

Liberty

THE SILENT ONES:
MOSLEMS
IN THE U.S.S.R.
SEE PAGE 4

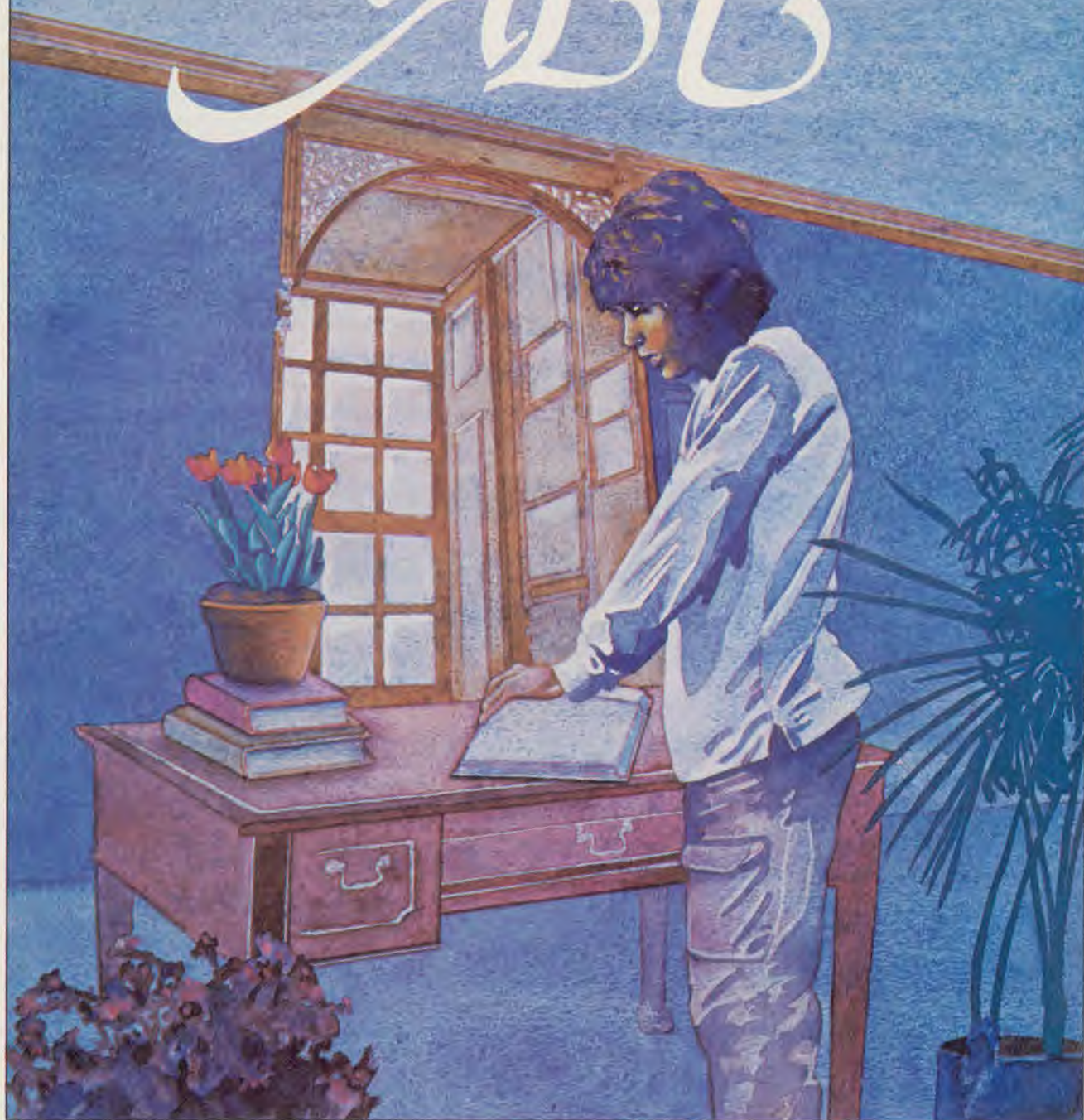
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By Marian Hodgkinson

ALBION



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ILLUSTRATIONS BY BOBBI TULL



We were new in Turkey, but the house we rented wasn't. It sat behind a high broken wall on a busy street in Ankara, Turkey's capital.

Inside, the worn gold brocade furniture, dusty rugs, and faded red curtains gave the place a slightly raffish air. However, it was cheap; and that was important, since my husband was a fledgling engineer on his first foreign job.

Ali came to us one morning aboard a rickety bicycle. In the basket in front of him rode a small white cat with mismatched blue and brown eyes.

"I am cook-butler," he announced. "I cook Turkish, Germanish, and Americanish. I am d—— good cook."

His brown eyes were eager; and, even though I was not sure we could afford a servant, to say nothing of a cook-butler, I was tempted to hire him. The kitchen was a nightmare, its equipment as aged as the rest of the house. I had struggled to produce something—anything—edible from a stove that alternately balked, sulked, or sat grinning at me while it burned up meal after meal.

Ali looked the place over and seemed undaunted, except to remark that it was "d—— dirty."

He spoke an intriguing mixture of Turkish and American slang and profanity, the result of having been employed by two bachelor American Army officers who had been attached to the military mission in Ankara.

He was inordinately proud of his language ability, so I put up with his constant use of the word. His cat, with the odd eyes, was "d—— good luck, this house," and so it went, until one day I asked him why the tailor, who had taken one of my husband's suits to be altered, hadn't returned it. With a shrug, Ali commented on the stitcher's slowness, this time adding a title of deity to his usual profanity.

This was too much. I was not going to tolerate anyone taking the Lord's name in vain in my house.

"Ali," I snapped, "I don't ever want to hear you use *God* again. Do you understand? It's bad, bad!"

Quick tears flooded his eyes. After all, he was very young. My husband and I had long since decided that the 20 years he claimed were nearer 17.

To explain to a Moslem what profanity is among Christians was just too much for me, so when Ali said dejectedly, "OK, madam," I let it go.

Our possessions fascinated him. He

would crouch by the rocking chair and rock it back and forth, a wide smile on his innocent face. Our typewriter, however, held unknown terrors, and he gave it a wide berth, not even wanting to dust it. Books interested him. He'd scrutinize my dictionary, with its rivers of words, smooth each page with loving brown hands, and study the black script as though it held some secret of a world he knew nothing about. One day he picked up my Bible.

"What this book, madam?"

"That's a Bible, Ali," I replied. "Like your Koran."

"It tell all about Allah?"

"Well, yes, but we don't call Him Allah."

"What you call Him?"

"We call Him God," I answered.

A look of utter horror came over Ali's face as he backed away from me.

"Oh, no," he whispered, "that bad word! Madam say so, and shake finger in my face and say, 'Ali, never, never use that word in this house again.'"

"But, Ali," I explained hopelessly, "it's not a bad word. It's the way you use it."

There was no question but that Ali was disappointed in me, but he shrugged it off and went back to work, apparently willing to forgive my mistake, because he loved us, as we did him.

As the days went on, I read to him from the Bible. He dearly loved the twenty-third psalm and would ask me to repeat the part about the green pastures and the valley. He was a country boy and longed to be away from the noise and confusion of the city.

In my reading I could see him cringe every time I came to the word *God*, but he asked no more questions. In my impatience I had etched indelibly on his mind that *God* was a bad word. In the dark nights I prayed for some way to make him understand, but it was a problem not easily solved, since I did not know enough Turkish to find a comparable example in the Koran and was unable to explain it to him. A little of my thoughts and prayers must have filtered into his confused mind because one day he said, contemplatively, "Maybe Allah no care what you say. He care what you do. Your God same thing."

One morning when we were about to start our Bible reading, Ali said, "You care if Emmahan listen, too?"

Emmahan was the quiet, mouselike veiled girl who crept into our basement to do the laundry.

"Of course not, Ali, but will she understand?"

"Emmahan pretty stupid, but I explain."

With the passing of time and my diligent

study of the Turkish language, it was possible for me to follow Ali's colorful interpretation. It was a vivid performance, complete with gestures. (Hollywood missed a great actor in Ali.)

A little at a time the audience at my reading sessions expanded from two to seventeen listeners in our crowded living room: the man who delivered the coal, the cook from across the street, the janitor from the apartment house not far away, and many relatives of Ali's, as well as Emmahan's.

I sent home for books, Bible stories with illustrations, but I had to be very careful in showing them. In one was a picture of the crucifixion. It brought tears and moans from my audience. In spite of the mental picture we have of the Terrible Turks, they are in reality a sympathetic and tender people. My listeners muttered among themselves about those "bad people" in the picture.

Books were treated with nothing less than awe. In the villages only the literate had books, and even the precious Koran was usually kept in the mosque. No one ever asked whether he could take a book home or to show to a friend. Emmahan made cloth covers for some of them and even embroidered crosses on the Bible cover.

Eventually Ali asked the question that I had dreaded.

"Madam, who this Christ you read about?"

"He is the Son of God."

"Oh, same like Mohammed," said Ali.

"Not exactly," I said, wondering how I was going to explain the divinity of Christ. "Christ was a great teacher."

"Same like Mohammed," he said, a look of satisfaction and understanding on his intelligent face. He then went on in rapid Turkish to explain to the assembled pupils.

With a sigh I decided to leave further explanation to the future, secure in the knowledge that God would show me a way.

The morning came when we must reluctantly leave Turkey. Our friends gathered in a group to bid us goodbye, their arms loaded with box after box of that wonderful confection Turkish delight. "Güle! Güle! ["Go smiling"]," they cried as we walked with Ali to the corner where a taxi waited to take us to the airport. My husband shook hands with Ali, and I, in a surge of affection, put my arms around him.

"Your dear God go with you," he said huskily. And then, "Madam, you care if Allah go too? More safe that way!" □

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THE SILENT ONES: MOSLEMS IN THE U.S.S.R.



Provisions made for practice of the Moslem faith in the Soviet Union are pathetically inadequate, worse than for any other major religious group. Yet not a single voice is raised in protest from within the Moslem clerical establishment. Author Janice Broun reveals the surprising reasons why.

By Janice Broun



Survival of Christianity in the U.S.S.R. has long been a matter for Western concern and research. But until the oil crisis and the resurgence of militant Islam in the Middle East, Soviet Moslems attracted little attention.¹

Most belong to peoples brought under Russian colonial rule in the nineteenth century.² For the most part primitive, previously isolated peoples with a long tradition of tribal warfare, they consist of at least thirty nationalities, which subdivide into even more linguistic and tribal groups.³ Their only unifying factors are common Islamic inheritance and dislike of the Russians and the system of government imposed on them. It is probable, however, that were it not for Soviet rule, they would be fighting one another, just like Moslems of different races elsewhere.

In general, treatment of Moslems since World War II has improved considerably; the last Moslem rebellions, as far as we know, were in the 1930s. There is no Moslem human-rights movement and no Moslem dissent as such. Only two groups, exiled during the war like many other Moslem peoples, asked help from human-rights groups. They are the Crimean Tatars and, to a lesser extent, the Meshketian Turks. Until the recent upsurge of interest in Soviet Moslems, they were the only groups well known in the West.⁴ Their struggle to return to their homelands, however, is basically national rather than religious.⁵ The reason for their exile is strategic. The

Crimea is the chief Black Sea naval base, and the Meshketian Turks' homeland is a sensitive area of the border with Turkey.

The official provision made for the needs of the Moslem faith is pathetically inadequate, far worse than that for any other major religious group. Yet not a single voice has been raised from within the Moslem clerical establishment. The reasons for this silence are rooted in the fatalism and submission basic to the Moslem faith, but there are further subtle and complex reasons. To understand them we must begin by noting how Islam was treated by the czars.

Moslems in Pre-Revolutionary Russia

The czars conquered the Moslem peoples but left the fabric of Moslem society virtually intact. The earliest Moslems to be absorbed, the Volga Tatars, benefited from the tolerance of rationalist eighteenth-century rulers like Peter the Great and Catherine the Great. Catherine even had the Koran translated and distributed free at government expense.⁶ Before the Revolution, Islam flourished: from 5 million in 1858, the Moslem population grew to 16 million (10 percent of the population) in 1912. About 20,000 a year made the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca. There were 26,000 mosques; no village was without one or at least a rented house serving as one. With 45,000 clergy, the ratio of clergy to people (1 to 357) was far higher than in the state-established Orthodox Church. Educational facilities included 450 madrasahs (seminaries), 14,000 Koranic (primary) schools, and a flourishing press.⁷ Among the European Moslems were many university graduates. A high proportion of European Moslem women were emancipated and no longer wore the veil. A reform movement, Jadidism, encouraged questioning some of the Koran and acceptance of Western science and technology.

Moslems After the Revolution

The early Bolsheviks were too preoccupied to bother with Islam. Nor did they know what to do with it, for Moslems had also been victims of czarist oppression. A number, especially the Jadids, had joined the Communist Party, while remaining Moslems—party meetings were interrupted at the times of prayer! The reformist Moslems even sought to export their brand of Communism into neighboring Moslem states. But in the early 1920s the Soviet Government decided that the movement was dangerous, and the leaders were liquidated.⁸

It wasn't until the late twenties, however, that the party, now under Stalin's control,

began an all-out offensive on Islam on a scale similar to that already carried on for a decade against the Orthodox Church. For Communism to be established, the fabric of Islamic life had to be torn into pieces. But Islam's roots go so deep into the social, legal, and educational aspects of life that Sovietization proved extremely difficult. World War II interrupted full implementation of Stalin's policies.

In 1927 the party attacked Moslem subordination of women by maneuvering its proponents into a position from which they appeared to be defending not religion but reactionary views about women. Fundamentalists reacted violently: thousands of women who complied with the new laws and removed their veils⁹ were put to death by their menfolk and thus became "Soviet martyrs."

Most mosques were either destroyed or put to secular uses. Clergy were drastically reduced in number. All Koranic schools and madrasahs were closed. In 1928 the *shari'a* (Moslem) courts were replaced by Soviet courts. The Cyrillic script replaced the Arabic.

New Controls

During 1928 and 1929 drastic new laws imposed control over every religious body in the U.S.S.R. Religious groups had to be state-registered and were restricted to worship activities. During the thirties the attack on religion intensified, and church life was all but obliterated. With implementation of the first Five-Year Plan, collectivization was savagely enforced on the unwilling peasants, with the most appalling consequences in terms of human misery and loss of life, especially among the largely rural Moslem peoples. Between the 1926 and 1939 censuses the Kazakh nomads—who, like most Moslems, raise large families—actually declined in numbers. The inevitable revolts were brutally crushed. A well-organized guerrilla movement took longer to subdue. The 1937 purges provided opportunity to get rid of nearly all the remaining Moslem Communist leaders.¹⁰

By the late thirties the condition of Moslems under Soviet rule had become desperate, though some mosques operated with local indulgence or unregistered.¹¹ It was hardly surprising that many Moslems collaborated with the German invaders; even Russians welcomed the Germans as liberators. As a result Stalin initiated wholesale deportation and genocide; only the high-fertility rates of those who survived have ensured long-term continuance of the national groups concerned.

From the religious point of view, Islam

benefited from the war. Like the head of the Orthodox Church, the mufti of Ufa cleverly appealed to his people to pray for the victory of the Red Army. As thousands of churches were joyfully reopening in German-occupied zones, Stalin realized that he could not afford to forfeit the support of millions of believers, most of whom had been driven underground.

