors in their area.

In short, this network will become the channel through which the PFSS program reaches Evangelicals across the country.

Appendix OTHER VOICES

This Appendix looks at opinions that are common in the debates about peace and freedom, and offers some reasons why those opinions have not been accepted by the PFSS program.

These "other voices" are also our voices: They are present in the Evangelical community. They were heard in our Guidelines discussions and they influenced the present document. The Guidelines, however, were not shaped by these voices; we made other choices.

This section summarizes some of the most important of these theological, historical and political judgments and, in briefest compass, explains why these voices were not accepted.

Many of these arguments are based on much deeper considerations than can be fully reproduced in the following brief summaries. They serve only to mark the fact of the disagreement and give some sense of the ideas under discussion, a discussion we hope will continue and lead to wiser and more effective work for peace, freedom and security.

When the PFSS program began its work, many doubted the possibility of agreement on guidelines for it. Given the diversity within our Evangelical community on so many issues, theological as well as political, could one expect agreement on the goals for an NAE program in so crucial and controversial a field? The process through which these *Guidelines* were developed provides an answer. We have reached some significant agreements.

But we reached them only after considering other voices that call for either a different approach to work for peace, or for no work at all. Those seeking to apply the principles set forth in this document will encounter such opinions, which will and should be heard. These *Guidelines* pose no threat to the continued expression of widely varying judgments of what is best for Christians to do in pursuit of peace. They do, however, set a clear direction for the *Peace, Freedom and Security Studies* program.

In writing these *Guidelines*, we listened to voices expressing other views and tried, wherever possible, to incorporate elements of their thinking into the document. We have not, however, based the document on those views. They may issue from serious moral concerns. They may be thoughtful. But, in the judgment of those who are guiding this work, they do not provide the will, the spirit or the ideas needed if we are to fulfill our religious, institutional and political responsibilities in work for peace.

We do believe, however, that it is necessary to understand these other voices. They can aid in clarifying and improving our thinking. For these reasons, and because unanswered and unqualified these views can be an obstacle to the work at hand, we list below some of these other viewpoints, together with a brief suggestion of why they have not been accepted as offering a sound approach to these problems.

A. The Church's Role

1. *Christians Must Transcend Human Institutions*

The Church should stand against all human institutions. As the people of God in a fallen and evil world, the Church must bear witness to the fact that all human institutions are under the rule of Satan. The proper task of the Church, representing the kingdom of God, is to resist and attack the kingdom of Satan, not to find ways of reforming it.

This view insists that the Church must at all times and places speak to the sinfulness of human institutions. Certainly Christianity teaches a view of sin that stresses its pervasiveness. And the Church in its eternal and holy calling and purpose transcends all human institutions, and must never be captive to any lord but Christ. But we believe there is no Biblical warrant for asserting that God intends the Church or individual believers to stand in chronic opposition to all human institutions. God himself has instituted the state as a servant of his purposes. The state as such is not a wicked institution. Just as we are not called to preach hatred because individuals are sinful, so we must not preach the absolute necessity of rebellion or withdrawal because human institutions fall short of their high calling.

2. *Evangelism Is the Only Road to Peace*

The only way for Christians to work for peace is to work for world evangelization. Peace can only come when people are reconciled to God. Any attempt to reconcile people to each other, while they are still in rebellion against God, is doomed to failure, since their sinfulness will inevitably express itself in human conflict and violence.

This view understands (correctly) that conflict is rooted in the fallen nature of man. The way to eliminate conflict is to replace that sinful tendency with a loving one. But just as unregenerate people are not always at war, there is no guarantee that regenerate people would always be at peace, since even after conversion we sin, and sin continues to affect our behavior. Even a world of Christians would not guarantee peace, since regenerate people still have conflicts. The world would still need mechanisms as alternatives to violence in the settling of disputes. Evangelism is certainly the highest calling of the people of God, but it is not the only calling. The task of seeking to prevent the suffering and dislocation caused by war is also a worthy vocation for Christian disciples.

3. *The Church Should Stay Out of Politics*

Peace is an integral part of Christ's teachings. The Church, however, makes its contribution to the cause of ending war by communicating the message of peace in the Gospels. It releases into society individuals at peace with God, who then, in diverse ways, apply their understanding and commitment to secular matters. The Church should stay out of politics. The Church's mission is profaned when it seeks to act in areas best handled through other institutions.

There is a powerful warning here. Anyone watching how in some churches political positions have taken priority over the doctrines and fellowship that are the true marks of a church of Jesus Christ will not treat this warning lightly. Indeed these *Guidelines* are designed to prevent such an outcome. Their purpose is to enable us, individually and corporately, to appropriately and effectively act for peace and freedom. That purpose begins with an affirmation that the Church is inevitably involved with the great moral issues of our time, among them the defense of human dignity, and progress toward an end to war. Those issues require political as well as

non-political action. Moral reflection on them of necessity involves the examination of political choices. The Church cannot ignore such matters, even though the Church must constantly remember that its own weapons are spiritual, not temporal.

4. *The Church Should Remain Neutral*

It is right for the Church to offer educational programs on the moral and political issues of war and peace. The programs called for in these *Guidelines* are, however, biased and therefore inappropriate for the Church.

We must be careful to distinguish between goals and tactics. These *Guidelines* are biased in the goals that are set forth. But all Christian reflection on moral matters is thus biased. Even on the level of tactics, the Church is never totally neutral: the Church cannot sanction each and every approach to a given problem. Moreover, the Church must continually remind its members that obedience to God involves discernment in earthly as well as heavenly matters. When approaching issues of peace and freedom, the Church rightly condemns some political options, e.g., "preventative" wars of indiscriminate annihilation. A major purpose of this program is to encourage the kind of critical thinking that will distinguish between policy options that violate Christian principles and those that embody them. That act of making distinctions may violate arbitrary principles of "neutrality," but we believe Christian obedience requires making such choices.

B. Attitudes Toward War and Peace

1. *War Is in the Nature of Things*

War is part of the nature of the world. Given the sinful nature of man, there will always be "wars and rumors of wars." Any program that attempts to reverse this reality is unrealistic and unbiblical. The peace and justice of God's kingdom will only be established when Christ returns, so there is no point in trying to "work for peace." One might as well work for one's own salvation.

This view takes the text of Matthew 24 and makes it into a social and political commandment. We do not believe that because sin and human conflict are inevitable, that no meaningful efforts can be made to reduce the recourse to armed violence. Preventing the outbreak of war does not require resolving all the tensions that lead to conflict, any more than preventing a divorce requires the achievement of perfect, sacrificial love in both spouses. Ending war does require that parties to international conflicts realize that organized mass violence is not the only option for resolution of conflict. It requires the development of institutions and processes that provide alternatives to violence. We do not engage in efforts to reduce injustice because we believe we can eradicate it for all time. Efforts to prevent war can be equally as realistic. As we develop alternatives to violence in the resolution of international conflict, we will have built important new barriers to war.

2. *"Peace" Is a Communist Strategy*

Working for peace serves the interest of international Communism. Soviet propaganda efforts have captured the peace movement, so "peace work" is wittingly or unwittingly a way of allowing the Church to serve the role of the Leninist "useful idiot," being manipulated by appeals to compassion to serve the purpose of Communism.

There is no question that Communist propaganda has dominated many peace movements in the world. Some people deny this altogether, while others see it as

sufficient cause to avoid all work for peace. Neither reaction is adequate. Work for peace must always be accompanied by the willingness to acknowledge the duplicity and naivete that sometimes accompanies "peace" protests, and the moral discernment to separate sincere intentions from unimagined consequences. But just as the Church cannot halt its preaching of the gospel because others preach for wicked motives, so the value of seeking alternatives to war cannot be denied because "peace" is being used as a weapon of state by nations ruthlessly pursuing power.

3. Love Your Enemy

The idea of "national interest" is abhorrent to biblical Christians. God's commands to individuals apply without modification to nations and governments. There is no double standard in the Bible. God commands that we love our enemies, and that we consider first the needs of others. What is true for the individual should be true for the nation as well.

First of all, the ethical mandate to love your enemy has not been understood by the Church as providing a mandate to allow all enemies to do whatever they want. In some circumstances, love of neighbor may require the duty of personal self defense, as failing to protect oneself may place greater burdens on family and society. So considering the needs of others may in fact demand self-preservation. A civil authority, accepting responsibility for the needs of others, has a duty to consider those needs, not its own desires. Also, throughout the Scriptures, God invests groups and official agencies with responsibilities and authority not given to individuals. Paul's teaching about the state as "an agent of wrath to bring punishment on the wrongdoer" comes immediately after his authoritative prohibition against seeking personal vengeance. A responsible hermeneutic will recognize that institutional obligations cannot be derived univocally from personal ethical obligations. This recognition is based in part on the fact that such categories as "forgiveness" and "love" are personal obligations, presupposing a human will which has no simple analogue in a nation.

4. Wars Will Cease When Men Refuse to Fight

People do not want war. When, however, governments call on them to participate, they do. We can end war simply by refusing to participate in it. That is the Church's role: calling on men to refuse to go to war. Enough men willing to suffer the consequences of resistance to military service can make it impossible for governments to wage war.

War poses fundamental ethical problems for all people. The view stated above helps to keep this fact before us. We have not, however, based the PFSS program on this view. Doing so would restrict the program to those already in agreement with this strand of pacifist thought. It is true that wars would cease if men refused to fight. But men will not so refuse if they know of no other forms of effective resistance and if, as a consequence of their refusal, they see established what they believe to be greater evils than war. Moreover, one nation's refusal to go to war or prepare for war is no guarantee of another nation's reciprocal refusal. One nation's withdrawal from the competition for power may simply make more room for other nations to wage their wars with impunity. These *Guidelines* therefore call on individuals to face the ethical problems war poses, recognizing that good men will differ. They call on all men, whatever their individual choices, to join in fulfilling the common obligation to build institutions and processes that make possible a non-violent resolution of international conflict.

5. Peace Is the Fruition of Justice

Justice is a necessary prerequisite for true peace. Since true "shalom" is not just the absence of war, but the presence of righteousness and justice, the search for peace must be the search for justice. Without justice, peace is only oppression confirmed. Terrorism and wars of liberation, as well as other armed conflict, would not be necessary if relationships among nations were characterized by justice.

Advocates of this view, with its eschatological vision of "shalom," are in effect stating that only a thorough commitment to the principles of "shalom" can prevent war. But since the Scriptures also teach that the establishment of the full justice of the eschatological kingdom will be an offense to those set on rebellion against God, we must expect that the pursuit of such justice would elicit violent reactions from the enemies of truth and righteousness. Not all nations share the vision of "shalom"; many wars erupt because of conflicting notions of the nature of justice. If we postpone efforts to limit the recourse to war as a means of resolving conflict until we are satisfied with the progress of justice, we may well serve the interests of those concerned neither for justice or peace as we understand them.

6. War Is Not the Greatest Evil

There are causes worth dying for. A refusal to go to war or prepare for war can cause spiritual and social wounds more profound than a willingness to fight to defend fundamental values. Such a refusal to prepare for war can and has led to war.

These *Guidelines* do not teach that war or preparation for war is always the greatest evil. They are certainly not based on abandoning responsibility for defending and advancing values other than peace. They do regard war as an evil Christians must seek to end. They offer common ground for pacifists and non-pacifists in the Church. That common ground is based on acceptance of a common task: responsibility in work to establish understandings and institutions that are alternatives to that most terrible form of human conflict, the organized mass violence of war.

C. War As a Political Problem

1. The Problem is Misunderstanding

Conflict between nations (especially between the United States and the Soviet Union) is principally a product of misunderstanding. If American politicians had a better understanding of Russian history, and Soviets a better understanding of American ideals, we would not be at each other's throats. Summit meetings should deal more with human aspirations and desires, and eliminate the proud posturing that gives rise to so much conflict.

This viewpoint expresses a firm belief in the power of communication. Leaders of nations must understand the historical and philosophical currents that animate the policies of other nations. But the sentiments expressed here reflect a profound misunderstanding. The United States and the Soviet Union are nations established and maintained on two mutually exclusive sets of assumptions about the nature of man, the essence of human rights, the meaning of history, and the proper limits of the power of the state. Insofar as both nations consistently pursue the goals of their founders, no level of communication or understanding will resolve these deep-seated conflicts between them. One could actually argue that increased understanding about the nature and intentions of these two nations could heighten the perception of opposition that is natural between them. There is the possibility for the

establishment of more common ground between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., a possibility that is in the interest of both nations to recognize. But change in the Soviet system is also essential if there is to be peace and freedom.

2. *Weapons Are the Problem*

The stockpiling of weapons is the chief cause of tension and conflict between nations. The arms race, fueled by the greed and self-interest of arms manufacturers, the military, and certain political interest groups, is developing an inexorable momentum the only outcome of which will certainly be war. It is in the interest of those who stand to gain by the arms race to encourage and stimulate international tension, so as to create new markets for their wares. As armaments are stockpiled, nations become arrogant, and war becomes thinkable, a "viable option." The most urgent task for peacemakers is to stop the arms race, which is the greatest idolatry of our time. All other efforts will be nullified if the progress of this deadly avalanche of destruction is not deterred.

It is tempting to locate the source of human evil in a physical artifact. By localizing evil outside of the recesses of the human heart, and in changeable structures, exorcism becomes simply a technical matter. But the source of evil, and the source of international tension, is not the existence of weapons. Wars have followed in the wake of arms races (World War I), but they have also started because there was no response to an arms build-up by an aggressor (World War II). Weapons and their stockpiling must be demythologized; they do not have the omnipotent ability to make enemies out of friends, though they certainly make relations among enemies more precarious. But to fix attention on hardware is only to discourage attendance to the real sources of conflict.

