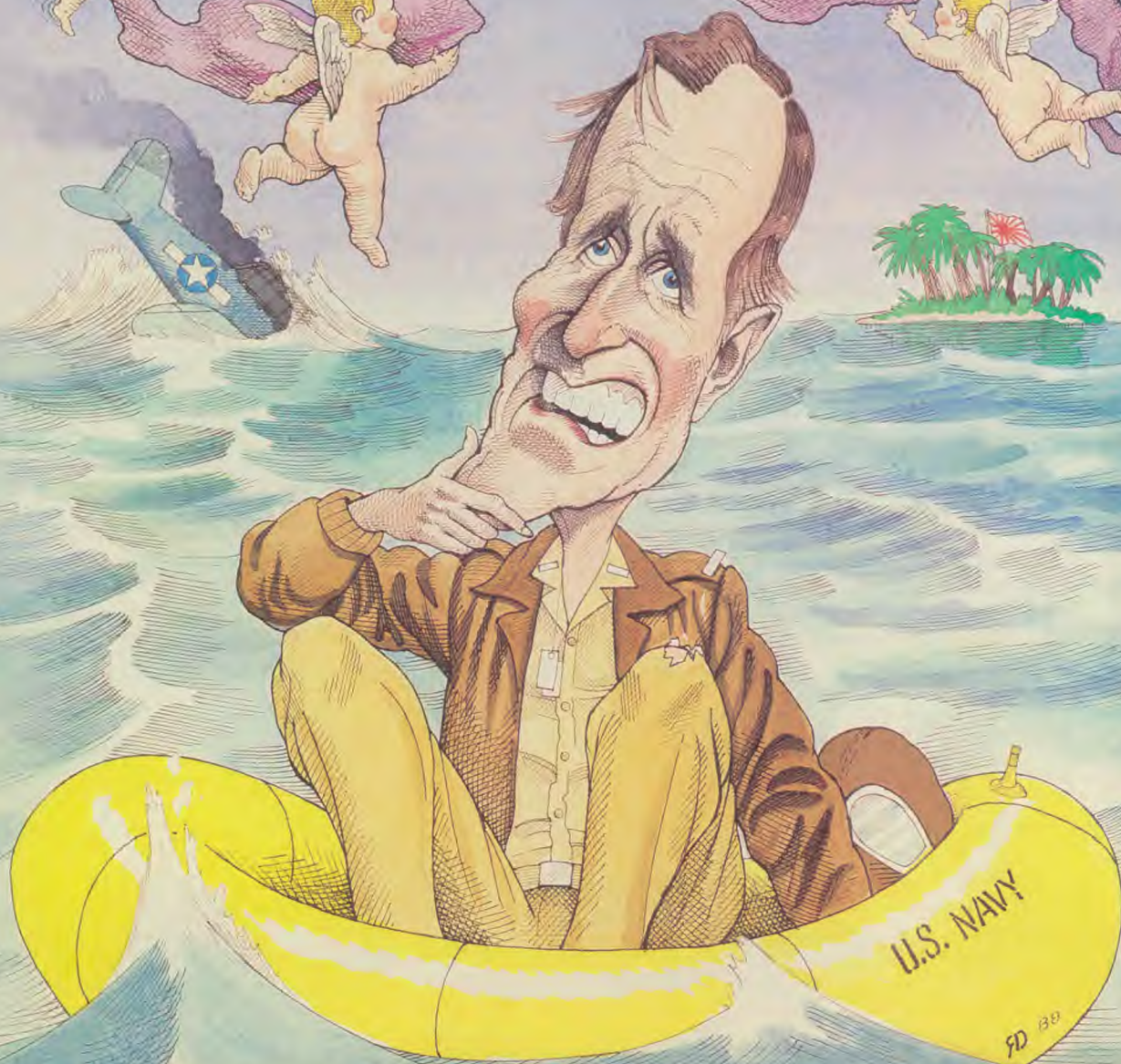
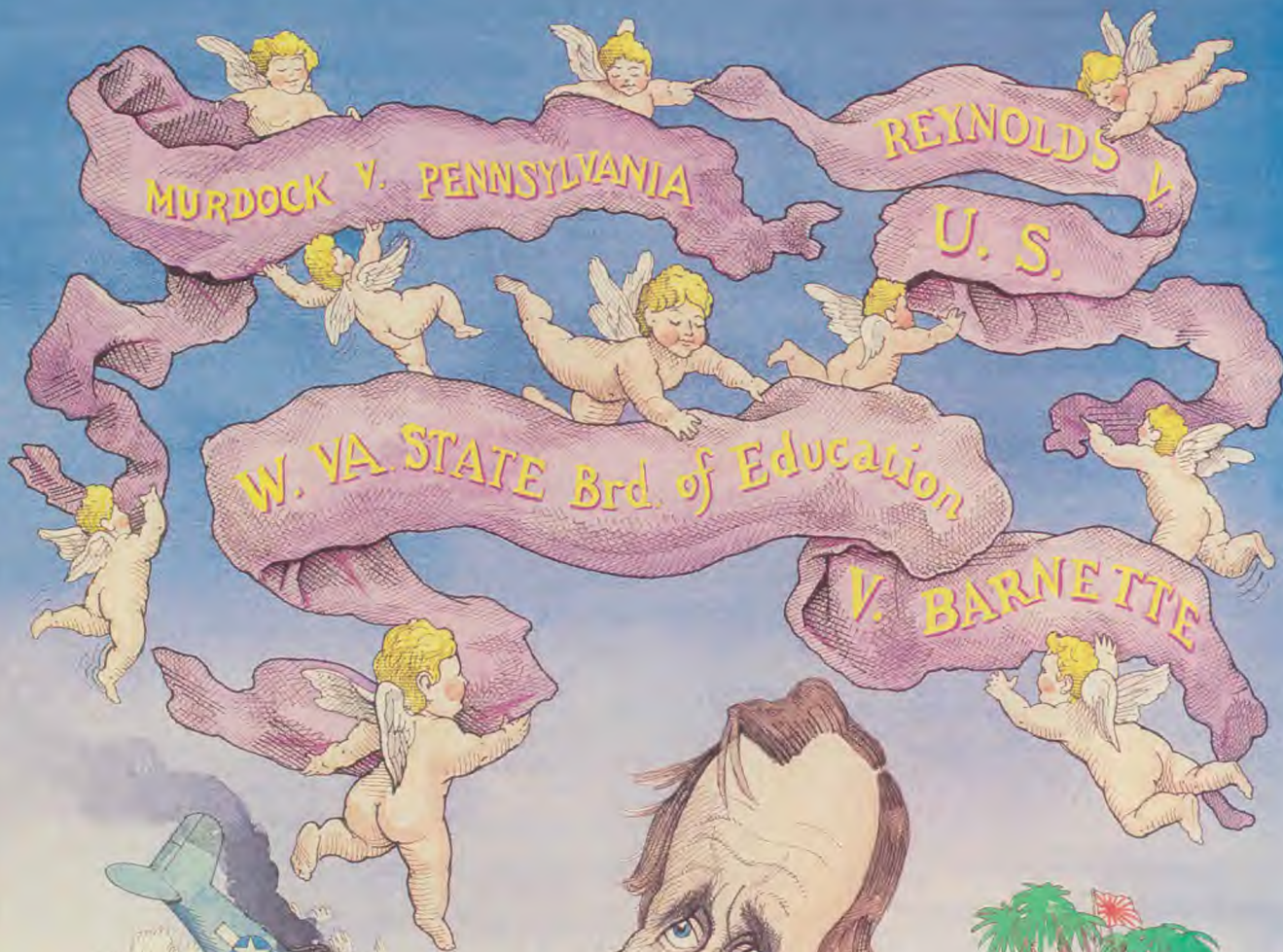


Liberty



**BORN (AGAIN?)
FOR THE
PRESIDENCY**



There Are No Atheists in Life Rafts

Was I scared floating around in a little yellow raft off the coast of an enemy-held island, setting a world record for paddling? Of course I was. What sustains you in times like that? Well, you go back to fundamental values. I thought about Mother and Dad and the strength I got from them—and God and faith and the separation of Church and State.—George Bush, on the campaign trail last winter.

Somewhere off Chichi Jima, September 2, 1944—So much for Big Mo. I mean we go in with the top of the lineup, drop our 500-pounders and knock out a radio tower, and then suddenly we're getting flak and the next thing I know the Barbara's in the soup. I've gotten a lot of grief for naming my plane after Barb, which ticks me off—but as I watch the old gal sink I can't help but draw an enormous reservoir of strength and resolve from the Supreme Court's decision last year in that Jehovah's Witnesses case: "A person gets from a symbol the meaning he puts into it, and what is one man's comfort and inspiration is another's jest and scorn." *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (319 U.S. 624, 63 S. Ct. 1178, 87 L. Ed. 1628) is a real crackerjack of a case. I mean, here's George Bush on a raft that's a piece of junk, something they'd be ashamed to sell at Bean's, and I'm in the middle of nowhere and out of fresh water, and I've got this gash on my forehead, and yet Mr. Justice Jackson's opinion is kinda there for me, like a rock.

Am I in deep doo-doo? Yes. Am I worried? You betcha I'm worried. What scares me are those kamikaze guys. It's a religious thing, they tell me—three-two-one-BOOM, and it's straight to heaven, or wherever. And when I think about looking at the front end of one of these fellas, I have to wonder about *Murdock v. Pennsylvania* (319) U.S. 105, 63 S. Ct. 891, 87 L. Ed. 1292) and whether this kind of behavior, to

quote Mr. Justice Douglas, really ought to have "the same claim to protection as the more orthodox and conventional exercises of religion." And I've got to say, in a situation like this you thank your lucky stars for *Cantwell v. Connecticut* (310 U.S. 296, 60 S. Ct. 980, 84 L. Ed. 1213) and Mr. Justice Roberts' opinion that "even the exercise of religion may be at some slight inconvenience in order that the State may protect its citizens from injury." Maybe it's because I'm only human, like the next guy, but the whole notion of separation of Church and State is a tremendous source of hope and consolation.

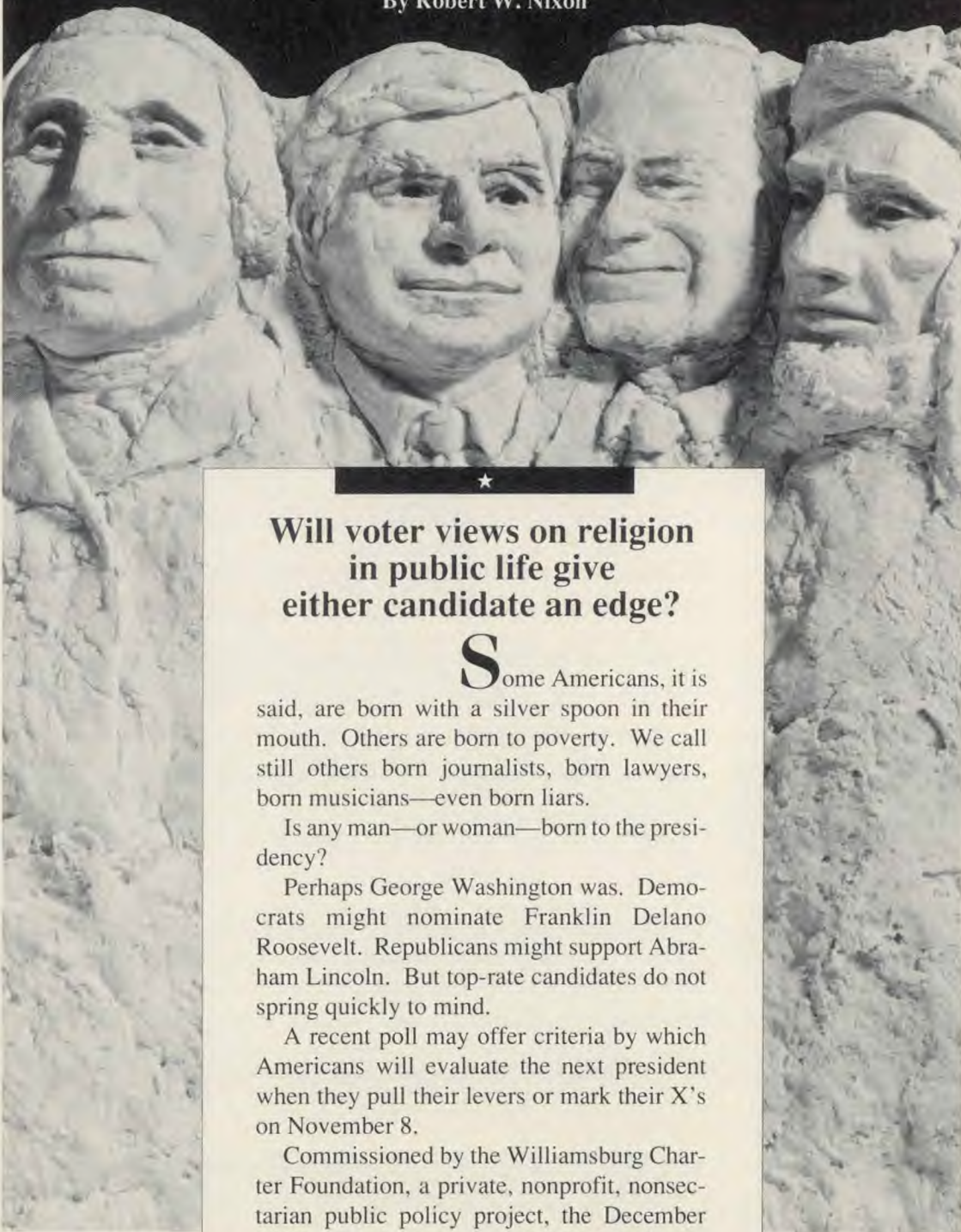
Is my number up? Is this all she wrote? I'm just glad I don't have to be concerned about Barbara, how she might take the news and all that, what she might do. It's times like now, when you've maybe got an eye cocked upstairs, that your thoughts turn inevitably to *Reynolds v. United States* (98 U.S. 145, 25 L. Ed. 244), and there's no way you don't come away fortified and sustained. If a woman "religiously believed it was her duty to burn herself upon the funeral pile" of her beloved, Mr. Chief Justice Waite asked, "would it be beyond the power of the civil government to prevent her carrying her belief into practice?" No, he decided, we can't let her do such a fool thing. I've gotta love my country for that. **L**

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By Cullen Murphy

BORN (AGAIN?) FOR THE PRESIDENCY

By Robert W. Nixon



Will voter views on religion in public life give either candidate an edge?

