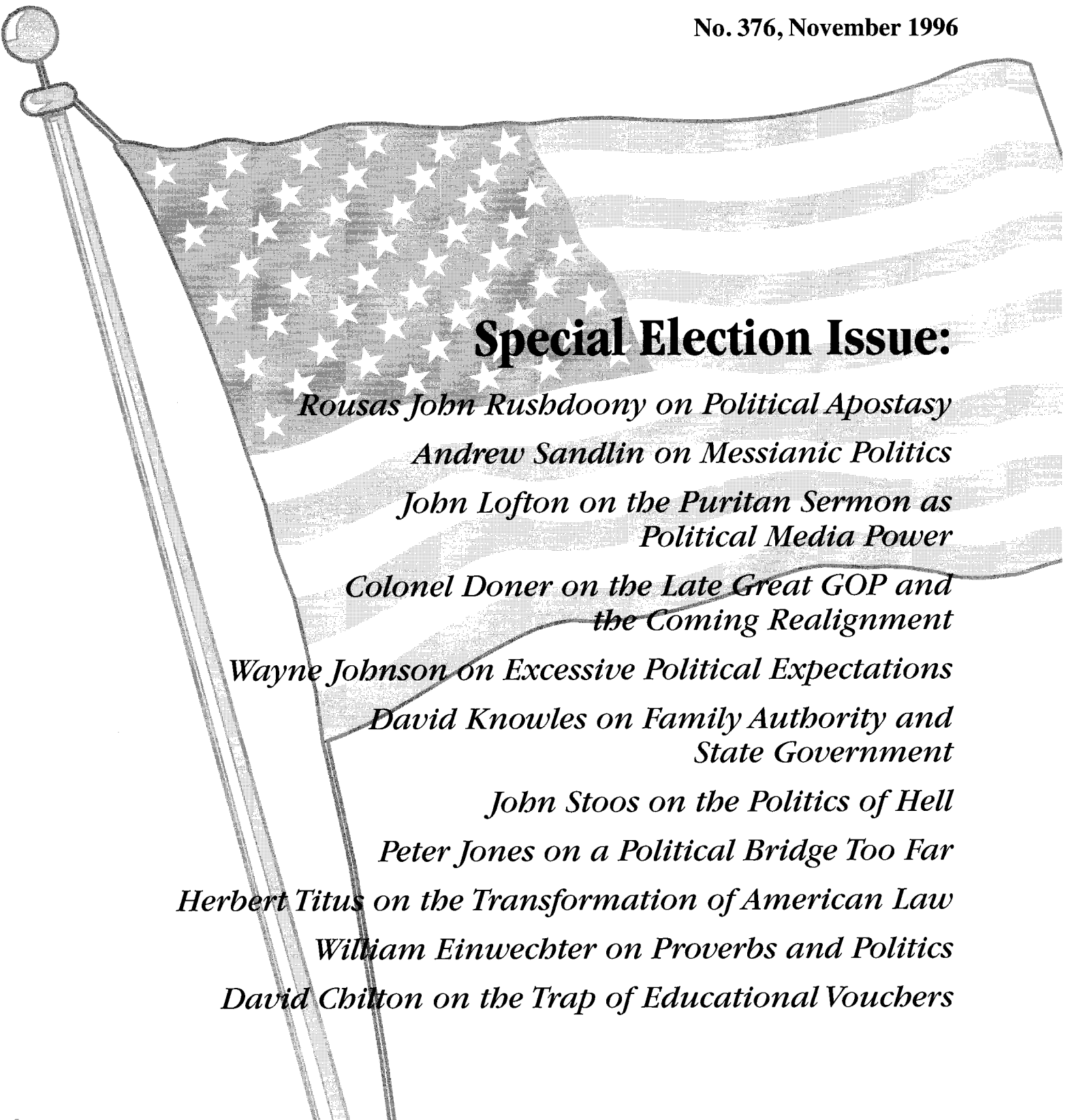


CHALCEDON *Report*

No. 376, November 1996



Special Election Issue:

Rousas John Rushdoony on Political Apostasy

Andrew Sandlin on Messianic Politics

*John Lofton on the Puritan Sermon as
Political Media Power*

*Colonel Doner on the Late Great GOP and
the Coming Realignment*

Wayne Johnson on Excessive Political Expectations

*David Knowles on Family Authority and
State Government*

John Stoos on the Politics of Hell

Peter Jones on a Political Bridge Too Far

Herbert Titus on the Transformation of American Law

William Einwechter on Proverbs and Politics

David Chilton on the Trap of Educational Vouchers

The Creed of Christian Reconstruction

Rev. Andrew Sandlin
[May be Freely Reproduced]

A Christian Reconstructionist is a **Calvinist**. He holds to historic, orthodox, catholic Christianity and the great Reformed confessions. He believes God, not man, is the center of the universe—and beyond; God, not man, controls whatever comes to pass; God, not man, must be pleased and obeyed. He believes God saves sinners—He does not help them save themselves. A Christian Reconstructionist believes the Faith should apply to all of life, not just the “spiritual” side. It applies to art, education, technology, and politics no less than to church, prayer, evangelism, and Bible study.

A Christian Reconstructionist is a **Theonomist**. Theonomy means “God’s law.” A Christian Reconstructionist believes God’s law is found in the Bible. It has not been abolished as a standard of righteousness. It no longer accuses the Christian, since Christ bore its penalty on the cross for him. But the law is a statement of God’s righteous character. It cannot change any more than God can change. God’s law is used for three main purposes: First, to drive the sinner to trust in Christ alone, the only perfect law-keeper. Second, to provide a standard of obedience for the Christian, by which he may judge his progress in sanctification. And third, to maintain order in society, restraining and arresting civil evil.

A Christian Reconstructionist is a **Presuppositionalist**. He does not try to “prove” that God exists or that the Bible is true. He holds to the Faith because the Bible says so, not because he can “prove” it. He does not try to convince the unconverted that the gospel is true. They already know it is true when they hear it. They need repentance, not evidence. Of course, the Christian Reconstructionist believes there is evidence for the Faith—in fact there is nothing *but* evidence for the Faith. The problem for the unconverted, though, is not a lack of evidence, but a lack of submission. The Christian Reconstructionist begins and ends with the Bible. He does not defend “natural theology,” and other inventions designed to find some agreement with covenant-breaking, apostate mankind.

A Christian Reconstructionist is a **Postmillennialist**. He believes Christ will return to earth only after the Holy Spirit has empowered the church to advance Christ’s kingdom in time and history. He has faith that God’s purposes to bring all nations—though not every individual—in subjection to Christ cannot fail. The Christian Reconstructionist is not utopian. He does not believe the kingdom will advance quickly or painlessly. He knows that we enter the kingdom through much tribulation. He knows Christians are in the fight for the “long haul.” He believes the church may yet be in her infancy. But he believes the Faith will triumph. Under the power of the Spirit of God, it cannot *but* triumph.

A Christian Reconstructionist is a **Dominionist**. He takes seriously the Bible’s commands to the godly to take dominion in the earth. This is the goal of the gospel and the Great Commission. The Christian Reconstructionist believes the earth and all its fulness is the Lord’s—that every area dominated by sin must be “reconstructed” in terms of the Bible. This includes, first, the individual; second, the family; third, the church; and fourth, the wider society, including the state. The Christian Reconstructionist therefore believes fervently in Christian civilization. He firmly believes in the separation of church and state, but not the separation of the state—or anything else—from God. He is not a revolutionary; he does not believe in the militant, forced overthrow of human government. He has infinitely more powerful weapons than guns and bombs—he has the invincible Spirit of God, the infallible word of God, and the incomparable gospel of God, none of which can fail.

He presses the crown rights of the Lord Jesus Christ in every sphere, expecting eventual triumph.

CHALCEDON Report

A Monthly Report Dealing With the Relationship of Christian Faith to the World

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Rev. R. J. Rushdoony is president of Chalcedon and a leading theologian, church/state expert, and author of numerous works on the application of Biblical Law to society.