3. *Weapons Are the Solution*

Stockpiling weapons is the only way to preserve the delicate balance of power in the 20th century. If either of the superpowers backs down, the other may see an advantage in the momentary vulnerability of the adversary, and war may result. Hence, the only way to maintain the relative peace that the world has enjoyed for more than four decades is the necessary evil of a continued commitment to keeping up in the arms race in ways that make for stability.

Military strength may be a necessary factor in maintaining peace among nations, but it is not the sole decisive factor. Resting all hope for peace solely in the modernization and multiplication of weapons is as foolish as resting all hope on total disarmament. Since wars are not simply the products of weapons, peace will not be encouraged without deliberate and sustained attention to human concerns, relationships, and institutions that can provide alternatives to reliance on violence as a means of resolving inevitable international conflict. Wars are political events; therefore the search for peace must be political, not just military and technical.

4. *Avoid Foreign Entanglements*

The U.S. cannot be a world policeman. The resources of the U.S. are not unlimited, nor are its true interests international. The world would be more peaceful if the U.S. minded its own business and sought to reduce its activity around the world. The presence of American troops all over the globe only increases tensions; international American bases are a gauntlet thrown in the path of other nations. The U.S. is engaged in a game of nation-baiting, of international entrapment that serves no purpose, foreign or domestic.

Certainly the United States should not actively involve itself with everything that goes on in every nation in the world. There are situations beyond our power or responsibility to resolve. But nations and peoples are increasingly interdependent. The capabilities and resources of the U.S., as well as its visible commitment to human rights and democratic institutions, are valued by millions around the world as precious commodities in the pursuit of world peace. American isolationism, a retreat into "fortress America," would be a dereliction of duty. An American abandonment of global responsibility would certainly result in greater oppression, violence, and suffering in the world, and would amount to an immoral failure as stewards of God's temporal blessings.

5. *Exploitation of the Third World Is the Problem*

Western exploitation is the chief cause of Third World poverty and misery, which are the causes of unrest and war around the world. The West must assume the blame for this unrest, and must immediately reorganize its economic and political structures in order to bring peace. There can be no peace as long as the West continues its exploitative and selfish habits.

In addition to the miserable conditions of life in which so many live, the belief that the West (and particularly the "Yanqui") is the enemy of humanity is certainly a great cause of violent conflict in the world. But that belief is ideologically, not empirically, derived. The West is not the villain it is made out to be, nor are poverty and misery sufficient explanations for war. Nations with little or no contact with the West are among the poorest in the world. Many extremely poor nations are relatively passive, while nations that are wealthier are often originators of violence and terror. Any policy for peace must take account of the gap between rich and poor nations. Again, the real problem is how to improve the conditions of life in poor nations, and respect the desire of Third World people for peace and freedom.

6. *Pursuing Peace Endangers the National Interest*

This program will damage the national interest by impairing our government's ability to respond decisively and effectively to threats to our security. Such work weakens the will to use national military power when it is needed and raises obstacles to the development and maintenance of such power. With foreign policy so dependent on military realities, the Church should not challenge national policies whose credibility rests on the impression of national agreement and resolution.

This can and has been the effect of some religious peace programs. Such an effect can threaten our security and peace itself. This concern is one more reason for care in charting our extended involvement in work on war/peace problems. It is not, however, reason for abandoning responsibility to undertake such work. Uninformed action which ignores the realities of power in international politics will not help achieve peace. Peace action which challenges only America's military programs are frequently encountered. That is not the approach of these *Guidelines*. They offer an alternative to a Church too often polarized between those who want only to attack America's military and those who see no need other than to resist such attacks. These *Guidelines* acknowledge the relation between military power and the national interest. They also mark the error of defining the national interest solely in military terms.

There is no policy without risks. History may record that primary reliance on national military power was the road to security—or to disaster. But it could also record a turn from such reliance made possible by the development of alternative

institutions and undertakings. Work for peace which takes intelligent account of threats to democratic values and institutions posed by other power centers is in the best interest of our country and expresses the best in our traditions; it is not a threat to them.

D. Ethics and Foreign Policy

1. *Survive!*

The greatest evil against which we must strive is nuclear destruction and holocaust. All other concerns must of necessity be subordinate to the absolute commitment to the prevention of the use of nuclear weapons. The possibility for the ultimate destruction of humanity presented by nuclear weapons should force us to examine and rethink the theological assumptions that leave room for war in this perilous setting.

The fear of death and of the extinction of the human race are powerful fears. But the survival of humanity is a relative, not an absolute, value. Christianity has always taught that we profit nothing by gaining the whole world and losing our soul. The notion that all values must submit to the necessity of survival implies the theoretical assertion that any evil perpetuated in the name of survival must be tolerated. This is an assertion proper to a naturalistic and atheistic culture. But those who call themselves Christian peacemakers must reject the claim that the survival of the planet and the race is an ultimate good, and publicly set the relative good of human survival in the ultimate context of the sovereign purposes of God. Our theology must not be determined by the fears of the age, but by the Word of God. Still, avoiding nuclear war, or any war, must be a constant concern. The question is what policies are most likely to serve that end.

2. *Moral Equivalence*

The two superpowers are equivalent political and moral threats to world peace. Both the United States and the Soviet Union, by being such huge and unaccountable imperial powers, create the climate in which war is inevitable. Both nations have become idols, demanding the worship of their citizens, worship that involves the willingness to wage war in the name of an alleged "national interest." But because of the extent of those interests, both nations continually threaten the world with war.

This opinion asserts that since both the United States and the Soviet Union seek to increase their sphere of influence in the world, and since both are so powerful, both are to be equally feared. Even assuming the validity of the premise, it is nonetheless a horrible mistake to claim that two equally armed powers are therefore equally malevolent or dangerous. The possession of power is certainly a temptation to and a potential agency for evil. But the assessment of political and moral value must not ignore the cultural and institutional forces that mitigate the raw appeal of the use of force. Stated and unstated political and moral intent also must be considered. On this basis there is no realistic charge that the two nations are moral equivalents.

E. Attitudes toward America

1. *America Is Special in God's Eyes*

America is God's uniquely chosen instrument, to accomplish His will in history. It was founded as a Christian nation to fulfill His holy purpose, and He is

faithfully guiding America to its destiny. America thus enjoys unique privileges and responsibilities among the nations.

God in His providence uses every nation uniquely to accomplish His purposes. But since His secret will is not for us to know, any assertion of a distinctively and uniquely holy task for the United States is presumption bordering on blasphemy. That being said, we must not ignore the unique blessings and opportunities God in His providence has established for this nation. But while being founded on principles in accord with those taught by Christianity, the United States was certainly not founded as a Christian nation either in the sense of enjoying some special sanctified status or of being a nation only for Christians.

2. *America Is the Problem*

The United States is the greatest purveyor of violence in the world, and thus the greatest obstacle to peace. Radical change in American culture and social structures is the only hope for international peace.

This is the view of powerful currents in many influential religious centers. This voice moves from a sensible "we are part of the problem," to a voice which focuses solely on attacking American institutions, power and policies. The reasons, justifiable and unjustifiable, for the growth of this point of view are complex and cannot be reviewed here. Often prophetic in intention, this opinion often functions in fact as an aid to some of the most brutal forces in world politics. Special materials which address the charges of those who find evil residing only in the policies of our country and its allies will be one of the program's initial study kits.

3. *Speak Only to America*

Although other nations share responsibility for war in the world, we have the right to criticize only our own country's conduct. We are not responsible for the acts of other nations, nor do we have any influence over them. We are responsible for what our country does in our name, and we can influence our country's policies.

Our first responsibility as American citizens must be to speak to and try to influence our own nation's foreign policies. But why should policy-makers listen if we do not speak in terms that reflect the realities of the world situation? Can we ever hope to offer sound alternatives to present policies unless we take into account the willingness of other nations to use military power to advance their interests? Our credibility, and our integrity as well, are lessened by a double standard which refuses to recognize in others the attitudes and policies we seek to change in our own nation. In the name of reconciliation religiously motivated people can obscure harsh realities and open themselves to political exploitation. Genuine reconciliation requires facing these realities and striving to alter them. If we are to demand leadership from our country in moving all nations toward peace, it is essential that our demands proceed from balanced moral and political judgments. Initiatives taken by our country and springing from sound assessments can influence the policies of other nations.

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The Philippine Church

It is no surprise that William Branigin's serious allegations of church support for the Philippine communist movement stung U.S. representatives of the groups he discussed [letters, Oct. 30]. One can only hope that the revelation of these disturbing associations will provoke rank-and-file church members to rise up and protest the way their tithes and offerings are being spent to undermine Philippine democracy.

A telling example of the sympathies and linkages Mr. Branigin reports is found in an occasional paper published by the National Council of Churches and released last spring following Corazon Aquino's election. While several pages are devoted to describing gruesome human rights abuses under Ferdinand Marcos, the NCC's brief treatment of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army is remarkable for its sympathy. The NCC assures us that, according to "reliable reports," the "NPA has been single-minded in its goal of winning the respect and loyalty of the people."

The NPA—which Time correspondent Ross Munro has said rivals the Khmer Rouge "in savagery, if not yet in scale"—would have been difficult to defend under the Marcos dictatorship. It is nearly impossible to comprehend such a stance now that the Filipino people have elected a person committed to democracy.

The public skepticism and the quiet financial opposition that church agencies have demonstrated toward the democratic Aquino government fit squarely into the pattern of church support for opponents of democracy on the extreme left in such diverse countries as El Salvador, South Africa and Nicaragua. The tragedy is that prominent church organizations continue a pattern of supporting groups and movements fundamentally antithetical to democracy. Unless church members intervene, there is little hope of reversing this disturbing trend.

KENT R. HILL

Executive Director, Institute on Religion and
Democracy
Washington

12-12-86/4817

With Photo No. PC60205

Critics tear into evangelicals' document on war and peace

By Darrell Turner

Religious News Service Associate Editor

NEW YORK (RNS) — It was officially called a seminar, and it was held under the auspices of the prestigious Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs. There were times, however, when the event more closely resembled open season on evangelicals and their ideas on war and peace.

The focus of the discussion Dec. 12 at the Carnegie Council was the 47-page "Guidelines on Peace, Freedom and Security Studies," issued in October by the National Association of Evangelicals.

Participants included the principal drafters of the peace pastorals issued by the Roman Catholic and United Methodist bishops, as well as liberal and conservative thinkers from major Catholic, Protestant and Jewish groups. They welcomed evangelicals to the public-policy debate and praised the NAE guidelines for avoiding an arrogant tone and expressing a willingness to listen to other voices.

But then came the criticisms, scoring the evangelical document for directing more of its rhetoric against the religious and political left than the right, and for trying to simultaneously come across as an inexperienced newcomer to the discussion and a sage observer able to discern the weaknesses of all others.

The Rev. J. Bryan Hehir of the U.S. Catholic Conference, a principal drafter of the Catholic bishops' 1983 peace pastoral, said he found the evangelical document "stronger in its theory of ends than on its ethic of means." He told the NAE participants at the symposium that "you are clearer about what you don't like than about how you will carry out the task."

Comparing the NAE document's acknowledgments that evangelicals are relative latecomers to the discussion with its rejections of positions taken by other participants, Father Hehir said, "In a sense it combines political innocence with a view that is worthy of Dean Acheson." The priest questioned how the NAE can act simultaneously like the "new boy on the block" and the "wise old man in the debate."

A sharper critique of the NAE guidelines was given by Alan Geyer, director of the Washington-based Center for Theology and Public Policy and a principal drafter of the United Methodists' peace pastoral that was issued last May. While praising it for attempting to balance peace, freedom and security, he faulted it for what he called "ecumenical estrangement, ideological taint, dubious facticity and questionable prescriptions."

Both Dr. Geyer and Peter Steinfels, editor of the lay Catholic journal *Commonweal*, noted that the NAE document uses terms like "scandal," "shameful," and "tragedy" in criticizing the policy positions taken by what it calls "some of our most influential religious agencies," which it does not name, while using the milder language of "an inadequate sense of responsibility" in criticizing positions taken by what it calls the "far right."

Dr. Geyer also faulted the NAE document for saying it is "irresponsible" not to believe anything American officials state while accepting criticisms of U.S. foreign policy. He said this is a "standard complaint" of "Reaganauts," and added that "it's just possible that recent U.S. policy has been grievously wrong."

George Weigel, executive director of the Washington-based James Madison Foundation and a noted Catholic "neo-conservative," remarked that he was "quite struck by this call for Jane Austin-like rhetoric" rather than focusing on the points made by the NAE's criticisms of other policies. "There's plenty of blame on that front to go around the room, including, on occasion, me," he confessed.

Rabbi A. James Rudin, interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, said he was pleased with the tone of "modesty" taken in the NAE guidelines and particularly applauded a section "debunking the theory that this is a Christian nation." At the same time, he agreed that in examining the document's criticisms of other positions, "it's very clear who is getting bashed and who is the basher."

In preparing the guidelines the NAE consulted with the World Without War Council, an agency based in Berkeley, Calif., that has helped other religious groups devise positions on war and peace. Robert Pickus, executive director of the council, said he had been pleased to discover the diversity of views among evangelicals in the process, since "somebody coming out of the Jewish tradition does not approach the evangelical community with a feeling of hope."

Mr. Pickus praised the document as "a bold attempt" to put together perspectives from opposite ends of the political spectrum, and felt that its lack of specific policy recommendations was a plus. "I think the trouble in the university world and the trouble in the religion world is virtually identical," he said. "Everybody's an advocate. Nobody is minding the intellectual store."