Some Americans, it is said, are born with a silver spoon in their mouth. Others are born to poverty. We call still others born journalists, born lawyers, born musicians—even born liars.

Is any man—or woman—born to the presidency?

Perhaps George Washington was. Democrats might nominate Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Republicans might support Abraham Lincoln. But top-rate candidates do not spring quickly to mind.

A recent poll may offer criteria by which Americans will evaluate the next president when they pull their levers or mark their X's on November 8.

Commissioned by the Williamsburg Charter Foundation, a private, nonprofit, nonsectarian public policy project, the December 1987 random survey of 3,017 Americans, including special samples of young people and key leadership groups, indicates some candidates running for our country's highest public office may have several strikes against them.

Presidential Candidates

Thirteen percent of those polled, for example, said they would not vote for a "born-again Baptist" or a Greek Orthodox presidential candidate.

The poll, however, did not ask whether respondents would vote for particular candidates, such as George Bush who quietly claims to be a "born again" Episcopalian, or for Michael Dukakis, who is Greek Orthodox. Political strategists will have to ponder whether such "anti" votes will be offset by voters who identify favorably with such candidate characteristics.

The poll also revealed that the overwhelming majority of Americans would vote for presidential candidates who are from the Judeo-Christian heritage, but 8 percent would refuse to vote for a Roman Catholic. Ten percent would refuse to vote for a Jew. But these figures are *good news!*

A 1958 Gallup Poll indicated 28 percent would not vote for a Jew and 25 percent would not vote for a Roman Catholic. Seventy-five percent said they would not vote for an atheist. The Williamsburg Foundation reported that the only negative trend seemed to be the 13 percent bias against "born-again Baptists," up from the 3 percent negative in the 1958 Gallup survey. If this revelation doesn't concern Jessie Jackson, the following should: 21 percent said they would refuse to vote for a candidate who has been a minister.

Philanderers should take time out to consider the following: 43 percent said they wouldn't vote for a married presidential candidate who "has been having other love affairs." An equal percentage, however, would be willing to vote for the Lotharios and Cassanovas.

And, nonbelievers will have a difficult time winning the White House: 62 percent of respondents said that would not vote for an atheist.

Uncloseted homosexuals may have been winning a few rounds in their struggle for antidiscrimination laws, but when it comes to the presidency, 65 percent said they would not vote for a homosexual.

How do voters feel about religious activism? The National Council of Churches, Liberty Foundation (the new vehicle for the Moral Majority) and the Christian Voice (of political *Scorecard* fame) can relax. Religious activism, says the Foundation, gets "general, though qualified, acceptance" from a public with an expanding tolerance of diverse religious expressions. That's the good news. The bad news for activists is that though 68 percent agreed that religious groups have the legal right to become involved in politics, nearly 57 percent said they personally would like to see these groups stay out of politics.

Other findings for the computers of future presidential candidates: 62 percent be-

lieve that religious leaders may properly oppose pornographic bookstores. Fifty-six percent found it acceptable for the Right to Life movement to inject religion into the abortion debate. Forty-four percent approved religious groups trying to influence United States foreign policy toward South Africa while 42 percent objected. About one quarter supported church efforts to protect allegedly illegal immigrants—who, it is to be remembered, don't have a vote anyway.

Church and State

Respondents to the Foundation poll expressed a generally "high esteem" for the Constitution, but few knew basic facts about its specific protections. Seventy-one percent, for example, knew freedom of religion is a constitutional right, but only 33 percent knew it is guaranteed by the First Amendment. Though 51 percent expressed approval of the wall of separation between church and state, respondents seemed willing, when confronted with hard choices, to high-jump over it: 32 percent favored government taking "special steps" to protect

Williamsburg Charter Foundation Poll Highlights

Percentage who endorse:

77 percent – Moment of silence in public schools for voluntary prayer

64 percent – Congress opening with prayer

59 percent – Public prayer before high school sporting events

70 percent – Perspectives on biblical creationism in discussions of evolution

11 percent – Teaching creationism only or teaching evolution only

80 percent – Manger scenes on government property

52 percent – Government support of all religions equally

Percentage who oppose:

52 percent – Government requirement for emphasizing Judeo-Christian values in public schools

50 percent – Government financial support to parochial school rabbis

40 percent – Buddhist chaplains in the military

65 percent – Legal right of unusual religious cults to convert teenagers

57 percent – Hare Krishnas asking for money at airports

54 percent – Legal right for practice of Satan worship

49 percent – Laws that would stop ministers from using television to raise money

23 percent – Publication of newspaper in nation's capital by followers of Sun Myung Moon

the Judeo-Christian heritage. And while 44 percent thought government should not support any religion, 52 percent expressed approval of government supporting all religions equally.

An executive summary of the poll called answers on church-state issues "ambiguous"—theoretically supporting church-state separation but generally approving of less rigid separation on the practical level.

With 62 percent of respondents unwilling to vote for an atheist, one would expect "secular humanists" to fare badly. After all, they've been the whipping boys for the Religious Right. But, surprisingly, only 26 percent were familiar with the term "secular humanism," and those aware were sharply divided about whether public schools are

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Conclusions of the Williamsburg Report

Americans emphatically accept religion in public life. "As pluralism has expanded, toleration has expanded with it."

Questions on church-state affairs yield ambivalent results.

Americans draw a clear line in their toleration of atheism and alternative lifestyles in political leaders and support legal sanctions to curb unusual religious practices.

Profound tensions and divergences exist over church-state issues, especially between the public and leadership groups.

Most Americans would vote for presidential candidates from the Judeo-Christian heritage, but 8 percent say they will not vote for a Roman Catholic, 10 percent for a Jew, 13 percent for a "Born-again Baptist," and 13 percent will not vote for a Greek Orthodox candidate.

teaching it and whether it's good or bad for the nation.

Reflections

On the eve of the 1988 national elections, the Williamsburg Charter Foundation found cause for both optimism in and concern for survey results. "After 200 years," the Foundation said, "the Constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience and provisions for ordered liberty show tremendous resilience and practical relevance for American public life."

"A pronounced and enduring feature of American society, due largely to the First Amendment," said the Foundation, "is a combination of relatively strong religious commitments and relatively strong political civility." But it found significant "the gap between the admirable civility of the American public and the very real tensions" that exist over church-state questions.

In times of transition, such as the present, said the Foundation, the role of activists and opinion leaders becomes especially important in the national debate. The Foundation called for national political leaders to address two specific issues—the role of religion in public schools and in the political process. At the very least, it said, the gaps and tensions now present in the nation indicate the need not only for celebration of the First Amendment but a renewal of the shared understandings surrounding it.

Have Mr. Bush and Mr. Dukakis heard this call—along with the call to the presidency?

Bush says he heard it on a "little yellow raft off the coast of an enemy-held island" during World War II (see page 2). It was then that he took his journey back to "fundamental values" and got strength not only from "Mother and Dad and God and faith," but also from "the separation of Church and

State."

But as vice president, Bush supported the administration's religious amendment to the Constitution—but what does one expect of a vice president? And raft experience notwithstanding, he also supported vouchers for parochial schools, in the view of many, a First Amendment No-No. On abortion, he's prolife—unless the mother's life is at stake or in cases of incest or rape, which is about as prolife and as prochoice as most Americans.

As governor of Massachusetts, Dukakis

opposed parochialism and supported prochoice abortion—hardly politically motivated acts in that Roman Catholic stronghold. And he also sought repeal of the Massachusetts blasphemy statute and the state's Sunday laws, an indication that he knows the distinction between what is God's and what is Caesar's.

Does the Williamsburg Foundation Poll seem to give either candidate an edge with voters? As a Greek Orthodox presidential candidate, Dukakis seems to start with a 13 percent liability vis-a-vis Bush. But one suspects that Greek Orthodox voters—not likely with more than a token appearance, if that, in the Foundation Poll—might make up the difference. Bush, in poll terms, may be more things to more voters. But poll respondents themselves are so divided on issues that one would have to be a master of legerdemain to appeal to all.

And that, neither candidate is. If being born to the presidency means pleasing fundamentalists on the one hand and secularists on the other, there ain't no such creature. No, not even that consummate communicator who soon will be riding off into the presidential sunset.

But here's a script that will probably come as close as any to pleasing the divergent elements in American society. If a "born again" candidate, show the secularists a few birth defects; if a Judeo-Christian nominalist, sew patches on the knees of your "Sunday-go-to-meeting suit."

Or you haven't got a prayer!

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Leadership Roles

The Williamsburg Charter Foundation noted significant attitude differences between public and leadership roles.

Academics are most consistent in defense of religious expression. They advocate a "high wall of separation" between church and state and are most concerned about the political impact of Evangelical and other conservative religious groups.

While 52 percent of the public believe government should support all religions equally, large percentages of leaders in business (76%), government (78%), universities (87%), the media (64%), the Protestant ministry (62%), and the rabbinate (78%) believe "government should not provide any support to any religions."

While 52 percent of the public oppose any government requirement that Judeo-Christian values be emphasized in public schools, most larger percentages in business (66%), government (84%), universities (89%), media (79%), and the rabbinate (68%) take the same position.

The survey showed American youth differ only slightly from older Americans in their church-state attitudes.

A Secular Government for A Religious People

Is It What Our American Founders Intended?



When the Christian Voice produced a "scorecard" on the presidential candidates, it undoubtedly intended that voters examine Bush's and Dukakis's views on "Christian" issues.

Isn't that what one would expect in a Christian nation?

The question begs a question: Is the United States really a Christian nation, as the Religious Right claims? Or are we a secular nation, as many other Americans maintain?

Whatever the merits of the scorecard, the

elections do give us opportunity to debate just what kind of nation we are. And the answer seems sure to influence what kind of nation we shall become.

The United States is a secular nation in the sense that it is not sectarian. But in crafting a secular nation, the Founders were

Jim Castelli is director for church-state policy for People for the American Way, the 270,000-member constitutional liberties organization, and author of A Plea for Common Sense: Resolving the Clash Between Religion and Politics (Harper & Row, 1988).

By Jim Castelli

under no illusion that Americans were a secular people. They appreciated the importance of religion in their own lives and in the life of the new republic. In order to understand the relationship of religion and politics in America, we need to understand that we are both a secular nation and a religious people.

A beginning point is to reject simplistic sloganeering: "Don't mix religion and politics"; "We are a Christian nation"; "A strict wall of separation between church and state."

Actually, the "wall of separation between church and state" is more than a slogan: it is a phrase with a long, distinguished history. When used as a slogan, it is meant not to advance discussion, but to end it. Sloganeering illustrates yet another source of confusion—disagreement over the meaning of terms like *church*, *state*, *religion*, *politics*, and *society*.

For example, one person's support for the "wall of separation" may communicate his belief that the U.S. Constitution forbids the state from dictating religious beliefs, and, of course, he would be right. But another person may interpret the "wall" to mean that religious and moral beliefs have no place in the public arena; he would argue that that's not what the Constitution means, and, of course, he too, would be right.

The easiest task is clarifying the terms used in the debate. A considerable amount of confusion and hostility stems from identifying the state as society. *State* refers to the government; *society* refers to the entire social body, which includes the state, individuals, and mediating institutions such as churches, unions, and other voluntary associations. Only in the totalitarian nation are state and society identical. And totalitarianism may be either atheistic or theistic—the Soviet Union or Islamic Iran. To misunderstand the distinction between state and society is to feel threatened at the notion of keeping religious symbols and beliefs separate from the activities of the *state*. Such a course appears to delegitimize religion. Understanding the distinction between *state* and *society* allows religion a legitimate role including interaction with the state.

Just as it is essential to distinguish *state* from *society*, *church* must be distinguished from *religion*. *Church* refers to official institutions, not the believers themselves acting as individuals; *religion* refers to a value system—members of a church do not necessarily practice a religion, and those who do not belong to a church may still profess a religious worldview.