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December Preview:

In December's Chalcedon Report: The Worldwide Work of Christian Reconstruction

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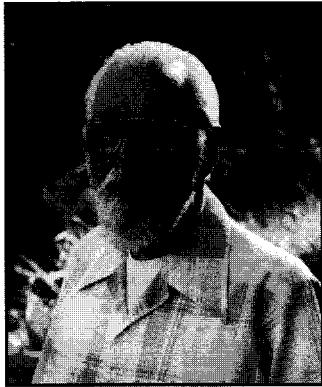
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Political Apostasy

By Rev. R. J. Rushdoony



Man's most ancient heresy is humanism, and we first encounter it in Genesis 3:5; its essential faith is in man as his own god, knowing or determining good and evil, law and morality for himself. Very often man has expressed this faith by making himself, very openly, his own god; at other times, man objectifies his own goals and makes

images which he calls gods. Very commonly, man has expressed his self-worship collectively in the state. In fact, the oldest religious institution in history is the state. The worship of the state has sometimes meant that the state has been seen as divine; at other times, its rulers; and at still other times, its offices. In modern thinking, the voice of the people is held to be god, and democracy is seen as divinely right.

Although the early church, and then the councils, notably Chalcedon in 451 A.D., fought against this re-divinization of the state, it returned in full force after a time. At first, it bore a Christian facade; then it became increasingly anti-Christian, covertly or openly.

As a result, especially in the twentieth century, we have seen a re-paganization of the state and of society, a trend strongly supported by the media. The U.S. Supreme Court, since c. 1952, has furthered this trend, as in *Roe v. Wade*, and, more recently, in the case of a Colorado state constitutional amendment securing special legal rights for homosexuals as a class. Only Justice Anthony Scalia opposed it, calling strong attention in his *Romer v. Evans* dissent, to the specious character of the majority opinion. There are, currently, more radical cases in process attacking the very life of the church. Our political candidates for offices high and low maintain a facade of piety with an absence of faith. Christians are treated as idiots who can be easily placated with meaningless gestures, as indeed too many are. However, a growing number of Christians are deeply disturbed over these trends, and at the tendency of prominent churchmen to act as chaplains to our modern caesars.

On the one hand, we have churchmen using 1 Timothy 2:1 and 2 wrongly, as though we are to pray for our rulers to be blessed. But the goal of the prayer is to be "that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty," i.e., that they may leave us alone! We should pray for political rulers "and for all that are in authority" that they may be converted or judged or whatever is required. How

can we ask God to bless our modern equivalents of Nero?

On the other hand, we have many who want to fight over everything, or resort to arms. Assuming for a moment the very unlikely prospect of winning, what difference would it make, given our current population? The old proverb is still true: You can't make a good omelet with rotten eggs. History shows us how ridiculous such efforts are, as does the present political scene.

The change we are required to make is by regeneration, not by revolution. Nothing short of that will satisfy our Lord. Since the French Revolution, the political heresy has strongly emphasized revolution as the true means of change. Such a view is a return to paganism, to a belief that external conformity is the key to a good society; it is an echo of Plato's insane *Republic*.

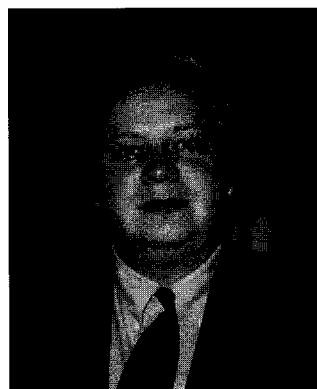
Politics must be an area of responsible action. Our Lord stressed patience and gradualism in the work of the Kingdom: "first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear" (*Mk. 4:28*); in other words, we cannot expect the full ear of corn when we have only just planted the seed! God warned Zechariah against all who have "despised the day of small things" (*Zech. 4:10*), for to do so is to despise the future. The gigantic starts are much noise and show but empty of results. It is political apostasy to trust in them, and a departure from common sense. Mark 4:28 should be our premise in every area of life.

Chalcedon's premise has been "first the blade." In our area of endeavor, as in all, we believe that this is what God blesses.