Kent Hill, director of the Washington-based Institute on Religion and Democracy and a principal drafter of the NAE document, said it was based on certain guiding principles, including the following:

- For the church, the spiritual task must remain primary.
- The church must not politicize its agenda.
- The church cannot shut out the needs of the world.
- The church must promote reconciliation between human beings.

12-12-86

4820

Religious agencies trade barbs: did NCC fund Mrs. Aquino's foes?**By Religious News Service**

NEW YORK (RNS) — Two religious agencies that have often clashed on public issues are at odds again — this time over the question of whether U.S. churches gave money to radical political groups in the Philippines.

The conservative Institute on Religion and Democracy and the liberal National Council of Churches have exchanged sharply worded barbs in the wake of reports that the NCC donated funds to groups that have links to communist opponents of the government of Philippine President Corazon Aquino.

The Washington-based IRD, a watchdog group that monitors church foreign policy stands, is pressing the National Council to disclose whether it has channeled church funds to any of several groups which are said by the IRD to have close ties to communist forces in the Philippines.

The NCC has refused to give out such financial information, saying it is not financially accountable to outside critics but rather to its own governing board and other committees representing its member churches.

In a Dec. 5 statement, IRD director Kent Hill criticized the council for refusing "to discuss the central issue." That issue is, he said: "Does the NCC, in fact, support radical political groups in the Philippines — groups hostile to the survival of democracy and reform in the Philippines?"

Reports that U.S. church groups — including the NCC and the United Methodist Church — funneled money to communist insurgents in the Philippines surfaced in mid-October in the Washington Post. A Post article by William Branigan, with a Manila dateline, said that organizations in the Philippines receiving money from U.S. churches had been "reliably identified... as effective communist fronts."

Shortly after the Post story appeared, the IRD announced that Mr. Hill had written to NCC and United Methodist officials asking for "a complete disclosure of what organizations in the Philippines receive church financial and moral support."

The Rev. Arie R. Brouwer, the NCC's chief executive, responding a month later in a press release, said the accusations leveled by Mr. Hill were "part of a continuing program of disinformation by the IRD."

Mr. Brouwer's statement did not respond directly to Mr. Hill's call for "full disclosure." The NCC press release did, however, quote Dwain Epps, NCC international affairs director, as saying, "We are not supporting groups that are fundamentally antithetical to democracy, and Kent Hill knows it. Our support through the churches is for the Philippine people."

The NCC statement also cited a number of evidences of NCC support for Corazon Aquino:

- Mrs. Aquino responded in September to an invitation to meet with NCC officials with "best wishes and warmest personal greetings."

- In November the NCC Governing Board passed a resolution supporting Mrs. Aquino's "policy of peaceful negotiation rather than military solutions to the internal conflict."

- The NCC's overseas ministries unit "long ago urged the United States to terminate support" to the Marcos government.

A United Methodist press officer told RNS that Bishop James Ault, president of the UMC Board of Global Ministries — also a recipient of a letter from the IRD asking for an accounting of church funding in the Philippines — has made no public response.

Mr. Brouwer's top press aide, the Rev. J. Martin Bailey, told RNS, "We as a matter of principle make our contributions overseas through partners. Our partners are the churches and their ecumenical organizations." He declined to specify whether any of the groups cited by the IRD is regarded by the NCC as an ecumenical agency of the Philippine churches.

Mr. Bailey said the NCC did not respond to Mr. Hill and the IRD directly about the allegations in the Washington Post story, because "we believe it's more appropriate to deal directly with the Washington Post." He said council officials had written letters to the editor and "had other communications with the editors" of the newspaper.

12-12-86

4821

U.N. 'discreet' in reporting religious liberty violations

By William Bole
Religious News Service Washington Writer

WASHINGTON (RNS) — The United Nations' first major report on religious liberty worldwide will find that violations are widespread but will "mention no names" because of resistance within the international body, according to the study's author.

Angelo Vidal Ribeiro, a Portuguese lawyer and human-rights advocate, pointed to opposition by socialist-bloc countries which he said have failed to honor their own constitutional guarantees of religious freedom.

Mr. Ribeiro was appointed "special rapporteur" by the U.N.'s Commission on Human Rights last March to investigate violations of religious rights. He said he will be presenting a report, the first of its kind from the U.N., at the commission's next session in Geneva, starting Feb. 3.

"This first report will be discreet, because otherwise, they will not renew my appointment," Mr. Ribeiro said in an interview here Dec. 11, at the end of a two-week tour of three U.S. cities.

He said the study will, in general terms, list the "many violations of religious liberty" taking place globally, but he said he will privately contact violators and confront them with information he has received.

This soft approach has been recommended by private human-rights organizations and religious groups which realize that fighting religious intolerance is a long-term endeavor, according to Mr. Ribeiro.

"The second report will be stronger," he said, expressing confidence that his one-year appointment would be renewed at the coming session in Switzerland.

Mr. Ribeiro was asked by the Commission to investigate whether countries were adhering to the U.N. General Assembly's 1981 Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief.

"Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public and private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching," the declaration said in part.

Cited in the document was the right of religious believers to free assembly, to operate charitable and humanitarian institutions, to publish materials, to conduct religious education, receive voluntary financial contributions and observe holy days.

In its resolution creating Mr. Ribeiro's position, the commission said it was "seriously concerned by frequent, reliable reports from all parts of the world which reveal that, because of governmental actions, universal implementation of the declaration has not yet been achieved."

In the interview, Mr. Ribeiro, whose English is heavily accented and who spoke through an interpreter at several points, singled out Soviet-bloc countries. "They say their record (on religious freedom) is excellent. But as a matter of fact, many regulations very much restrict the possibilities of practice," he said.

"For instance, they don't allow sacred books out of the churches. They don't allow religious teaching of children," he added. This all violates their own constitutions, he said.

At the same time, Mr. Ribeiro cited exceptions, including Poland and Hungary, which allow greater freedom. He added that he has also found serious instances of religious intolerance in many other countries, including Moslem-dominated Iran and Pakistan.

According to Mr. Ribeiro, the Soviet Union and some of its allies are among a minority of nations that have continued to oppose a special investigation, which they see as a propaganda effort by Western nations. Further complicating his work is the fact that the next president of the Commission, under normal rotation, will be from the Soviet-ruled Byelorussia republic.

While accepting the U.N. mandate to work quietly, Mr. Ribeiro said he will continue to work toward his ultimate objective, which is a U.N. international convention on religious liberty.

He declined to offer any further details of findings in the upcoming report.

Mr. Ribeiro, who is 65 years old and lives in Lisbon, is an internationally respected human-rights advocate and currently serves as ombudsman for Portugal. The position was set up by the nation's parliament to assist citizens with grievances against the government. In his U.N. work, he is assisted by the organization's human-rights staff in Geneva.

The official's low-profile visits to New York, Chicago and Washington, where he spoke to representatives of private groups and the government about his work, were arranged by a loose coalition of organizations that deal with religious-liberty issues. Among them were American representatives of the Baha'i Faith, which has faced serious persecution in Iran, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Washington-based Institute on Religion and Democracy.

Survey Finds Religion Is Losing Public Trust

The military has replaced organized religion as the institution in which Americans have the greatest confidence, marking the first time in more than a decade that religion has not held that distinction, according to a Gallup Poll released last week.

Sixty-three percent of those interviewed said they had a "great deal" or "quite a lot" of confidence in the military, statistically unchanged from the 61 percent recorded in a poll last year.

Of those surveyed, 57 percent expressed great confidence in the church or organized religion, as against 66 percent last year.

Andrew Kohut, president of the Gallup Organization, attributed the decline to the increased involvement of churches in controversial issues. "Increasingly, religious figures and institutions have become controversial and more political," Mr. Kohut said.

The poll released Saturday, which was the latest Gallup survey to measure public trust, found that the Supreme Court was the institution ranked third highest, while banks and public schools were tied for fourth.

The Gallup findings were based on in-person interviews conducted last July with 1,539 adults 18 years of age or older. It has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

First, test for
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The Institute on Religion & Democracy

*Central
America*

MEMORANDUM

TO: IRD friends and supporters

FROM: Kent R. Hill

DATE: October 23, 1987

Our Research Director, Alan Wisdom, and I just got back from an informative, albeit disturbing, trip to Nicaragua. A more complete report on our observations will appear in the next issue of Religion and Democracy, but I did want to send you a copy of an interview with us which appeared in the October 14 issue of La Prensa. We did this interview in response to the request of independent CNPEN pastors. When we told one exiled Nicaraguan evangelical about the interview later, he expressed his deep gratification, telling us that this will help the Nicaraguan churches "because now they see that North American Christians are in solidarity with them."

Our earlier critique of the role of Gustavo Parajon on the Nicaraguan National Reconciliation Commission was reported in the October 2 issue of Christianity Today. Also regarding Nicaragua, our criticism of the Christic Institute appeared in the Sept. 11, United Methodist Reporter.

Other recent clippings featuring IRD representatives include:

- * A September 15 New York Times article on "Religion and Politics" which includes comments by Richard Neuhaus and myself.
- * Walter Kansteiner's article on an Episcopal bishops' statement on economic issues which appeared in Anglican Opinion.
- * A Religious News Service article evaluating glasnost which appeared in the National Catholic Reporter.
- * Three articles from the September issue of Christianity Today -- an interview regarding the work of the IRD, another evaluation of glasnost, and a review of Romuald S. Spasowski's The Liberation of One.

Religiosos de EE.UU. solidarios con las Iglesias de Nicaragua

LA PRENSA

AL SERVICIO DE LA VERDAD Y LA JUSTICIA

Miércoles 14 de Octubre de 1987

Enérgicas protestas contra el comportamiento hostil del sandinismo hacia la Iglesia Católica y protestante de Nicaragua, formularon a través de LA PRENSA, dos ejecutivos de la organización internacional "The Institute on Religion and Democracy", señores Kent R. Hill, director ejecutivo y Alan Wisdan, director de Investigaciones de la mencionada organización.

Ambos funcionarios llegaron a Managua para conocer la situación actual de protestantes y católicos en Nicaragua, después de que a finales de 1985, hubo grandes hostilidades contra protestantes y católicos, que se caracterizaron con injustas detenciones y actos de represión.

El Dr. Kent R. Hill, director ejecutivo del "Institute on Religion and Democracy", manifestó que ellos son parte de una organización de protestantes y católicos, de republicanos y demócratas, cuya única misión es interesarse en la libertad de religión y democracia en el mundo.

Afirmó el Dr. Hill, que el organismo que representa, durante los últimos años ha publicado artículos, folletos y libros sobre los problemas que tienen los católicos y los protestantes en Nicaragua, problemas que traslucen en algunos casos la falta de libertad religiosa.

"Desafortunadamente, dijo el exponente, desde finales de 1985, los sandinistas

han montado una campaña para desprestigiarnos como organismo, y también para desprestigiar y atacar a católicos y protestantes a los cuales hemos defendido, en esa fecha, varios ciudadanos entre ellos ocho protestantes fueron encarcelados".

"En esa ocasión, manifestó el representante del organismo internacional, el activista del sandinismo, Omar Cabezas, lanzó serias acusaciones contra esas personas para justificar las detenciones y también declaró que nosotros pertenecemos a la Central de Inteligencia Americana (CIA) y que el Consejo Nacional de Pastores Evangélicos de Nicaragua, era uno de los brazos de la CIA en este país".

"También declaró ese señor Cabezas, que nosotros hablamos introducido cientos de miles de dólares para el Consejo Nacional de Pastores Evangélicos de Nicaragua (C.N.P.E.N.), con el fin de fomentar una supuesta conspiración subversiva".

"En este momento, enfatizó el Dr. Kent R. Hill, queremos protestar por esas imputaciones porque son falsas y ofensivas y proque en realidad el único propósito que llevaban, era intimidar a los Pastores Evangélicos en el Ministerio del Evangelio, y entorpecer la labor evangelizadora de ese organismo religioso, el cual hasta el momento no dispone de personería jurídica", asegu-

ró.

Los dos ejecutivos norteamericanos, expresaron su temor de que nuevas embestidas contra las iglesias protestante y católica se produzcan y vayan a perjudicar a los que se oponen a la ideología del gobierno sandinista y propugnan porque el gobierno dé al Consejo Nacional de Pastores Evangélicos de Nicaragua C.N.P.E.N, la personería jurídica, para que pueda obtener de las Iglesias norteamericanas ayuda económica, tal como la recibe el CEPAD, que es pro-gobiernista.

Finalmente, los dos representantes dijeron: "nos duele mucho algunas iglesias norteamericanas que son favorables al gobierno sandinista, hayan mantenido y sigan manteniendo una falsa información sobre el comportamiento sandinista con las Iglesias y sus miembros; razón por la que hemos venido a Nicaragua, a conversar con una amplia gama de personeros de la Iglesia Católica, protestante y evangélica, los que apoyan al gobierno y los que no lo apoyan, a fin de conocer mejor la situación de las iglesias aquí".

"Esperamos que en Nicaragua los sandinistas que proclaman el marxismo, permitan que este país sea libre y pluralista; y el proceso de paz será una gran prueba de integridad de los sandinistas. La retórica del marxismo parece positiva, pero en la práctica ha sido represiva y la libertad de religión ha sido la más golpeada bajo esos regímenes" finalizaron diciendo.



Al centro, el Dr. Kent R. Hill, Director Ejecutivo de "The Institute On Religion and Democracy", con sede en Washington, D. C., acompañado del Director de Investigaciones de ese mismo organismo, señor Alan Wisdan, brinda declaraciones a LA PRENSA, sobre el comportamiento sandinista contra las Iglesias Evangélicas y Católicas en Nicaragua. (Foto: Cruz Flores).