Thus, even before the war ended, Orthodox, Protestant Evangelical, and Moslem churches were granted legality, a modicum of religious life, and an administrative framework that exists substantially unchanged today. Moslems are divided under four spiritual directorates, one each for the main Moslem regions.¹² They alone can supervise and administer mosques and madrasahs, publish religious literature, and nominate, license, and remunerate the clergy. But they are not free agents; all directorates are subordinate to the Council for Religious Affairs, a Government body and therefore atheist.

A disproportionate amount of the directorates' time and energy is spent in giving assurances at international conferences and to foreign visitors that Islam in the U.S.S.R. is truly free. They promote Soviet policy abroad, particularly in the Moslem world. As a result of the resurgence of Islam, their importance has increased, and it seems that they have been able to bargain with the state for limited concessions—restoring and reopening of more mosques, for instance, which serve as window-dressing for foreign Moslems. But the directorates seem to be the most docile of all ecclesiastical administrations in the U.S.S.R. They say exactly what they are expected to; they have never publicly protested the flood of antireligious propaganda, the inadequacy of basic facilities for exercise of their religion, or the godless Soviet state itself. Rather, they have always urged Moslems to be model citizens, there at any rate showing good political sense. Their spokesman, Zia al-Din Babakhanov, is a versatile and active collaborator. Whether he or his colleagues are sincere in this is quite another matter. Moslems have a convenient principle, alien to Christian ethics, called *taqiya*, by which they are permitted to dissimulate and even to deny their faith if necessary. Throughout the history of the Soviet state, people from Moslem background who seem to be loyal Communists turn out to be Moslem first, Communist second.

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Today, the Moslem population has risen to about 45 million, making the U.S.S.R. the world's fifth largest Moslem state! Of these, an astonishingly high proportion, 80 percent, are said to practice Moslem rites. Yet there are a mere 300 to 500 mosques,¹³ less than 2 percent of the 26,000 mosques in 1912, when there were only 16 million Moslems. This present total is actually lower than at the end of World War II, when at least 1,500 mosques were open. During his vigorous campaign against religion between 1959 and 1964, Khrushchev closed more than 1,000, particularly in the villages. Glaring examples of suppression of religious liberty are provided by the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic and by Azerbaijan. Deported during the war, the Chechen-Ingush were allowed to return, but from 1943 to 1978 had not a single mosque, and there are now only 2. In 1976, Azerbaijan had only 16 mosques for 5 million people.

There are less than 2,000 clergy for the whole U.S.S.R. (45,000 before the Revolution) and they are trained at the only two madrasahs reopened, at Bukhara and Tashkent. Students are limited to under 100. Though their training, particularly in foreign languages, is excellent, a disproportionately large number are destined for top administration, or sent to work abroad.

Pilgrimages and Propaganda

Unlike the czarist times, only carefully selected groups are allowed to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. As a substitute, the rank and file are permitted to visit local shrines. These pilgrimages are extremely popular and give Moslems opportunity to witness the strength and vitality of their faith after years of oppression. Koranic schools, of course, have not been reopened, since religious education of children is an offense under Soviet law. As for the Koran itself, Moslem visitors to Central Asia remark how difficult it is to find anyone who possesses one—only six inadequate printings have been permitted. The sole Moslem magazine, *Muslims of the Soviet East*, is primarily for propaganda purposes abroad, and naturally does not mention persecution; no official magazine could.

Within the U.S.S.R., however, Moslems have much to read. They are bombarded by atheist propaganda. Vast sums of government money are poured into literature and films or go to train thousands of atheist lecturers, all trying to discredit Moslem beliefs. Certain practices are targets for constant attack and ridicule, in particular circumcision (carried out on all boys), the Ramadan fast, "outdated" marriage cere-

monies, and ecstatic, secret Sufi rituals and trances. Islam is attacked for being primitive, fanatical, reactionary, and of foreign origin. In the face of all this pressure, Moslems have been forced to conform outwardly to Soviet norms.

Reasons Islam Survives

From these facts and figures it is obvious that Moslems are denied religious liberty and that the few institutions they are permitted are shackled and severely limited by the state. How then does Islam survive, and not only survive but flourish? One reason is that Moslem social pressures are so strong that it is more difficult for an individual to be an atheist than a Moslem!

Another reason lies in the nature of Islam itself. Islam is a very traditional religion and, as such, has proved resistant to the sapping effects of materialism, atheism, and Communism. It has maintained a strong oral tradition, closely structured communities, and a stable family life—rare in the U.S.S.R. in the Slav areas, where half the marriages end in divorce, alcoholism is rife, and the population stagnant, thanks to abortion and resultant barrenness. Moslems, on the other hand, still value fertility. By A.D. 2000 they are expected to form a quarter of the population, with a third of all Red Army conscripts Moslem.

Because of social pressures, the Government uses Russians in local government only in a few key posts in the Moslem republics. As a result local officials either ignore Moslem practices or actually take part in them. Laws against unregistered religious groups aren't applied. Here is one reason the directorates do not need to speak out. They are in the comfortable position of knowing well that underground Islam provides religious teaching and ceremonies through thousands of unofficial mosques and mullahs. Moslem areas moreover are riddled with secret Sufi societies, *tariqas*, to which in some areas (such as the Chechen-Ingush A.R.) 60 percent of the population belongs. These Sufi societies predate the Revolution; they are vastly experienced and have no central overall organization.

Faced with such widespread resistance to its policy, the Government is helpless. In the present world situation it dare not antagonize Moslems at home or abroad. Therefore, though Moslems may appear to be the most deprived religious body in the U.S.S.R., they are in fact the most favored. As far as Western observers know, not a single Moslem is in prison for religious reasons. Moslems can get away with infringements of law for which Christians are promptly imprisoned. Thus there is no

Moslem movement for religious liberty. In a way they have it already, hence their apparently puzzling silence. For their survival they can thank not only the worldwide resurgence of Islam but also their own solidarity, resilience, and ability to adapt to changing situations without losing essential religious and national identity. □

Notes

¹ The exception was the late Walter Kolarz, who pioneered a survey of Islam in *Religion in the Soviet Union* (London: Macmillan, 1961; and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962). Most of his perceptive observations are still relevant today. French scholars have been mainly responsible for more recent research, based largely on Soviet material, e.g. Alexandre Bennigsen and C. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, "Muslim Religious Conservatism and Dissent in the U.S.S.R.," *Religion in Communist Lands* (RCL), vol. 6, no. 3 (autumn, 1978, Keston College, Keston, Bromley, Kent BR2 6BA). Also by the same authors, "Official Islam in the Soviet Union," RCL, vol. 7, no. 3 (autumn, 1979), and Marie Broxup, "Islam and Atheism in the U.S.S.R.," RCL, vol. 9, nos. 1, 2 (spring, 1981).

² The main exception are the Moslems within European Russia, mostly conquered as long ago as the sixteenth century, and thus far more in touch with Western and reformist trends. By the nineteenth century the Tatars were as literate as the French or British. See start of section 2 of this article.

³ For instance, in the small Caucasian Autonomous Republic of Dagestan twenty-six languages are spoken.

⁴ See *Chronicles*, nos. 51 and 57, and Ann Sheehy's "The Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans and Meshketian Turks," *Minority Rights Group publication*, Benjamin Franklin House, 36 Craven St., London.

⁵ Nevertheless one of the Tatars' complaints is that out of forty-six mosques in the Crimea in 1944, only six are still standing, and Korans have been confiscated.

⁶ Archimandrite Augustin, "Islam in Russia" (Leningrad, 1980)—WCC paper published by Centre for the Study of Christian and Muslim Relations.

⁷ In 1912, for instance, 608 books in Moslem languages were printed, 178 of them on religion. Within a 10-year period the Kazan Press issued 128,000 prayer books.

⁸ For this period, see Kolarz, *op. cit.*, and Fazlur Rahman, "Evolution of Soviet Policy Towards Moslems in Russia, 1917-65," *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 1, no. 2, and vol. 2, no. 1 (winter, 1979, and summer, 1980).

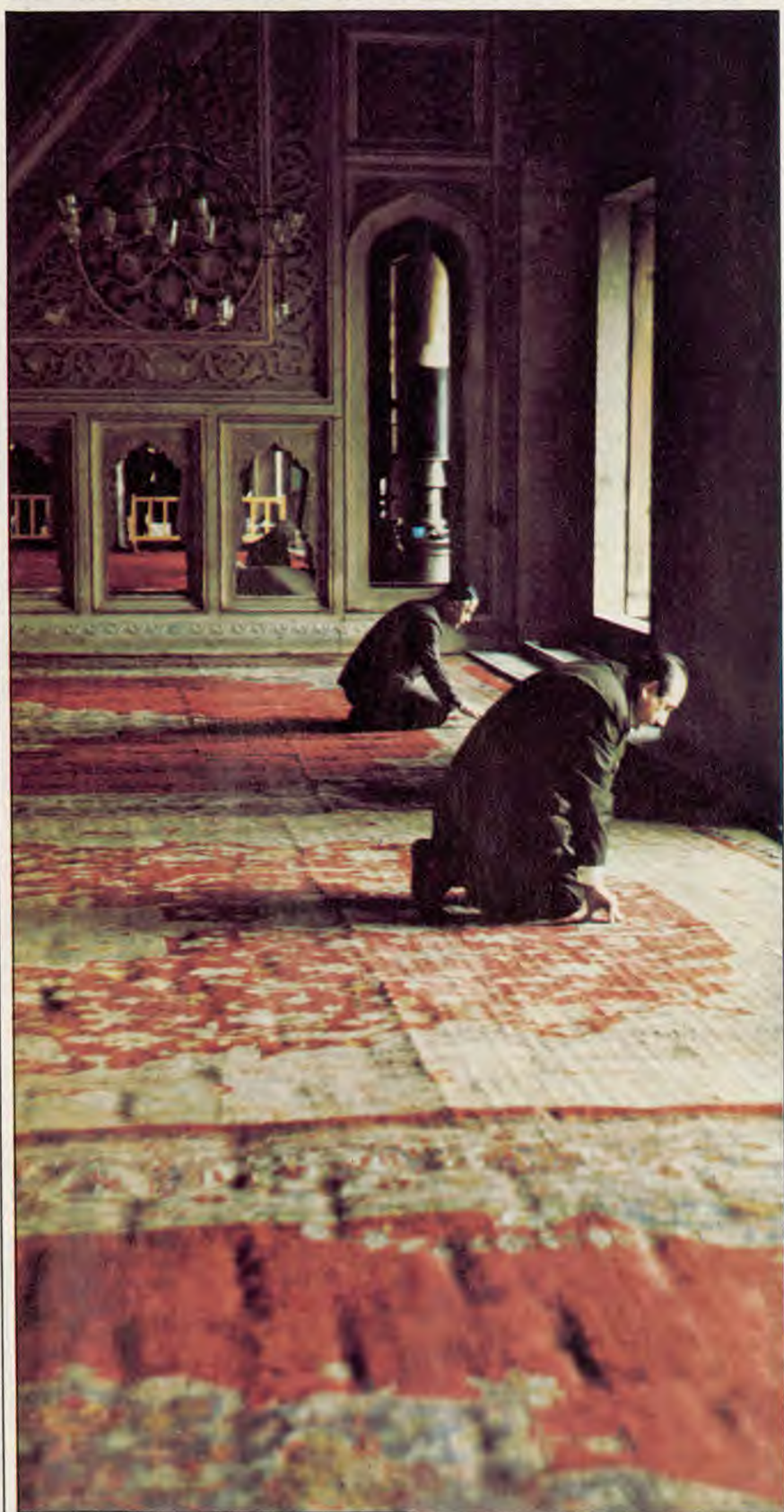
⁹ The majority, as a token gesture, removed their veils for one day only.

¹⁰ Their loyalty to Stalin must have been questionable.

¹¹ In Kirghizia in Central Asia there were no villages without believers. Hundreds of holy places were still visited by pilgrims. Underground mosques catered to people's religious needs. In the one small district of Tadzhikistan alone, there were fifty mosques open, mostly unregistered.

¹² The directorates are: Central Asia and Kazakhstan; the North Caucasus and Dagestan; Transcaucasia (primarily Azerbaijan); European Russia and Siberia. The first region contains 75 percent of Soviet Moslems.

¹³ Soviet official figures are often widely self-contradictory. These figures are based on estimates made by Bennigsen.



ISLAM:

TAKING A CLOSER LOOK

By Linn Brasher



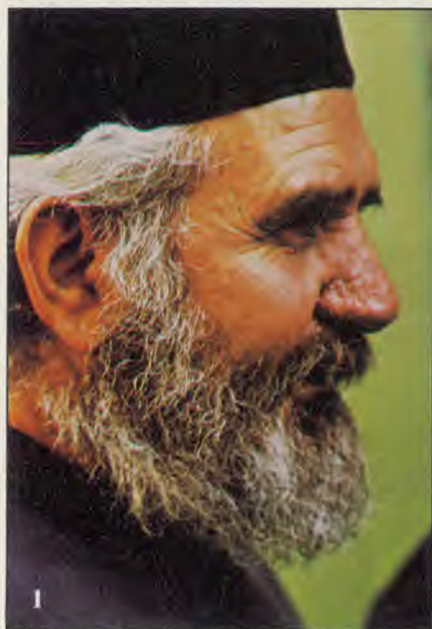
Religion and politics have always been strange bedfellows. The influence of one upon the other has, historically, made for an interesting, though frequently stormy, relationship. Nowhere is this mutual ferment more on display than among the Moslem nations of the Middle East. Nowhere are religion and politics so inseparably wrapped. Nowhere does religion offer a more important perspective on outlook and culture. Thus understanding Islam is basic to good relationships on either a personal or a governmental level.

Though only one of several religions in the Middle East, Islam is of the greatest significance to us today. It is one of the world's youngest major religions and one of its fastest growing. Since the death of Mohammed in June, A.D. 632, Islam has spread throughout the Middle East, into Asiatic Russia, Pakistan, India, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Indonesia, the Philippines, and, more recently, into Western countries, as well.

Islam relates itself to both Judaism and Christianity. Moslems trace their ancestry to Abraham through his son Ishmael. Jews and Christians, on the other hand, trace their ancestry through Abraham's son Isaac. In his various oracles, Mohammed showed familiarity with many Biblical characters. He regarded the Bible as an inspired book and Jews and Christians as a people of the Book. A list of Moslem saints includes the prophets Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, with Mohammed superseding the others.

Mohammed, whose name means "the praised one," was born in Mecca about A.D. 570. His father died before he was born, and

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1, 2. Egyptian scenes.

3. Constantinople harbor.

4. Over 2,000 years of history are seen on this site near Luxor, where a mosque is built on the ruins of a Christian church, which in turn was built on the ruins of a Jewish synagogue.

his mother died when he was about 6. He was adopted by his grandfather, who also died a short time later, and then by an uncle. Both men were sheiks of the Quraysh tribe, then the keepers of the holy places of Mecca. His acquaintance with death at such an early age, along with the intense spiritual atmosphere in which he grew up, may well have sparked his later preoccupation with religion and his visionary experiences with the angel Gabriel.

At the age of 25, Mohammed married his employer, Khadija, who was 40. Their marriage seems to have been happy; contrary to the custom of the times, Mohammed apparently took no other wives while she lived. In return, her loyalty and wealth afforded him social position and leisure.

Khadija bore Mohammed one or more sons and four daughters. Of these, only one, Fatima, survived. She was later to play a significant role in the development of Islam and the division that brought into existence the Sunnites and Shiites.

At 40, an age when many men experience a midlife crisis, Mohammed became discontented and withdrew from the social life of the community. Increasingly disturbed

about his religious life, he spent much time in isolation and meditation. During one such period he was addressed by the angel Gabriel.

The visions became a frequent occurrence, convincing him that they were indeed revelations from God. The angel told Mohammed that he must take these revelations to his people.