Apart from a totalitarian (or theocratic) state, politics, like religion, is a process, an activity through which elements within society debate values and goals and form policies to guide the state. Separation of church and state, then, is not the same as separation

of religion and politics. Church and state, as institutions, must be kept separate; religion and politics, as processes of thought and action, cannot be kept separate.

Founding Myths

To make sense of the religion and politics debate today, we must look at where we have been as a nation. From the earliest colonial days, two warring religious themes have dominated American life—religious intolerance and religious idealism. Contemporary Americans cannot be guided completely by the nation's Founders because we live in a world they never imagined. But we must be aware of the world in which they did live and the way it shaped their views on matters that affect our lives today.

The easiest myth about the nation's founding to set straight is the Christian Right's claim that the United States was founded as a Christian nation. Biblical theology did influence the Founders, but not to such a degree that it is possible, as some imply, to deduce the Constitution from the New Testament. Two other major sources influenced the Founders: The Enlightenment philosophy of government as social contract, and the classical republican theories of the Greeks and Romans. William F. Schulz, president of the Unitarian Universalist Association, notes that it is no more necessary to have a Christian nation to honor the influence of theology than it is to worship Zeus or Athena to honor the influence of the Greeks and Romans.

Three contemporary evangelical historians—Mark Noll, Nathan Hatch, and George Marsden—put the issue in context in their book, *The Search for Christian America*. The American Revolution, they tell us, "was not Christian, but it stood for many things compatible with the Christian faith. It was not biblical, though many of its founders respected Scripture. It did not establish the United States on a Christian foundation, even if it created many commendable precedents."

Noll, Hatch, and Marsden point out that "The Declaration of Independence . . . is based on an appeal to 'self-evident' truths or 'laws of nature and nature's God.'" The reference to God is vague and subordinated to natural laws that everyone should know through common sense. The Bible is not mentioned or alluded to. The Constitution of 1787 says even less concerning a deity, let alone Christianity or the Bible." The United States, they write, "was the first western nation to omit explicitly religious symbolism, such as the cross, from its flag and other early national symbols."

Founding Influences

At another level, Noll, Hatch, and Marsden point out that in terms of behavior toward slaves, Indians, women, immigrants,

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and so on—the United States has never been a "Christian nation."

Several major factors influenced the Founders' views on the relationship of church and state, religion and politics. One was religious pluralism. The collection of Anglicans, Baptists, Catholics, Congregationalists, Jews, Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Unitarians and members of other denominations present in the Colonies was unmatched anywhere in the world. To fashion a nation that gave official preference to one denomination over the others would ensure that nation's early fragmentation. The Founders also came to see that pluralism was more than passive tolerance of diversity; it was a positive element that placed value on the contributions different groups made to the whole society.

The Founders were also influenced by distrust of established churches. Early colonial history had provided ample evidence of the persistence of religious intolerance. The history of the Virginia Statute for Establishing Religious Freedom illustrates the writers' concern. That statute, drafted by Thomas Jefferson and shepherded through the legislature by James Madison, provided much of the intellectual base for the separation of church and state found in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Jefferson regarded the Virginia Statute as one of his three greatest accomplishments and the fight for religious liberty as "the severest contest in which I have ever been engaged."

The statute set forth a principle that guided the Founders as they drafted the Constitution: "Our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, more than on our opinions in physics or geometry."

The third influence on the founders was their belief that religious liberty is good for religion itself. Miller and A. James Reichley, in *Religion in American Public Life*, both make this point. They credit the influence of Roger Williams, the seventeenth-century Baptist reformer and religious liberty advocate, who argued that "the civil sword may make a nation of hypocrites and anti-Christians, but not one true Christian."

Religious beliefs also shaped early American attitudes toward government. In fact, the Founders themselves gave us an example of how religious values should inform public debate. In *A Religious History of the American People*, Sydney Ahlstrom wrote: "Puritanism provided the moral and religious background of fully 75 percent of the people who declared their independence in 1776." The Puritans' faith, which included a strong emphasis on personal piety, found its political expression in support for individual human rights and the rule of law; Ahlstrom says the Puritans "recognized that governments, constitutions, and laws were instituted to restrain man's sin and hence were truly of God."

In a similar vein, Reichley quotes the nineteenth-century historian James Bryce: "There is a hearty Puritanism in the view of human nature that pervades the instrument of 1787. It is the work of men who believed in original sin, and were resolved to leave open for transgressors no door which they could possibly shut." Reichley says it was this sense of original sin that led the Founders to devise a system of checks and balances within the new government to prevent any one branch—Executive, Congress or Courts—from abusing power.

Finally, the Founders shared the belief that religion supported the common good. Though they did not want an official religion, they were convinced that religion made an important contribution to society by encouraging personal responsibility and commitment to the common good.

Civil Religion

Henry Steele Commager notes that "a common religion did flourish among Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and Deists. We have come to call that a civil religion." Commager says that civil religion "relied on reason as well as faith, embraced mankind, rather than the individual, and was ever conscious of the claims of posterity... It did not reject Jesus or the Gospels, but took from them what was universally valid. Its testaments, moral, philosophical, or political, celebrated virtue, happiness, equality in the

sight of God and the law, and life here rather than hereafter."

In *Habits of the Heart*, sociologist Robert Bellah, who coined the term "civil religion," says that for America's founders, the political function of religion "was not direct intervention, but support of the mores that make democracy possible." In particular, religion's role was to place "limits on utilitarian individualism" and to hedge in "self-interest with a proper concern for others."

Former presidential candidate Pat Robertson and other Religious Right leaders have claimed that the phrase "separation of church and state" does not appear in the U.S. Constitution (and does, in fact, appear in the Soviet Constitution). Certainly, the concept appears in the U.S. Constitution. Article VI says, "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. Here is a clear stand against religious intolerance and an affirmation that, in the spirit of the Virginia Statute, no American's religious beliefs should have an impact on his standing in the community."

When the First Congress agreed that a Bill of Rights was needed to clarify the Constitution, religious liberty was a priority. The First Amendment declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." These 16 words have generated virtually unlimited controversy.

But several things about the First Amendment are clear. It barred establishing a national religion and guaranteed U.S. citizens freedom of religion. It did not prohibit the individual states from having established religions; several states did, in fact, continue to have established churches after the ratification of the Bill of Rights. But, those establishments were dying, and the last established church, in Massachusetts, was gone by 1833. In a sense, it was not necessary to bar state religions, because history demanded that they disappear.

The Constitution: Defective From the Start


To understand the Founders' minds in terms of the relationship between church and state and religion and politics, it is necessary to remember that the Constitution is, in the best sense of the word, a political document; it reflects compromises of the time and was designed to bind a new society together—and to keep it together. Thus the Constitution, as originally ratified, did not resolve all aspects of the church-state, religion-politics issue any more than it resolved all aspects of civil rights—the Constitution did, after all, accept the existence of slavery and voting rights for only male landowners.

Justice Thurgood Marshall notes that the Constitution was "defective from the start, requiring several amendments, a civil war,

The First Amendment did not prohibit a state from having an established religion. Several did after ratification of the Bill of Rights

and momentous social transformations to attain the system of constitutional government, and its respect for the individual freedoms and human rights, we hold as fundamental today." One of the changes Marshall had in mind was basic: it took the 14th Amendment and later court interpretation of it to apply the Bill of Rights—including the First Amendment—to the states.

The Founders intended the Constitution to contain fixed principles, yet allow for structural changes and refinements as the new nation grew; the First Congress's Bill of Rights illustrates this. American sensitivity to civil rights has grown over the past two centuries; we have seen the end of slavery, the universal vote, the women's and civil rights movements. We have reached essential agreement concerning what the states and the federal government, respectively, may regulate. We agree that a state cannot limit a basic right guaranteed to the citizens of the nation. And we understand better the implications and benefits of a secular government for a religious people.

If we use the elections not only to vote our preferences but to review the kind of nation our American forefathers bequeathed to us, it seems unlikely that Biblical scorecards shall figure prominently in our vote. And our society may, as a result, become more truly Christian in its perception of the place of religion in society, than it is today. This is one result that both Mr. Bush and Mr. Dukakis could well applaud. 

The 14th A Vital Ther

By Eric Foner

Not for the first time in our history, high officials are today distorting the origins of the Fourteenth Amendment for political and ideological purposes.

The amendment says that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Supreme Court declared that the amendment was intended mainly to protect business corporations from regulation, thus undermining its guarantee of equal civil rights for blacks. Former Attorney General Edwin Meese insists the amendment did not "incorporate" the Bill of Rights—that is, require the states to respect the liberties secured by the Constitution's first 10 amendments, which originally limited the powers of Congress, not state governments.

This position would allow individual states to violate such basic civil liberties as freedom of speech, trial by jury, and protection against self-incrimination. A state could even establish an official church. But the former attorney general's view

betrays a fundamental misunderstanding of the amendment's purposes.

The amendment was approved by Congress in 1866. Its broad, elusive phrases concerned with the "privileges and immunities" of American citizens and "equal protection of the laws" can be understood only in the context of the crisis of the Civil War and Reconstruction, which bred within the Republican Party a determination to guarantee citizens' fundamental rights against state abuse.

Before the war, most Americans believed a powerful central government posed the greatest danger to individual liberty. But it was the national government that emancipated 4 million slaves, while the southern states, once restored to the Union, enacted "Black Codes" that severely restricted the freedmen's rights. As a result, Republicans came to view the federal government as a "custodian of freedom," with a responsibility to defend liberty against hostile state action.

The term "incorporation," a modern usage, does not appear in the debates of 1866. But its underlying premise seemed beyond dispute by the time the Fourteenth Amendment came before Congress. The principle of federal authority to define and protect citizens' rights appeared, as one congressman declared, "so just, that no



Amendment: And Now



member of this House can seriously object to it."

Michigan Senator Jacob Howard, who guided the amendment to passage in the Senate, did declare explicitly that its purpose was to force states to respect "the personal rights guaranteed and secured by the first eight amendments of the Constitution." Ohio Representative Jonathan Bingham, who helped draft the amendment, said much the same thing in the House.

Other Republicans spoke more generally of guaranteeing the "fundamental rights of citizens" against state abuse. Nor was this merely an abstract statement of principle, for the amendment granted Congress the sweeping power to enforce its provisions by "appropriate legislation."

Some portions of the Bill of Rights were of little moment in 1866 (no one was threatening to quarter soldiers in a home without consent of the owner). But it is abundantly clear that Republicans wished to give constitutional sanction to the federal government's power to guarantee such key provisions as freedom of speech, the right to bear arms, trial by impartial jury, and protection against cruel and unusual punishment and unreasonable search and seizure. Indeed, the amendment was deemed necessary precisely because every one of these rights was being systematically

violated in the South in 1866.

The fact that a specific right or a particular clause of the Bill of Rights was not mentioned in the debates, moreover, does not mean Congress considered it unworthy of federal protection. Rather than providing a long list of rights the states could not abridge, those who drafted the amendment intentionally employed broad language so as to allow Congress and the federal courts maximum flexibility in defining the "privileges and immunities."

Far from being an unwarranted imposition upon the Constitution, as Meese contends, the doctrine of incorporation simply reaffirms the essential purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment—the establishment of a national citizenship whose common rights the states cannot abridge and the federal government is empowered to protect.

This principle, understood at the time as applying to whites as well as blacks, northern states as well as southern, was a fundamental legacy of the Civil War. It is unfortunate that those charged with its enforcement (ironically, members of the party of Lincoln) are today seeking an excuse to abandon it. L

Eric Foner is a professor of history at Columbia University. Reprinted with permission from the Washington Post. Copyright 1985.

Deborah Moody

An Update on this "Dangerous Woman"
and LIBERTY's plans for her

Lady Deborah Moody (see LIBERTY, September-October 1987) was the first woman mayor in America, the first woman granted a colonial enterprise, and one of the earliest advocates of religious liberty (in an era when religious freedom was as common in America as capitalism is in Albania).

Unfortunately, she is also an unknown figure. We, at LIBERTY, believe that she deserves more.

Deborah Moody not only preached her convictions, she lived them. In her town of Gravesend, New York, she allowed religious freedom for Quakers and other dissident sects. This radical act occurred in 1643, when Quakerism was about as popular in the colonies as pro-Khomeini Iranians are in Baghdad. When confronted by the righteous indignation of the local righteous, such as Director General Petrus Stuyvesant, who demanded that the "disgusting spectacle" of allowing Quakers to worship be halted, Lady Moody told him, basically, to bug off. Gravesend was her town, she was going to run it the way she wanted, and there was nothing he could do about it!

Inspired by this "liberated" woman's pre-colonial chutzpah, attorney Leah C. Van Arsdale, of Lancaster, California, visited Lady Moody's birthplace while in England last Christmas. She has uncovered facts about this fascinating character that we didn't have in the September-October article. Her report follows.—C.G.