Translation of "Religiosos de EE.UU. solidarios con las Iglesias de Nicaragua," La Prensa (Managua, Nicaragua), October 14, 1987

U.S. Churchmen in Solidarity with Nicaraguan Churches

Two leaders of the international organization "The Institute on Religion and Democracy" -- Kent R. Hill, the Executive Director, and Alan Wisdom, Research Director -- delivered energetic protests, via La Prensa, against the hostile treatment by the Sandinistas of the Catholic and Protestant churches of Nicaragua.

Both officials came to Managua to learn about the present situation of Protestants and Catholics in Nicaragua -- since in late 1985 there were many hostile acts toward Protestants and Catholics, such as unjust detentions and acts of repression.

Dr. Kent R. Hill, Executive Director of the Institute on Religion and Democracy, stated that they are an organization of Protestants and Catholics, of ~~Republicans and Democrats~~, whose sole mission is to seek religious freedom and democracy in the world.

Dr. Hill affirmed that the organization which he represents has published articles, pamphlets, and books in recent years about the problems which Catholics and Protestants have experienced in Nicaragua -- problems which in some cases demonstrate a lack of religious liberty.

"Unfortunately," said Dr. Hill, "since late 1985 the Sandinistas have mounted a campaign to discredit us as an organization, and also to discredit and attack those Catholics and Protestants whom we have defended. At that date various citizens, including eight Protestants, were jailed."

"On that occasion," stated the representative of the international organization, "the Sandinista activist Omar Cabezas made serious accusations against those persons, so as to justify the detentions, and he also declared that we were with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and that the National Council of Evangelical Pastors (CNPEN) was one of the arms of the CIA in this country."

"This Mr. Cabezas also said that we had sent in hundreds of thousands of dollars to CNPEN, for the purpose of fomenting a supposed subversive conspiracy."

"At this moment," Dr. Kent R. Hill stressed, "we wish to protest these false and offensive allegations, because in fact their only purpose was to intimidate the evangelical pastors in their ministry of the Gospel and to weaken the evangelistic work of this religious organization, which still does not enjoy legal status."

The two North American leaders expressed their fear that new assaults against the Catholic and Protestant churches might occur, damaging those who are opposed to the ideology of the Sandinista government. They also called upon the government to give legal status to CNPEN, so that it can obtain financial assistance from North American churches, just as is received by CEPAD, which is pro-government.

Finally, the two representatives said: "It disturbs us greatly that some North American churches which favor the Sandinista government have distributed and continue to distribute false information about the Sandinistas' treatment of the churches and their members. This is why we have come to Nicaragua, to talk with a wide range of persons, in the Catholic Church and in the evangelical or Protestant churches, those who support the government and those who do not support it, so as to know better the situation of the churches here."

"We hope that in Nicaragua the Sandinistas, who proclaim their Marxism, will permit this country to be free and pluralist. The peace process will be a great test of the integrity of the Sandinistas. The rhetoric of Marxism seems positive, but in practice it has been repressive, and religious freedom has suffered most under those regimes," they said in conclusion.

Evangelical Leader Named to National Peace Commission

Gustavo Parajón, a Christian relief official and Baptist pastor in Nicaragua, has been appointed to a crucial commission mandated by the recent Central American Peace Accord. The accord, signed by Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica, is designed to resolve the region's conflicts peacefully.

Tracing these conflicts to "deep divisions within society," the accord calls for national reconciliation based on "justice, freedom, and democracy." The agreement commits each country to democratic elections, with "complete freedom of press, television, and radio." In addition, it assures full rights for opposition groups, including amnesty for members of armed resistance movements.

To monitor compliance with the accord, each country must establish a National Reconciliation Commission made up of a government official, a Catholic bishop, an opposition political leader, and "an outstanding citizen, outside of public office and not pertaining to the party in power." Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega chose Parajón as the citizen delegate.

Parajón heads the Evangelical Committee for Aid and Development (CEPAD), an interdenominational relief-and-development organization. Other members of Nicaragua's National Reconciliation Commission are Sandinista Vice-President Sergio Ramírez; Catholic Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo; and Mauricio Díaz, of the Popular Social Christian Party.

Obando is the Sandinistas' foremost

critic, but some observers say they expect less independence from Díaz. Although he ran against Ortega in the 1984 presidential election, his party often sides with the ruling Sandinistas. Since the National Reconciliation Commission cannot serve its watchdog function if Obando is outflanked, many regard Parajón's role as crucial.

Lingering controversy

Parajón's organization, CEPAD, was formed in the wake of a devastating earthquake in 1972. In relief-and-development work, the interdenominational organization became a model of Christian cooperation. But it has come under fire since the 1979 revolution that replaced the Somoza dynasty with the Sandinista junta. And Parajón's appointment to the National Reconciliation Commission has stirred a controversy that had been simmering for some time.

CEPAD's most persistent and influential critic has been the Washington, D.C.-based Institute on Religion and Democracy (IRD). In a recent news release, IRD repeated its argument that Parajón and CEPAD have a record of "pro-Sandinista bias." That bias, IRD says, is evidenced by CEPAD's cooperation with the Sandinistas, public praise of the "accomplishments" of the revolution, defense of the Sandinistas' human-rights abuses, and complicity in the Sandinistas' forced relocation of Miskito Indians.

According to IRD, CEPAD published a primer in 1980 that "lauds Cuban-style socialism as 'the system that approaches closest to the Gospel ideal.'" In addition,

tion, IRD says CEPAD's occasional protests against Sandinista abuses are "strangely timid" compared to CEPAD's "vehement condemnation" of the U.S.-backed *contra* rebels.

"Unless Dr. Parajón alters his past stance," says IRD executive director Kent Hill, "it will be difficult for him to play the positive role for which we hope and pray."

Parajón was in England and could not be reached for comment. However, many Christians in the United States, including Ronald Sider of Evangelicals for Social Action (ESA), have criticized IRD's continued accusations. Sider said, he has known Parajón for 12 years as "a deeply committed Christian who believes passionately in evangelism and social concerns, economic justice, and political freedom."

Parajón's defenders say CEPAD coordinates plans with the Sandinistas to prevent duplication of relief-and-development efforts. And CEPAD's opposition to the *contras* is not politically motivated, says Bill Kallio, former ESA executive director, but based on Christian morals: The *contras* have targeted civilians, including CEPAD health clinics and workers. Further, Parajón has consistently brought local grievances directly to the government, and has protested Sandinista abuses.

Earlier this year, IRD agreed to an open dialogue with Parajón. "IRD's reiteration of those charges now is deeply disappointing," said Sider, "for it jeopardizes that dialogue before hearing out Parajón's response, and undercuts an evangelical brother at a crucial historical moment."

Parajón's appointment to the National Reconciliation Commission gives these issues new prominence. Clearly, his response will be under close scrutiny.

By Steve Wykstra.



Seeking reconciliation: President Ortega (left); Baptist pastor Parajón (center); and Catholic Cardinal Obando y Bravo.

'Secret team' probed

UM agencies help fund \$24 million suit

By GLEN LARUM
Associate Editor

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Long before Ollie North became a household name, three United Methodist general agencies began contributing what has added up to more than \$33,000 to a law firm that linked him with a "secret team" allegedly involved in gun running, drug smuggling and political assassinations.

"We're looking at a cancer that is deep in our body politics and needs surgery," a spokeswoman for that same law firm told some 300 United Methodist women gathered in Columbus Aug. 21-28 for a national seminar. The group included representatives from 72 of the 73 United Methodist annual conferences in the United States.

The law firm has filed a \$24 million lawsuit against 29 defendants involved in the alleged secret team's operation, including many whose names became well known during this summer's congressional probe of the Iran-contra affair.

"If we successfully prosecute (this team), however, it won't necessarily curtail that kind of secrecy," said Sara Nelson, executive director of the Christic Institute, an interfaith public-interest law firm based in Washington.

"We still as a country will have to deal with the shadow government that exists among elements within the CIA and the Pentagon."

She said those "elements" have worked clandestinely to manipulate U.S. foreign policy, citing the diversion of profits from weapons sales to Iran to purchase weapons for Nicaraguan rebels in defiance of Congress.

UM's support project

Ms. Nelson said that \$13,500 of the \$33,500 given by United Methodists came from the Women's Division of the General Board of Global Ministries, with the World and National divisions of the mission board each contributing \$10,000. Women's Division funds come primarily from United Methodist Women's voluntary gifts, while World and National Division funding comes from apportioned World Service askings.

Betty Thompson, a spokeswoman for the missions board, confirmed the grants to the law firm. She also said National and Women's Divisions have urged support for the Christic Institute's investigation of the role of the "secret team" in funding the contras, contrary to U.S. law.

The Christic Institute has received grants for this legal action from several religious groups, ranging from Roman Catholics to Unitarians, and from public-interest groups. The total UM contribution is reportedly among the largest received by the institute.

By early September, however, more than half the \$500,000-plus received to finance the Christic work had come from private contributors, said Stephen Deal, director of development for the institute.

Gifts fund probe

"The 1987 budget for the project is \$1.6

million," Mr. Deal said, "so we are facing the potential for a serious financial crunch during the next six months."

Ms. Nelson told the Reporter that contributions have been used to pay for an investigation of a secret U.S.-based operation that allegedly has worked outside the democratic process since the early 1960s to destabilize governments in the Caribbean, Southeast Asia, South America, the Middle East and Central America.

In 1986 the Christic Institute filed its civil lawsuit. Defendants include retired generals John Singlaub and Richard Secord; reputed Columbia cocaine lord Pablo Escobar; former CIA deputy director Ted Shackley; and John Hull, an American with extensive landholdings in Costa Rica.

Others include known assassins, arms dealers and cocaine smugglers, Ms. Nelson said.

Lt. Col. North, she said, served as a liaison from within the government to bring the already-existing secret team "on board" to supply the Nicaraguan rebels with arms in violation of the congressional action, known as the Boland amendment, which outlawed assistance to the contras.

To date, however, Lt. Col. North has not been included in the lawsuit, the Christic director noted.

Mr. Hull's Costa Rican ranch served as the transfer point for weapons going to the contras and for cocaine smuggled into the United States to finance arms purchases, she said.

"Guns down, drugs back," Ms. Nelson told the shocked United Methodist women attending the national seminar.

Typically, the women were told, as much as a ton of cocaine a week was smuggled into the United States on a shrimp boat unloading at a fish market in Miami.

"The New York Times" reported July



Sara Nelson

13 that several news organizations, as well as congressional investigators, had looked into allegations of drugs sold to arm the contras but had not found proof.

Other observers question the breadth of the Christic Institute's claims. One skeptic is Kent R. Hill, executive director for the Washington-based Institute of Religion and Democracy, an interdenominational conservative think-tank.

Mr. Hill said the Christic Institute previously has used lawsuits to levy broad allegations, not all of which can be substantiated, to get widespread publicity for its causes.

"In this case, they've said they don't believe the U.S. government is an effective democracy but that it's moving toward a national security state," Mr. Hill said. "The last time I heard rhetoric like this was on the extreme right."

'Team' linked to other events

Ms. Nelson said the "secret team" was created in the late 1950s to try to undermine the Cuban government of Fidel Castro. The team has also been linked to opium trafficking in Southeast Asia, the overthrow of Salvador Allende's government in Chile, mass assassinations in Vietnam, support of the shah in Iran and of Anastasio Somoza's regime in Nicaragua, and equipping the contras, she said.

However, it wasn't until the Christic Institute filed its lawsuit May 29, 1986, on behalf of two journalists—Tony Avirgan and his wife, Martha Honey—that the story of the secret team unfolded. Ms. Nelson said. Mr. Avirgan was injured in a bomb blast intended to kill contra leader Eden Pastora May 30, 1984, at La Pencia, Nicaragua.

The suit alleges that the bombing was part of an overall scheme planned and carried out by other contra leaders named in the suit and their supporters.

The bombing was designed, Ms. Nelson said, to kill Mr. Pastora because of his refusal to cooperate with contras who had been former National Guardsmen in the defeated Somoza government.

The ex-Somoza officials planned to kill Mr. Pastora and establish their own force in southern Nicaragua—a force equipped, supplied and trained in the United States by U.S. citizens in violation of the U.S. Neutrality Act, Ms. Nelson said.

That act forbids military action originating on U.S. soil against a government with which the United States is not at war, she explained.

The drug smuggling, gun running and laundering of funds in violation of U.S. banking laws as alleged in the Christic Institute suit are also a violation of the Racketeer Information and Corrupt Organization law, Ms. Nelson said.

The Christic Institute hopes that its lawsuit will bring the activities of the secret team to light and that team members will be held accountable for their actions, Ms. Nelson said.

"I have a lot of faith in the American people," she said. "The thing they lack sometimes are facts."

Religion and Politics

Robertson's Coup Stirs Up Emotions And an Issue as Old as the Republic

By E. J. DIONNE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1987

LANSING, Mich., Sept. 14 — The Rev. Pat Robertson, who is expected to announce his candidacy for President Tuesday, is given little chance of capturing the Republican nomination. But he is already forcing politicians to re-

News Analysis

examine one of the most difficult questions of public life: what is the proper relationship between religious faith and political action?

In the process, he is serving as a vehicle through which a substantial group of devout conservative Christians are sending a message of protest to a nation that they believe has forgotten its religious heritage.

Mr. Robertson's supporters sent this message again this weekend by packing an arena at Iowa State University and giving Mr. Robertson a victory over the entire Republican Presidential field, including Vice President Bush, in a straw poll whose results were noticed around the nation. At a meeting of the Michigan Republican

The opposing camps differ on the nation's very foundations.

state committee here Tuesday, Mr. Robertson hopes to hand Mr. Bush another defeat on a key procedural vote.