As a prophet, Mohammed was not at first fully successful in Mecca—not surprising because he preached a religion that recognized only one God, and because his denunciation of all other gods and the use of images was a threat to the city's way of life. Mecca, it seems, was financially subsidized by the various shrines, so the city fathers were understandably upset. They became increasingly inhospitable, forcing Mohammed and Khadija to move on to Yathrib (later called Medina, in honor of the Prophet).

Mohammed's journey to Medina is called the Hegira, or the Migration. Because it was the turning point in the religious career of Mohammed, the year it took place, 622, became known as year one in the Islamic calendar. From this point on, the religion preached by Mohammed gathered momentum. Eventually the Prophet was able to reestablish himself in Mecca. After his death Islam spread rapidly from his Arab homeland into Syria, Persia, and elsewhere.

Certainly Mohammed had been an impressive personality. He was powerfully built, and his eyes commanded attention, with their sharpness and intelligence. His thick hair and lush beard added to his

charisma. Apparently he was an eloquent speaker.

The Koran, the written revelations of God through Mohammed, is essentially a book of laws, much as the Bible and the Torah are books of laws, as well as books of theology and worship. Moslems accept what are known as the Five Pillars of the Faith. The first asserts, "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet."

The second pillar is prayer, which for Moslems must be both public and private. The Koran requires a minimum of three periods of prayer daily, but the usual practice is five: daybreak, noon, midafternoon, sunset, and later in the evening.

The third pillar is alms. Mohammed asked that all Moslems contribute 2.5 percent of their income to aid poor people and pay for missionary work and other good deeds.

The fourth pillar is fasting. During the month-long celebration called the Fast of Ramadan, Moslems must not eat or drink between sunrise and sunset. There is some flexibility for small children and soldiers, but generally the devout make fasting a serious practice.

The fifth pillar is pilgrimage to Mecca. The faithful hope to make this pilgrimage at least once in their lifetime. The pilgrim is supposed to dress in two sheets, which are sewn together. His nails and hair are not cut from the moment his journey begins. Meditation and sacrifice are also a part of the journey. Because modern-day Moslems are widely scattered over the world, it is acceptable to make visits to other shrines



and holy places.

To reach heaven the Moslem must do more than observe the five pillars of the faith. He must be upright and just, honor his parents, not drink alcohol (although the Koran describes heaven as having rivers of wine!), gamble, make idols, or possess more than four wives. Meat must be slaughtered and prepared in a certain way, and as in the Jewish faith, pork is to be shunned.

Ideally, Islam is a total culture, a way of life difficult for Westerners to understand. Religion, the arts, government, education, the economy—all are interrelated in the Moslem state. Therefore, the head of the state is a religious as well as a secular authority.

Because Mohammed died without a son, his rightful successor has become a point of controversy in Islam. At the time of his death Mohammed's favorite wife, Aisha, installed her father as the first caliph, or successor. However, since Mohammed's adopted son, Ali, son of his uncle abu-Talib (and husband of his daughter Fatima) was thought to have been the intended successor, a division arose in Islam that has never been reconciled. Those who accepted Ali as the true successor became known as Shiites. Those who accepted abu-Bakr, Aisha's father, as caliph became known as Sunnites, from the word *sunna*, which means "custom." The Sunnites constitute the majority of Moslems in many countries. The Shiites, predominate in Iran, are noted for their tenacious devotion and authoritarianism.

The Shiite Imam, or spiritual and

divinely authorized leader, rules by divine right rather than by consensus in all final interpretations and decisions. It is easy to understand the unquestioning allegiance given such a leader.

Islam does not require a believer to accept what he himself finds unconvincing. The Moslem's own mind is his last and only resort in religious matters. Whether a nonbeliever dares to express his own mind in religious matters is another matter.

The Moslem perceives the world (and more specifically, man) to be good and created for the fulfillment of divine will or expression. Imperfections in both man and his world don't imply that either is inherently evil. Man has a moral responsibility to work toward perfecting both. It is his responsibility to learn, to understand, and to master his environment.

Religious wars have played a leading role in Islamic history. However, Christians too have had their share of pogroms. Al Faruqi tells us that Islam is blameworthy if "it combats ideas with the sword, since ideas are all combatable with argument and evidence. But it is not blameworthy for it to combat with the sword the sword which stands between it and man, preventing Islam from conveying its call and men from listening to or receiving it."

In theory at least, Islam is a religion of relatively just and benevolent codes. In contrast to Christianity and others of the world's religions, Islam considers man to be innately good and born in innocence. Essentially, he is judged only as to his mature and deliberate deeds. Stress is

placed on felicity, on deeds, and on activities in this temporal existence. As with any religion, the problem comes with interpretation, as well as the temperament of disciples.

Every religion has its share of fanatics and heretics. As a nation, indeed, as a world, we have an obligation to differentiate these individuals from the mainstream of popular belief. Only in understanding can we begin to separate apparent fallacies from truths or realities. Gerald Vann, in *The Water and the Fire*, had this to say: "Nothing is easier than to be stupidly intolerant of the different ideals and principles of other races and other ages. Nothing is easier, as life goes on, than to sink back into well-worn grooves of thought and prejudice from which there is no emergence; . . . intellectual sympathy becomes impossible, and without that sympathy there is no possibility of understanding, and without understanding there is no well wishing and charity becomes an impossibility." □

The Dividing Line

"There is an invisible and flexible line on the world map which divides east from west. It has always been there; a division of experience, outlook and cultures. Our own history, and our own sense of history, has traditionally been shaped from our view of this line."—David Frost, in *Crossroads of Civilization* by Clive Irving.

Why the State Department Muzzled Paisley— A 1990 Retrospect

By Victor Cooper

Washington, D.C., April 24 (UPI)—The U.S. State Department has refused to admit Tom Mapela, an apartheid spokesman from South Africa, for a speaking tour. A State Department spokesman defended . . .

It was only about a decade ago that the United States refused entry to an elected member of the British Parliament.

Leader of the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party Ian Paisley was informed on December 21, 1981, that the U.S. State Department had invalidated his longstanding multiple-entry visa. The reverend doctor, a member of the European Parliament and moderator of the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster, was planning to visit the United States in January, 1982, to inform the public about the nature of the ongoing conflict in Northern Ireland—a story he says the Irish Republican Army has endeavored to obscure.

Paisley remained in Canada while a group of four visitors from Northern Ireland came to Washington, D.C. They were Paisley's wife, Eileen; Norah Bradford, wife of the Reverend Robert Bradford, a member of Parliament who was murdered by the I.R.A. in 1981; John Taylor, member of both the British and European parliaments; and Peter Robinson, member of Parliament for East Belfast.

Why wasn't Ian Paisley permitted to join the group?

Paisley and his followers have used strong—even violent—language in reference to Republicans, Catholics, and the Pope. Their calls for a citizens' army to defend Ulster—sparked by fear of British Army withdrawal from Northern Ireland—came through to Americans as a call to religious warfare. And Paisley is hardly free from the taint of religious bigotry and fanaticism.

But neither has the Irish Republican Army been known for its "ecumenism." Still, Unionist Paisley, who speaks out against the terrorist actions of the I.R.A., was refused a visitor's visa, while spokesmen for the Republican cause were admitted. Why?

It will be recalled that some Britishers thought they had the answer: A United States policy of intrusion and attempted

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control over the affairs of Great Britain, owing to the influence of the "Irish vote" in U.S. politics. Among other evidence: William Clark, then American Undersecretary of State, called for the "unification" of Ireland, an act Britain considered a threat to its interests and independence, and which the Protestant majority in Northern Ireland strongly opposed.

London *Daily Mail* columnist Andrew Alexander wrote: "The readiness of the United States to interfere in British policies can be breathtaking. The biggest immediate threat to

the south. It is a society in which divorce is available and there is free access to contraceptives, as well as to nonsectarian education and uncensored literature and films.

In the Irish Republic, or Eire, not only is the Protestant population denied divorce and contraceptives, as are Roman Catholics, but the study of the Gaelic language is compulsory for all. Liberty is a key factor in the struggle between the two cultures.

But what of Catholic freedoms in the north? Paisley contends that Ulster has suffered from "smear campaigns," including allegations of oppression and corruption in government circles. He says that Catholics and Protestants have the same voting rights and, owing to gradual alterations in the population, constituency boundaries actually have been disadvantageous to Unionists.

Allegations that Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland have been discriminated against in respect to housing and employment receive strong support from stateside observers. But Paisley might have pointed out that in Belfast in 1980-1981, £13 million was spent in Roman Catholic areas, while only £7 million was spent in Protestant areas—though Roman Catholics occupy only one third of the city. He could have added that a Fair Employment Agency set up to expose cases of discrimination discovered only eight proved cases in three years.

In education, Roman Catholics would seem especially favored. Public funds provide not only the cost of operating state schools but also 95 percent of the cost of a separate Roman Catholic educational system—a concession not available in any other part of Britain or in the United States.

Against both physical violence and propaganda tactics, the people of Northern Ireland, loyal to the British Crown, have demonstrated phenomenal patience. The Ulstermen have been battered and blasted as they have struggled to maintain their relationship with Great Britain.

Yes, the Orangemen of the North have periodically retaliated against the savagery. But the I.R.A. uses the bomb and bullet—not the ballot box. And a large percentage of funds for the purchase of weapons for the financing of terrorism within the United Kingdom, Paisley surely would have argued, comes from American groups.

We will never know for sure what he would have said. And increasingly, it seems, we are not deemed mature enough to make our own judgments between bigotry and truth. □

Geneva, Switzerland, April 25 (AP)—European agricultural expert Otto Finkenmacher has been refused entry into the U.S. because the Iowa Corn Growers Association considers his visit "potentially divisive."

our political stability is not 'Cahmunism,' but attempts to detach Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom and join it to the Irish Republic. That could lead to warfare throughout the British Isles.

"Russia poses no serious threat here, but the U.S.A. does. . . . As a result of what he [Clark] said, I.R.A. morale will have risen. More bombs will be planted. U.K. citizens will die because of Mr. Clark. . . .

"Allies who are big, strong and simple-minded can certainly be as frightening and dangerous at times as our avowed enemies." *

Tough talk. But, then, the Northern Ireland situation is tough.

One doesn't have to agree with Alexander to remember that during the 12 years preceding Paisley's aborted visit, the country's small population of 1.5 million suffered 2,169 murders, 26,750 shootings, and 10,600 bombings.

What are the reasons for the separation of the two peoples? As may be expected, they are complex and stretch back many years. Irish history helps explain some of the root causes—the siege of Londonderry, the battle of the Boyne. And Irish Republicans are still festering because, more than three hundred years ago, King James I brought a plantation of Scots to Northern Ireland to help resolve Irish problems.

In 1921 the twenty-six counties of Southern Ireland seceded from the United Kingdom and became the Irish Free State—later, the Republic of Ireland. The six counties of the north, which chose to remain part of the United Kingdom, were given the name Northern Ireland, also called Ulster.

Northern Ireland has been part of the United Kingdom since 1800. All Ulster elections since the southern part of Ireland broke away in opposition to the union of Great Britain and Ireland have confirmed the union to be the clear choice of the majority.

Predominantly Protestant Northern Ireland enjoys greater industrial output and a higher degree of social mobility than

The Vatican, April 26 (UPI)—The Pope expressed disappointment today that charges made by a Mississippi fundamentalist pastor have caused the U.S. State Department to suggest a visit at this time would be "inappropriate."

Said a Department spokesman, who requested anonymity: "It isn't that we believe all that stuff about 666, but there's no denying that the Pope couldn't be elected to office in the Bible Belt . . ."

* Quoted from excerpts of the Alexander column in the *New York Times*, "America Can Be Troubling as Foes," Jan. 15, 1982.

The UN Declaration on Religious Liberty:

What Does It Really Protect?

By B. B. Beach



The United Nations General Assembly finally has voted the long-awaited Declaration on Religious Liberty. The story of this document is one of systematic obstruction, lip service, and, on the part of some, dogged determination to get a strong statement approved. Even in the last stages of debate there were efforts to scuttle the Declaration.

Is the document that emerged on November 25, 1980, worthy of more than two decades of struggle? Certainly some may have expected a more uncompromising statement. The answer must be derived not only from the Declaration itself but from its origin and intent.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in 1948 with intent to include a specific declaration for each right, including religious liberty. Ultimately, UN delegates hoped to make each right the subject of a Convention (a binding treaty).

Originally provided to combat religious persecution, the Declaration was enlarged to encompass the wider concept of freedom of conscience—whether exercised in religious or nonreligious belief. Thus the final document has become a “Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief.”

In March, 1981, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights took a major step forward in approving a draft Declaration. To get the document voted, it became necessary to abandon the consensus approach, which in practice allowed one or more delegations to hamstring proceedings. By no longer insisting on unanimity, the Commission broke the UN religious liberty logjam.

The draft Declaration then reached the thirty-sixth session of the yearly UN General Assembly. The crucial debate took place on the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee—the so-called Third Committee.

After considerable backstage consultations and maneuvering (some called it shadowboxing), and thanks to the diplomatic efforts of the chairman of the Third Committee, the representative from Ireland (Declan O'Donovan), the Declaration was approved without a vote—that is, by unanimous consent. Two weeks later the General Assembly gave its blessing to the Declaration, also without a vote. The twenty-year-old struggle was over. As the president of the General Assembly said, “This is an auspicious occasion.”

What does the Declaration advocate? It makes clear that every person shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, including the freedom to have a religion or whatever belief of his choice. (*Belief* here is not used in the usual sense: it

may mean nonbelief or atheism.)

Every child shall enjoy the right to education in the matter of religion and shall not be compelled to receive religious or ideological teaching against the wishes of his parents.

Religious liberty is to include freedom—

- to establish and maintain places of worship and assembly and appropriate charitable or humanitarian institutions.

- to publish and disseminate religious literature.

- to solicit and receive voluntary financial contributions (offerings).

- to train and appoint church leaders.

- to observe days of rest and religious holidays as taught by one's religion or belief.

Including "days of rest . . . in accordance with the precepts of one's religion" is a significant departure from international political documents. Previously only the International Bureau of Labor had adopted a document advocating a person's right to such days of rest. This aspect of the UN Declaration will no doubt be especially welcomed by religious minorities—Jewish groups, Seventh-day Adventists, and other Sabbatarians—who have been subject to onerous, even cruel, discrimination as they have conscientiously tried to obey religious convictions that place them out of step with a secular—or first-day-of-the-week-oriented—society.

The final obstacle to unanimous approval of the Declaration was the Moslem attitude toward the right to *adopt* or *change* religion. In order to placate the Moslem delegations, the Third Committee dropped the phrase "including the right to choose, manifest, and change one's religion or belief" and, in two places, the words "to adopt" a religion. According to Moslem spokesmen, the Arabic translation of *adopt*, as used in the Declaration, is the same expression (for *change*) condemned in the Koran. Supporters of the Declaration were willing to compromise on this point because elsewhere the text clearly implies the right to change religion, saying that everyone shall have the right "to have a religion or whatever belief of his choice."

The Third Committee inserted an additional article (VIII) in the text to counterbalance the above deletions. This new article says that "nothing in the present Declaration shall be construed as restricting or derogating from any right defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights." In these documents the right to adopt or change one's religion is explicitly stated. Unfortunately, the Covenants have so far been ratified by only seventy-two nations (less than half the UN membership).

Based as it is on a broad international

consensus, this Declaration has limitations open to abuse. Equal protection of all *religions* is not stated, but the enjoyment of individual human rights and fundamental freedoms "on an equal basis" is affirmed for all people.