EXTENDED EDITORIAL

Messianic Politics

By Rev. Andrew Sandlin



Transcendence and Politics

Union of church and state has been the norm for most of human history, and today's secularists who point to medieval Europe as its most egregious instance are quite mistaken. Their frequent prejudice against Christianity fuels their factual errors.

Historically, the most vicious church-state tyrannies occurred in nations in which paganism dominated.¹ Nations and civilizations in which men are deemed gods or god-like—and particularly in nations in which the political rulers are so

designated, like ancient Babylon, Egypt, Rome, and more recently in Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia, dynastic Japan, Maoist China, e.g.—are also quite conspicuous examples of the leading tyrannies in human history. Whenever the state or its earthly representative is considered a god-like or ecclesiastical figure, tyranny flourishes.

By contrast, societies which presuppose a transcendent order, in which justification for the existence of society and the state stands beyond the temporal, historical order, tend to be less tyrannical and often actually free societies. The most obvious example of this sort of society is the Christian society advocated and spawned by the Reformation.² In fact, one despairs to find a clear example of free society (apart from the original Hebrew commonwealth) in history before Protestant Reformation society. Medieval society, while creditably based on a theistic transcendent order, retained that aspect of the pagan vision of the church as the virtual mediator between God and man and the Papacy as the visible expression of that mediation. Reformation society, on the other hand, expelled any ontological unity of the transcendent order—that is, in Reformation thinking, God and his infallible Biblical revelation—with human government in family, church or state. That is, man stood *under* God's revelatory law; man is not an aspect of that law or a divine legislator. The leading example of this "separation of man and God" is Rutherford's notable work, *Lex Rex*, that is, the Law is King. It was a revolutionary concept in the era of statist monarchies that the king stands under divine law. In historic Protestantism, the king's word is not law; the king's word is *judged* by divine law.

Unfortunately the penetrating insight of Protestant (specifically Calvinist) social thought and the unprecedentedly free societies it generated suffered assault since the eighteenth century and today are in danger of vanishing: the Protestant society based on a transcendent divine order governed by inscripturated revelation has been increasingly supplanted by messianic politics, a revival of pagan politics. The chief instance is modern political liberalism.

Messianic Politics of the Left

Political liberalism was initially a revolt against what it considered the tyranny of retrogressive, repressive institutions: church, monarchy, mercantilism. Freedom and individualism have been the key tenets of liberalism from its inception: "[L]iberalism, in the broadest sense, seeks to protect the individual from arbitrary external restraints that prevent the full realization of his potentialities."³ While some

perceive the seeds of political liberalism in Puritan constitutionalism in England, the origin of the Great Liberal Experiment is more accurately located in the French Revolution. It was in that epochal event that for the first time social engineers sheared the twin concepts of individualism and freedom of all Christian presuppositions and thereby justified a secular reordering of society.⁴

The state was originally a prime target of liberal opposition, since it (and often in union with the church) was perceived as stultifying individual freedom. Soon, however, and especially in response to the economic inequalities brought to light by the Industrial Revolution, liberalism became obsessed with opposing what it deemed the economic tyranny of capitalism or the free-market economy. Over the last century at least, liberalism has been quite eager for the state to employ its power to redistribute wealth more "equitably" in society. Thus it has more recently preferred "economic freedom" (essentially socialism) to "individual freedom," and in some ways transformed its original agenda into almost its opposite.

Liberalism has increasingly relied on the state as the instrument not merely of justice (which it is), but also of virtue (which it is not). Thus the state is accorded responsibilities a Christian society places in the hands of individuals, families, churches, and private groups and organizations. Soon in a liberal society the state assumes the center of life and existence. It assures justice and equality (as defined, of course, by statist elitists); guarantees health, education, welfare, and old-age provision (by confiscating private wealth, of course); and presses for a "virtuous" culture—it even has about it (and even in its most blatantly secular form) an aura of religion and "spirituality," with its mammoth state architecture mirroring Christian cathedrals or pagan temples of worship; its pomp reminiscent of religious ceremony; and its embracing of civil religion, according to which loyalty to the state becomes a religious service. The state becomes the virtual messiah: it endeavors to furnish in modern secular society what God himself pledges to his covenant people and to nations who adhere to his law-word (*Dt. 28:1-14; 29:1-15*).