Interviews with Mr. Robertson's Iowa supporters on Saturday night suggested that their goals were well outside the conventions of interest-group politics. Their concerns were, quite literally, ultimate concerns.

Yearning for Ideals

"America needs a revival," said Robert Boese of Freeman, South Dakota, in explaining his support for Mr. Robertson. "America needs to get back to God."

Such thoughts often puzzle those outside the religious world who wonder what a revival has to do with politics, and are disturbed by the implications.

When Mr. Robertson's supporters lifted the rafters with cheers at his pledge to create "one nation under God," they said they felt they were applauding an entirely normal sentiment, a return, in the words of one of them, "to the way America used to be."

For Mr. Robertson's foes, however, the words sound like the prelude to the creation of a theocracy. Arthur J. Kropp, executive director of People for

the American Way, a group that battles the religious right, said his group was worried by a sharp increase in attempts not only to rid public libraries of books offensive to conservative Christians but to remove "whole sets of ideas" from public school curriculums.

Not a New Link

In fact, Mr. Robertson and his supporters are far from alone in seeking to link religious conviction to politics.

Churches and church-allied groups play a central role in liberal and left movements against President Reagan's military program and, particularly, his policies in Central America. And the most powerful social revolution in recent American history, the civil rights movement, was to a large extent led out of the black churches.

A black minister, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., made an organization called the Southern Christian Leadership Conference his base, and the rolling cadences of his speeches were inspired by the rhythms of the Old Testament prophets and of Gospel music. Dr. King's famous ending of his "I Have a Dream" speech — "Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty, I'm free at last" — was drawn, as he put it, "from the words of the old Negro spiritual."

Pope John Paul II, in New Orleans last weekend, knew he was on firm religious ground when he invoked Dr. King's name before black Catholics.

Imposition of Values Feared

But the fact that religious motivations are common on both sides of the political spectrum is not reassuring to those who fear the imposition of religiously inspired values — in some cases values held only by a small minority — on themselves and others.

The mutual distrust between religious conservatives and their opponents stems from the sharply different premises they hold. Indeed, such dialogue as there is often resembles a conversation between people speaking different languages and sitting in different rooms.

For the religious conservatives, the fundamental issue is what they see as a radical change in the public values of the United States — away from the traditions they hold dear and toward a form of tolerance that they view as promoting antireligious values.

The view of many fundamentalists and evangelicals that they are under siege in a secular world was described recently in an article by Dinesh D'Souza, a senior policy analyst in the Reagan White House and a sympathetic critic of the religious right.

"Parents who attempted to influence the textbooks that the young people

read in schools were routinely accused of censorship," Mr. D'Souza wrote in Policy Review, a conservative journal. "Students could get contraceptives without permission of their parents, whose views were seen as irrelevant. School prayer, whether voluntary or not, was held unconstitutional. Over the years, there was a slow buildup of frustration and angst."

Attack on Modernity Is Seen

Underlying all this, argues the Rev. Richard John Neuhaus, head of the New York-based Center on Religion and Society, is the view of religious traditionalists that the United States is creating a "naked public square," destroying the moral or religious basis of public life and replacing the religious impulse with — almost nothing.

But in the view of its critics, the religious right is in fact seeking to fill the "naked public square" with a kind of dictatorship of religious values. "The motivation is, 'Let's go back to the good old days when everything seemed to be so good,'" Mr. Kropp said. "It's almost an attack on the modern era."

Kent R. Hill, the executive director of the Washington-based Institute on Religion and Democracy, argues that, "Some of the more extreme critics of the religious right, who pretend to be neutral, would replace genuine pluralism with a narrow and intolerant secularism."

As for Mr. Robertson himself, he has yet to demonstrate that he can unite even the religious conservatives, let alone reach out beyond this base. The Des Moines Register Poll in Iowa shows Mr. Robertson winning only about a fifth of the Republicans who describe themselves as "fundamentalist" or "evangelical." He wins almost nothing among other Republicans.

But his supporters are sufficiently upset by what they see as the spread of "secularism" that they have won Mr. Robertson some attention-grabbing, if not nomination-winning, victories.

—The Poor May Suffer from Bishops' 'Insights'—

By Walter H. Kansteiner

Not to be outdone by their Roman Catholic peers, the Episcopal bishops have turned their pastoral attention to economic issues.

The Episcopal Urban Bishops Coalition has produced a working paper entitled "Economic Justice and the Christian Conscience." The first draft was given to the prelates last autumn at the House of Bishops meeting in San Antonio. Now a third draft will be presented at September's House of Bishops gathering, and the Urban Bishops Coalition is hoping for some type of official ratification or endorsement. This most recent draft has not yet been made available to the general public (that is, Episcopalians who sit in the pews) pending further comment on it by the bishops.

The first draft seemed to require that all Episcopalians who believe in a free market economy head for the nearest confessional. The opening sentence of the paper sets the tone: "Nearly one out of three people in America today is being economically victimized!" The "victimization," according to the bishops, is systemic: "We believe it is especially important for people to understand that the crisis both at home and abroad is largely 'systemic' — that is, it is the product of those economic and societal arrangements and systems which we have created to produce the 'good life.'"

"If one judged from the rhetoric of the first draft, the solution would logically be to abandon our free market institutions and systems."

If one judged from the rhetoric of the first draft, the solution would logically be to abandon our free market institutions and systems. The paper implies that any "changes" that do not alter our "core institutions" would only be superficial. "Fundamental changes in the distribution of resources cannot be achieved without explicitly challenging the main institutions and operating assumptions of the present style of American capitalism." In the first draft, the bishops clearly imply that it is highly improbable that free markets could ever produce "economic justice."

In pursuing their case on the fundamental deficiencies of the current U.S. economic system, the bishops partake in

some very imaginative exegesis. Looking for the twentieth-century American relevance in the Exodus story, they suggest, "What a time God had out there in the wilderness, keeping his people faithful on the freedom trail. The journey was so tough that many wished for the security of slavery back in Egypt. Some of them said, 'Why, there's not even a McDonald's out here!' And others grumbled, 'Can't we even use our Visa cards?' In other words, we have trouble giving up systems and economic arrangements that are enslaving us."

Though the Urban Bishops' rhetoric would seem to justify scrapping the capitalist system, what they finally propose may be a good deal more modest. "We believe an expanded government role in strengthening our system of income supports and broadening as well as improving public-sector delivery of human services is essential." The paper specifically calls for a national health insurance plan, administered by the federal government. The ultimate goal for all of their strategies and tactics is an expansion of "income support." The bishops explain that "...a non-demeaning system of income support would give working people greater security and, therefore, greater leverage in their battles against corporate power."

How is the federal government going to pay for these increased welfare programs? The bishops' paper suggests that the way for the government to fund such programs is to "reclaim the tax revenues that were given away to the rich and the corporations in 1981."

Although these specific economic and political "solutions" are highly debatable, they remain among the realistic options that the body politic examines. What is quite disturbing, however, is the apparent discontinuity that exists between the prelates' radical objective of "fundamental changes in the distribution of resources," and their much more moderate, though still questionable, policy prescriptions.

In the third draft, the bishops have softened their overt attack on capitalist economies. They call for "deliverance": Christians need to be "rescued from the idolatry of false priorities and irresponsible behavior." Sounds orthodox enough. In fact, the prelates' efforts are admirable in their attempt to address the very arduous task of uplifting the poor. However, they go astray, and dangerously so, when they jump from

general principles to concrete judgments. Compassion for the poor is a principle that originates at the very core of the Gospel, but to use inflammatory rhetoric, undermining support for the free-market system, is irresponsible. And, in fact, their proposals are much too restrained if they believe their rhetoric.

"...specific judgments and recommendations, such as 'an expanded government role,' belong more properly to debate within the public sphere..."

Besides, specific judgments and recommendations, such as "an expanded government role," belong more properly to debate within the public sphere, rather than to the authoritative realm of church pronouncements. This is not to suggest that the Episcopal bishops should not discuss public policy. But the Episcopal Urban Bishops Coalition has made the major mistake of leaping from general principles to specific recommendations which reflect a highly questionable ideological, and at times partisan, character. When the bishops make this leap, they are, in fact, compromising their general moral authority in order to obtain the dubious distinction of becoming just another partisan party in an economic debate.

Hopefully, the Episcopal bishops will not be as irresponsible as their World Council of Churches (WCC) colleagues who have attempted to turn a particular perspective on "economic justice" into a confessional standard. Despite the WCC's attempts to make a person's economic philosophy a determinant for where he or she stands within the fellowship of the church, economics is *not* a confessional issue. Ironically, it is the poor who may well suffer the most for the bishops' lack of careful thought. It is precisely a mixed economy operating within a basically free market which most effectively meets the needs of the vast majority in the population. How very sad that the bishops are undermining support for the very system which has the most to offer the poor. †

(Walter H. Kansteiner is director of economic studies at the Institute on Religion and Democracy, Washington, D.C.)

Soviet Union's *glasnost* reaching out to religion

From Religious News Service
Washington

GLASNOST, THE POLICY of reforms underway in the Soviet Union, is finally extending to religion, according to American observers. The analysis follows a visit to the United States by the Soviets' overseer of religion, during which he admitted that his government has made mistakes in its treatment of religion.

Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Soviets' Council on Religious Affairs, promised that all "prisoners of faith" will be released by November. He also said the Soviets will allow the opening of 12 new Catholic churches this month and the printing of 100,000 Bibles this year.

"Religion is one bitter page. We also recognize we committed mistakes in our relations with religion," Kharchev was quoted as saying in a statement issued by Senator Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), Sept. 3. Lugar met with the Soviet leader and gave him a list of demands, including release of 200 Christian prisoners reportedly jailed in the country on religious grounds. Experts in the United States generally viewed the Soviet official's remarks as encouraging, but they took a wait-and-see attitude on what effect the new policy of *glasnost*, or openness, will have on religion.

During his meeting with Kharchev, Lugar also called for the lifting of restrictions on religious education of children, church charitable activities and printing of religious literature. His list also included granting emigration to Christians and Jews and a halt in official attacks on religion in the Soviet press.

"Many problems you mention we are trying to correct," Kharchev was quoted as saying. But on the important question of antireligious laws, the Soviet official said many of the changes will require new statutes that will take time because "the new thinking must replace the old thinking."

Until recently, those who monitor religious affairs in the Soviet Union were reporting that Soviet leader Mikhail Gor-

batchev's policy of *glasnost* had almost completely eluded religion. The situation of religious believers remained more or less the same, even as a measure of freedom was granted to others.

"I think now it is definitely true that *glasnost*, to some extent, has affected religious affairs," said Kent Hill, an expert on issues of religious liberty in communist countries and chairman of the Washington-based Coalition for Solidarity with Christians in the USSR. "What is not clear is if some of the concessions will go beyond the level of cosmetic changes." Nonetheless, he said, "there are changes here that are clearly encouraging." He cited, among other developments, the promised release of all religious prisoners and the recent emigration of some Christian and Jewish dissidents.

"The fact that Kharchev at least admitted there were very many mistakes in the past on the part of leaders with regard to religion is very, very significant," Hill said. In particular, he said the Soviet official's assurance of greater freedom to distribute religious literature will put enormous pressure on his government "to live up to those words or admit to the entire world that they were lying. The caution here is that it's going to take a lot more than rhetoric to reverse this situation."

Robert Hennemeyer, an adviser on Soviet religious affairs to the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in Washington, said of the Kharchev announcement, "In fairness, one would have to say that this is a welcome beginning. But much more is needed if they're going to move in the direction of granting religious freedom," he said.

Hennemeyer expressed some skepticism about whether the Soviets will follow through on the promise to allow some banned Catholic churches to open, given a history of severe repression against Catholics, particularly in such republics as Lithuania and the Ukraine. ■

INTERVIEW

Is There a Link Between Christianity and Democracy?

The Institute for Religion and Democracy (IRD) was organized six years ago by mainline church members who objected to a perceived liberal political orientation among many of their denominational leaders. As a result, the Washington, D.C.-based organization frequently draws the ire of mainline Protestant leaders and the National Council of Churches (NCC).

IRD is best known for what it opposes, but it is articulating a positive purpose as well. A change in image occurred last year when Kent R. Hill became IRD's executive director. An associate professor of history at Seattle Pacific University, Hill is best known for translating from Russian the documents telling the story of the Siberian Seven. CHRISTIANITY TODAY asked Hill about IRD's commitment to religious freedom and dialogue among churches.

Are IRD's goals primarily political or spiritual?

Our first priority is not a political agenda, but one of calling the church back to an overarching spiritual purpose that can unite within one congregation a pacifist and a just-war theorist. To the extent the church is polarized on either the Left or the Right, genuine Christian community cannot occur.

The second goal is to point out that when the church has made pronouncements on political topics, it has often not done so in a wise and prudent manner. We believe there is a link between Christian values and democratic values, and therefore we expect church people to be among the staunchest defenders of democratic regimes. But instead, the church has often been naïve about the threat of Marxism in the world.

What do you mean when you refer to a "link" between Christianity and democracy?

It means we expect Christians, who believe in the dignity of human beings with inalienable rights given by God, to support democracy, the political system that has done the most to enhance the dignity of people. Democracy is not a perfect system, but as Winston Churchill put it, it's a long way ahead of whatever is second.

IRD has established itself as a major presence in the debate over the church's social witness. But regarding the politics behind the statements of mainline church leaders, we have not seen as much change in direction as we would like.

Why hasn't this change in direction taken place?

There has been quite a gap between mainline church constituents and the churches' bureaucracies. IRD was founded by people who seek reform—both political and spiritual—in the mainline church world. Most people who leave mainline denominations are disgruntled over the fact that politics is injected into spiritual concerns. Quite apart from what they feel about Nicaragua, they need to have their spiritual needs met, and if their church does not pro-



Kent Hill: "... We expect church people to be among the staunchest defenders of democratic regimes."

vide that, they will go elsewhere.