The Declaration says that religious practices are not to be injurious to the child's physical and mental health, and, furthermore, the child's "best interests" are to be the "guiding principle." But who decides what the "best interests" of the child are? The parents? School authorities? Government psychologists? There is evidence that this question can be answered in a very arbitrary way, through deprogramming and even psychiatric commitment, when no genuine medical indications are present.

Article II reads that no one is to be "subject to discrimination by any . . . institution or group of persons or person on grounds of religion." Could these words be so broadly interpreted as to require a parochial school to admit students from any religion and to employ teachers of any or no religion or even one hostile to the sponsoring church—even when the school is operated and financed by the given church to educate its children or clergy? Such nondiscrimination could militate against free exercise of religion.

The teaching of religion or belief is said to be a right "in places suitable for these purposes." In certain countries only the home or a recognized house of worship will be considered suitable for advocating religious beliefs; thus no right is asserted to evangelize elsewhere.

Though general right to maintain "appropriate charitable or humanitarian institutions" is supported, *schools* are not specifically mentioned. It does not take the prophetic gift to anticipate that a number of governments will exclude Christian schools from these categories.

One would have liked to see clearly affirmed the right to international travel for the purpose of attending church meetings and conventions or making pilgrimages. The Declaration does uphold the right to maintain "communications" with fellow believers at the "national and international levels." We can only hope that even governments ideologically hostile to religion will interpret "communications" to include travel as a fundamental human right, not subject to discriminatory or xenophobic restrictions.

Though the Declaration was adopted by unanimous consent, several delegates in their "explanation after the vote" did express reservations. The Iraqi delegates, speaking on behalf of the Islamic group, stated that the Moslem countries would have reservations regarding statements that might be opposed to Islamic *shari'at*

(canon) and national law based on it. The Iranian delegate said that his government accepted the Declaration only "insofar as it is in conformity with Islamic jurisprudence."

Some socialist countries voiced lukewarm support. Several (U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia) governments felt that the Declaration gave a one-sided version of freedom of conscience that favored religion rather than atheistic beliefs. However, Article IV states in unambiguous terms that all states are to "take effective measures" to eliminate discrimination based on religion or belief (e.g., Marxism) and "rescind legislation where necessary to prohibit such discrimination."

The Soviet Union voiced reservations regarding Article III, especially in regard to religious education, since Soviet legislation does not permit churches to operate regular schools. Other delegates indicated that their approval was for the document as a whole, but not for provisions contrary to the legislation of their country. However, Article VII specifies that "the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration *shall be accorded in national legislation*" [italics supplied] so that every citizen shall enjoy these rights not only in constitutional theory but "in practice."

Despite shortcomings, the Declaration's passage must be viewed as a significant religious liberty advance. All member nations of the UN have approved a statement of intent that holds high before the international community ideals of tolerance and nondiscrimination in religion. Though not legally binding, the Declaration will make it more difficult for transgressors to justify oppressive policies or laws.

Still, good intentions are not enough; as someone has said, The road to hell is paved with them. Possibly sensing this, the General Assembly has placed elimination of religious intolerance on the agenda of the thirty-seventh session of the UN General Assembly (fall, 1982). Efforts are about to begin, we hope, on drafting a Convention dealing with the subject matter of the Declaration, thus making it legally binding on signatory nations.

In the meantime, both religious believers and so-called nonbelievers now have an international instrument to assist them in molding public opinion and educating government authorities. It provides a helpful platform for the advocacy of religious freedom in an atmosphere of equality, peaceful relationships, and justice. □

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THE AMAZING AMANAS

By Jack and Amelia Huttig

The history of seven small villages shows a unique blending of religion with communism and capitalism.

Eighteen winding miles southwest of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, seven picturesque villages sit in the middle of 35,000 acres of the world's richest farmland. These are the Amana Colonies, known for authentic German food, *piestengel* (rhubarb wine), handcrafted furniture, and the highly successful melding of religious and business principles.

Here in America's heartland are communities without need of policemen or social workers. Here crime, poverty, unemployment, and other social ills of the modern world are virtually nonexistent.

The uniqueness of the Amanas does not, however, lie in their enviable status as islands of peace and prosperity in a troubled world. Their uniqueness lies in how that status was achieved. The Amana Colonies were once America's oldest and most successful communistic society. Why the Amanas abandoned their century-old communal life and how they found success under capitalism is a living testimonial for the free-enterprise system.

The Amana Church Society had its beginnings in 1714 as the Community of True Inspiration in Hesse, Germany. After a century of persecution because of their different faith and refusal to attend established schools, eight hundred of the Inspirationists migrated to Erie County, New York, where they established themselves as the Ebenezer Community.

When they purchased the New York land, the Inspirationists had no thought of a communal life style. Their plan was merely to pool resources so that they could buy neighboring land and houses. This property was to be held in common for a period of two years, each member's contribution to be "secured by a proportionate share in the real estate and to draw a reasonable rate of interest."

The plan proved to be impractical because of wide disparity in the economic status of the Inspirationists. The wealthy financed the voyage of the poor, but the only contribution of the poor was themselves.

Who then should hold title to "the land, the houses, the cattle, and the increment added by the labors of the group"?

Disagreement raged over the question of property ownership until Brother Christian Metz proposed the solution that prevented the disbanding of the group.

"The church is the servant of God through which He gives His grace and blessing," Metz told his followers. "Should not we give our all to Him by giving our all to the church? So all shall belong to the church and the church shall provide for all. Anyone who does not care for this may leave and those who wish to remain shall accept my word."

The leader's ultimatum was formalized with a constitution, and a century of communal ownership followed.

The colony's location near Buffalo was not a happy choice. The rapidly growing city began to encroach upon Ebenezer Community, and "the worldliness of the city" was seen as a threat to the group's religious beliefs. A land committee searching westward found 25,000 acres of land in Iowa County, Iowa, and by 1855 the Ebenezer Community had disposed of all its New York holdings, relocated in Iowa, and reorganized as the Amana Church Society.

Old Ways in a New Land

The Iowa land was divided into farmland, woodlots, pastureland, and seven villages, each self-sufficient. Each village had its own slaughter house and store, harness shop and wagonmaker, bakery and ice house. The center tract in each village was reserved for the village church. Every village had several kitchens, which served as community eating and meeting places. The Amanites ate no fewer than five meals there each day to break up the long hours in field and pasture. The largest village had sixteen such kitchens, each going full blast throughout the day and competing with one another to produce the best meals.

The group's new Iowa constitution reaffirmed its communal structure. Article V

stated that "every member in the Society is duty bound to hand over his or her personal property to the Trustees for the common fund." Article VI provided that "every member of this Society, besides board and dwelling, and the support and care secured to him/her in old age, sickness and infirmity, is further entitled out of the common fund an annual sum of maintenance for himself/herself, children and relatives in the Society."

Each village was governed by a group of elders, with one elder from each village serving on the Great Council, which directed affairs of the entire Amana Church Society. Eligible members of each village were permitted to vote on "matters of great importance." However, the Great Council made the decision as to what was "a matter of great importance."

In each village the resident Great Council elder ruled supreme, assigning communal tasks, supervising records, and making reports to the council. A combination of religious zeal and voluntary surrender of personal freedoms to group goals enabled the Amana Church Society to stand for the next half-century as one of the few successful American communes.

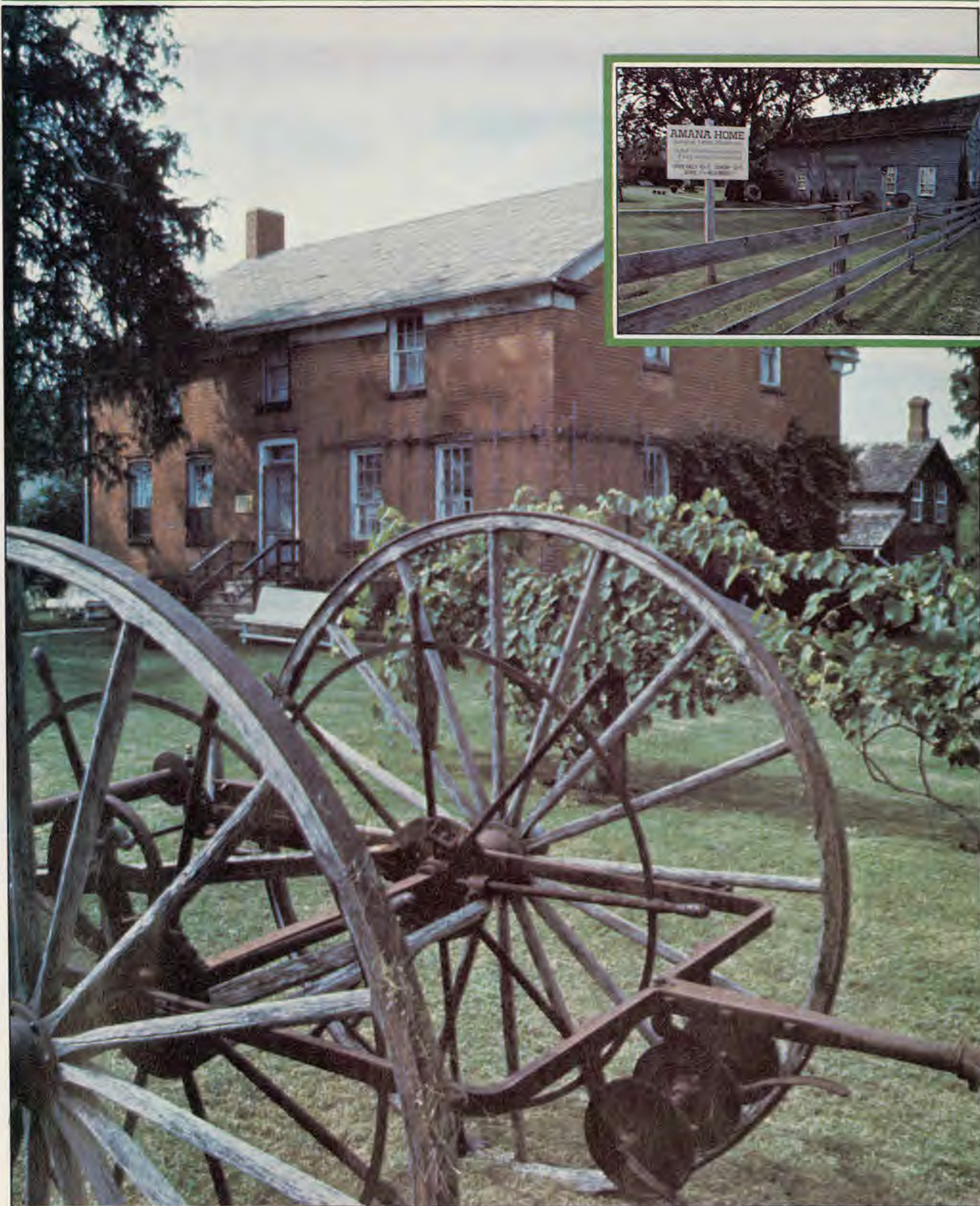
Decay Begins

Despite isolation of the Amanas, outside influences were beginning to be felt by the mid-1920s. Improved roads, automobiles, radios, and telephones brought increasing contact with the outside world, and the luxuries of the twentieth century did not go unnoticed or unwanted by young and middle-aged Amanites.

Religious zeal was waning. Time had dulled the religious passion that bound the society in communal brotherhood. A soci-

Amana homes in Homestead. Some old homes are also museums (inset).

Jack and Amelia Huttig write from Iowa City, Iowa.



ety based on selfless dedication to group goals and sacrifice of personal freedom was beginning to lose its founding force.

Long-accepted practices were being questioned. The membership of the Great Council remained constant, since the elders were able to renominate themselves without opposition. Succession in the council, the young people noted, was almost always along family lines, and family jealousies were the inevitable result. Only the children of the elders' families were sent to the outside world for education as doctors, dentists, and teachers, since educational decisions were a prerogative of the Great Council.

The younger generations of the colony found little interest in perpetuating a communal life they considered unfair and restrictive. Unhappy young men began to shirk work in the fields, and disenchanted young women to avoid assigned tasks in gardens and cookhouses.

As the great depression began, the Amana Colonies suffered from lack of central management. Each village was managed by an elder whose decisions could not be questioned, and those who managed poorly caused great loss to the Amana storehouses and bank accounts.

To restore sagging production and halt financial decline, the Great Council decided to hire outside labor, but this move only placed the colonies further in debt. By 1931 the once-prosperous Amanas owed a half million dollars and faced disintegration. The young and middle-aged were no longer willing to exchange their freedom for group security. The promises of communal life had failed.

"The Great Change"

Realizing that readjustment was necessary for survival, the Great Council acted. In March, 1932, the elders informed the community of the society's huge financial deficit. Committees were sent to each village to explain the problem and ask for suggestions. All eligible members of the society were invited to participate in the decision-making.

On June 10 the voters unanimously approved a reorganization that took the communal Amana Church Society into the



1. Museum in town of Amana. 2. Eddie Mahon makes crumb-style whisk brooms. 3. Henry Moore, 71, has been crafting miniature buildings to scale for 13 years. Most are on exhibit in the Amana Museum. 4. The Amana Pastry Shop. 5. Norman Schanz is the fifth generation of his family since 1803 to run Schanz Furniture.

free-enterprise system. The new organization provided for the incorporation of two distinct societies. The Amana Church Society was entrusted with "the religious, benevolent and charitable affairs of the community." The new Amana Society, now a private corporation with authorized capital stock of \$2,060,000, was entrusted with the pursuit of profit and the responsibility of solving the community's dire financial problem.

Church buildings and other assets were given to the Amana Church Society so that it might accomplish its newly assigned role. Remaining communal property was divided through the issuance of thirty-two thousand shares of distributive stock in the new Amana Society. In determining the number of shares given to each family, the elders considered length of membership in the old society, money and property contributions, and other factors. Those who wished to do



so could trade back part of their stock for titles to the homes and land they occupied, the livestock on their farms, or the tools of their trade.

Control of the new corporation was invested in 1,200 shares of class-A common stock, the only stock to carry voting privileges. The society gave one share of Class A Stock to each society member over 21, and prohibited members from owning, controlling, or voting more than their

allotted one share. Before stock could be sold, it had to be offered to the Amana Society, thus keeping corporation assets and direction in the hands of society members.

Following reorganization, new attitudes quickly developed toward effort and reward. People who formerly volunteered or declined to work were now paid employees of the new Amana Society Corporation. Wages were paid when they reported to

work and withheld when they were absent, resulting in a marked improvement in work attendance and production. The new corporation dismissed employees from outside the community to save more than \$60,000 annually and to provide two hundred more jobs for society members, who now had to work to eat.

In the fifty years since "the Great Change," the Amana Society has enjoyed unparalleled prosperity, increasing the net value of its holdings many times. One of the society's many businesses is the Amana Refrigeration Company, whose well-known products are sold throughout the United States and in 138 foreign countries. But more important to the Amanites is the fact that their religious heritage has been preserved as the focal center of their lives.

Amanites today are concerned for continuing preservation of their past. Don Shoup, general manager of the Amana Society, is eager to control the commercial sprawl that threatens to engulf the rustic simplicity of the old German village life and turn it into an imitation of itself. Though thousands of tourists stream through the villages from nearby Interstate 80, residents want to keep Amana "a small American community with a special past."

The special past of the Amana Society shows a blending of religion with communism and capitalism. In the beginning of its American period, the Amana Society turned to a communal arrangement only to keep its people together and save itself from extinction. Then, as religious zeal eroded and indolence and debts engulfed them, the society turned to capitalism for survival. Each system, in different times and different environments, saved the group from extinction and preserved its religious orientation.