Deborah Dunch was born in the late 1500s, in Avesbury, Wiltshire County. Avesbury is a village located in the middle of prehistoric Saracen stones dated in the same period as Stonehenge, which is just sixty miles away. Though we don't know what spiritual effect living among these mysterious stones and ancient burial chambers might have had on her young mind, the education her parents gave her had a profound effect—for like her parents, Deborah believed in the right to follow one's own religious convictions. Her father gave her a sense of natural privilege, the right to education and to travel and to speak one's mind. Until her marriage, she had the best tutors available. She even attended the Sorbonne. As a woman, she could not study at Oxford or Cambridge.

In 1605 Deborah married Henry Moody, who was knighted by King James I and later made a Baron in 1622. Her husband served in Parliament intermittently until 1629, when he died. They had one son, Henry. One source claims that they had a daughter, who died in infancy.

During summers, King James I had received Lord Henry and Lady Deborah at Gravesend, a watering place at the mouth of the Thames on the North Sea. A few years earlier an Indian "Princess" named Pocahontas had died there and was buried in a grassy plot of the Parish church. Years later, when Deborah Moody founded her own town in the New World, she named it after this beloved English town.

After the death of Henry, she wanted to travel to Paris, Berlin or Vienna, but was forbidden by the government. She spent some time in London, in the company of local *literati*. Also, despite warnings by the authorities to stay away, she attended secret meetings of Quaker and Baptist sects.

Forced out of London and back to her estate, she decided to travel at least within England itself. With her son she planned a grand tour to the Roman walls and baths, and medieval castles. She never made it out of Wiltshire. Arrested at the border of the county, she was escorted back to her estate, under guard, and ordered to appear before the judges of the secret court, the dreaded Star Chamber, who ordered her to remain on her estate.

Fed up with the restrictions, Lady Moody quietly sold off her holdings and, with her

son, set sail for America. Unfortunately, in the 1600s the colonies were not much better than England when it came to personal and religious liberty, and before long Lady Moody had a few brouhahas with the Massachusetts authorities and was forced to leave Lynn, where she first settled. Among her heretical notions: Infant baptism was unbiblical and people should worship as they pleased. She also hated the local slave trade, where captured Pequot Indians were exchanged for Negroes from Barbados. When Lady Moody decided to found her own town, she determined that things there were going to be different.

And they were. First, she forbade slavery in Gravesend. Instead of stealing land from the Indians, the settlers in her town paid them for it. And most radical of all: she allowed religious freedom for all sects.

Perhaps having heard of the freedoms in Gravesend, three Quaker missionaries arrived in 1657. At that time Quakers were the most hated and persecuted sect in both the Old and the New World. They began their ministry in Lady Moody's home. According

Among Deborah Moody's heretical notions: Infant baptism was unbiblical and people should worship as they pleased.

to the Dutch historian Gerard Crosse, who wrote in 1695, Lady Moody and many of her followers converted to Quakerism. Though later authorities question whether she converted, she would no doubt have been attracted to the equality given women by the Quakers. Whatever her commitment, Gravesend became a center of Quakerism on Long Island, which brought about the confrontation with Petrus Stuyvesant depicted in the previous LIBERTY article.

We still don't know much about her last

days. Her son Henry was a signer of the Gravesend Patent, and served as ambassador to Virginia from the New Netherlands after her death.

When did she die? How? Where was she buried? These questions are still unanswered.

Of course, the important things about Lady Moody are not her death or burial plot, or even what she looked like (we still don't know). What is important is her life, and the principles of religious freedom that she espoused in an era when religious freedom was not espoused.

For these reasons, Deborah Moody needs to be remembered. She deserves a United States postage stamp commemorating her, a bust in the state houses of New York and Massachusetts, and a scholarship named in her honor as LIBERTY has proposed. She also should be listed in encyclopedias and textbooks.

By paying tribute to this great lady, we will be paying tribute to the great spirit that forged the religious freedoms we enjoy today.



David and Daniel Antonovich with model Nadine Bizuka. The Antonovich brothers are not only the largest furriers in the metropolitan New York area but also ardent advocates of religious freedom. Believing that all Americans should know the story of Lady Deborah Moody, Daniel is forming a committee in New York City to promote the LIBERTY projects (see article).

The world press has been debating (of all things!) the meaning of grasshoppers, as used by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Referring to rioting Palestinians, Shamir said, "We say to them from the heights of this mountain and from the perspective of thousands of years of history that they are as grasshoppers in our sight."¹ Did the Israeli official refer to the political and military weakness of the West Bank Palestinians? Or, as some charged, did he call them subhuman (insect-like)?

Commentators believed it likely that he was quoting a biblical passage. If so, which one? Or did he refer to the Bible's use of the term grasshopper without reflecting any particular passage? Still a third possibility is that he wasn't referring to the Torah at all but used a term readily understood by contemporary Israelis.

The Hebrew Bible uses the word grasshopper in five places. In Leviticus 11:22 the grasshopper is one of a number of flying insects fit for a Jew to eat. It is, of course, doubtful that Mr. Shamir has cannibalistic intentions on the Palestinians! In Numbers 13:33 grasshoppers refer to how small and helpless ten Israeli spies in Bronze Age Palestine felt in the face of the *Anakim*, an ancient tribe of exceptionally tall and strong people. A similar reference is found in Isaiah 40:22, where the inhabitants of the earth are described as grasshoppers compared to God. If Shamir referred to one of the latter two verses he was emphasizing the relative weakness of the Palestinians when compared with the Israelis.

In 2 Chronicles 7:13 the grasshopper is one of several weapons God can use to discipline His people when they stray from His will. Finally, in Ecclesiastes 12:5 the grasshopper, in its awkward attempts to move

when grounded, symbolizes the feebleness of the aged.

Of these five instances where the Hebrew Bible mentions grasshoppers three are used in a figurative sense. Because of its size and relative helplessness the grasshopper can represent human beings who are also relatively helpless: the ten spies compared to the *Anakim*, humanity compared to God, and the old compared to the young. Thus, it is possible that Shamir used a general biblical concept to assure Israelis that the Pales-

concludes that both Shamir and Eitan represent "an ugly, biased, brutal kind of Zionism."²

Author's Allusions

What does all this have to do with the book of Revelation? In terms of our approach to Revelation in this series of articles, a great deal. Crucial to a correct understanding of the Apocalypse is the ability to discern the author's many allusions to previous literature, particularly the Hebrew Bible, or "Old Testament," as Christians call it. The

ing if he wishes.

To illustrate how the method (see accompanying box) works, let's discuss a deeply cryptic passage, Revelation 16:12:

The sixth angel poured out his bowl on the great river Euphrates, and its water was dried up to prepare the way for the kings from the East (NIV).

The "great river Euphrates"

B R E A K I N G T H E

C O D E

Uncovering The Secrets of the Apocalypse*

By Jon Paulien

tinians were defeatable.

Another possibility is that Mr. Shamir was not referring to the Bible at all, but was using the term "grasshopper" in a figurative sense common to modern Israelis. A Jewish critic of Shamir, Leon Wieseltier, suggests that in modern Hebrew, calling someone a grasshopper means that he is "beneath consideration, beneath contempt." He recalls an insect reference by a political colleague of Shamir's, Rafael Eitan, who characterized Palestinians as "drugged roaches in a bottle." Wieseltier

author of Revelation never quoted from the Old Testament but alluded to it almost constantly (to allude to previous literature means to refer to it by a word, phrase, or concept, rather than by reference or extensive quotation). Therefore, it is of central importance to determine what earlier passages the revelator refers to. The method by which one determines whether John or Yitzhak Shamir referred to the Old Testament at a given point is roughly the same with one exception: Shamir is still alive and can clarify his mean-

still flows through modern-day Iraq. This text suggests that at some time in the author's future, the Euphrates will be dried up to prepare the way for "the Kings from the East" to pass through.

Commentators have dis-

*Third in a series on the book of Revelation's relevancy in a secular world.

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agreed mightily over the meaning of this cryptic passage. Some, including renowned biblical scholars, have felt that the revelator was pointing forward to a Parthian invasion of the Roman World from the east. Others have sought to see its fulfillment in events relating to Turkey and the First World War. Still others believe that the au-

ing any question about the text of Revelation is to examine the rest of the book to see if the author explains his meaning. Revelation 17:1 is promising:

One of the seven angels
who had the seven bowls
came and said to me,
'Come, I will show you
the punishment of the great
prostitute,
who sits on many waters'
(NIV).

What does this verse have to do with Revelation 16:12? For one thing, both involve an angel with a bowl. Both also are dealing with a body of water. But can we be sure that the "many waters" are a reference to the Euphrates and not to the waters of Revelation 16:3 or 16:4, 5? The key is in the identity of the "great prostitute." According to 17:5 she is called

"Babylon the Great." Babylon was an ancient city whose inhabitants destroyed Jerusalem and carried its occupants captive some 700 years before the writing of Revelation. Babylon was built upon and around the Euphrates. The prostitute of Revelation 17 (Babylon) also sits on many waters (the Euphrates). Thus chapter 17 involves an explanation of, among other things, the reference to the Euphrates in Revelation 16:12.

Then the angel said to me,
'The waters you saw,
where the prostitute sits,
are peoples, multitudes,
nations and languages'
(Rev. 17:15, NIV).

In other words, the Euphrates is not to be understood

thor looks beyond our day to an eastern alliance including China and Japan that will sweep into the Middle East to confront the ambitions of the superpowers.

Which view is closest to the author's intention? Or is the answer really "none of the above"? Is John's Euphrates the literal Euphrates? Or is it a word-play for something else? Who are the kings of the east? A careful application of the method described in the previous article and the accompanying box does not leave us in the dark. By examining the context and the backgrounds John alludes to, the meaning of the passage becomes clear.

Defining the River

What is the Euphrates? The first step to be taken in answer-



Then the angel said to me,
'The waters you saw,
where the prostitute sits,
are peoples, multitudes,
nations and languages'
(Rev. 17:15, NIV).

literally or geographically, but as a symbol of the people and nations of the whole world. It is a symbol of worldwide humanity in support of "Babylon," an oppressive religious power (see article two).

Notice the chain of references, working back from 17:15 to 17:1 to 16:12 that indicates 17:15 to be the explanation of "Euphrates" in 16:12. As the words, ideas, and structures are compared, these three passages are seen to be uniquely related in the author's mind. Thus they must be linked if we are to understand the author's intention in mentioning the Euphrates.

Defeating the City

What, however, is the meaning of the "drying up"? Babylon was one of the wonders of the ancient world. Records suggest that the city had enough supplies to withstand a siege of twenty years. When Cyrus the Great sought to conquer Babylon (around 539 B.C.) he was, therefore, faced not only with insurmountable walls but with a city that could not be starved into submission. Not willing to wait twenty years, he ordered a huge reservoir to be dug, into which, one evening, he diverted the Euphrates. When the river bed was dry, he and his men marched under the river defenses and into the city. Thus, more than 600 years before Revelation was written, "Kings from the East" (Cyrus as emperor along with his subordinate kings from nations such as Media and Elam) found their way into Babylon prepared by the drying up of the Euphrates.

Although the parallel is obvious, can we be sure that the author of Revelation was aware of the details of the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus so many years before? John is not alive today like Prime Minister Shamir, so we cannot ask him. But the method outlined in the accompanying boxes indicates how one makes such a determination. Although we don't

know much about the author of Revelation, the abundance of his off-hand references to Old Testament people, places, and events documents his familiarity with the writing of the prophets, particularly Isaiah and Jeremiah. It is precisely in these writings that Cyrus' conquest of Babylon is repeatedly alluded to.

Jeremiah 51:11 is relevant to our question:

Sharpen the arrows,
take up the shields!
The Lord has stirred up the
kings
of the Medes,
because his purpose
is to destroy Babylon.
The Lord will take
vengeance,
vengeance for his temple
(NIV).³

Here is described an attack on Babylon by the kings "of the Medes." In the initial stages of Cyrus' empire, the Medes and the Persians, both located where Iran is today, were on a fairly equal level. Thus, it was kings from the east who conquered Babylon. How did the city fall?

A drought on her waters!
They will dry up.
For it is a land of idols,
idols that will go mad
with terror
Jeremiah 50:38 (NIV).

By the drying up of the waters of the Euphrates the city of Babylon, the "land of idols," would become a heap of ruins.

Who led out in this drying up of the Euphrates and the destruction of the city? Notice the assertion of Isaiah the prophet:

This is what the Lord says . . .
"I am the Lord, . . .
who says to the watery deep
'Be dry,
and I will dry up
your streams'
who says of Cyrus,
'He is my shepherd

Joel 2:1-11

Blow the trumpet in Zion;
sound the alarm on my holy hill.
Let all who live in the land tremble,
for the day of the Lord is coming.
It is close at hand—
a day of darkness and gloom,
a day of clouds and blackness.
Like dawn spreading across the mountains
a large and mighty army comes,
such as never was of old
nor ever will be in ages to come.
Before them fire devours,
behind them, a flame blazes.
Before them the land is like the
garden of Eden,
behind them, a desert waste—
nothing escapes them.
They have the appearance of horses;
they gallop along like cavalry.
With a noise like that of chariots
they leap over the mountaintops,
like a crackling fire consuming stubble,
like a mighty army drawn up for battle.
At the sight of them, nations are in
anguish;
every face turns pale.
They charge like warriors;
they scale walls like soldiers.
They all march in line,
not swerving from their course.
They do not jostle each other;
each marches straight ahead.
They plunge through defenses
without breaking ranks.
They rush upon the city;
they run along the wall.
They climb into the houses;
like thieves they enter through the
windows.
Before them the earth shakes,
the sky trembles,
the sun and moon are darkened,
and the stars no longer shine.
The Lord thunders
at the head of his army;
his forces are beyond number,
and mighty are those who obey his
command.
The day of the Lord is great;
it is dreadful
Who can endure it?