Can you cite an example of IRD calling the mainline church to account?

We had a disagreement over NCC involvement in the Philippines. We asked the NCC to identify which groups receive its financial and moral backing, and we never received a satisfactory response. The NCC views IRD as having come into existence primarily to critique much of what it represents. It has never understood our genuine desire for reform. As a result, the relationship has often been tense.

What sorts of attitudes among church leaders did you encounter concerning the case of the Siberian Seven, the Russian Pentecostal families who took refuge in the U.S. embassy in Moscow?

I became involved by translating more than 600 pages of documents from Russian into English. As I studied the case and tried to gain support for them, I discovered that the church is an inadequate advocate for believers behind the Iron Curtain, and frequently it even betrays them.

The one group I encountered that seemed to understand the problem was IRD. I watched the organization's work for several years, and its analysis of the problem closely coincided with my personal experience. For five years I worked on the Siberian Seven case, either translating materials or speaking before church groups and Congress. It was just like reading a spy thriller; yet here was evidence in my hand that I could not get the church world to acknowledge. It is not because church bureaucrats are evil or don't care about democracy. It is in part because of a political orientation regarding nuclear war which has so paralyzed them that they believe any public discussion of a human-rights problem heightens tension between the East and the West.

What are some of the most important initiatives involving IRD?

I'm excited about three developments. The first involves South Africa. Walter Kansteiner, our director of economic studies, is in the final stages of writing a major book on South Africa providing a Christian response to that troubled area.

I am also encouraged about the organization of a new multi-ethnic, interdenominational Coalition for

Solidarity with Christians in the USSR. Thirteen groups as well as the congressional human-rights caucus are involved, and I serve as chair. This is the first time we have seen such a diverse group of organizations and denominations participate in efforts to help Christians behind the Iron Curtain.

Finally, I see a new kind of ecumenical movement blossoming. The ecumenical movement associated with the NCC and World Council of Churches has often come under fire for its political activities. This is particularly sad to many of us who believe in the ecumenical movement and want it reformed, not scuttled. Now, a broad new coalition is developing among Roman Catholics, mainline Protestant moderates and conservatives, and evangelicals. The IRD is one focus of this activity. □



Church millennium: A reason for less opposition to religious speech and literature.

SOVIET UNION

Believers Test the Limits of Gorbachev's Glasnost Policy

Christians inside the Soviet Union, as well as believers in the West, are testing the limits of *glasnost*, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of "openness." While religious dissidents continue to be imprisoned, some positive movement has been seen regarding religious speech and literature distribution.

A group of religious activists in the USSR, led by Alexander Ogorodnikov, began publishing a magazine in July without official Soviet government sanction. Called *The Bulletin of the Christian Community*, the magazine carried articles in its first edition about imprisoned religious figures as well as plans to mark next year's celebration of 1,000 years of Russian Christianity.

Kent Hill, executive director of the Institute on Religion and Democracy in Washington, D.C., said of the new publication: "I do not know of any comparable attempt in the Soviet period. To actually produce a publication and be very public about it, in response to the

stated discussion of *glasnost*, is very significant."

At the same time, he noted, "we ought to be careful about getting overly optimistic about what these new initiatives mean. If, in fact, the authorities were to allow a Christian publication to go forward that was not explicitly controlled by the state, that would be a major breakthrough, not only for Christians but for all human rights advocates in the Soviet Union." But he said it is too early to know if this will be the case.

The millennium year of Orthodox Christianity in Russia is considered one of the chief reasons Soviet officials appear to be relaxing somewhat their opposition to religious free speech and literature distribution. The Baptist World Alliance and the United Bible Societies recently received permission to send 100,000 Bibles to be distributed to churches in the Soviet Union (cf. Sept. 4, 1987, p. 66). And in February, the chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs in the Soviet Union an-

nounced that 5,000 sets of the Barclay Bible commentary were authorized for importation into the country. Legal imports of Bibles still fall far short of what churches there say they need, so much of the religious literature distributed in the Soviet Union arrives through underground channels. To mark the millennium, the Russian Orthodox Church has announced plans to print 100,000 Bibles in the Soviet Union, in addition to the Bibles arriving from the West.

In a separate development, Russian Orthodox priest Gleb Yakunin recently was allowed to become pastor of a par-



Gorbachev: Will his policy of "openness" allow expansion of religious expression?

ish near Moscow. For 20 years, the Soviets had kept him either in exile or in prison. His new parish position is significant, Hill said, but Yakunin has been warned that he must be careful about the way he proposes changes for the future. "The Soviets are clearly giving mixed signals to these people," Hill notes, "as to what they are going to be allowed to do."

Hill said the prayer of Christians in the West should be that new stirrings of openness in the Soviet Union are genuine, and will not conform to historical patterns of liberalization followed by crackdowns on religious freedom. Religious activist Ogorodnikov has made it clear that the efforts of Western Christians do matter, both tangible efforts to get political figures to address concerns, as well as prayer support.

"I think it is critical that Western involvement in trying to help Christians behind the Iron Curtain be very carefully thought out," said Hill, "based on accurate knowledge, and avoiding exaggerated rhetoric." Hill chairs the Coalition for Solidarity with Christians in the U.S.S.R., established last spring in Washington, D.C. (See related interview on page 42).

By Beth Spring.

Defecting to Christ

The Liberation of One, by Romuald S. Spasowski (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986, 687 pp.; \$24.95, cloth). Reviewed by Diane Knippers, program director for the Institute on Religion and Democracy, Washington, D.C.

We Americans tend to treat news as entertainment. We are temporarily titillated by the tragedies of others. Our compassion is cursory, trendy.

In December 1981, martial law was declared in Poland. The attention of the world was galvanized by the harsh

is a compelling testimony to the grace of God.

Romuald Spasowski, the Polish ambassador to the United States, became, on December 19, 1981, the highest-ranking Communist official ever to defect to the West. His candid autobiography chronicles his relationship to his father (one of Poland's most prominent prewar Communists), his family's harrowing experiences harboring Jews in Nazi-occupied Poland, and his diplomatic career representing Poland in Argentina, India, and the United States.

Spasowski was a committed Commu-

he argues has brutalized and tyrannized his beloved Poland. He pleads with the West to realize the horrors the Soviet Union has wrought.

At one with Poland's martyrs

But Spasowski's liberation is not merely political. A lifelong atheist, he was blessed by God with a devout Roman Catholic wife, Wanda. She is a woman of astonishing faith, and faithfulness. During one of the darkest periods of their marriage, when Romuald had left her for another woman, Wanda's life was threatened by Polish intelligence

in an effort to induce her to grant Romuald a divorce. The authorities accurately recognized how dangerous to them her influence on her husband would be.

His wife's prayers were answered. They were reconciled, and in the spring of 1985 Spasowski, at age 64, was received into the church. "As I was baptized by John Cardinal Krol in Philadelphia," he writes, "I asked myself whether I deserved the grace of forgiveness and reconciliation with Him who liberated man's greatest hope. In joining myself to Christ, I felt at last at one with Poland's martyred people."

The *Liberation of One* combines the readability of a spy

thriller or a love story with the documentation of a history book. But its greatest strength is the testimony it offers to a patient, forgiving, and gracious heavenly Father. □



Asylum for the ambassador: Spasowski and his wife, Wanda, at a State Department press conference in 1981.

crushing of Solidarity, Poland's independent trade union. In response, the U.S. government imposed economic sanctions against Poland. And on Christmas Eve, my husband and I joined thousands when we lit a candle and put it in our window, following President Reagan's suggestion to show our solidarity with Poland in its dark hour.

Nearly six years later, conditions in Poland have changed very little, but the news earlier this year that the U.S. had lifted the economic sanctions and granted Poland Most Favored Nation status was buried in our papers.

Now comes *The Liberation of One*, a book by a central figure of those dark and dangerous days, a witness to Poland's suffering during and since World War II. Even more important, the book

nist, an idealist. But as he became more powerful, he became increasingly disillusioned. In the end, he found the courage to repudiate the ideology on which he had built his life—an ideology that



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November 9, 1987

Mr. Max Green
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Max:

Keston College in England, the noted research institution on religion behind the Iron Curtain, recently suggested to Dick Rodgers that he contact me directly regarding an upcoming trip to the United States. Rodgers is an Anglican priest, as well as a surgeon, but in recent months he has become one of the foremost defenders of religious leaders in the USSR. He takes on one prominent case at a time. His previous campaigns have involved Irina Ratushinskaya and Alexander Ogorodnikov. At present, he is working on the tragic case of Anna Chertkova, the Baptist who has been in a psychiatric hospital since 1973.

Rev. Rodgers is coming to the United States on Monday, November 30, and is tentatively planning to stay until December 12. During that time, he hopes to make a number of presentations to various groups, as well as meet with prominent American officials both in and out of government. Because of your special interest in religious freedom issues, I knew you would want to know of his trip. I will enclose for you a copy of the letter which I recently received from him, as well as some brief materials on Anna Chertkova which Rodgers prepared.

I am hopeful that your schedule may permit a meeting with Rev. Rodgers while he is in DC. If you are able to take some time out of your busy schedule to meet with Rev. Rodgers, please contact me here at IRD. Since I will be in Central America between November 29 and December 6, it would be best to call Faith Hooper of Church of the Apostles (525-6658) if you need specifics on Rev. Rodgers' schedule. Faith is helping coordinate his logistics.

Max, it occurs to me that some sort of meeting between Rev Rodgers and the President might in fact be an occasion for the President to get some good publicity for his concern regarding religious liberty. As you will note from the press release enclosed, Rev. Rodgers has some

powerful patrons in England. It is just a thought, but worth running by you. Please let me know your thoughts on this. I look forward to hearing from you.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kent', with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Kent R. Hill
Executive Director

KRH/jrt

On the Peace Watch: IRD Visits Churches in Central America

These are crucial days for the peoples and churches of Central America. On January 15 the five Central American presidents will meet to review compliance with the accords they signed in Guatemala last August. It remains uncertain whether that meeting will be able to hail decisive steps toward democracy, reconciliation, and non-intervention -- or whether it will mark a dead end for the peace process.

Central American churches have a large stake in the outcome. Several church leaders have taken personal risks in trying to mediate national reconciliation. And, ultimately, the work of the Church in that region will be greatly affected by whether its peoples live in peace or at war, under democracy or under dictatorship.

The Institute on Religion and Democracy has been involved in three recent trips to that volatile region. On October 9-14 IRD Executive Director Kent Hill and Research Director Alan Wisdom visited Nicaragua. Mr. Wisdom went back to Nicaragua November 8-11, accompanying a Central America Peace and Democracy Watch delegation from Ohio. And from November 29 to December 6 IRD sponsored

(Peace Watch, cont'd on page 5)



Photo by Kent Hill

An IRD-sponsored delegation visits a church in rural Nicaragua. The IRD will be publishing a fuller report on our November 29 - December 6 trip to Nicaragua, El Salvador and Costa Rica, including an analysis of religious freedom and church-state relations during the peace process. You may obtain the report for \$2.00 (\$1.80 for IRD members) by writing the IRD.

The Winds of Change. . . . Big Chill for Soviet Believers?

Mikhail Gorbachev has come and gone. For some Americans, opinions of the Soviet leader have changed. A mere handshake provoked one chilling comment: "It was like the coming of the second Messiah" (*Time*, 12/21/87). But for many others, the summit intensified the lobbying efforts and public demonstrations of those opposed to the human rights policies of the Soviet government. (The most notable was the massive demonstration on behalf of Soviet Jewry which attracted 200,000 to Washington, DC, on Dec. 6.) Several congressional leaders also expressed caution with regard to this new era of glasnost.

"Clearly winds of change are blowing across the Soviet Union. But only time will tell whether they are the cold winds of the Siberian north or the warming winds of freedom and human rights," stated

Rep. Paul Henry (R-MI) at the opening of a December 7 press conference on Capitol Hill which highlighted two new congressional initiatives for religious freedom.

The news conference was jointly sponsored by the Congressional Human Rights Caucus (a bipartisan congressional effort to call attention to global persecution) and the Coalition for Solidarity with Christians in the USSR, which is chaired by IRD's Executive Director, Kent R. Hill. Rep. Henry introduced a letter to Mikhail Gorbachev, signed by 258 members of the House of Representatives, which called on the General Secretary to initiate changes, in both Soviet law and practice, to end religious discrimination. The letter, which was delivered to the Soviet Embassy in Washington on December 4, welcomed the "promise of glasnost" while identifying 17 types of religious oppression and repression which

(Big Chill, cont'd on page 2)

From the Director's Desk

Beginning with this issue of Religion and Democracy, we are shifting to a monthly publication schedule. This will allow us to serve you in a more timely and effective manner. Without sacrificing our commitment to careful research, we believe you will find the new format livelier, more concise, and less likely to disappear into your "to read" file.

We will supplement our newsletter with more frequent publication of "Briefing Papers." These interviews, transcripts of press conferences, or IRD-researched and written articles will continue to provide the more in-depth analyses of the critical issues facing us both as citizens and concerned church members.

The IRD is also involved in a transition to a new membership computerized sort system, which will enable us to respond to you more quickly and efficiently. If there are any errors on your present mailing label, or if you are receiving duplicate mailings, would you please send us the labels in question with an indication of what the problem is?

We will also be glad to add to our mailing list those who you believe would find our materials useful. Please send us the names and addresses of friends, fellow church members, or colleagues. You will not only be providing them with helpful resources, but you will be helping the IRD to expand its membership and support base. Thanks so much for your help!