In an era when communistic doctrines have again gained popularity, the Amana story gives refreshing evidence that free enterprise still works and works well. The Amana story is a reminder of another basic political law. Whenever governments fail to meet the needs of the people, the people will ultimately seek and find alternate forms of government. It is the purpose of government to serve the people and not the purpose of the people to serve government. □

THE CHRISTIAN VOICE: A DEFENSE

A	PRAYER IN SCHOOLS	B	ABORTION
C	DEPT. OF EDUCATION	F	PORNOGRAPHY
C	BUSING	A	
F	BUDGET	Christian Voice	
F	TAIWAN		
		C	IRS V. CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

BY ROBERT GORDON GRANT

From the Editor

Are today's politically oriented Christian coalitions really a voice or just an echo of the National Reform Association of the late 1800s? This is the question LIBERTY asked in a series of three articles by Dennis Pettibone, titled "The Christian Voice" (January-February through May-June, 1981). Dr. Robert Grant, chairman of the board, Christian Voice, Inc., wrote to me protesting LIBERTY's conclusions. His response follows.

What did LIBERTY have to say about Christian Voice and the NRA?

Declarations of the Christian Voice "strangely echo those made by the nineteenth-century supporters of the National Reform Association." The National Reformers urged passage of legislation that would advance "the cause of good morals and religion" in the United States. The similarities were great enough to provide a perspective from which to evaluate the "twentieth-century counterpart" Christian Voice.

In common with NRA, Christian Voice, said LIBERTY, (1) espouses Christian morality; (2) consists of good people trying to make other people good through legislation; (3) holds that Jehovah is displeased with America; (4) bases legislative demands on their conception of what the Word of God asks; (5) believes only "God-fearing men" should be elected to public office ("It's time for godly folk to have an input into government."—Richard Zone, executive director, Christian Voice); (6) seeks cooperation of a broad spectrum of clergy and citizens; (7) uses coercion to sway Congress; (8) presumes to define the moral, Christian position on political issues; (9) employs lobbyists in Washington; (10) views with alarm abandonment of traditional codes of behavior; (11) reflects a "beleaguered mentality"; (12) advocates moral and religious qualifications for office-holding; (13) according to Zone, favors recognition of God in the U.S.

Constitution and believes "a theocracy is the best form of government."

LIBERTY found similarities between CV and NRA in underlying assumptions, basic goals, and methods of operation. But there are dissimilarities too. Among the "obvious differences" noted, Christian Voice (1) has taken no official position on most of the specific issues that concerned the NRA; (2) has not officially demanded passage and enforcement of legislation suppressing such "sins" as Sabbathbreaking, polygamy, and easy divorce, but is concerned with the same types of issues as NRA was (we named as CV concerns homosexuality, sex education, prostitution, pornography, ERA, and abortion); (3) has not, like the NRA, demanded that the Bible be read in public schools, but has lobbied for legislation regarding a closely related issue—school prayer (says Zone: "We are for putting God into the school system via a minute of silent prayer and/or meditation"); (4) is not anti-Mormon, anti-Catholic, or anti-Jewish, as was NRA; (5) uses more moderate language than NRA did.

LIBERTY's judgment: Some criticisms of the Christian Voice are "essentially accurate," but we cannot "fairly conclude" that criticisms of NRA are valid assessments of CV. Is the Voice, then, just an echo? we asked. The answer: "Certainly not. But in the 'Voice' one hears disturbing vibrations from the past."

It is against these conclusions that you must weigh the concerns of Dr. Grant and determine who is erecting a straw man. In the margin below certain of Dr. Grant's viewpoints appear materials on which, in part, LIBERTY's judgment was based.

We are happy to have Dr. Grant's personal "Voice" on record. We join him in prayer for a moral America, but we will leave to God rather than the legislature the greater task of making it moral. —R.R.H.

A common debate technique is to raise a straw man. By someone's inaccurately picturing his opponent, it is relatively easy to discredit him and to appear to destroy him. The three-part article on Christian Voice that appeared in LIBERTY Magazine is, intentionally or not, an example of this technique.

Dr. Pettibone strains at history by trying to draw parallels between the nineteenth-century National Reform Association and Christian Voice. The two organizations are radically different in spirit, motivation, and objectives. None of the radical goals of the NRA are supported or proposed by Christian Voice.

1. Christian Voice does not seek a constitutional amendment declaring America a Christian nation or acknowledging Lordship of Jesus Christ. NRA did!

2. Christian Voice does not seek "Sunday legislation." NRA did!

3. Christian Voice does not seek to "establish America as a theocracy." NRA did!

4. Christian Voice does not seek to apply a theological "litmus test" for candidates for public office and elect only "God-fearing men." NRA did! (Christian Voice wants only to assure that those elected truly represent their constituency.) (See Point One below.—Eds.)

5. Christian Voice does not seek "state subsidy of religious activities." NRA did!

6. Christian Voice does not seek "laws requiring Bible reading in public schools."

OUR REPLY

POINT ONE

Pictured above is the cover of the *Report Card* circulated by Christian Voice. Published once a year, it reports on how "your Congressman" voted on key "moral issues." A CV publicity handout says the *Report Card* is distributed to ministers and laymen throughout the United States. It describes CV's election strategy as follows:

"To focus on turning out the Christian vote against the incumbent [sic] (Carter). This will be accomplished by hand distributing a copy of the incumbents [sic] voting record on key moral/family issues to Christians as they leave their [sic] church after Sunday services."

In the *Report Card* are such "Senate Key Moral Issues Descriptions" as the following:

"1. TAIWAN SECURITY. Percy (R-IL) amendment to S. 245 (Taiwan Enabling

NRA did!

7. Christian Voice does not seek "prohibition of alcoholic beverages." NRA did!

8. Christian Voice does not "seek legislation to suppress idolatry, blasphemy, profanity, Sabbathbreaking, polygamy, secret organizations." NRA did!

9. Christian Voice does not seek "second-class citizenship status for nonbelievers." NRA did!

10. Christian Voice does not feel the United States Constitution is "a Godless and infidel constitution." The NRA did! (If anything, we believe it to be an example of the intervention of God in the affairs of men.)

11. Christian Voice is not a "racist, anti-Catholic, anti-Mormon, anti-Semitic organization." The NRA had elements of all these!

None of the programs espoused by the NRA are on CV's agenda. We therefore found it, at best, curious that Dr. Pettibone spent 90 percent of his space on the NRA and about 10 percent on Christian Voice, when the purpose of the articles seemed to be an analysis of Christian Voice.

Some of the basic questions that Christian people need to address today are these:

What are our responsibilities as Christians in this constitutionally governed society?

Does Jesus' commandment that we be "the salt of the earth" have implications for us today in our disintegrating society, where moral values are being eroded largely

because of Christian apathy?

What does "render to Caesar" mean to Christians in America today under our form of government?

Who is "Caesar"?

What are the implications of Jesus' commandment that we "occupy till I come"?

What does separation of church and state really mean?

Obviously, a book could be devoted to each of the above questions. Christian Voice's brief perspective follows.

Christian Responsibility Today

Recognizing that all laws are simply the codification of the values of a people, and further recognizing that the primary function of legislators is to make law, Christian Voice believes it is the Christian responsibility in a pluralistic society to help elect representatives to government who truly reflect the values of the majority of the people who have elected them. Frequently, members of Congress vote their own values rather than seeking to reflect the values of those whom they supposedly represent. We affirm that if the majority wants a humanistic value system reflected in our laws, then so be it. We also assert that if one majority wants a moral Biblical value system reflected in our laws, then this too should follow. Like it or not, values of some kind will be reflected. It is only a question of *whose* and *what*. All values have moral implications and, therefore, it is only a

question of whose morals.

Salt of the Earth

As the salt of the earth, Christians have a Biblical imperative to make their preservative influence felt in society. Failure to do so in the past has resulted in the destruction of historic religious traditions such as the freedom to pray in school, has unleashed an epidemic of abortion-murder so that now one out of three babies is slaughtered prior to birth (an estimated 2 million total in 1981), has resulted in deterioration of our moral perspective so that we now accept sex perversion as a normal and acceptable alternate life style, and has resulted in the virtual destruction of the traditional family unit and in a pervasive humanistic revolution reaching every level of our society.

These consequences are in large part traceable to the almost universal reluctance of Biblical Christians to be involved as the salt of the earth in our American society during the past decades. (See *Point Two*.)

Render to Caesar—Who?

In Jesus' day the government was personified in the person of the emperor.

The supreme law ("Caesar," if you will) of our land is not the President or the Congress or the police department, but a social contract we call the Constitution. That Constitution represents a contractual relationship between government and the

Continued on next page

Act) to declare that hostile action against Taiwan (Free China) would be a threat to the "security interests of the United States." Passage of this amendment would have made unequivocally clear U.S. resolve to defend Taiwan, a loyal friend and Christian ally, from an attack by Godless Communist China. March 8, 1979. Amendment REJECTED 42-50. YES was the correct vote. President Carter opposed this amendment."

"5. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION (S. 210). Passage of the bill to establish a separate Cabinet-level Dept. of Education. Establishment of the DOE will increase federal intervention and bureaucratic humanist regulation over public education at the expense of local (parental) control. Creation of this Department was the primary goal of the National Education Assoc., a national union of school teachers which espouses a radical, secular-humanist philosophy, supports forced school busing,

sex education and opposes school prayer. April 30, 1979. DOE bill APPROVED 72-21. NO was the correct vote. President Carter supported DOE passage."

"14. LEGAL SERVICES FRAUD. Nelson (D-WI) motion to table [kill] the Hayakawa (R-CA) amendment which would authorize the General Accounting Office to investigate Legal Services Corporation for fraud. June 13, 1980. Motion to table APPROVED 47-24. NO was the correct vote."

In following pages Senators and Congressmen are rated on their moral (or immoral) votes. At the head of the class are: Goldwater (R-AZ) 100; Armstrong (R-CO) 100; Humphrey (R-NH) 100. Alas, there is also the foot of the class: Cranston (D-CA) 0; Culver (D-IA) 0; Stevenson (D-IL) 0. Ribicoff (D-CT) got a 7, as did Matsunaga (D-HI), while Oregon's evangelical Mark Hatfield (R) got a 50, hardly a passing grade in the morality classroom, unless crowns

are passed out on the curve! We leave it to our readers to put themselves in the classroom and then answer: Was a theological "litmus test" applied? Is the CV in reality trying to elect only "God-fearing men"?

POINT TWO

It must be noted also that Christians have applied salt to the earth in such a manner as to preserve only the corpses of martyrs—millions of them. With reason have good men prayed, "God save us from the 'saints.'"

It may be noted with interest also that at the time of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions against state-written and regulated prayer in the early 1960s, the section of the country having the highest percentage of school prayer had also the highest percentage of homicides.

Continued on next page

governed, and presupposes the existence of God, Biblical rights, and a system of checks and balances.

Rendering unto Caesar in today's American context implies honoring the Constitution and upholding the values and principles contained therein. Christian Voice, therefore, believes that all citizens have the responsibility to be actively involved in protecting and preserving our constitutional form of government and defending the rights and privileges guaranteed by it.

Occupy

Christian Voice believes that Jesus' command to "occupy till I come" has far-reaching implications in modern America. It certainly includes, but goes far beyond, evangelism. The "American experience" has been uniquely blessed of God, and, because we as a nation have recognized the Biblical principles of freedom, investments, personal responsibility, compassion, and wealth, America has the highest standard of living in world history. Our nation has fed the world's hungry and funded Christian enterprise through welfare, humanitarian relief, and education.

It is Christian Voice's conviction that God has, during this stage in history, chosen to use America in a unique way. This divine intent places heavy responsibility on Chris-

tians to preserve our system—for the sake of the kingdom of God.

Separation of Church and State

The wording "separation of church and state" is not to be found in the Constitution. It is a doctrine derived from the First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Christian Voice affirms that this is good doctrine, but one that has been carried to a ridiculous extreme. The First Amendment for years was recognized as meaning exactly what it says—the prohibition of the establishment of a state church and the forbidding of government interference in the internal affairs of churches.

In 1962, disregarding historic precedent and stepping from the role of judiciary to the role of legislator, the Supreme Court overturned the historic meaning of the First Amendment and, in so doing, created chaos.

The "windfall" of confusion resulting from the school prayer decision is unbelievable, and we have yet to see the full extent of precedent that will result. The issue developed out of the situation in New York, where school authorities composed an innocuous nonsectarian prayer and required its use in the classroom. (See *Point*

Three.) The Court was probably on safe ground because this practice could clearly be seen to be in violation of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. The precedent that followed is confusing at best—even *voluntary* prayer in the classroom is now declared unconstitutional, while it is all right to pray during a national inauguration ceremony or at the daily opening of Congress.

Constitutional in Congress, unconstitutional in school—confusing, isn't it? Voluntary recitation of the Lord's Prayer or reading of the Bible in the classroom now is also declared unconstitutional. The posting of the Ten Commandments in schools now is unconstitutional, though much of our judicial system is derived from principles contained therein. Christmas trees in public buildings now are being declared unconstitutional, and the list goes on!

In apparent zeal to service the first part of the First Amendment (the Establishment Clause), the Court has done violence to the second part of the Amendment (the Free Exercise Clause).

In part three of Dr. Pettibone's series he states that "certain basic National Reform attitudes are reflected by Christian Voice leadership." He is only partially correct. We plead guilty to some and not guilty to others.

OUR REPLY

POINT THREE

Prayer was *not* required in all New York public schools, as Dr. Grant implies. The Regents' prayer was not said at all in about 10 percent of New York's public schools. See *LIBERTY*, November-December, 1981, for a reprint of the Supreme Court's decision.

POINT FOUR

Take another look at the *Report Card*. Does it not presume to define *the* moral, Christian position even on such issues as Taiwan security, creation of a Department of Education, and even Legal Services fraud? We agree that CV has the right to define an issue as moral or immoral and to promote its viewpoints, as the National Council of Churches and other liberal Christian groups have for years. But that is not the question. The question is, Is CV defining the moral, Christian position on political issues? We leave our readers to decide.

In an interview with *Christian Life* (January, 1980, p. 24), Dr. Zone was asked:

"Is morality the only issue?" He replied: "Anything that is detrimental to the country is our concern; *everything that is detrimental to the Christian perspective is immoral.*" (Italics supplied.)

POINT FIVE

Our "beleaguered mentality" judgment was based on the following words from Dr. Grant:

"There is a tremendous tidal wave of unrest and frustration sweeping the Christian community. We did not create that tidal wave; rather, it created us. We seek to guide its power so it has massive impact on Washington, rather than dissipating aimlessly.

"For the first time in several decades, significant numbers of ministers and Christians from every denomination are coming to an awareness that they must become involved in the political process if we are to preserve the family structure, freedom of worship, and even our free nation.

"Everywhere we turn, Christian values are assaulted and are in retreat. As Christians, we are not going to take it any-

more. . . .

"We will not stand by idly as the last vestiges of Christian morality are purged from our nation. We will no longer sit helplessly as the family unit disintegrates under the pressure of an increasingly calloused and permissive society. We will no longer look the other way as opportunistic shortsighted politicians cater to small radical interests and in the process destroy both our economic well-being and our political freedom. . . .

"Millions of Christians are frustrated, angry, and fearful. They are searching for a means to channel their frustration in such a way that they can have real impact. We will provide the guidance in Washington."—From a press conference statement by Robert Grant, June, 1979.