(locusts)



Although the word "locust" does not appear anywhere in Joel 2:1-11, the earlier context makes it clear that the "army" is an army of locusts (Joel 1:4-6).

VERBAL PARALLELS

THEMATIC PARALLELS

Revelation 9:1-11

The fifth angel sounded his trumpet,
and I saw a star that had fallen
from the sky to the earth.
The star was given the key
to the shaft of the Abyss.
When he opened the Abyss,
smoke rose from it
like the smoke from a gigantic furnace.
The sun and sky were darkened
by the smoke from the Abyss.
And out of the smoke
locusts came down upon the earth.
and were given power
like that of scorpions of the earth.
They were told not to harm
the grass of the earth
or any plant or tree,
but only those people
who did not have the seal of God
on their foreheads.
They were not given power to kill them,
but only to torture them
for five months.
And the agony they suffered
was like that of the sting of a
scorpion
when it strikes a man.
During those days men will seek death,
but will not find it;
they will long to die,
but death will elude them.
The locusts looked like horses
prepared for battle.
On their heads they wore something
like crowns of gold,
and their faces resembled human faces.
Their hair was like women's hair,
and their teeth were like lions' teeth.
They had breastplates
like breastplates of iron,
and the sound of their wings
was like the thundering of many horses
and chariots rushing into battle.
They had tails and stings like scorpions,
and in their tails
they had power to torment people
for five months.
They had as king over them
the angel of the Abyss,
whose name in Hebrew is Abaddon,
and in Greek, Apollyon.

horses

5

chariots

These two passages have a multitude of parallels, most of which are found in the same order. Thus, the two passages are a structural parallel. Since we have every reason to believe that John had read the book of Joel (nearly 20% of the book of Joel appears in some form in Revelation), we can reasonably assume that John intended the informed reader to discern that Joel 2:1-11 lies behind the language of Rev. 9:1-11.

and will accomplish
all that I please;
he will say of Jerusalem,
'Let it be rebuilt . . .'
This is what the Lord says
to his anointed,
to Cyrus, whose right
hand I take hold of
to subdue kings
before him
so that the gates will
not be shut . . .
'I summon you by name
and bestow on you a
title of honor,
though you do not ac-
knowledge me''
(Isaiah 44:24, 27, 28;
45:1, 4).

Although Cyrus was a heathen king, God here commissions him to conquer Babylon by drying up its river, and to assist the Israelites to rebuild Jerusalem. This Old Testament account unquestionably lies behind the symbolism of Revelation 16 and 17. John uses the term "Babylon" to epitomize the peoples and nations and other organizations that have treated—and will treat—the followers of Jesus harshly (see Rev. 17:6). This composite Babylon will end after the analogy of ancient Babylon, which was destroyed by the armies from the east under Cyrus, emperor of the Medo-Persian empire.

John's Vision

Though it is clear that the concept of the kings of the east is based on the fall of ancient Babylon, what meaning did the concept have for John? For one thing, the kings of the east are in contrast to the "kings of the whole earth" in Revelation 16:14. These kings, the world confederacy described in Revelation 17:12-15, are what the Euphrates symbol is all about. By drying up the Euphrates the kings of the east conquer the kings of the whole world. Thus the kings of the east are a positive power from the revelator's perspective.

As we saw in the last article, Revelation, as a Christian writing, has much in common with the other writings of the New Testament and should be compared with them. The Greek word for "east" appears ten times in the New Testament, most often as one of the four basic directions. But in Luke 1:78 the east refers to Jesus Christ Himself, and in Matthew 24:27 the east is the direction from which Christ returns to earth in the endtime. In Revelation 7:1-3, the east is associated with the work of Christ in behalf of His people. Thus the kings of the east are not the Parthians, the Turks, or a Sino-Japanese alliance, but Christ and His angels coming to earth to destroy the world confederacy that opposes Him, and to deliver His people from suffering and oppression, as is portrayed in Revelation 19:11-15.

Though the relevance of John's vision for our time may not be readily apparent, he surely understood its meaning. By careful application of sound hermeneutics we may gain a similar understanding to that of the original readers. Such a procedure is to be preferred to arbitrarily making Revelation fit our concept of current events.

But what about Yitzhak Shamir? Was he quoting a Bible text or not? Those who know him personally can answer that question better than I. But I can say with reasonable certainty that, if he quoted the Bible accurately, he was referring to Numbers 13:33 and not any of the other passages. The words and ideas of his speech indicate that Numbers 13 is the only passage that truly fits the content of his quotation. He was likely referring then to the helplessness of the Palestinians when confronted with Israel's might. Since the Hebrew Bible is basic to modern Israeli culture, however, it is not unlikely that the passage from Numbers has become part of Israeli culture as a whole, taking on an extended

(Continued on page 27)

Edmore, Michigan, is a small (pop. 1,176), homey town set amid pine trees and farmland 40 miles northeast of Grand Rapids. Well-kept, turn-of-the-century brick and granite stores cluster around the main intersection, and an old white clapboard Lutheran church is now the Pine Forest Historical Museum. Edmore seems like the kind of town people go to for Thanksgiving and Christmas family reunions, the type of cozy village many would like to call "home."

Yet when Pastor Bill Lollar tried to make Edmore his home, he found himself embroiled in a battle over the most fundamental of human liberties: the right to worship.

The problems began in September, 1987 when Lollar, 33, his wife Sheri, and their four small children moved to Edmore, where Lollar was to pastor the newly formed

Edmore Journal, alerted them to problems. At the town council meeting on October 12, Leigh Abel, a retired businessman who lived on a hill above Lollar's subdivision, had complained about the services. Village council president Roy Pruden says that others had privately voiced concerns. Despite the newspaper's mention of driveways being blocked by congregants, the complaints were based only on the grounds that the church was violating the zoning ordinance. Even Abel later admitted that there were no problems with noise, parking, or traffic.

Only after the newspaper report did Lollar receive a formal written complaint from village officials stating that he was in violation of a zoning ordinance by holding church in his home.

Lollar had studied the ordinance before committing himself to pastoring the new group. The ordinance specifies that a "church" (which it doesn't define), must "be in conformity with the character of the adjacent neighborhood" and not interfere "with the enjoyment of substantial property rights by other owners in the vicinity." According to the ordinance, a "special use permit" required a hearing from residents who live within 350 feet of the church.

"I believed that the ordinance codes applied only to church buildings," said Lollar. "Because our congregation had neither been incorporated nor did it plan to build an edifice, I couldn't see how the code could apply to Community Baptist Church, which was meeting in a house that was already there."

At the October 26 council meeting, Lollar protested the action taken against his church. "I feel that your ordinance violates freedom of religion and freedom of privacy laws," he said. "I don't believe it is constitutional."

The council asked Lollar to apply for a permit, which would require a public meeting to approve him worshipping in his own home. Lollar refused.

"According to the council," Lollar said, "we could hold any type of meeting we wanted except a religious one." Lollar said that he could hold weekly cocktail parties or Republican party meetings, "but if they were religious meetings, then they became illegal. That wasn't right."

While both sides sought legal options, Leigh Abel returned to two town council meetings seeking a restraining order against Lollar. "What you are doing," he told the council, which was reluctant to take such extreme action against the church, "is condoning the flagrant violation of your zoning ordinance." He accused town officials of being "scared to death to take a stand."

Lollar, however, took a stand: he believed that the city had no constitutional right to tell him what visitors to his home

Edmore's Abominable Ordinance

By Eric Wiggin

It allows residents to have cocktail parties, watch dirty movies, or discuss Marxist politics—but not hold worship services!

Community Baptist Church. Lollar, who studied at the Mid-America Baptist Seminary in Tennessee, had pastored the Day Bethel Baptist Church, an American Baptist Congregation in Stanton, just seven miles from Edmore. After some congregants complained about his Southern Baptist doctrines, Lollar resigned. Several families who appreciated Lollar's theology lived in or around Edmore, and they asked him to start a church there. They found a modern split-level house in a development on the edge of town large enough not only to house the Lollars but to serve as a temporary place of worship for the fledgling flock. The congregants' tithe paid the rent and insurance. To feed his family, the pastor found a part-time job as a carry-out boy at the C&B Family Market.

For their first two Sundays the congregation met without incident in their rented "church." Then a headline—"Baptists Can't Hold Services in Private Homes"—in the October 15 Lakeview Enterprise and



Bill Lollar stands by as his former parishioners load his pulpit and household furnishings into a rented truck for the trip to Omaha.

could talk about. The issue appeared to be as much about free speech as it was religious liberty.

Lollar sought legal advice from David Kallman, a Lansing lawyer specializing in religious freedom issues, who told him that the Edmore ordinance was probably invalid. According to Kallman, in *Delta v. Wiebe* (1984), a town prosecuted a Baptist church in Michigan for violation of a statute similar to Edmore's. This church, however, was

incorporated; so before the trial, congregants dissolved the corporation and the judge ruled in their favor. As long as they were not "an organized Michigan ecclesiastical corporation," nothing in the judge's ruling prevented them from holding services in a home. Kallman believed that because Lollar's church was never incorporated, this ruling should cover Community Baptist Church as well.

Attorney Sam Ericsson, director of the

Washington-based Christian Legal Society, also sided with Lollar's position. "The heart of the First Amendment," said Ericsson, "is that the state must remain content neutral." The content of what is discussed in an in-home meeting, he said, "is none of any governmental body's business." An ordinance that requires a group to seek permission to speak or assemble is, he believes, unconstitutional, unless that law restricts all assemblies, not just religious.

"The state can establish time, place, and manner of restrictions, but it has to be across the board," he said, "applying equally for all assemblies for whatever purpose." Though a city can put up a "No Parking" sign or impose noise restrictions after midnight, "we do not have to go to city hall in America to get a permit to talk about sex, politics, or religion in a home."

Yet that is what Lollar felt he needed: a permit to talk about religion in his own home. If Lollar's home was converted into an assembly hall, whether for church meetings or a political rally, then Lollar could be prosecuted under codes. But as long as it was Lollar's private residence, Ericsson believed that Lollar should have the protection not only of the First Amendment, but of free speech as well.


"The bottom line," said Ericsson, "is whether the building is a residence in partial use as a church, or whether it has been made into a church building."

Because Community Baptist Church had not been made into a church building, Lollar believed that he would have had constitutional protection against the ordinance had he gone to court.

Yet Lollar never made it to court. As weekly reports of his troubles were printed in the *Enterprise*, "people in the community started putting pressure on my boss," Lollar said. In early December Lollar was fired from C&B Family Market.

Before the year ended, in blowing snow, Lollar packed his wife and kids into the cab of a rented truck, his car in tow behind, and pulled out of Edmore to seek a new life in Omaha, his wife's hometown. Because of the bad publicity, "nobody in Edmore would hire me," he said. Despite the wounds of being uprooted, neither Lollar nor his wife Sheri is bitter. "We have no resentments," Sheri said, "no regrets."

Edmore's ordinance, meanwhile, remains on the books. Citizens can assemble every Sunday in private homes and talk about politics, watch dirty movies, even have beer parties—almost everything, except hold worship services.

For that, they still need a permit. 

Eric E. Wiggin is a free-lance writer living in Muskegon, Michigan.

*Would the
W.A.S.P.s of the
New South
Turn Out to be
Wimps—or
Dragon Slayers?*

The beauty of the Tri-Cities area—such as the forests' autumnal transformation into a technicolor wonderland—has helped make this section of southern Appalachia one of the fastest-growing regions in the United States. Also contributing are the city fathers of Bristol, Kingsport, and Johnson City, who work to attract new business—preferably clean, high-technology industries that would hire unemployed textile workers. Central business districts are being upgraded, allowing downtown merchants and building owners to better compete with the convenient malls and shopping centers near the residential neighborhoods.

Despite the innovations, the area is still steeped in history and southern conservative values. Churches, mostly Protestant, are full every Sunday morning. Violent crime is low. The cities are lopsidedly white. In Bristol, for example, only about 4 percent of the population is black, less than 1 percent foreign. The rest are primarily white Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

Against this backdrop, the Klan came to town. Word first arrived in July 1987, when Bristol City manager Hugh Cooper received a letter from Jordan Gollub, the Virginia Grand Dragon of a faction called the Christian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, requesting permission to parade in Bristol on Saturday afternoon, August 10. It would be the first Klan march in Bristol since 1927.

The media gave the story prime-time coverage. Reactions varied. Some saw the parade as a joke. After all, they jested, Halloween was more than three months away. Journalists spoke of going undercover "in bedsheets" to get their stories. Others wondered whether department stores would have a "white sale." But many city officials, police officers, and citizens (white and black) feared violence and saw a KKK parade damaging the area's reputation. Everyone agreed that no good would come from the march.