— Kent R. Hill

(Big Chill, cont'd from page 1)

persist under Gorbachev. Among these 17 violations are the "forced closing of religious institutions," "the incarceration of individuals in mental and psychiatric institutions for practices of religious belief," and "prohibitions against the general religious education of minors."

Rep. Chris Smith (R-IL) presented a resolution which he introduced to Congress the day following the press conference. This resolution, co-sponsored by 79 members of the House, calls for the Soviet Union to comply with universal human rights standards as embodied in the Helsinki Accords, "for the release and amnesty for all Christian prisoners, for churches and seminaries to be reopened, and for widespread distribution of religious materials. An updated list of 171 Christians who were known to be imprisoned for their religious convictions was pro-

vided by the Coalition (supported by research from Keston College, England). The number of known prisoners of all faiths is still over 200.

"It is true that there have been well-publicized individual releases of religious dissidents in the Soviet Union in the recent months," acknowledged Rep. Henry, "but the fact remains that roughly one-third of all religious and political dissidents imprisoned in the Soviet Union today have been sent to the jails, the prisons, the labor camps and psychiatric institutions since Secretary Gorbachev came to power."

Dr. Kent Hill concurred: "The best way to test the depth of glasnost is not to count the number of cases resolved, but rather to ask whether the legal and constitutional discrimination against believers has been abolished. The answer is that structural and institutional persecution against believers remains firmly in place under Mr. Gorbachev."

Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA), who himself is Jewish, further called for a general amnesty for all Christian prisoners: "What is called for is the recognition by the Soviets (of the right) of all Christians to practice their faith in their churches and in their homes."

The release of Baptist Anna Chertkova from a 14-year confinement in a psychiatric hospital was noted by Rep. John Porter (R-IL), co-chairman of the Human Rights Caucus. The Rev. Dr. Dick Rodgers, an Anglican priest whose organization, Vigil for Anna, had worked many months for her release, gave an update on Chertkova's status. (She has not yet been allowed to leave the USSR.) Dr. Rodgers issued a challenge to the U.S. churches; he is searching for U.S. Christians who are willing to stand up for their persecuted brothers and sisters and lobby their lawmakers and administrators on the prisoners' behalf. He also announced that his

(Big Chill, cont'd on page 3)



Rep. Paul Henry addresses a December 7 news conference on religious discrimination against Christians in the U.S.S.R. Seated on back row, from left, Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va.), Dick Rodgers, and Ernest Gordon of CREED; front row, from left, Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Cal.), Rep. John Porter (R-IL), and Kent Hill of the IRD.

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IRD membership is \$25.00 per year; a subscription to the newsletter is \$15.00 per year (and is included in the annual membership fee). Tax-deductible contributions in any amount are welcome.



Tens of thousands gathered in Washington on Dec. 6 to call for unrestricted emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union.

(Big Chill, cont'd from page 2)

next vigil will be on behalf of Vasili Shipilov, a Russian Orthodox believer imprisoned in psychiatric hospitals and prisons for 47 of the last 48 years.

Other Coalition speakers at the news briefing included Mr. Victor Nakas, Washington branch manager of Lithuanian Catholic Religious Aid, and Dr. Ernest Gordon, president of Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents (CREED).

(An edited transcript of the press conference is available from the IRD for \$1.50; \$1.35 for IRD members. Please ask for Briefing Paper No. 9.)

The National Council of Churches (NCC) also conducted a public event during the summit — an international prayer vigil for peace. The Rev. Dr. Arie Brouwer, General Secretary of the NCC, and Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk, the head of an eight-man delegation of Soviet clergy, jointly signed a letter which was delivered to President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev which stated that both clergymen would pray that the signing of the INF treaty would "open the way to rapid progress in other areas as well." The NCC-sponsored vigil did not address the issue of Christian prisoners of conscience.

Commendably, at the Dec. 6 rally on behalf of Soviet Jewry, Dr. Brouwer had declared that Christians are "duty bound" to demand freedom for Jews. However, at the Soviet Embassy on Dec. 8, when speaking directly to Mr. Gorbachev, Dr. Brouwer praised the policies of glasnost and perestroika. Implying that these new policies justified NCC methods for dealing with the Soviet authorities, as well as Soviet churchmen, Dr. Brouwer said that glasnost has "improved the reputation of the NCC." According to observers at the embassy, Brouwer went on to argue that it is the Religious Right which is the direct cause of fear of the Soviet Union.

— Lisa M. Gibney

(An IRD staff member, Miss Gibney coordinates the Adopt-a-Prisoner program for the Coalition for Solidarity with Christians in the USSR.)

Religious Liberty Alert

Needed: Prayer for Imprisoned Christians in the U.S.S.R.

The prayer and advocacy support of U.S. Christians can do much to alleviate the suffering of our brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union. One of the main projects of the Coalition for Solidarity with Christians in the USSR is its "Adopt-a-Prisoner" campaign. The Coalition is currently seeking 110 individuals to commit their support to an imprisoned Soviet believer.

Those imprisoned need spiritual support which we in the West can provide through prayer. Letters are also a great source of encouragement. Even in those instances when letters have not been delivered to the prisoner, those letters have clearly communicated to Soviet authorities that the fate of the prisoners is a matter of deep concern for Western Christians. Many of the recently-released prisoners have stressed how important it is that the Soviet authorities, including their immediate guards, know that people outside of the Soviet Union are aware of their plight.

An "adopter" can also write letters of encouragement to the prisoner's family. Families of prisoners often feel isolated and helpless, and often suffer from indignities perpetrated by neighbors and co-workers. The family may have ways of contacting the prisoner, thus informing him that his plight is known in the West.

It is the Coalition's goal that each prisoner of conscience be adopted by at least one Western Christian. This program is ideal for individuals, families, youth groups, congregations or Bible study groups.

Urgent Cases

Vasili Shipilov — A 65-year old Russian Orthodox who has been in psychiatric hospitals and prisons for 47 of the last 48 years. He has been beaten because he fasts and crosses himself.

Father Vladimir Rusak — A 38-year old Russian Orthodox deacon sentenced to prison (and eventual exile). He wrote a letter to the WCC in 1983 outlining the plight of religious believers.

Ivan Antonov — A 68-year old leader of an underground Baptist church. Now he is in exile in Siberia.

Gederts Melngailis — A 35-year old Latvian Lutheran who is in psychiatric hospital for charity work. He has been forcibly injected with unnecessary drugs.

Viktoras Petkus — A 57-year old Lithuanian Catholic who is serving his third prison sentence for monitoring Soviet compliance with the Helsinki Accords.

If you would like to adopt a prisoner(s), please write to the Coalition for Solidarity with Christians in the USSR, 729 15th Street, NW, Suite 900, Washington, DC, 20005. If you prefer a specific denomination or nationality, please specify. A free Adopt-a-Prisoner brochure is available. Quantities of the brochure (suitable for distribution to an entire congregation) are also available at cost. — LMG

Central America: Resources For Study_____

U.S. policy regarding Central America remains one of the most divisive public debates, as well as a source of great contention within our churches. The following resources offer some of the best analyses of this turbulent region, each from a solidly pro-democratic perspective.

Central American Peace and Democracy Watch Bulletin is the bi-weekly newsletter for a recently formed ad hoc committee for the full implementation of the Central American Peace Plan. It offers brief analysis and opinion on the current situation in Central America. For more information contact the Central American Peace and Democracy Watch, 2025 Eye St., NW, Suite 218, Washington, DC 20006, (202) 347-3997.

Directory of National Organizations Dealing With Central America is a valuable resource guide published by the World Without War Council. The directory describes the work and policies of 38 U.S. organizations (from both ends of the religious and political spectrum) which are currently active in the Central American debate. The different groups cover topics which range from religious liberty and human rights to peace, freedom and American security. A copy of the directory is available for \$5.00 by writing the World Without War Council, 1514 N.E. 45th St., Seattle, WA 98105.

The Continuing Crisis: U.S. Policy in Central America and the Caribbean, edited by Mark Falcoff and Robert Royal. One of the best introductory books available for understanding the complex political climate in contemporary Central America. A 546-page anthology, it consists of thirty different essays; among the various contributors are Fidel Castro, Ronald Reagan, Daniel Ortega, Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo and Cardinal John J. O'Connor. Available for \$14 from University Press of America, c/o Orders Dept., 4720 A Boston Way Lanham, MD 20706.

Nicaragua: Revolution in the Family, by Pulitzer Prize-winning author Shirley Christian. This is probably the best book available for anyone interested in understanding the history of Nicaragua and its people. Ms. Christian has provided a rare contribution to today's often polarized debate -- an extremely well written and objective analysis of the events leading to and following the 1979 Sandinista revolution. Available for \$8.95 from Random House, c/o Orders Department., 400 Hahn Road., Westminster, MD 21157.

"A Permanent People's Struggle" is a documentary video produced by the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development. The film is about the labor situation in Nicaragua and El Salvador and compellingly records the workers' frustrated struggle for democratic freedoms. This 35-minute video provides workers and campesinos an opportunity to tell their stories in their own words without fear of misrepresentation by a self-proclaimed vanguard of the people. It is available for \$12.00 from AIFLD/AFL-CIO, 1015 20th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

The **Central American Crisis Reader**, edited by Robert Leiken and Barry Rubin. There is much to digest in this 691 page anthology, but any individual seeking to expand his knowledge and make an informed judgment on the Central American crisis will greatly benefit from this important book. Available for \$12.95 from Summit Books, Simon and Schuster Building, 1230 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020.

Breaking Faith: The Sandinista Revolution and Its Impact on Freedom and Christian Faith in Nicaragua, by Humberto Belli. An important book for anyone interested in the current debate over religion and politics in Nicaragua. The author is a native Nicaraguan, a lawyer and a former member of the Sandinista Front. Available for \$8.95 from the Puebla Institute, 910 17th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20006.

Fleeing Their Homelands: A Report on the Testimony of Nicaraguan Refugees to Conditions in Their Country and the Reasons for Their Flight, is also published by the Puebla Institute. The result of over 100 interviews with Nicaraguan refugees, this booklet documents the primary reasons why some 10 percent of Nicaragua's population has fled that country since the 1979 Sandinista revolution. Copies of the report are available for \$6.00 from the Puebla Institute, 910 17th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20006.

C.P.D.H. Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Nicaragua is also published by the Puebla Institute. This is the most recent (October 1987) comprehensive report on the human rights situation in Nicaragua by that country's only independent human rights organization -- the Permanent Commission on Human Rights of Nicaragua. Available for \$3.50 from the Puebla Institute, 910 17th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20006.

The Democratic Mask: The Consolidation of the Sandinista Revolution, by Douglas W. Payne is a carefully documented historical survey of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. This book offers a concise but comprehensive account of the Sandinistas' strategy to achieve their Marxist-Leninist goals through what Payne calls a "carefully manufactured democratic cover." Available for \$5.00 from Freedom House, 48 East 21st St., New York, NY 10010.

Political Hospitality and Tourism: Cuba and Nicaragua, by Paul Hollander. The author reminds us of the ability of repressive Marxist-Leninist regimes to take advantage of, and deceive, well intentioned but naive Western visitors. Hollander describes how today's "political pilgrims" find much to praise after returning to the West from the latest guided tours of today's socialist "kingdoms" in Cuba and Nicaragua. Available for \$3.00 from the Cuban American National Foundation, 1000 Thomas Jefferson St., NW, Suite 601, Washington, DC 20007.

The Barren Fig Tree: A Christian Reappraisal of the Sandinista Revolution, by Sr. Camilla Mullay and Fr. Robert Barry. This IRD study booklet is a reflection on the 1979 Sandinista revolution and its impact on freedom and independence in Nicaraguan society. Copies are available from the IRD for \$3.00.

— Richard S. Sperbeck

(Peace Watch, cont'd from page 1)

a group of church activists who traveled to El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Our purpose on these trips was to meet with persons representing a wide variety of perspectives, so as to assess better the prospects for peace. We also wished to manifest our solidarity with Central American Christians.

Political Crisis, Church Growth _____

On our trips we sensed the pressures which those sisters and brothers experience daily. The conflicts in both El Salvador and Nicaragua have pushed millions to the brink of survival. In El Salvador we visited peasants who had fled the war-torn countryside, only to find in the city that wartime austerity left them without a steady job. In Nicaragua things were worse. We saw peasant children with swollen bellies and thin hair, symptomatic of malnutrition. Stores were often bare of essential foodstuffs, and when those were available, prices were too high and rations too meager to suffice.

There were chilling reports of indiscriminate violence. We heard of a block captain gunned down on a San Salvador street corner by unknown assailants, of Nicaraguan young men taken away and killed for refusing to serve in the Sandinista army. Graffiti were nearly all political, and they projected militance and hatred. Not surprisingly, the climate of deprivation and violence causes fears to multiply. Many with whom we talked suddenly became reticent when a public conversation turned toward controversial issues. Only in private would they open up.

Nevertheless, by the grace of God, the churches of Central America have been strengthened. In both El Salvador and Nicaragua, evangelicals (Protestants) have increased from less than 5 percent of the population a decade ago to 15-20 percent today. An evangelistic crusade which we attended in Managua drew an enthusiastic crowd in the tens of thousands. By various accounts the Nicaraguan Catholic Church has experienced a renewal of its spirituality. Worshipers at masses we attended showed a devotion that was more than formal.

Perhaps the political crisis has caused those suffering its effects to seek a more firmly-grounded faith. Certainly it has prompted much theological reflection. And in this field the left-leaning liberation theologians have by no means carried the day. Many Catholics and evangelicals set forth biblical, reasoned alternatives to liberation theology.