Let the reader note that *LIBERTY's* editors—and the Seventh-day Adventist Church itself—share many CV concerns about the family, immorality, abortion, and other issues. But as Dr. Pettibone's series on the Christian Voice concluded:

"The Gospels reveal that Jesus never used compulsion as a means of promoting

He states, "Both [Christian Voice and NRA] represent attempts to unite conservative evangelical Christian believers—and anyone else who will help them attain their goals—into a united political force." True!

He states, "Both have presumed to define the moral, Christian position on political issues." Not true! We recognize that Christians may differ on many issues. In the past, however, only the theological liberal point of view has been heard in the marketplace from sources such as the National Council of Churches. Christian Voice believes that the conservative Christian point of view needs to be heard equally; let the people make up their own minds. (See Point Four.)

He states, "Both [Christian Voice and NRA], purporting to speak for a body of Christian believers, have attempted to use the political process to impose their views upon the state." But—we, the people, are the state! The Gallup Poll reports that 70 percent of the American people favor the return of voluntary school prayer. Now, let us ask, who is imposing whose view on whom?

He states, "Both [Christian Voice and NRA] have employed lobbyists in Washington." True! Christian Voice is the largest evangelical Christian lobby in Washington, with four full-time lobbyists.

He continues, "Like the National Reformers, Christian Voice's spokesmen project a beleaguered mentality." Not guilty! We believe that the majority of the American people are in agreement with Christian Voice on most of the issues that we are addressing. (See Point Five.)

He states, "Like their nineteenth-century counterparts, they [Christian Voice] view with alarm the abandonment of traditional codes of behavior." True, true, true!

Quoting me, he states, "Everywhere we turn, Christian values are assaulted and are in retreat." Yes, indeed. Who would argue with this fact?

He states, "[Christian Voice] would favor recognition of God in the U.S. Constitution, as did the NRA." Not necessarily. A reading of American history clearly affirms that America has its historic roots deep in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Every President, without exception, has asked divine guidance in his inaugural address. Our money affirms, "In God We Trust." Our government begins each day by affirming in prayer the existence of God.

Pettibone states, "Christian Voice literature, like that of the NRA, cites Old Testament passages that threaten divine punishment upon evil-doing nations and promise to bring mercy to nations that

repent." What Christian would disagree with this? The moral "law of accountability" affirms that as we sow, so shall we reap.

America cannot afford to allow humanists, secularists, and atheists to shape its moral values. People of religious conviction must be heard equally in the marketplace. It was well stated by Dante, author of *The Inferno*, that "the hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a time of great moral crisis, maintain their neutrality." □

Robert Gordon Grant, Ph.D., was a founder of and served as executive dean for six years at the California Graduate School of Theology. He also served for 15 years as associate pastor of the United Community Church of Glendale, California. Today he conducts pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and is a founding member and director of Christian Voice.

Christian Voice: Some Facts

Founding date: 1979

Members: Approximately 300,000

Budget: Approximately \$3 million

Headquarters: P.O. Box 415,

Pacific Grove, California 93950

Washington office: 418 C St., NE.,

Washington, D.C. 20002

the moral ideas He advocated. Education and persuasion, not legislation, were His methods. He refused to become involved in the political controversies of His day, drawing a clear line of demarcation between the concerns of the state and those of the church. "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's," He said.²

"Jesus refused to be a political Messiah. He frustrated the efforts of those who tried to make Him an earthly king.³ 'My kingdom is not of this world,' He declared.⁴ Though He preached general principles of justice,⁵ He refused to spell out the specific course to be taken in a legal dispute. When requested to do so, His reply was, 'Man, who made me judge or a divider over you?'⁶ He rebuked the disciples who suggested that He punish the Samaritans who refused to receive Him.⁷ He refused to force His spiritual views upon others.

"I understand the frustration of the Voice board chairman, Dr. Grant. As a Bible-believing parent, I share many of his moral concerns, but as a Bible-believing Christian and a Constitution-respecting American, I

am convinced that my religious convictions are not a proper subject for legislation. Legislation seldom solves moral problems.

"Similarly, as a citizen and taxpayer, I share some of the political views advocated by Christian Voice. But I would not be so presumptuous as to assert that my opinion on political matters is the Christian view. Political issues are complex. Two equally sincere Bible-believing Christians may come to opposite conclusions. I would not prostitute my church by using it as a vehicle for achieving my political objectives.

"This is not to say that it is unchristian for a religious organization to concern itself with all legislative issues. Some positions taken by the Voice, being essentially religious, are not—in the light of Mark 12:17—a proper matter for legislation. Others, being essentially political, are not a proper area of concern for a religious organization. But there is a third category—issues that are really religious, but which Caesar has presumed to claim as his own. Certainly the church has a right to act in self-defense, to promote religious liberty, and to declare before the state, 'We ought to

obey God rather than men.'⁸ . . .

"Forging weapons of religious persecution is doubtless far from the mind of Christian Voice leaders. Still, history testifies that the blending of religion and politics they are attempting has almost inevitably resulted in discrimination against religious dissidents. The state that defines morality at the behest of a religiously motivated organization sets a precedent for further sumptuary legislation. However good the intentions of Voice leaders, they may be hastening the day when Americans will find themselves surrendering their freedoms to the consciences of their neighbors.

"Is the 'Voice' just an echo? Certainly not. But in the 'Voice' one hears disturbing vibrations from the past." □

References

¹ *Christian Life*, January, 1980, p. 46.

² Mark 12:17.

³ See John 6:15.

⁴ John 18:36.

⁵ See, for example, Matthew 23:23.

⁶ Luke 12:14.

⁷ See Luke 9:55.

⁸ Acts 5:29.

CRITICAL ABOUT POLITICAL

Evangelical Theologian Carl F. H. Henry, who for thirty years has prodded conservative Christians toward social and political involvement, says he has "grave doubts" about the way in which some leading evangelists have taken the political plunge. "Somebody could get hurt" as a result of strident Right Wing politicking, he says, "and it could be the national good, the evangelical image, or some political candidates."

Dr. Henry is not critical of all evangelical engagement in politics or of the insistence on morality in government. Nor is he preoccupied with deciding for which ticket fellow evangelicals should vote.

"It's the goose-step mentality of a handful of vocal religious leaders, who have suddenly become politically active and say

they can deliver a million votes to whatever candidate fits their formula," that worries him. "That parallels what many evangelicals have long deplored in the labor movement, whose organizational endorsement has toppled good candidates for the sake of political advantage," he notes.

"But even more regrettable is the implication that one is not a morally sensitive Christian unless he shares an indicated stand on political specifics," Dr. Henry adds. "That reflects what evangelicals have long condemned in Protestant ecumenism, except that it takes the other side of many issues."

Henry, who is president of the American Theological Society, lecturer at large for World Vision International, and founding editor of *Christianity Today*, cautions

against Christians' being given a "litmus test." Placing one's attitude toward the Reagan budget or toward defense spending at a given moment in history on the same level of morality with the abortion issue is "ethically confusing," he says.

Dr. Henry recently warned participants at a National Association of Evangelicals meeting to be wary of equating evangelical faith with competency in governing. "We have a history of rallying to single issues or personalities, and our track record is that of ignoring principles, programs, and party involvement," he said.

Instead, he advised, "we should be searching for principles and setting goals. And then we should be listening to one another as we wrestle with those goals."

— Beth Spring, Religious News Service.

THE LIMITS OF CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE

By John Warwick Montgomery

How far should Christians go in their efforts to establish public morality?

It isn't often that a political fracas raises keen theological issues. The Senator Claghorns of this world may quote the Bible, but most everyone listens with the attention appropriate to any material their speech writers derive from Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*.

The 1980 presidential campaign was different, for Moral Majority and other evangelical groups consciously endeavored to influence the campaign and to obtain votes for or against issues that allegedly related to Biblical teaching. So threatening were these efforts that a great deal of money was expended by at least one anti-Reaganite to produce clever TV spot commercials in which "Bible believers" sincerely declared that "no one was going to tell them whom to vote for."

Almost universal agreement exists, one would suppose, that Christians have as

much a right as non-Christians to speak out and to influence legislation in our democratic society. The fundamental theological question raised by the election campaign was How far should believers go in exercising that right?

Two readily identifiable positions surfaced in November in answer to that question. On the one hand, religious liberals and quietists maintained that Christians should limit their influence to the spiritual realm and not meddle in politics. On the other hand, some evangelicals asserted that the time had come to bring the country, through concerted efforts of true believers everywhere, back to its original moral foundations.

Jerry Falwell was right in castigating the inconsistency of religious liberals who, back in the sixties, dove headfirst into activist political waters and now suddenly condemned "religious involvement in politics" (when it opposed their own viewpoint). Moreover, an un-Biblical withdrawal from the realm of government quite obviously turns the world over to the devil and his minions.

At the same time, one is left with a profound sense of disquiet as he observes the mobilization of believers to fight against

the "unholy abandonment of the Panama Canal" and the "immoral rejection of Formosa." The specter of Cromwell's Holy Commonwealth rises up: a tyranny of Christians pressing their values on an unwilling society in the name of divine revelation.

Over against both quietistic inaction and the legislation of Biblical morality we suggest a third way for evangelicals living in a pluralistic society. First, believers must learn not to pass off their sociological preferences as Biblical truths. They do neither society nor the gospel any service when they endeavor to legislate their personal temporal values as if these were commanded by Scripture. Saint Augustine long ago emphasized that when the revelational is contaminated with the nonrevelational, the unbeliever loses respect for God's Word. To be sure, Christians can fight for nonrevelational viewpoints, but they must make plain that these are personal opinions, not necessarily God's opinions.

Second, believers should not endeavor to legislate even genuinely scriptural moral teachings where the value of the given teaching will be recognized only by those who have already accepted Christ as Lord and the Bible as the word of God. Thus

evangelicals will not strive to pass antiblasphemy ordinances meaningful only to those who have accepted the God of the Bible. To legislate such Biblical teachings is to confuse law and gospel by forcing non-Christians to practice Christianity apart from personal acceptance of it.

Third, believers should strive to legislate all those socially valuable moral teachings of Scripture whose value can be meaningfully argued for in a pluralistic society. In such areas (e.g., right to life, equal pay for equal work) evangelicals must not engage in "Christian crusades," implying that it's "Christians versus pagans," but should offer arguments on scientific, social, and

ethical grounds potentially meaningful to the non-Christian. Even if unbelievers are not convinced, they can see that Christians are making their case on grounds that unbelievers themselves must confess to be legitimate in a pluralistic society. Then, even though believers vote en bloc and pass the legislation, the non-Christian has no right to claim that an alien religion is being imposed on him.

In a word, though we are indeed to try to bring our secular society into greater conformity with God's moral ideals, that is not our primary task. Gospel preaching comes first, and if we must choose—as occasionally we must in a fallen world—between

moral betterment and non-Christians willing to listen to the gospel from those who offer it freely, without compulsion, we will need to choose the latter. Our goal in a secular society is not to force society, come what may, into the framework of God's kingdom, but rather to bring it as close as we can to divine standards consistent with effective gospel preaching to those for whom Christ died.

An attorney-theologian, Dr. Montgomery is dean of the Simon Greenleaf School of Law, Costa Mesa, California, and director of studies at the International Institute of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France.

WHY THE CHURCH IS WEAK

By Thomas Riley Marshall

Thomas Riley Marshall, Vice-President of the United States from 1913 to 1921, was an elder in the Presbyterian Church. But at a time when his church was supporting the National Reform Association in its attempt to influence legislation for the cause of Christ, he spoke out forthrightly in opposition. Church organizations should not interfere in any way in the United States civil government, Marshall maintained.

LIBERTY printed Mr. Marshall's remarks in its second-quarter, 1922, issue. His views on placing "an embargo upon German coal-tar products" seem particularly applicable to today's insistence of the Christian Right that "Christian" politicians should vote to retain the Panama Canal.

Said Mr. Marshall:

"The kingdom of God ought to be within us, not in Washington. I hope I have a chance of getting to heaven without believing that it is the duty of the Presbyterian Church to insist upon this Government placing an embargo upon German coal-tar products. Yet, I have not much doubt that if the General Assembly's attention was called to it, it would memorialize the Congress to place an embargo upon their importation. I might have an objection to any American citizen requesting this to be done, but I should have no right to protest. I do believe, however, that I have a right to protest against my church interfering in any way with the civil government of America. If the individual members feel that they should memorialize Congress upon any given subject, let them do so as American citizens, and not as a church organization.

"The work of the church is not completed. The kingdom of God has not been established in all the hearts that beat in America. Yet this is a land where everybody has a right to say something about what laws shall govern the people. I have been everywhere in America. Men in all walks of life talk freely before me. I have never found so depraved a man as one who sneered at the life and teachings of the Christ. But everywhere I find men who, yet unwilling to come into this kingdom, proclaim the churches to be simply political organizations trying to enforce their views upon citizens who do not agree with them. This religion of ours is a failure, if, in order to accomplish its mission, it must be backed up by an act of Congress.

"The church is weak, not in what it

teaches, but in what it does. It has turned over to the state, very largely, the distribution of alms. It submits the education of its children to civil authority. The capitalist and the laborer sing on Sunday out of the same hymn book, 'Blest be the tie that binds,' and after the benediction go out and repeat, 'Blessed be the Lord . . . which teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight.' The communion of the saints very largely ends at the church door.

"There need be no hope of a general revival of the faith given to the fathers, until the church shall purge itself of its mania for political power and influence, until it recognizes that its call is to the individual, and that men group themselves together in the organizations, not as a debating society, but as a harmonious and loving family.

"Let the Presbyterian Church forget Washington for a little while, reconsecrate itself to its creed, resume its ancient functions, relive the lives of its founders in faith, and hope, and charity, put not its trust in earthly institutions, and give God a chance. When any one of its members desires, and all should, to stand for the higher and finer things in civil government, make it plain that he does so as a citizen, and not as a Presbyterian. Let those without the fold be taught that they may entertain what views they will as to the civil laws under which they live, that the church is an empire within an empire. And above all, let the church become a real brotherhood, not only within the building that is occupied, but in its social and economic life, not forced thereto by distasteful laws, but constrained thereto by the love of Christ."

HIGH-TECH

BY ART BUCHWALD

HIT LIST

If you want to know who is going to take over American politics in the near future, it's not a person, but a computer. The computer is located in Virginia.

It has a memory bank filled with millions of names of people who can be tapped for millions of dollars, to defeat anybody who doesn't go along with its ultraconservative ideology.

By sheer luck I managed to tap into the computer and get an exclusive interview.

"Is it true, sir, that you have a hit list of Congressmen and Senators who don't vote the way you want them to?"

"That is correct," the computer typed out. "Do you have any names you want me to add to the list?"

"Not at the moment. But if I think of any I'll let you know."

"You do that. Money's no object when it comes to zapping my enemies."

"I guess you're one of the most powerful computers in America," I typed. "How do you operate?"

"In different ways. I can remember every vote of every politician in America. When I decide he isn't one of us, I start sending out letters to his constituents, telling them what a rotten no-goodnik he really is."

"And that does him in?"

"No, that's just a letter asking for money to defeat him in the next election."

"So people send you checks?"

"You wouldn't believe it! I can write a letter that can scare anyone in this country."

"Could you give me an example of how you do it?"

"Well, let's say a Senator voted for the Panama Canal Treaty. I have the name and address of every Panama Canal lover in his state. I'll spit out 100,000 letters in three hours warning the people if they don't send in a check the Senator plans to give Alaska back to the Russians."

"And if that doesn't bring in enough money?"

"Then I'll send out another letter saying

the Senator wants to take God out of the schools."

"You're really a hardball computer," I said with admiration.

"The big money-getters are the letters I write about politicians who are proabortion, pro-ERA, or prohandgun control. When our people get one of those letters, they start writing out their checks before they get to the second paragraph."