On July 23, the Bristol, Virginia, city council met. The five members along with the city manager and the city attorney, had convened secretly for an hour before the main meeting, which was packed. Seeing the large crowd, Major James Rector said that the floor would be open for those who wished to address the council.

Barbara Beidleman, a past president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, spoke first: "We protest the KKK because they have killed innocent people and we don't want bloodshed on the streets of Bristol."

Another member said: "We have a wonderful city here. We have gotten along

THE DAY THE

W

By Alvin E. Felty

CAME TO TOWN

fine through the years. We can continue to get along. We don't want to see what happened in Greensboro, North Carolina, happen here."

Said another: "I think that this permit is saying that radical groups can come into Bristol and do anything they want."

Gollub, the 29-year-old Klan leader, didn't look radical. He wore a navy blue suit with a small white Maltese cross on the lapel. "I just want to state for the record," he said, "that we oppose violence in any form. I don't see any reason why we should be denied our First Amendment rights. If we are denied them, I will not hesitate to call the American Civil Liberties Union or to go to any other legal means to see that the Ku Klux Klan gets its First Amendment rights here in Bristol."

Referring to the earlier comments about Greensboro, where a Klan rally had led to shooting, Gollub explained, "The only thing that happened in Greensboro was a 'Death to the Klan Rally' planned by the Communist party when some klansmen attempted to demonstrate peacefully. The klansmen ended up getting their heads knocked over by a bunch of Communists, because the Communists are against the Constitution of the United States. They are trying to tear down this country, and I am not going to sit idly by and watch the Communists destroy the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States."

The Bristol charter placed the responsibility of issuing parade permits upon the city manager. For this case, city manager Cooper had asked city attorney Walter Bressler for advice.

"My opinion," Bressler told the assembly, "based upon reading federal cases, is that the city manager has no right to decide based on what this council wants. From the 1960s in Birmingham and Selma, to the 1970s with the Nazis in the middlewestern part of the country, the federal government has made it clear in case after case that—with the exception of imposing reasonable regulations concerning traffic, police protection, etc—the city has no choice. It must issue a permit to any group who wishes to parade."

The city told Gollub that the Klan could march on August 10. The decision didn't end the opposition. Gene Kistener, an appliance store owner, urged a boycott of the parade. "I think the best thing to do is not to show up," he said.

"We don't need the KKK in our community," said Major Rector.

"If I had my way, griped councilman Howard Jett, "they wouldn't be here."

But vice-mayor Robert McNutt was emphatic: "I will follow the Constitution of the United States to the best of my ability. I will not lawfully discriminate against any organization."

When someone suggested a community-wide "brotherhood rally" be held (at a different time and place) to counter the Klan march, tensions eased; the NAACP rescinded its earlier request for an anti-KKK parade. But city officials feared that a counter-rally could worsen matters.


On the Friday evening before the KKK march, the brotherhood rally, held at Virginia High School, brought a turnout of 700. Church choirs sang, speeches were given, and both blacks and whites confirmed their commitment to equality and brotherhood between the races.

Saturday, August 10, under sunny skies the Klan came to town. Only 25 Klan members, all from out-of-state, and 30 sympathizers marched. Grand Dragon Jordan Gollub, wearing a metallic green robe, led the white-robed group. They carried United States and Confederate flags.

Security was heavy. For every marcher, several police officers from Virginia and Tennessee were present. A SWAT team from Richmond stood ready. A state police helicopter hovered over the procession.

A curious crowd of two to three thousand lined the streets along the mile route. Only a few took the literature the Klan handed out. At the end of Piedmont Avenue, the marchers boarded a bus and left.

Indeed, despite all the bombast (including Klan talk of building a KKK base in Bristol, even fielding its own candidate in elections), the KKK seemed a curiosity, an embarrassing anachronism to the citizens of Southwest Virginia and Tennessee, in the heart of what is called the New South. "All too often the people in the rest of this great country equate these cowards [KKK] with all southerners," wrote Scott Templeton of the Sullivan County *News* in Blountville, Tennessee. "If anything positive [comes] out of this march by the KKK it may be that finally the people of this country . . . understand that we are all not Klansmen here in the South, hiding behind bedsheets, having secret rallies, burning crosses, and hoping someday to be a Dragon."

Autumn came soon after the Klan parade. And for some reason, the colors seemed more beautiful than ever. 

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Religious liberty is the legitimate right of religious believers and an index of the degree of liberty enjoyed by the people of a civilized society. Invoking it as an integral part of the struggle for human dignity receives the hearty support of the Chinese people.

For thousands of years our people have been rather lacking in religious spirituality and fanaticism. The Chinese mythology as regards the origin of the universe differs from those of other ancient cultures in ascribing the origin to a mortal, Pan Ku, who worked upon pre-existing materials. Thus, the Chinese story has a strong naturalist and humanist streak in it. Later, when sections of heaven were found to be falling apart, no divine intervention occurred: It was Neu Wo who mended the heavens. As to the origin of human civilization, China records nothing corresponding to Prometheus' use of fire from the gods. Our story instead tells of great persons who taught people to get fire by drilling wood, to build nests with wood as human dwellings, to invent tools for farming, and to taste all kinds of herbs to discover medicines for disease.

China is the homeland of Confucius. Influenced by his agnostic teaching, China makes more of ethics in human relationships than of religion. He asks, "Not being able to serve human beings, how can we serve ghosts?" "Not knowing about life, how can we know about death?" He teaches us to "respect gods and ghosts but keep them at a distance."

Thus, the Chinese nation has achieved little in religion. Only Taoism is native to China; other main religions are imports. Little religious fanaticism exists in China. Few religious wars have occurred. Religion has not figured importantly in communal strife. A medieval emperor's barefooted walk to seek forgiveness of the Pope could never have happened in Chinese history, for religion in China never stood on a par with the state, much less stood over and above it. There were surely theism-atheism debates, but no scholar suffered demotion or the loss of a job because of the advocacy of atheism. The well-known atheistic writing "The Demise of Gods" by Fan Chun was preserved for posterity by his Buddhist opponents. Religion has not been a big thing. In matters of religious faith, the Chinese have adhered to the principle of "live and let live."

It does not follow that the fate of religion has been smooth and uneventful. Hardly has it been so in the thirty-seven years since the

"Respect Gods and Ghosts but Keep Them At a Distance"*

—Confucius

A noted Chinese Christian reflects on religion and religious freedom in China.

By K. H. Ting

founding of the People's Republic of China.

About religion the first National Constitution of the People's Republic of China said simply that "all citizens are free to believe in religion." That was good enough. The Cultural Revolution, which began in 1966, became nothing less than an attempt to liquidate culture itself. The government, the Communist Party, and all other democratic parties had their power wrested from them. Said the "gang of four":

Citizens have the freedom to believe in religion and the freedom not to believe in religion and to propagate atheism.

That Constitution imposed on the Chinese people by the ultra-leftists mentioned freedom to propagate atheism, but said nothing about freedom to propagate theism or religion. As a matter of fact, during the Cultural Revolution, not only the freedom of propagating religion, but also that of religious worship was denied. According to one outspoken leader of the Cultural Revolution, freedom of religion was simply freedom to have a god in mind. During those years churches and temples disappeared from large areas of China.

After the Cultural Revolution, work on a new Constitution was begun by the National People's Congress. Its Commission on the Revision of the National Constitution mobilized people in all walks of life both within the party and the various religions and outside of them to work together to produce a

new draft. Eventually the new National Constitution, adopted almost unanimously by the National People's Congress, said this about religion in China:

All citizens of the People's Republic of China are to enjoy freedom of religious belief.

No state organ, social organization or individual has the right to force a citizen to believe in religion or not to believe in religion, or to discriminate against a citizen on ground of the citizen's religious belief or the lack of it.

The state is to protect all normal religious activities. No one should make use of religion to carry on activities which jeopardize order in society, human physical health or the educational system of the state.

Religious organizations and affairs are not to be directed by foreign bodies.

This article asserts that there should be no discrimination on religious grounds. The

*An address presented at the International Religious Liberty Association Asian Congress in New Delhi, March 2-6, 1987. The theme of the Congress was "Freedom of Religion and Belief: Basis for Communal Harmony and Peace." This address was edited for clarity and conciseness.

Bishop K. H. Ting is a member of the China Christian Council in Nanjing.



Detail of a building in Beijing's Forbidden City. According to Chinese folklore, evil spirits coming to visit will be propelled back into the sky by the upward curve of the roof.

point is that before the law and the state believers and nonbelievers stand equal, and believers of different religions are also equal. No state religion exists in China. No religion enjoys special privileges or suffers special disadvantages.

This article stipulates that religions in China are to be administered by Chinese, not foreign, adherents. This provision stems from lessons learned since the nineteenth century and supports the desire of Chinese Christians for independence, self-government, self-support, and self-propagation. But at issue is the directing of religious work from abroad. We should not conclude that normal international relations are banned. The Chinese religions maintain many international contacts and activities—all based on equality and none involving the question of “direction.”

Aside from the National Constitution, Article 147 of the Criminal Code stipulates that any member of a state organ is liable to imprisonment for up to two years if this person deprives citizens of religious freedom or violates the customs and mores of minority nationalities. This article obviously stifles those who would deal with religion according to their own will.

In addition to the Constitution and the Criminal Code are written instructions and directives from the Central Committee of the Communist Party to its membership. These emphasize that questions of religion should be approached from the standpoint of a united front, i.e., the joint task of nation-

building. Believers and nonbelievers are equal citizens of the country. Religious beliefs do not make people enemies of the nation. Our statement says: “In implementing the policy of freedom of religious belief and in dealing with all religious questions, the fundamental ground or starting point is to unite all believers and nonbelievers so that the will and strength of all can be put to the common goal of building up a strong socialist nation.”

A popular statement from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is this: “The differences in thinking and belief on the part of believers and nonbelievers are differences of a minor importance.” Note that the word used here is “differences,” not “contradictions,” and they are “differences of a minor importance.” Perhaps our preachers would not make such a declaration from the pulpit, but the Communist Party of China has done so.

Under the guidance of the Constitution and the law and the directives of the party, China has been working to reverse the ultra-leftist political line rampant during the Cultural Revolution. Many churches and temples have been restored or built. Since 1979 over 4,000 church buildings have been restored or built by Protestants—no fewer than one per day. At the same time tens of thousands of Christian groups worship in other meeting places such as private homes. There are ten Protestant theological training centers with some five hundred students training for future pastoral ministries. Prot-

estants are publishing books and several periodicals. Since 1981, more than two million Chinese Bibles have been printed in three cities of China.

In China, atheism is a topic of discussion mainly among philosophers and historians. No journal or organization explicitly opposes religion or propagates atheism. As already noted, the situation between believers and nonbelievers as well as between believers of various religions is that of “live and let live.”

Our land being vast, there is unevenness in the implementation of the policy of religious freedom and, therefore, much work remains to be done. But, taking the nation as a whole and excepting the Cultural Revolution, it is fair to say that religion enjoys a good amount of freedom. This is so, not because the Communist Party has a high opinion or evaluation of religious doctrines, but because it seeks foremostly to unite the people in the cause of nation-building. In order to make this unity possible, minority characteristics, including religious ones, are respected. Still backward in many respects, our developing nation shuns the luxury of communal conflicts kindled by religion.

The Christian masses love their country, support the government, work for modernization, and eschew divisiveness. However, this does not imply that their first allegiance is to the state rather than Christ or that they relinquish the principle of an independent church in faith, life, work and administration. We in China adhere strictly to the separation of state and religion. In matters of religion the government implements the policy of religious freedom and protects the legitimate rights and interests of the various religions. Matters related to the church itself are handled by the proper authorities of the church without outside interference. If the government does try to interfere, the church objects. Thus, to say that the church in China is an “official church” or “government-run church” simply because Chinese Christians support socialist New China misrepresents the true situation and brings confusion.

Religions other than Protestantism include Buddhism, with possibly 100 million adherents; Islam, which is the main or only religion of ten minority nationalities; Taoism, which is native to China; and Roman Catholicism, which, like Protestantism, came from the West. All enjoy the same freedom.

Drawing on the Chinese experience, I offer four observations:

1. Religious liberty is a legal matter but

not *just* a legal matter; it is a question of human rights but not *just* a question of human rights. In defending religious liberty, we need to ask also: What will the leaders of the religion for which liberty is sought do with the liberty once they have it? What are the social consequences of their ways of using that liberty? In the long run, the amount of liberty a religious group enjoys in a given society depends on the image that group projects to the public, and that image depends in the long run upon the actual performance of that religious group.

For instance, during China's war of resistance against Japanese aggression, some Protestants in China contended from the pulpit that the aggression was ordained of God: the Chinese had sinned and God, by means of the Japanese troops, was punishing them. This viewpoint reduced sympathy for the people's liberation struggle. When the People's Liberation Army approached the Yangtze River in its drive southward, some wanted God to drown it. And some of these same persons continued to adopt a hostile attitude to the new people's state and the Communist Party. All this led people to think that Christianity was a foreign religion imposed on China. In fact, it was common in those days to say: "One more Christian gained, one more Chinese lost."

This being the situation, is it not natural for our people in China in their new-won liberation to ponder *what it might mean* to the nation as a whole for a Christianity of that sort to enjoy full freedom?