Taking the Measure of Freedom _____

Undoubtedly, we could not have witnessed these signs of spiritual life if Central American churches did not enjoy a fair measure of freedom. None of the Christians we met spoke of churches being padlocked, Bibles being confiscated, or believers being sent to psychiatric hospitals. Nicaragua, in particular, is not to this point a totalitarian state committed to the extinction of all religion. But this is not to say that Christians there and in El Salvador do not suffer under political pressures. The conflicts dividing those two nations have affected their churches, but in very different ways. And those differences in the



Photo taken on IRD trip in Managua, back row, from left: Ervin Duggan (Presbyterians for Democracy & Religious Freedom), Alan Wisdom, pastor Boanerges Mendoza, a parishioner, Kent Hill. Front, from left: John Boone (PDRF), Randy Frame (Christianity Today), Kathy Kirsten (Lutherans for Religious & Political Freedom), Tom Wisely (Seattle Pacific University). Diane Knippers (Episcopal Comm. on Religion & Freedom) took the picture.

state of religious freedom spring from differences between the political systems being constructed.

In El Salvador most aspects of church life -- like much of life in general -- proceed vigorously with little reference to politics. Government officials articulated no long-range policy toward the Church, other than seeking the help of the Catholic bishops in mediating the peace process. Where church leaders have endured physical and other attacks, these resulted less from government policy than from being caught in a struggle of political extremes not under governmental control. Lutheran Bishop Medardo Gomez, for instance, told us of receiving anonymous death threats because of his charitable work with individuals accused of guerrilla ties.

Many Salvadorans expressed anxiety at being compromised in political affairs. Benjamin Cestoni, head of the official human rights commission, gave a frank explanation of the problem: El Salvador has democratic structures, and there is a broad desire for democracy; however, many of the structures do not work adequately, and the people do not trust them enough to make them work. The military, especially, is not under sufficient civilian control, and the judicial system has yet to punish high-ranking military offenders against human rights. But even Maria Julia Hernandez of Tutela Legal, a Catholic human rights group inclined toward the Left, acknowledged that human rights violations have declined dramatically under the Duarte administration. She attributed the improvement to human rights conditions attached to U.S. foreign aid.

In Nicaragua, by contrast, the problem lies in the structures themselves. The Sandinista program, which the ruling comandantes have repeatedly defined as Marxist-Leninist, calls for the participation of all social sectors in a "revolutionary process" led by the Sandinista "vanguard." Young people are steered into the Sandinista Youth, workers into the Sandinista Confederation of Labor, peasants into Sandinista agricultural cooperatives, and so forth.

(Peace Watch, cont'd on page 6)

With regard to religion, the Sandinista policy of co-optation has operated through the "Popular Church" among Catholics and the Evangelical Committee for Development Aid (CEPAD) among Protestants. These groups do not belong to the Sandinista Front; however, they work closely with it and defend it against foreign criticism.

Thus almost every Nicaraguan is forced to make a political choice: whether to join the pro-Sandinista organizations or to stay out of "the revolutionary process." Those who join can enjoy the benefits, while those who stay out expose themselves to a consistent pattern of abuse. Most of the independent leaders we met had been imprisoned at some time. Opposition politicians described how scores of their mid-level cadres had been targeted for arrests or draft call-ups. Officials of the non-governmental Permanent Commission on Human Rights (CPDH) documented many cases of rural villagers suspected of contra sympathies being detained in mass or forced to relocate. Owners of independent media outlets told of publications and radio news programs banned by the Ministry of Interior.

Yet the most common form of pressure may be economic. A business leader listed for us the many levers the government has over any private enterprise: the authority to fix wages and prices, a monopoly over banking and exports, provisions allowing arbitrary seizures of land and other property, and the power to dispense or withhold ration cards and import permits. All of these tools are used to favor those who conform to the Sandinista line and to make life hard for those who do not.

Churches not supportive of the government have encountered the same treatment. Several evangelical pastors recounted to us their experiences in prison. A Catholic priest reported several recent incidents: mob attacks, tampering with his truck, and the discovery that his altar boy was a State Security plant. Pastors without Sandinista ties complained of economic discrimination. Not belonging to CEPAD, they lacked access to government-subsidized supplies -- from building materials for their churches

to food for their families. They were forced onto the black market, where goods cost several times as much.

The National Council of Evangelical Pastors (CNPEN) has been repeatedly denied legal status, preventing it from receiving foreign contributions, and its activities have often been hindered. Someone outside CNPEN suggested that this harassment was simply "political," provoked by the pastors' "counter-revolutionary" attitudes. Yet religious freedom consists not just in that which is available to those who support the government, but particularly in that which is available to those whose consciences forbid them to cooperate with the state.

Talking With CEPAD

Nevertheless, we considered it necessary to listen also to those Nicaraguan Christians who have been pro-Sandinista. On all our trips we met with CEPAD officials to discuss our differences. Those officials felt strongly that IRD publications had defamed them personally and damaged the unity of the churches within CEPAD. They stressed that they were not Marxists, that CEPAD was not an arm of the Sandinista Front, and that it had no links to State Security. They asserted that their praise of the government related to social programs in which they had participated, whereas they had disagreed with Sandinista policies in some other areas.

Specifically, Dr. Gustavo Parajon, President of CEPAD, expressed his desire for an immediate end to the state of emergency, the dropping of all media restrictions, and a broad amnesty for political prisoners. Dr. Parajon seemed confident, though, of the government's good faith in delaying these promised democratizing measures. He appeared willing to accept the excuse that further liberalization might not be possible until after the war had ended. Other CEPAD-related leaders dismissed IRD warnings about Marxist-Leninist tendencies and religious persecution in Nicaragua. They claimed to have seen little evidence so far of such dangers, and they rejected comparisons between the Sandinistas and communist regimes elsewhere.

We of the IRD responded by affirming our understanding of CEPAD as a Christian organization, in which many churches participate purely so as to do humanitarian work. When CEPAD acts in a partisan manner, we do not ascribe that stance to its entire membership. We reassured CEPAD officials, too, that we do not mean to dispute either their integrity or their sincerity. Instead, we said, our questions concern the wisdom of a church group entering into such close embrace with a Marxist government.

Unfortunately, much that we heard on our trips reinforced that concern. One U.S. missionary with CEPAD put the situation this way: "We are not Sandinistas, but we are walking down the same road with them." Several pastors reiterated charges which had been aired in previous IRD publications: that CEPAD discriminates among aid recipients according to their standing with government authorities; that CEPAD funds and supplies are diverted to government agencies; that criticisms made internally to



Photo by Kent Hill

Hundreds came forward at an evangelistic crusade in Managua led by Puerto Rican evangelist G.G. Avila.



As elsewhere in Nicaragua, the IRD delegation found evidence of both brutal poverty and sincere religious devotion in the town of Masaya.

(Peace Watch, cont'd from page 6)

CEPAD have ended up in the hands of State Security interrogators, who cite them as proof of subversion against the state. We cannot verify these charges, but we can testify that they are widely believed inside Nicaragua. If there are divisions within the Nicaraguan evangelical community, these cannot be blamed on articles published by the IRD in English in the United States.

Facing Deep Conflict, Steady Support Needed

What difference, then, has the Central American peace agreement made? Some, but not enough yet. Many with whom we talked were pessimistic that true national reconciliations could be achieved.

In El Salvador the government has released almost all of its political prisoners. According to Tutela Legal, only 24 remain in jail. Several leaders of the Democrático Revolutionary Front, a civilian wing of the FMLN guerrilla movement, returned briefly to San Salvador to test the waters for a re-entry into the political process. The freedom with which they moved about and spoke, at rallies and on television, demonstrated the much wider political space now open to them. At negotiations held in October, the government invited the rebels to occupy that space and contest the coming elections. But the FMLN representatives, raising concerns about their own safety and the continuation of U.S. aid to the government, refused to lay down their guns. They vowed to continue their armed struggle until they were guaranteed a share of power.

In Nicaragua the Sandinista government has allowed the newspaper La Prensa to resume publishing and Catholic Radio to return to the air. La Prensa has used its new freedom to blast away at the Sandinistas with both barrels, under headlines such as "FSLN Would Lose Elections" and "Corruption: the Dance of Millions." But many smaller publications and over twenty radio news programs are still closed. The government has pardoned some 1,000

political prisoners; however, 3,000-8,000 others remain behind bars. According to Lino Hernandez of the unofficial human rights commission, convictions in the special political tribunals have increased since August from 20 per month to over 50 per month.

Catholic and Protestant leaders report a relaxation of pressure on them, as illustrated by the lack of interference with outdoor Catholic observances or with the recent evangelistic crusade. The crusade coordinator attributed that freedom to a long, careful effort to persuade the government that the event would not touch on politics. Some pastors also credited the publicity focused on the October 1985 arrests of independent evangelical leaders with having helped to deter similar crackdowns. But those churchmen whom the Sandinistas hold in suspicion remain conscious of being closely watched.

The Nicaraguan government has opened indirect conversations with the contra rebels regarding a cease-fire. Its proposals for the cease-fire, though, amount merely to procedures for a contra surrender. The Sandinistas have rejected any discussion of fundamental constitutional changes which would loosen their stranglehold on power.

President Daniel Ortega declared that the Sandinista Front would never lose an election, and if it did, "what it would give up would be the government, but not the power" (Washington Post, Dec. 15, 1987). His brother Humberto echoed the note of intransigence: "The right should not think that the workers will not force them to pay historically — and even more if there is a (U.S.) invasion. Let the right tremble before the justice dealt by our people" (New York Times, Dec. 17, 1987). Both Ortegases have confirmed that they are considering building up their armed forces to a total of 600,000 regulars, reserves, and militiamen.

Such statements give grounds for fear that the peace process may come up short. Although the Guatemala accords have produced some positive results, the social conflicts, the ideological divides in El Salvador and Nicaragua may be too deep to be bridged in a few months. The pursuit of democracy and national reconciliation may take much longer.

In the meantime, we need to strengthen those institutions — especially the churches — which can equip the people for democracy and reconciliation. In El Salvador we must support, in prayer and materially, a spiritual revival which will yield the moral values conducive to making a free society work. In Nicaragua we must sustain the marginalized, harassed, and generally poor Christians trying to live out their faith in tension with an ominous "revolutionary process." Indeed, this is a challenge to the mainline U.S. Protestant denominations, which have heretofore concentrated their funds and attention on Central American groups sympathetic to the non-democratic Left. Perhaps it is time for those denominations to rethink their priorities.

— Alan F. Wisdom

RCDA Celebrates 25 Years of "Faithful Witness"

"They have faithfully witnessed, and their witness will not return void," said IRD Board member Richard John Neuhaus at the 25th anniversary celebration of the quarterly journal RCDA -- Religion in Communist Dominated Areas. Pastor Neuhaus was referring to a 75-year-old native of Czechoslovakia, The Rev. Blahoslav Hruby, and his irrepressible wife Olga. The Hrubys, with initial financial assistance from the National Council of Churches (the NCC claimed budgetary constraints in 1971 and withdrew its annual funding), founded RCDA in 1962 to collect and publish information on the religious environment within communist countries. For a quarter of a century, the Hrubys have documented and focused attention on the systematic violation of religious liberty and other fundamental human rights in societies controlled by an officially atheistic state.

As the Hrubys and RCDA celebrate a 25th anniversary, even a cursory look at its history will demonstrate its success. Numerous Christians, Jews, Muslims, political dissidents and others are free today because of the faithful efforts of the Hrubys and those involved, directly and indirectly, with RCDA.

Recently, Natalia Solzhenitsyn, wife of author Alexander Solzhenitsyn, recounted her first encounter with RCDA: "I simply could not believe my eyes. I saw there a detailed description of difficulties and sufferings...I ran with the journal to Alexander and cried: 'They know everything! They understand everything!'" She continued later, saying: "People like Blahoslav and Olga Hruby belong to a very small flock. That small flock spend their lifetimes, and sleepless nights, and waste their health, being concerned about the fact that yet one more person is suffering for the confession of the faith of Christ." (Presbyterian Survey, Oct. 1987)

You may send the Hrubys your congratulations and learn more about their work by writing Blahoslav and Olga Hruby, c/o Religion in Communist Dominated Areas, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10115.

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The United Church of Christ and Violent "Liberation"

Calling its international humanitarian aid policy "vague," the United Church of Christ's Board for World Ministries (BWM) recently "clarified" the denomination's guidelines at its annual meeting. Until recently the UCC's official policy has allowed humanitarian assistance only to organizations committed to a non-violent resolution of conflict. However, according to the statement passed at the meeting, the UCC agency can now provide humanitarian aid to liberation movements "engaged in the struggle for justice in situations of actual or potential violence."

Traditionally, said the Rev. Scott Libbey, chief executive of the BWM, the UCC has been, and remains, "absolutely" opposed to any direct or indirect support of violence. However, he contradicted that position by adding that "programs of merit should not be disqualified because sponsoring organizations also support the use of force against tyranny."

Audrey Smock, a spokesperson for the UCC mission agency, denied allegations that the new policy was implemented to permit the provision of financial assistance to the African National Congress (ANC) or the Southwest Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO). Both organizations receive substantial financial assistance from some mainline denominations and the "Special Fund" of the World Council of Churches' Program to Combat Racism. And, in contrast to more peaceful reconciliation efforts within southern Africa, both are actively engaged in violent resistance to the South African government.

Ms. Smock, criticizing the concentration on what she called the "sensational nature" of the resolution, said the larger focus of the new policy is "to enter into a fuller and more meaningful dialogue with partner churches in crisis situations."

According to BWM officials, an extensive evaluation will be made of each organization that requests assistance, and groups to be considered must demonstrate their commitment to "democratic principles" and the "genuine self-determination and liberation of their country's people."

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