Politicians of the Left thus develop a messianic complex. If driven by altruistic motives, they judge themselves the saviors of "the people." If insincere, they constitute nothing more than political tyrants, ravenous of raw political power. Of the two, the altruistic are more to be feared, since while the disingenuous may be checked by twinges of conscience, tyrants in service of "virtue" are unrelenting in their

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decimation of anything that stands in their way (*Jn. 16:2*).

Modern messianic politics of the Left has given us the New Deal, the Great Society, and the welfare state. It has positioned the state as the protector and educator of the nation's youth; the repository of healing, especially in old age; and the secular savior of man's spiritual ills. In its most advanced stages, it works to transform man himself into a new being.⁵ The messianic politics of the Left is the key political vision of modern times. Which is to say, *politics for most moderns is the religion of secular man*.

Messianic Politics of the Right

The state as savior is not the exclusive province of the modern Left, however. Today it has nearly as many devotees on the Right. Messianic politics of the Right comes in two flavors: big government conservatism, and anti-big-government anarcho-libertarianism.

The first is almost equally committed to the state as the guarantor of virtue as is the messianic politics of the Left. This seems in some ways to be a reversion to the stance of the early Right in England and Europe, dedicated to the *ancien régime* and order, to a centralized church and civil government securing the state and society against the upheaval which free markets and ideational competition may pose. Today, however, the messianists of the Right see the state as a vehicle for social change. The only difference between the Left and the Right messianists on this score is what that change should entail. Both wish to wield state power as the guarantor of virtue. Of these political messianists of the Right, Rockwell observes:

The neo-conservatives ... are cultural modernists who endorse the forced integration and redistribution of civil rights. They believe in an imperial presidency, the welfare state, and mass democracy, and they seek to enact these ideas worldwide through U. S. military intervention.⁶

Seeds of this sentiment in the United States appeared as early as the Prohibition debate.⁷ Christians alert to the scourge of the liquor traffic appealed to civil government for regulation. The notion among conservative Christians that civil government must be employed to eradicate social evil is a fatal flaw with clear historical precedent. While left-wing messianists use the engine of civil government to forge a secular Utopia, right-wing messianists use the engine of civil government to forge a Christian Utopia. The main difference is in the content of the Utopia: the right-wing wants a Christian state inculcating Christian (or semi-Christian) virtue.

A number of specifics could be cited. Christian supporters of a "Christian" New World Order, in which a territorial and national state is subordinate to a large multinational Christian state, come immediately to mind. So too do advocates of the enlargement of federal power to curb drugs, prostitution, and pornography. In addition, one thinks of Christians calling for a large national defense

supporters of a reunion of church and state, or a state-established Christian church, fit the classification of political messianists.

All these rightly perceive the evil effects of social sin; they err in vesting faith in the political order to eradicate that sin and its effects. The ultimate solution to sin is regeneration by the Holy Spirit, not political power. The state does play a limited role in maintaining public justice—the magistrate is enjoined to enforce the Biblical penal code.⁸ The Bible does not, however, depict the state as the main human government in the earth. It is one among many, and precisely because its sanction (capital punishment) is so severe, its jurisdiction is so limited. We do not appeal to the state to inculcate virtue—even sound Biblical virtue. These are chiefly the obligations of the family and church, under strictly expressed Biblical authority.

The second version of messianic politics on the Right does not look to civil government for the inculcation of virtue—all to the contrary, it virtually opposes the existence of civil government. I speak here of radical libertarians (anarchists), the tax revolt, and those right-wing militias bent on defying every civil order which they interpret as an affront to their unlimited freedom. Many among these anarchists act under the guise of Christian principle. *No law but God's law*, they trumpet. But they refuse to recognize subordinate, derivative authorities (family, church, state). In effect, they become a law unto themselves. Their political messianism consists of their transforming themselves into their own messiah, correcting all the wrongs in the earth by means of radical individual freedom, which means, freedom to anarchy, freedom to do as they wish, *freedom to antinomianism*. They, like liberals, believe in political salvation; but while that salvation is interpreted collectively in the case of liberals, it is interpreted individualistically in the case of anarchists. In both cases coercion—statist in the first case, and paramilitaristic or vigilante in the second—is the insurance of political salvation. In both cases physical coercion constitutes the panacea.