A related matter involves Catholic bishops beholden to Rome—executors of a whole series of instructions to work against the state power of New China from a Vatican that could not tolerate the success of a people's revolutionary movement, especially one led by a Communist party. According to these instructions Chinese Roman Catholics could not read the *People's Daily*, and their children could not wear red scarfs. Only the Roman Catholic who stood thusly against the new revolutionary state was considered a good Christian. Such clergy led many Chinese to depart from love for the motherland and even to work against it. In this way, they offended the masses of Chinese people. They were victims of the anti-China political line of the Vatican. Does anyone with a church position assume automatic freedom to do what he pleases, with the state and the law deprived of authority over him? This is not our view of religious liberty or national sovereignty.

Clearly, the question of religious free-



Dr. Edwin Thiele and his son, Arthur, a radiologist in Charlottesville, Virginia, stand by the former Seventh-day Adventist China Division headquarters. The building is now a children's hobby and amusement center. Dr. Thiele was for 12 years chief editor in the Adventist Publishing House. Near where he stands are buried two of his children—Winston, an infant and Arlene, 5 years—who died of scarlet fever within 48 hours of each other. Dr. Thiele, a noted biblical scholar who solved the millenia-old chronology of the Hebrew kings, died in April, 1986.

Hsu Hwa (right) was for four years president of the Seventh-day Adventist work in China. During the Cultural Revolution, he spent more than 12 years in prison. In this 1978 photo his son holds a tape recorder and 100-tape commentary on the Bible delivered by Western friends.



dom is not exclusively a question of religious freedom. No state can assume that because someone or something is related to religion, the situation is *only* a religious one, shorn of political implications and consequences.

2. It is not necessarily a deprivation of religious liberty for a religious body to give up or lose privileges it had enjoyed because of favoritism from government.

The twentieth century has seen rapid changes in history and society. In these changes some groups have gained power

and other groups have lost it. In a number of countries religions find themselves in an entirely new environment. It is only natural that, while maintaining the integrity of their respective faith commitments, religions should choose to open themselves to new spiritual insights and to make certain changes called for by the times. They thereby perpetuate themselves so as to bear an effective witness in society.

During the Land Reform in China, large tracts of land owned by Buddhist temples had to be dealt with in the same way as those



A lion is often the guardian of important buildings.

owned by landlords—in accordance with the Land Reform Law whereby the amount of land over and above a certain limit had to go to landless peasants.

Now, if the loss of these privileges had amounted to the loss of religious freedom, then religious freedom would have been a tool for protecting the special privileges of one group of people. After such a denigration, few could speak of the sacredness of religious freedom any more. In fact, relinquishment of special privileges results in raising the moral quality and prestige of the religious groups concerned and thus wins appreciation and goodwill from the public.

In the thirty-seven years since liberation, Chinese Christians have come to see more clearly the truth that the church shows strength when it is weak, and gains power when it falls into powerlessness, in the same way as Christ's risen life emerged only from death and the tomb. It was not when we had thousands of western missionaries with us, and many universities, schools, and hospitals, that we could put religious liberty to good use and lead many to Christ. Religious liberty has become a usable thing *only since liberation*—when none of the missionaries and institutions remain. In the words of an

Old Testament prophet: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit says the Lord of hosts" (Zech. 4:6).

3. We have come to see that whether those in authority believe in this religion or in that and indeed, whether they believe in religion at all, is not a deciding factor in determining whether religious beliefs are to be respected.

In the past thirty-seven years we have met atheists who ardently implement the policy of religious freedom. Their starting point is to serve the people and this may include enabling religious believers to enjoy a good religious life so as better to unite religious believers behind the motherland. Conversely, there are religious believers who have no respect for other people's religious faiths, trying only to uphold their own religion or denomination and intent only on liquidating other religious groups.

In the life of the nation, to be theistic or not is a matter of personal conviction and hence a private matter, while the implementation of religious freedom concerns the welfare of great multitudes of people and is hence a political duty. State officials obviously must work in accordance with the Constitution, the laws, and state policies,

and not act from their personal attitudes towards religion. For almost 2,000 years the Christian church has co-existed with non-Christians and atheists and found common ground with them. There is no cause for alarm or panic.

Political states and those in governing positions should not be expected to heap special favor upon religion. If they can show respect for religious liberty and conscience, refrain from repressing religion, treat all religions with equality, look after the legitimate rights and interests of all religions, this is good enough. On the other hand, when those in governing positions begin to harp on their own religiosity, advertise their having been born again, and boast about their benevolence to things spiritual, beware of their patronization.

4. Religious liberty is not a benefit generously given by some persons to some other persons. Its realization involves religious believers themselves for it is precisely these people who best perceive when it is that respect for religious feelings is being trespassed upon. In China believers of various religions took an active part in the process of revising the article on religion in the National Constitution, and they have been rewarded with satisfactory language.

But, in order to fully realize the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, our various religious bodies and those state organs having to do with religion still have much to do.

For instance, our social scientists who study religion must take into account additional aspects of the Chinese religious situation if their conclusions are to be valid. This is of great importance to the making and the understanding of religious freedom. Thus the scholar moves beyond the concept of the opiate and shows, on the basis of facts and practice, that religious believers on the whole are not behind others in their patriotic service to China's modernization, that religious ethics can motivate and guide believers to be moral and to contribute to social stability and unity in the interest of socialist reconstruction. We appreciate and welcome these and other results of unbiased research, a research based on facts and not just classical definitions. More and more Christian intellectuals, seeing opportunities in the study of religion as a social science, are sharing in the whole process of researching, making, and implementing the policy of religious freedom.

Surely these observations from Chinese experience relate to the global struggle for religious liberty.



ASSESSING ALLUSIONS

The Basic Steps

Two basic types of evidence help us to assess when and how an author is alluding to earlier literature:

External Evidence

What we know about the kinds of things our author read on the basis of outside sources such as history, biography, diaries, letters, and recollections of those who knew him, etc.

Internal Evidence

What we know about the kinds of things our author read as a result of what we observe in the text itself. Does he use the language, ideas, and structures of earlier texts?

The External Evidence About the Apocalypse and Its Author

1. Unless he is to be identified with another John, such as the author of John's gospel or epistles, we know absolutely nothing about

him directly. We don't know his reading habits, we have no autobiography, we are not sure where he went to school, etc.

2. We know that he was familiar with the Roman province of Asia (the western part of modern-day Tur-

key).

3. We can assume from the content of the Apocalypse that he was probably raised in Palestine, became a Christian and was familiar with the Old Testament and early Christian ideas.

We can assume with rea-

sonable certainty, therefore, that he was quite familiar with the Old Testament, with Jewish apocalyptic literature, and with the Christian and pagan ideas that would be commonly known by any Christian living in Asia Minor at the time.

The Internal Evidence of the Apocalypse

Two basic types of allusions to earlier literature permeate the book of Revelation: direct allusions and echoes.

Working with echoes is relatively simple. By examining how a particular concept was used in prior and contemporary literature, we can discover the basic meaning that the concept had in the author's time. But how can we know when an author expects us to perceive that he is pointing us to an earlier piece of literature? In other words, how do we know that he was making a direct allusion? Aside from the external evidence (which is meager for Revelation), we are limited to the words, ideas and structures of the text itself. The following procedure should be followed:

Direct Allusions

When an author uses a word, a short phrase or an idea to point the reader to an earlier piece of literature where that concept is also used. In order to understand the author, you need to identify that earlier passage and understand its impact on the author's expressions in Revelation.

Echoes

When an author uses a word, a short phrase or an idea, not as a pointer to an earlier occurrence in literature, but simply because that idea has been passed down to him through the "air" of his everyday life. To understand the concept we need to trace its meaning through literary history, but without the assumption that the Revelator was aware of the concept's use in that earlier history.

1. When you suspect that the Revelator is alluding to an earlier text, place the texts side by side (see previous box).

2. Mark off words ("verbal parallels") and ideas ("thematic parallels") that the two passages have in common.

3. Examine the larger context of each passage to see if the later writer is building on the overall structure of the earlier text (a "structural parallel"). (See previous box.)

4. The more parallel words, ideas and structures a

pair of texts have in common, the more likely it is that the author was making a deliberate connection.

5. The fewer earlier texts that have major similarities, the more likely it is that he was pointing to a particular text.

Having found texts with a large degree of parallel content, you examine the external evidence to see whether it is likely or even certain that the author had read the text of the proposed parallel. If you have strong verbal, thematic and structural parallels to an earlier text that the author is likely to have read, you can

be reasonably certain that he is alluding to the earlier text.

The procedure may appear difficult in expression, but is not so difficult in practice. One can quickly gain a feel for parallel material when one has worked with a document for a period of time. The examples given in this article and the box on "How to Compare Parallel Texts" will show how simple the process really is, and the degree to which it can illuminate the message of the book of Revelation.

meaning as a result.

The Apocalypse of Despair

In the first three articles in this series on the Apocalypse, we have focused on the importance of the book to our secular age and on the methods by which we can ferret out its cryptic message. In the last three articles we shall focus on aspects of the book's message that relate directly to issues of our time.

The next article confronts the apocalyptic of despair that has arisen in this generation and

finds amid the darkness and despair of Revelation's apocalyptic message, a message of hope and encouragement.

The fifth article deals with the suffering and anguish in the world that calls the Christian concept of God into question. The God of the Apocalypse takes a shocking and radical approach to such horrors as Vietnam and the Holocaust.

The final article explores Revelation's view of the end of the world. Will it be with a bang or with a whimper? In the midst of ecological disasters, wars,

earthquakes, and anguish, Revelation exudes a certainty about the future that is compelling. In an age of compelling uncertainty, Revelation suggests that hope for the future need not be a thing of the past.



FOOTNOTES

1 This English translation of Shmir's comment is based on that found in *Newsweek*, April 11, 1988 and modified in the light of the comments of Charles Krauthammer's editorial in the *Washington*

Post, April 15, 1988. The slight differences between the two forms of the quotation are probably due to *Newsweek's* attempt to make the Hebrew phrase "in our sight" more understandable to its English readers.

2 See the editorial opinion page of the *Washington Post*, April 20, 1988.

3 Many are rightly disturbed at the implications of a God "taking vengeance." In the fifth article of this series we will explore the issue of suffering in a world where most people call on God in one form or another. If God is good and all-powerful, why does He allow suffering? The answer of Revelation may surprise you.

P E R S P E C T I V E

FROM A FRIEND

Everybody Wants Peace...

It's ironic that the subject of peace attracts controversy. Whether nuclear disarmament or draft registration or tax resistance, discussion produces strong, often heated differences of opinion. Such differences exist within the international community, within nations, political parties, churches, even families. People of goodwill and intelligence see these issues differently. As it is said: "Everybody wants peace; we just disagree on the means to achieve it."

I've generally nodded my head in solemn agreement. It sounds so reasonable, so tolerant. It gives the guy the benefit of the doubt. It seeks common ground between the radical pacifist and the person who favors immediate deployment of the MX missile system. "Everybody wants peace; we just disagree on the means to achieve it."

In one sense, it's true enough. No one, or at least no one who is sane, is eager for nuclear war. Not Mr. Reagan, not Mr. Gorbachev, not you, not me. In that sense the statement is accurate. But that's about the *only* sense. The word *peace* has become an extremely tricky word—maybe it has always been. But never before has its trickiness been so critically important.

Some years ago a popular song told us that happiness is "different things to different people." Peace also means different things to different people. What, for example, does peace mean to a member of the ruling White minority government in South Africa? My hunch is that such a person envisions peace as an end to demands by Black and Brown people, an end to their marches and demonstrations and violence, a return to the time when people of color knew their place. And what does peace mean to a Black in South Africa? The right to vote, economic opportunity, quality education, and equal status under the law.

"Everybody wants peace..." But what is meant by peace? Most likely, everybody wants a situation in which his or her own interests are protected. That's why we have this absurd situation of Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Reagan each insisting he wants peace, while our countries are aiming enough firepower at each other to blast all humanity into extinction. What they mean by peace is having things their own way.

Then there is the biblical shalom. Shalom does not mean simply absence of armed conflict. And shalom *certainly* does not mean a situation in which the well-being of a privileged few is maintained by the threat of violence to an oppressed majority. Shalom refers to wholeness and well-being within the individual and between individuals.

Shalom is God's will for families and clans and nations.

"Seek peace, and pursue it" is the scriptural admonition (Psalm 34:14; cf. 1 Peter 3:11). By implication, then, peace/shalom is not the natural state of things in human affairs. Anthropologists and social scientists make a pretty good case that our species is, by nature, aggressive. It is undeniably true that each of us has an aggressive, even violent side to his personality.

We are not, by nature, people of shalom. Our nature requires transformation by God in order to fulfill the divine will for shalom. And so as people of faith we confess the violence in ourselves, the anger directed both outward and inward, the ease with which we project our rage onto others.