"So you get a windfall of money when you send out the letters? What do you do next?"

"Then I go into my second program, which is to allot the money for a vicious media campaign against the person on my hit list."

"I didn't know you were programmed for that."

"What kind of dumb computer do you think I am? I can program television commercials, newspaper ads, and even word-of-mouth campaigns. The trick is to hit my man below the belt and let him scream 'Foul.' I can portray my target as antifamily, soft on Communism, a socialist free-spender and trilateralist, all in a thirty-second commercial."

"It's the old political dirty-trick game with electronic sophistication."

"I don't care what you call it. It does the job."

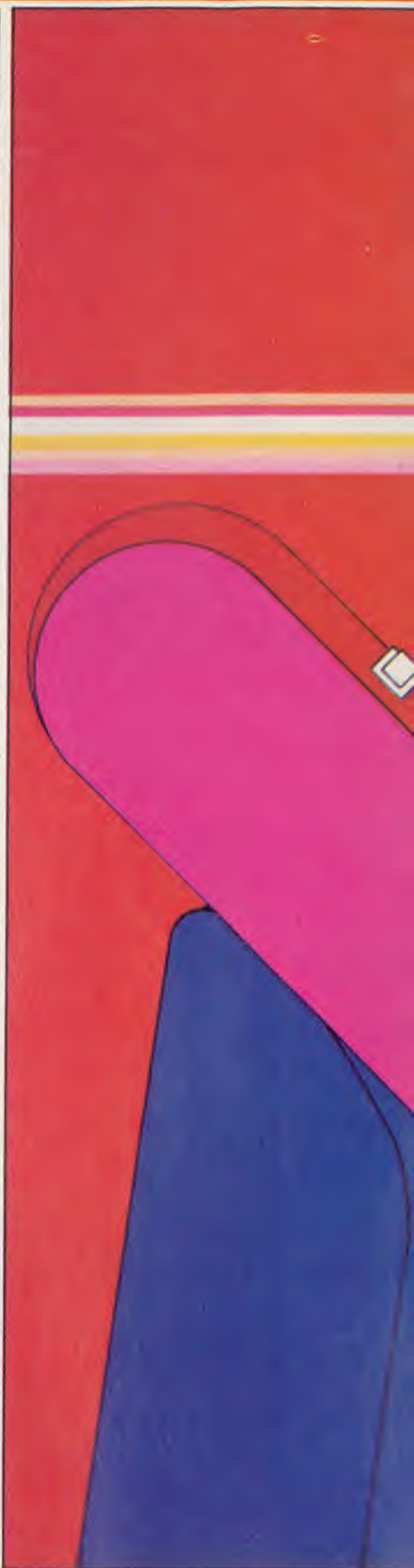
"I guess in the next election you'll be calling all the shots."

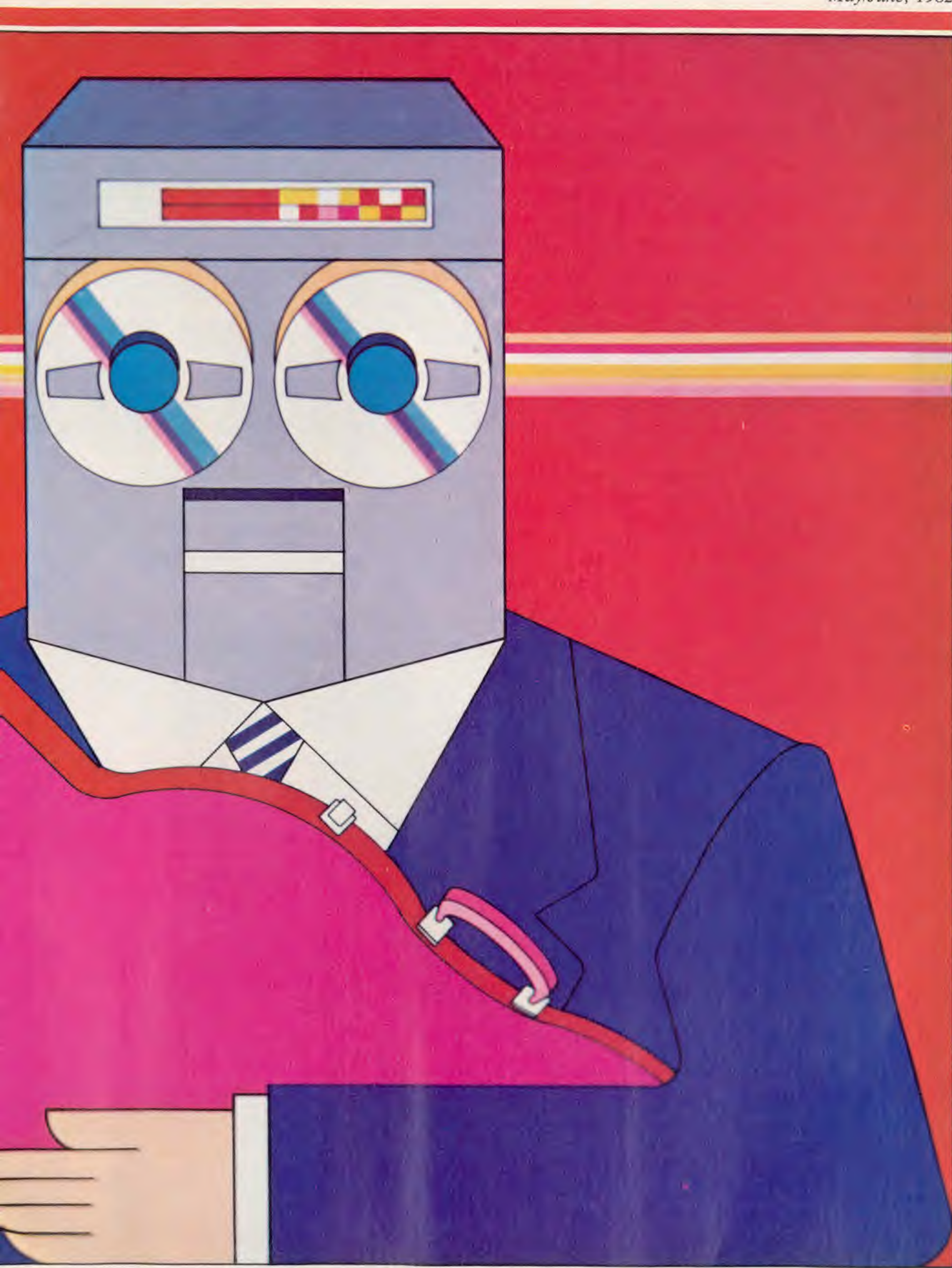
"I'm not waiting for the next election. I have to raise the money right now. There are a lot of people who better shape up or they're going to find themselves out on their ears in 1982."

"Let me ask you one more question. Do you ever think about how much damage you might be doing to the American democratic system?"

"I don't think. I just follow orders." □

This column by Art Buchwald appeared in the May 12, 1981, Washington Post. It is reprinted with permission of the author. © 1981 Los Angeles Times Syndicate.





International

Smuggling: The China Bible Flap

NEW YORK—After a three-week visit to the Chinese Protestant churches, members of a National Council of Churches (NCC) delegation say one of the most important ways Americans can aid Chinese Christians is by not doing some things.

Not smuggling Bibles was one of the actions highly recommended. NCC President William Howard said this "emotional" issue was raised at the beginning of their visit and discussed all along the way.

"They said they were going ahead with printing of their own Bibles and had no acute need for Bibles from outside," Howard reported. But beyond that, he said, anything that has to be smuggled is considered intrinsically bad in China, and Chinese Christian leaders dislike the atmosphere smuggling creates.

In October, officials of Thomas Nelson Publishers in Nashville and a missionary organization, Open Doors, based in Orange, California, said they had smuggled more than a million Chinese-language Bibles into China. They said the Bibles were shipped to the Philippines and then carried by barge to a Chinese beach and unloaded on June 18.

"Smuggling could set back the very strong efforts of Chinese Christians to be an integral part of the new China," Howard warned. "They would be looked on as subject to foreign control." He added that Chinese Christians "didn't believe that the people smuggling Bibles were motivated by religion," but they were people "hostile to the new China."

Jovelino Ramos, an NCC executive dealing particularly with Third World issues, said the visit with Chinese Christians was "refreshing" because they made no request for financial or material aid.

"Almost every place we go, we find groups saying that they could do many good things, but they need resources," he remarked. "In China they just welcomed our visit and didn't want anything more than that."

The NCC delegation met with the government-approved church leaders, who follow the way of cooperation rather than confrontation, and had no contact with those Christians who are said to reject the official leadership. This leadership func-

tions through the China Christian Council, which handles internal affairs, and the Three Self (self-support, -government, -propagation) Patriotic Movement, which handles relationships with the government.

"Some people will go looking for evidence that the new church in China is a lie," Howard said. "But I saw Christians feeling free to practice their faith, and I saw a lot of them. Show me a dissident in the face of that and I'm not impressed."

Oscar McCloud, a black United Presbyterian executive on the delegation, said that when attempting to report on the visit to one New Jersey group, he was accused of having the wool pulled over his eyes.

"I came away feeling, Wouldn't it be marvelous if Christians in the United States could find the Christian discipline to restrain from doing what we want to do in China and give the Chinese Christians a chance," he said. His denomination, he said, will make no effort to resume its former missionary enterprise in China, though some members would favor such activity.

Franklin Woo, head of the NCC China program, also interpreted the visit, not as an occasion for American Christians to help the Chinese in some way but as an effort to establish a relationship.

The delegation learned nothing factually that members couldn't have learned at home, he said. "It was what we call a religious experience. You get something from an experience you can't get from reading."

One of the deepest religious experiences, delegation members said, came after they presented a silver chalice to the International Church in Shanghai. After the Chinese pastor spoke in Chinese, Woo spoke in English about the chalice as a symbol of good will, gratitude to God, and the giving of self.

"Despite the thirty years of separation between our two peoples, and despite all the mistakes, failures, and travesties of justice (as well as achievements) of the missionary movement and the Western presence in China, God has not abandoned us," he said.



Two Chinese believers with Bibles and other materials brought in legally.

Liberty & Law

At the Frontier

A sharply divided Supreme Court has said No to efforts to expand the reaches of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment.

In *Valley Forge Christian College v. Americans United for Separation of Church and State*, the Court on January 12 held that Americans United—described by the Court as an organization “firmly committed to the constitutional principle of separation of church and state”—and various individual plaintiffs did not have standing to challenge the federal government’s transfer of surplus property to an Assemblies of God educational institution.

The property transfer involved land and buildings formerly used as a military hospital and valued at more than half a million dollars. Valley Forge Christian College—formerly called Northeast Bible College—offers courses of study “training leaders for church-related ministries.”

Writing for the five-justice majority—which included the Chief Justice and Justices White, Powell, and O’Connor—Justice Rehnquist said the challengers had standing neither as taxpayers nor as citizens asserting their First Amendment right to be free of any establishment of religion. The conservative majority emphasized its view that federal courts should exercise their power in a limited way. The court said that use of judicial power “unwisely or unnecessarily . . . is . . . the ultimate threat to the continued effectiveness of the federal courts in performing” their role as a coequal arm of the national government, and that the federal judicial power to declare legislative or executive acts unconstitutional “has been recognized as a tool of last resort” for nearly two hundred years. The majority accused the dissenting justices of “revisionist reading” of the Court’s precedents.

The Court did not overrule its 1968 decision in *Flast v. Cohen*, which gives standing to taxpayers asserting an Establishment Clause challenge to congressional power under the Taxing and Spending Clause of Article I of the Constitution. Rather, the Court said the *Valley Forge* case involved something different, the exercise of executive power under Article IV.

As for citizen standing, the Court said it couldn’t see that the complaining citizens “have alleged an injury of any kind, economic or otherwise, sufficient to confer

standing. . . . Their claim that the government has violated the Establishment Clause does not provide a special license to roam the country in search of governmental wrongdoing and to reveal their discoveries in federal court. The federal courts were simply not constituted as ombudsmen of the general welfare.”

Dissenting Justice Brennan, joined by Justices Marshall and Blackmun, said the majority’s decision tended “merely to obfuscate, rather than inform, our understanding of the meaning of rights under the law. The serious by-product of that practice is that the Court disregards its constitutional responsibility when, by failing to acknowledge the protections afforded by the Constitution, it uses ‘standing’ to slam the courthouse door against plaintiffs who are entitled to full consideration of their claim on the merits.”

The minority viewed the majority’s concept of standing as a “dissembling enterprise” that employs “the rhetoric of ‘standing’ to deprive a person, whose interest is clearly protected by the law, of the opportunity to prove that his own rights have been violated.” “The drafters of the Bill of Rights surely intended that the particular beneficiaries of their legacy should enjoy rights legally enforceable” in the courts.

Concluded the minority: “Blind to history, the Court attempts to distinguish this case from *Flast* by wrenching snippets of language from our opinions, and by perfunctorily applying that language under color of the first prong of *Flast*’s two-part nexus test. The tortuous distinctions thus produced are specious, at best; at worst, they are pernicious to our constitutional heritage.”

In a separate dissent, Justice Stevens indicated he thought “special importance” attached “to the Establishment Clause does not permit the drawing of a tenuous distinction between the Spending Clause and the Property Clause.”

The Bible college now can hold a festival of praise. It has received indirectly (property) what it could not have received directly (cash) from government for sectarian purposes.

Taxpayers can ponder how under the Establishment Clause they can sell property and be paid with the training of gospel workers.

Parochial seekers doubtless will be tempted to trade in their government-funding “shopping lists” for “laundered lists” of various kinds of surplus. Perhaps some far-out legal scholar soon will proclaim that government budget surpluses under the *Valley Forge* rationale will be available for

sectarian uses.

Civil-rights organizations will have to pick and choose their plaintiffs and causes a bit more carefully to avoid challenges of standing.

Every citizen will have to understand that some politically divisive constitutional questions will just have to fester.

Legislators and government executives can relax a bit. Obviously the Supreme Court’s conservative block does intend to defer more to them—and to use the Bill of Rights only as a “last resort.”

And legal philosophers and constitutional-law students and judges everywhere can contemplate a new thesis: A rose by any other name is not a rose.

And in California

The California Court of Appeal, Second Appellate District, has affirmed a superior court ruling that the Worldwide Church of God does not have to pay \$100,000 in attorneys’ fees for the receiver appointed to administer the church after dissident members charged mismanagement of church finances.

Noting that “the Church was severely damaged by the receivership,” the appellate court characterized the “underlying action and its attendant provisional remedy of receivership” as “constitutionally infirm and predestined to failure. It follows that the burden of the ill-conceived litigation, including the expenses of the receivership . . . , should not be borne by the prevailing party—the Church.” Case: *California v. Worldwide Church of God*.

Compiled by Robert W. Nixon, LIBERTY’s legal advisor.



Letters

"More Bodies"— More Letters

I have enjoyed what, until recently, has been LIBERTY's consistent and evenhanded commitment to free expression. This policy, it appears, has yielded to the new fervor of self-declared fundamentalism.

Mr. Hegstad's response to *Our Bodies, Ourselves* is such a blatant affront to the avowed purpose of LIBERTY—the preservation of First Amendment freedoms—that I considered the possibility that I was missing some hidden irony. The suggestion in Mr. Hegstad's Perspective column, urging a virtual assault on school boards and principals, convinced me otherwise.

While I may understand his concerns about the exposure of adolescent minds to sexual material, even share some of them, it seems clear—no, obvious—that attempts to impose such concerns on the community at large in the public school context is censorship of the most offensive kind. And suggestions to that effect from a magazine with your posture and purpose is nothing short of hypocrisy.