We may aspire to be people of peace, even peacemakers. But we had also better recognize that the peace we long for is not something we can produce on our own, whether by peace conferences or peace marches. The most crucial contribution we can make to peace is to pray for peace within ourselves and among ourselves. To the extent God forgives, redeems, and transforms us, to that extent alone is there hope for true peace in ourselves and in the world. —Kenneth L. Gobble

FROM OUR READERS

"The Breedlove Papers"

I have been a devout member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon), since childhood and a practicing attorney for nearly five years. Since I subscribe to a monthly magazine of my own faith, I have only occasionally read articles from *LIBERTY*.

For some reason Howard V. Pendley's article on the Breedlove Papers caught my attention. My eyes were well moistened by the time I finished the article. I immediately recalled the thought provoking question I have often heard posed: "If you were charged with the crime of being a Christian, would there be sufficient evidence to convict you?"

I greatly appreciate Mr. Pendley bringing this transcript to my attention. I also thought you did a commendable job in the format and layout of the transcript. I would very much like to frame the transcript for display in my new office.

DAVID W. WARBY
Cashmere, Washington

No Other Version

A few weeks ago a neighbor gave us the March-April issue of *LIBERTY*. In browsing through it, I found a few things that I could relate to, especially since I grew up in the 30s and 40s. I was quite aware of various forms of discrimination and persecution.

Of particular interest was the article by Mr. Pierce on the madness that enveloped the United States and dozens of other nations in the 1940s. While Mr. Pierce had a great deal of his information correct, he did include a rather glaring error on page 17, paragraph 2. The second sentence begins "The Witnesses used their own version of the Bible." In the 1940s the Witnesses literature used the King James Version, the American Standard Version, the Emphatic Diaglot, and the Douay. None of these Bibles can qualify as "their own version."

DON EKLUND
Hettinger, North Dakota

Visually Stimulating

I just wanted to compliment you, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and the International Religious Liberty Association for a fine production in the magazine, *LIBERTY*. It is so tastefully done in both visual stimulation as well as intellectual content. I am just delighted to receive the magazine. It seems as though it truly fulfills its mission to be dedicated "to the preservation of religious freedom through quiet diplomacy."

DRENNON D. STRINGER, JR., Pastor
The Bennett's Switch United Methodist Church
Kokomo, Indiana

No Exemptions

I am a relatively new subscriber to *LIBERTY* and enjoy it very much. Amongst Christians it is so common to have people believe in freedom—so long as you agree with them. Your position of defending the unpopular is quite refreshing.

I would like to offer a thought that would shake the established churches to their foundations. It is, I'm sure, an unpopular thought, but one which we as free Christians should support. It is my belief that all tax exemptions for churches should be cancelled.

We should understand, first of all, that a tax waived is as much a subsidy as a direct payment. When we (the churches) don't pay taxes on our properties, incomes, etc., we are only asking the non-church-attending public to pay part of our way. The same is true when we deduct our contributions from our income taxes. I realize the Supreme Court has upheld the tax-exemption of churches, but that only makes it legal, it doesn't make it right.

If we want to truly test our Christianity, we should be willing to pay our own way and not depend upon non-Christians to help support our beliefs and worship practices.

THOMAS KOPRIVA
Memphis, Tennessee

Sunday Car Sales

Most newspapers often give the sales figures of the auto industry for the past ten days or the past month.

However they give it, they are certain to state the number of "selling days" in the period. Sales on Sundays aren't listed.

State officials seem very reluctant not to give out information on Sunday car sales. Yet, at least one third of the states permit Sunday openings, if dealers desire. In Massachusetts car sales are allowed since Governor Dukakis led the fight to repeal the 300-year-old "blue law." In Indiana Sunday auto sales have been outlawed for 30 years. Yet boat sales and most other items may legally be sold.

When Governor Thompson of Illinois, signed into law the Sunday ban on car sales, he alleged that "all seven adjoining states prohibit Sunday car sales." Not exactly! Ads of dealers in Louisville, Kentucky papers list Sunday hours. And, how about Michigan law—upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court last fall? (It was T. W. McDonald's Pontiac and Cadillac dealership in Saginaw, Michigan, which lost a four year fight.) Contradictory? Discriminatory?

A. H. MILTON
Anderson, Indiana

"Praying on the Playing Fields"

Your recent article (pointedly subtitled "Superstition or Worship?") left me bemused, and somewhat uneasy.

It seems to me that all of the quoted authorities missed the point concerning prayers of petition. Most of the respondents walked gingerly around the subject as though they were embarrassed by the questions. They were especially cautious (and unrealistic) when it came to praying for victory.

Let's face it: Praying for success is what it is all about. When athletes (or

their supporters) pray before a contest, they are praying to *win* no matter how the sophisticates camouflage it, such as "victory is not to be achieved at all costs, but at the cost of playing as we should play" (Jesuit Father Schell). Obviously, the players (and prayers) are not asking that the opponents be struck by lightning on the way to a winning touchdown. They are asking only that they win in the normal process of a contest, which might include at times the way the ball bounces.

Legendary UCLA basketball coach John Wooden urged his team to "pray not for victory, but that they would do the best they were capable of doing and the game would go without untoward incident." Who is he kidding? His basketball stars were praying to beat the stuffing out of their opponents, and I see nothing wrong with that.

Other respondents were more forthright (and misguided) in condemning prayer for victory. According to Dr. Tex Sample, such prayer "distorts God's role," adding that the "winner mentality" is destructive. While, like anything else, the motive to win can be overdone and competition can produce actions that are subhuman, in business as in athletics, I am convinced that Dr. Sample is not as wimpy as he sounds when he plays softball and baseball. He is out to *win*. He loves his neighbor and his enemy, but during the game he concentrates, I assume, not on love, but on beating the opponent. They shake hands before and after the game.

Aristotle, who lived long before Christ and never heard of Jewish scripture, came to believe in God through the power of reason. But the God he proposed was the creator and intelligence behind all of creation. Einstein believed that the universe must have an intelligence behind it. But Christians, while accepting God as the Creator, also believe that God is with us, and guides us and protects us, and

loves us. We are invited to look on God as we do our father or our mother.

Jesus Christ, who encouraged us to ask God for our needs, also told us how to pray: "Not my will but thy will be done." This is the secret for praying for victory in athletics. They pray that they win, if winning conforms to the will of God. And in determining whether or not they win, we can assume that God considers those prayers.

This is like the old story of a little girl who prayed fervently for a very special doll for Christmas. She did not get it. Her skeptic uncle commented, "So God didn't answer your prayers." "Of course, he did," was the reply. "He said, 'No.'"

WALTER R. TRINKAUS, Professor Emeritus
Loyola Law School
Los Angeles, California

"Jesus and the First Amendment"

Nothing could be more ridiculous than this article by Clifford Goldstein. You can't differentiate between facts and fallacy: When you listen to the left wing slanted news coverage, you pick up every twisted phrase as though it were a part of the original. Look at these twisted statements: "Separation of church and state"; tell me, where in the Constitution do you find that statement? It is not in there, but you liberals have put it there, arbitrarily, and in that sense you have made the First Amendment of our Constitution equatable with the Soviet Constitution.

The First Amendment states: "Congress shall make no laws respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

For 175 years the Supreme Courts of our land did not find any cause for attacking Christianity in the public schools. The fact is, the churches and schools were closely related in their efforts to serve the public.

Tragically, you and other liberals have agreed with, aided and abetted an atheist in making our Constitution say something it has never said in the 175 years before.

Prayer was a natural flow of our Christian heritage and was never forced or

mandated; children prayed if they so desired and refrained if they didn't.

Your sympathy is with the atheist, the Jews, the Buddhists, and the Muslims. Let *them* change, not us!

Christianity is what made this country what it is.

AUBREY MORRIS
Seattle, Washington

You Are Appreciated

I want to express my appreciation and admiration for your strong and articulate struggle in defense of religious thought and expression. May the Holy Spirit continue to enliven and strengthen your ministry.

PETER S. PACKHAM, Pastor
Sharon United Church
Langley, British Columbia

Helpful Perspectives

I have just received the latest edition of your magazine, and greatly appreciated its contents, as I usually do with *LIBERTY*.

I don't always agree with every article or viewpoint expressed, but I do appreciate being able to read the perspectives of people who see things differently than I do, and at times I have come to change my opinion on the basis of facts supplied.

While the separation of church and state is not part of Canadian tradition or history, I appreciate your perspectives on this issue. In my own denomination, we have discovered that we are liable before the courts with respect to the dismissal of any clergy on the basis that the United Church of Canada was called into being by an Act of the Parliament of Canada. This has caused no small problem when presbyteries have had to work with the problem of declaring a pulpit vacant because of an unsatisfactory relationship, and poor leadership.

Continue the good work, and God's richest blessings on your endeavors.

DOUGLAS A. GREENOUGH, Pastor
Grace United Church
Sarnia, Ontario

Christian News Director Wants No News on Cults

A coworker recently passed your magazine along to me. As a news director for a Christian radio station, I thought that this would be a good source for news. I was disappointed. While I agree that our religious liberty is suffering, I cannot justify a magazine that includes cults in their publication.

Your May-June issue contained articles on Jehovah Witnesses and Mormons, both of which are cults. I agree that we need to ensure that we do not lose our religious freedom, but at what price, to allow every cult to have the same exposure as true Christ-centered churches and organizations is wrong. I could list many ways that the Bible says Mormons and J.W.'s are cults, but that is not my point, my point is that I do not want your magazine because you help to promote the groups that darken the eyes of people who are searching for the peace that only a belief in Jesus Christ can bring.

DAN LONGMORE
KTBA Radio Station
Tuba City, Arizona

[If religious liberty means anything, it means defending the rights of cults and other groups that you and I emphatically disagree with.

How can we ensure our freedoms in an increasingly secularist and humanist country if we do not defend the rights of others? If their rights under our constitution go, so will ours just a few heartbeats later.

I believe that in defending the rights of cults I am defending your rights—and mine. In defending their rights I am not defending their doctrines—in fact, by defending their rights I am preserving my right, and yours, to denounce their views.

Jesus said that it is the truth that makes us free. When we lose religious liberty, we lose the means to promote truth. In defending religious liberty I am then forwarding the cause of truth.

Unfortunately, Dan, history is the record not of bad people trying to make other people bad, but of good people trying to make other people good. Using the power of the state to promote The One True View. And ultimately to persecute and to kill. Such action is incompatible with the character of Christ.

Al Smith, when governor of New York, wrote:

"No matter to what extent we may disagree with our neighbor, he is entitled to his own opinion, and, until the time arrives when he seeks by violation of law to urge his opinion upon his neighbor, he must be left free not only to have it but to express it. In a State, just as in a legislative body, the majority needs not protection, for they can protect themselves. Law, in a democracy, means the protection of the rights and liberties of the minority. . . . It is a confession of the weakness of our own faith in the righteousness of our cause when we attempt to suppress by law those who do not agree with us."

From another perspective, I applaud the words of Vance Havner in *Repent or Else!*:

"One may be as straight as a gun barrel theologically and as empty as a gun barrel spiritually.

"So often it turns out that fundamental and orthodox Christians become so severe in condemning false doctrine, gnashing their teeth at every sniff of heresy, that they end up without love. One may do a right thing in a wrong way. The same Paul who wrote, "... though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel... let him be accursed," also wrote the love chapter of Corinthians. Unless we can get that combination we shall be theological Hawkshaws and doctrinal detectives, religious bloodhounds looking for heretics, with hot heads and cold hearts."

When I get feeling a bit intolerant, I sometimes repeat the words of a poem by Molly Anderson Haley that I ran in *LIBERTY* a few years ago:

Intolerance

"Across the way my neighbor's windows shine,

His roof-tree shields him from the storms that frown;

He toiled and saved to build it, staunch and brown.

And though my neighbor's house is not like mine,

I would not pull it down!

"With patient care my neighbor, too had built

A house of faith, wherein his soul might stay,

A haven from the winds that sweep life's way.

It differed from my own—I feel no guilt—I burned it yesterday!"

Please, No!—R.R.H.]

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FROM THE EDITOR

The Case of the Missing Spycatcher

Dear Dad:

Jonathan Paulien's "Apocalypse Soon" I enjoyed. But whatever happened to that copy of Peter Wright's *Spycatcher* your column says he was holding? Did the British censors cut it out?

Kimberly Hegstad Handel
Loma Linda, California

Dear Kim:

The ways of Intelligence agencies are devious indeed. And so are the ways of picture croppers. In this case, neither the British censors nor the CIA nor the KGB had a hand in the dastardly deed. The culprit resides much nearer our offices.

Now, as you know, your dad is not much of a farmer. But about photo "crops" I am well informed. Evidence of my proficiency is at the right—the culprit who cropped *Spycatcher*. You'll notice that the photo bears quite a resemblance to pictures your mother occasionally has taken of me through the years.—R.R.H.



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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The God-given right of religious liberty is best exercised when church and state are separate.

Government is God's agency to protect individual rights and to conduct civil affairs; in exercising these responsibilities, officials are entitled to respect and cooperation.

Religious liberty entails freedom of conscience: to worship or not to worship; to profess, practice and promulgate religious beliefs or to change them. In exercising these rights, however, one must respect the equivalent rights of all others.

Attempts to unite church and state are opposed to the interests of each, subversive of human rights and potentially persecuting in character; to oppose union, lawfully and honorably, is not only the citizen's duty but the essence of the Golden rule—to treat others as one wishes to be treated.

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