Clearly, the answer to the problem of pornography, as is the case in almost every instance of undesired communication, lies not in the banishment or destruction of the work or its sources, but in the prudent exercise of individual discrimination by the subject or those personally responsible for him or her, such as parents or guardians.

FREDERICK GRAB
California Department of Justice
Los Angeles, California

Sincere congratulations on your down-to-earth article "More Bodies." Your treatment of a difficult subject was excellent.

ERIC A. BEAVON
Salem, Oregon

Please take my name off your mailing list. I think such articles as "More Bodies" could well be left out of a magazine that is supposed to be clean and fit for young people. Many of them will never see the book quoted in the article. They will see the filth in LIBERTY—and have "liberty" to read it!

The Bible warns us to "overcome evil with good" (Romans 12:21). It tells us that "it is a shame even to speak of those things . . . done . . . in secret" (Ephesians 5:12),



and that "if there be any virtue . . . , think on these things" (Philippians 4:8).

Soon, like Lot, we must flee for our lives. Let's warn the world now to turn to God for mercy before the seven last plagues start falling.

MRS. A. JONES
Bell, Florida

One of the finest things about the United States is that there is separation of church and state. Therefore, we do not want religious groups dictating what books shall be allowed in our libraries, as we believe young women should have books made available to them in school that address such issues as homosexuality, rape, intercourse, masturbation, birth control, abortion, and all of the other areas you have covered in your article.

LAURA LEE DUNLAP
DIERDRE CAUGHLAN
Attorneys at Law
Butte, Montana

When it comes to pornography, no book excels the Bible in sex, rape, lust, incest, sodomy, pimps, harems, concubines, masturbation, homosexuals, lesbianism, and slavery.

LEE DE SAPIO
New York, New York

Your comments on *Our Bodies, Ourselves* show a lack of understanding of why libraries have on their shelves more than just the Christian Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress*. A good presentation of different views is essential for a complete education, as opposed to a complete indoctrination.

You have failed to tell me why this information should not be made available to

those interested. A library is not a classroom where effort is dictated by the instructor. It is a source for information and understanding. Your article shows a belief in single-source information.

I would not want my daughter to go to a sex-only bookstore for total information any more than I would want her to visit a church school for total information on religion. A library allows for the presentation of a wide variety of viewpoints.

WAYNE PIERCE
Oroville, California

I commend Mr. Hegstad for his very-well-written article "More Bodies." We as parents must be concerned for our children and their developing morals or answer someday for our contribution toward moral decay. Good fundamental Christian schools are one of the answers.

ROGER L. MAYLE
Marion, Michigan

Your commentary on *Our Bodies, Ourselves* prompts me to write in strong support. The Christian community needs to have its cage rattled from time to time. Such articles as "More Bodies" point out a serious deficiency in our approach to public education; I frankly have no idea what is on the shelves of our local junior-high libraries! I do know, from working with youth in our church, that just about anything is available to the kids from whatever source.

I hope that others are challenged as I have been by your thoughtful writing.

GREG COLLORD
Assistant Pastor
Richland Alliance Church
Richland, Washington

Martyrdom or Mischief?

What might appear to the author as religious martyrdom ("Jesus in the Court-house," January-February, 1982) appears to me as pernicious and divisive mischief. I find nothing heroic or principled in the posting of sectarian religious symbols in a county courthouse—especially to those who happen not to have chosen Jesus as their Saviour.

The Brighton officials were absolutely correct in seeking the removal of such obtrusive emblems. And, as for Dorothy Fankhouser, I would respectfully suggest that she confine her "reservoir of joy" and her "recommitment to Christ" to home and church, where they properly belong, and leave the civil halls of justice free from such puerile proselytizing.

F. TED LASKIN
Saratoga, California

Academic Freedom—Really?

For crying out loud! Shouting, "Eise-geis," in the middle of reading a church prophet's writings is not the moral equivalent of yelling, "Fire!" in a crowded theater.

It is a disservice to your editorial mission to imply that the secular and political communities have a higher obligation to freedom of conscience than do the academic and ecclesiastical communities. LIBERTY was founded as an advocate of religious freedom, not as an apologist for partisan issues. The editors of the *Adventist Review* have their own forum.

THOMAS J. ZWEMER
Evans, Georgia

I applaud Johnsson's thoughtful discussion of a timely subject. But the article seems to imply that Sonia Johnson was excommunicated from the Mormon Church because of her advocacy of the Equal Rights Amendment. Not so!

Sonia herself told reporters shortly after the church trial that she was not allowed to refer to ERA because her advocacy of it was not the issue. The issue was her actions against the church. She publicly reviled the Prophet of the church and the apostles, calling them haters of women. She also publicly and persistently advocated boycotting the missionary system of the church. Thus she was excommunicated for her actions against the church, not for her support of the ERA.

ARNOLD V. BERGESON
La Mesa, California

In "Academic Freedom: Are There Limits?" (January-February, 1982) author Johnsson infers that dissidents Kung, Ford,

and Johnson "came into conflict with ecclesiastical authority" or "church leaders."

Really?

Unless Johnsson has information not readily available to the rest of us, these individuals came into conflict with the clearly stated doctrines and beliefs of their respective churches, not necessarily with personalities in church administration. There is a vital difference.

No one denies the individual's right to disagree. But when a dissident finds himself in complete disagreement with the stated doctrines of his church, he should be honorable enough to leave and attack from without, not cravenly from within.

G. T. COLEMAN
Deary, Idaho

On the Alberto Story

I would ask members of any denomination whether they would agree to have a "comic book" similar to *Alberto* ("The Selling of Alberto," September-October, 1981) written about them and placed on sale in a religious bookstore. I would hope that any Christian would recognize the selling of *Alberto* for what it is: religious persecution and prejudice—not the selling of a comic book and certainly not an expression of religious freedom.

JOSEPH A. PARENT, M.D.
Portland, Oregon



As a Roman Catholic priest actively engaged in efforts to persuade owners of local Christian bookstores to discontinue sales of *Alberto* and other anti-Catholic publications, I was pleased to note LIBERTY's article by Betty Gibson as well as the publication of Gary Metz's discoveries about Mr. Rivera.

It is appalling to encounter the intensity of bigotry and maliciousness aimed at Catholics by so-called Christians. One gets

the impression that anti-Catholicism is a doctrinal tenet of fundamentalist Christianity.

The allegations, innuendoes, and downright lies disseminated by Mr. Chick would be amusing if they were not taken seriously and believed by so many people. In the meantime, the injustice done to Catholics by him and those who sell his slanderous publications cries out to God for redress. Could it be possible that these Bible-toting, supposedly Bible-believing, Christians have never heard of the eighth commandment of God: "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor"?

ROBERT M. COX
Dallas, Texas

I fail to understand why it is hard to prove that Catholics worship Mary and hold her on a level equal with (if not higher than) Jesus. Their own writings prove it.

"At the command of the Virgin, all things obey, even God." "He who is protected by Mary is saved; he who is not is lost."—Alphonso de' Liguori, in *The Glories of Mary*. Compare these statements with Acts 4:10-12 and 1 Timothy 2:5.

If we need a mediator other than Christ between God and man, then we are denying Christ's love and sacrifice for us.

T. LINDSEY
Little Rock, Arkansas

The furor over *Alberto* and the naive position taken by *Christianity Today* concerning it surely demonstrates the historical ignorance that is a hallmark of our generation. Do we seriously think that the demolition of Rivera removes the truth of history?

The obvious ploy being used is that if Gary Metz can expose Alberto Rivera as a fraud, then all the authentic data concerning Rome's crimes can be consigned to the dustbin of history along with Rivera. If Mr. Metz would do a little research into history, he would find that he must answer not the questionable acts of a questionable Spanish priest, but the recorded facts of history.

Let him, if he can, answer Charles Hodge, of Princeton, who attributes, in his *Systematic Theology*, Volume III, to the Jesuit "directing the intention" doctrine the murders of Henry III, William of Orange, Henry IV, and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. Let him answer Llorente, the official recorder of the Spanish Inquisition, who records the deaths of 300,000 people in Inquisition flames. Let him answer Albert Henry Newman, the Southern Baptist Church historian who recounts the deeds of the Jesuits in Volume II of his widely acclaimed work. Let him answer Avro Manhattan, Herve Lauriere, and Edmond

Paris, all of whom recount the massacre of half a million Serbian Orthodox Christians in the country of Croatia during World War II. The Ustasi did the massacring, and the man who was later made Cardinal Stepinac called the work of the Ustasi the Lord's work.

To say, as the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights director Michael Schwarz has said, that "Rivera's accounts of the Inquisition are luridly exaggerated" is just another piece of attempted whitewash of history. How could anyone luridly exaggerate the burning of 300,000 people? No modern scholar is in a position to refute Llorente's official record.

RONALD COOKE
Hollidaysburg, Pennsylvania

Touché!

Correspondent Godfrey Harris (Letters, November-December, 1981) asserts that "the most telling point, perhaps, about Columbus' religious affiliation is the fact that of the Western Hemisphere's 475 million people, far more than half are today practicing Catholics."

The logic is impeccable. And since more than half of the hemisphere's inhabitants are women, Columbus was surely female! Hence the naming of the ships—*Niña*, *Pinta*, and *Santa María*.

KEN PURO
Seattle, Washington

Salisbury on Obscenity

As a lawyer who has practiced in First Amendment areas, I think Mr. Salisbury's article ("Obscenity: Three Cases," January-February, 1982) should be required reading for every law student, most lawyers, all judges, all city commissioners and councilmen, and most church deacons.

His perceptions, written fifteen years ago, are as sharp and precise today as they must have been then. I would love to hear his comments on the Detroit Mini-Theatres case and *Cooper v. Mitchell Brothers*. If he is still alive and still observant of the Supreme Court's strained (or perhaps strange) relationship with the First Amendment, may be you can persuade him to comment again.

WILLIAM TAYLOR, ESQ.
Sioux Falls, South Dakota

Information on Albania

I wish to thank LIBERTY for running the story of religious persecution in Albania (March-April, 1982). I am sure the persecuted believers there will eventually profit by it, but more so, your readership will be informed of what has been happening in

Albania for so long.

For those interested in further information, my book, a documentary account of religious persecution in Albania, *The Fulfilled Promise*, may be obtained for \$10 postpaid from the Albanian Catholic Information Center, Box 881, Santa Clara, California 95053.

GJON SINISHTA
San Francisco, California

Bahai Update

I gratefully acknowledge Mr. Drazen's fine article ("The Bahais: Iran's Supreme Heretics," November-December, 1981). It demonstrates that the world conscience is not inured to violence, genocide, and religious persecution.

We regret to report, however, that since the appearance of your article, the plight of the Iranian Bahai community has deteriorated significantly.

Events signal that Iranian authorities plan to pursue their avowed campaign to eliminate the Bahai religion from the land of its origin. Recent government actions, combined with the gruesome record of persecution directed against the defenseless Bahai community of Iran over the past two years, have stirred grave concern for the survival of the Bahai faith in Iran.

PARKS SCOTT
Bahai Office of Public Affairs
Wilmette, Illinois

Crosses and Stars

I take exception to Henry Ferguson's statement ("The Holiday That Is America," November-December, 1981) that "around the world are hallowed fields of white crosses, the Stars and Stripes whipping in the breeze above. Under each cross rests an American who bought a bit of our freedom."

There are quite a few Stars of David in military cemeteries around the world, and under each of these also rests an American who bought a bit of our freedom. It would seem to me that your editors should have picked up this omission.

ROBERT L. CEISLER
Washington, Pennsylvania

From Sabbath to Sunday

It is appropriate that in "The Church's Forgotten Festival" (January-February, 1982) the author mentioned *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. The supposed historical basis at the heart of the article is nothing more than dreaming about the motives of early Christians in changing the Biblical rest day from Saturday to Sunday.

As a correction to your artwork, it is not Saturday that has been torn from the calendar, it is the New Testament that has been torn from the life of the church when Saturday is observed as the Christian Sabbath.

LEWIS RUFF
Bayview Orthodox Presbyterian Church
Chula Vista, California

I must differ when Gerald Wheeler says, "It was not an inherent specialness that contributed to the development of Sunday."

On the contrary, at Jesus' crucifixion a new and better covenant was inaugurated. The old law was nailed "to his cross" (Colossians 2:14); Jesus had fulfilled it (Matthew 5:17). There is no doubt the early church kept the first day of the week. I suggest there was an inherent specialness about it because—

1. Christ arose on the first day of the week.

2. Most of His resurrection appearances were on the first day of the week (Matthew 28:1, 9; Mark 16:2, 14-17; Luke 24:1, 15, 26; John 20:19, 26).

3. The church was established on the first day of the week. Pentecost was a high sabbath that always fell on Sunday (Leviticus 23:15, 16; Acts 2:1-42).

EVERETT STEVENS
Liberal, Kansas

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Perspective

Postal Increase Clobbers Religious Press

"Unless the government acts quickly to restore the subsidy of second-class postal rates, religious magazines will face severe budget problems and, in some cases, will have to close," predicted James Wall, *The Christian Century* editor, in the January 16, 1982, *Atlanta Journal*. John Stapert, postal liaison for the Evangelical Press Association, estimates that up to 10 percent of all religious periodicals in the United States will be forced out of operation by the increase. Another 50 percent, he says, will reduce size or number of issues.

Last fall the House and the Reagan administration agreed to phase out the

subsidy for nonprofit second-class mailings. But when the Senate didn't act on the proposal, the post office on January 10 abruptly increased the nonprofit second-class rate by nearly 50 percent.

Religious and other nonprofit magazines were staggered. "The cost of mailing our magazine will double," said Wall. "This will wipe us out," said another editor. "It's devastating," said James Doyle, executive director of the Catholic Press Association. "The religious press is going to be muted, if not in some places silenced."

What about LIBERTY? Under our 1981 second-class permit, each magazine cost 4.61 cents to mail. The January hike to 8.58 cents would mean an increase of close to \$100,000 a year.

How are magazines combating the financial shock? Some, such as *Eternity* and *United Methodist Reporter*, are raising subscription rates. Others plan fewer issues. Others—including LIBERTY—are dropping from second-class to third-class rates. Hence the new indicia on our back cover.

At third class, each LIBERTY will cost 5.90 cents to mail, a savings of 2.68 cents over the new second-class rate. Including our 11,000 overseas list and bulk subscriptions, which are slightly more expensive under the new rate, LIBERTY will save approximately \$7,900 per mailing, or \$47,000 per year, nearly 20 percent of our total postage costs.

What difference will this financial wizardry make to you, the LIBERTY subscriber? As of now, none at all. By a twist of postal policy and fortune, your LIBERTY receives the same treatment mailed third-class or second-class. It will still take eight to ten days, or less, to reach your mailbox.

We haven't quite figured out how the beleaguered post office can offer the same level of service at substantial savings. And, indeed, postal officials admit that they don't expect the loophole to last.

For now we're enjoying our comparative good fortune. After all, to mail a first-class magazine at third-class rates is still a bargain!—D.G.N.

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HYMN FOR COLD

WARRIORS

We all confess our neighbor's sins
And then forgive our own,
Our charity at home begins
And to ourselves is shown.

The mote within our neighbor's eye
We look with horror on,
The beam that in our own doth lie
We build our house upon.

We know that God is on our side,
For we have told Him so,
On us alone He has relied
To fight our mutual foe.

So praises to our God shall leap
From all our thankful throats
That we are gathered in as sheep
And all the rest are goats.

—Kenneth E. Boulding
The Christian Century
April 17, 1963