Ours is not a political vision; rather, it is an intensely religious and theological vision with political implications.

Neither expression—big government conservatism, or anti-big-government anarcho-libertarianism—is materially different from the messianic politics of the Left. Each of

A Caveat for Christians Involved in Politics

Even devoted Christians engaged in politics can be seduced by the promises of messianism. "Power tends to corrupt," asserted Lord Acton, "and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Because modern politics is an exercise in power rather than ministry (*Rom. 13:1-7*) or statesmanship (*Dt. 17:14-20*), it tends to corrupt any insufficiently vigilant to guard against its lure. Especially vulnerable are those whose political views are not anchored in a sound theology, who perceive in power politics the fulcrum for accomplishing supposedly virtuous or altruistic goals. If they are of a libertarian bent, they are impressed and persuaded by pro-freedom, Randian, and Objectivist arguments, assuming secular libertarianism somehow constitutes the most Christian political option available. Too frequently all these uncritically assimilate conservative politics which they merely tack onto their Faith. They thereby maintain an implicit dualism: Christianity as their religion and conservatism as their politics, assuming the one is necessarily intimately associated with the other.

Christians involved in politics must recognize that their politics must issue from their theology. Christian politics must never be nothing more than warmed-over conservatism with a Christian label attached. World-conquering, confessional Calvinism is the most consistent theological foundation on which to erect a virtually impregnable political edifice (the New England commonwealth is an historical instance). For this reason Christian politicians must be grounded in Christian theology. This is not to imply Christian politicians must be professional theologians, or that on the stump they should preach sermons. It *does* mean their political thought must find its source in their theological thought, and thus that they must devote considerable attention to matters theological. Christian politicians whose theological grounding is tenuous at best usually suffer from woefully incongruous thinking and thus espouse mutually inconsistent views. One thinks immediately of the candidate who pushes for a return to the gold standard while simultaneously advocating "enterprise zones," "affirmative action," and the retention of the Welfare State, or the unflagging Christian abortion-rights foe who defends anti-abortion picketing on the grounds that "sit-ins are a part of the great American tradition of protest, in the vein of Martin Luther King" [!].

Christians involved in politics should assiduously resist the temptation to be governed by politics. Politics is a valid calling for a Christian, but ours is not a political vision; rather, it is an intensely religious and theological vision with political implications. Christians are charged to honor God in their politics as in every other sphere of life (*1 Cor. 10:31*). Christian politics is an essential *effect* of legitimate Christian theology.

Conclusion

The exclusive hope of man's salvation rests in the sovereign triune God (*Eph. 1*), the redemptive blood-

letting of God the Son (*2 Cor. 5:21*), and the efficacious regenerative ministry of the Holy Spirit (*Rom. 8:9-11*). The redeemed man obeys the word of the Lord in his individual life, and works to "reconstruct" in terms of the Bible all areas of life which he contacts. He does not hold that politics is the sphere of salvation, but that it is a sphere of obedience. **The consistent Christian's is not a political vision, but a religion vision with political implications.**

He serves one Messiah and one Messiah alone, who bears government—and all things else—on his shoulders (*Is. 9:7*).

¹ M. Stanton Evans, *The Theme is Freedom* (Washington, D. C., 1994).

² Karl Holl, *The Cultural Significance of the Reformation* (New York, 1959).

³ H[arry] K[.] G[i]retvz, "Liberalism," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, ed., Philip W. Goetz (Chicago, 1988, 15th ed.), 27:471.

⁴ James Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of the Revolutionary Faith* (New York, 1980).

⁵ Mikhail Heller, *Cogs in the Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man* (New York, 1988).

⁶ Llewellyn H. Rockwell, "Realignment on the Right?" *Conservative Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 18.

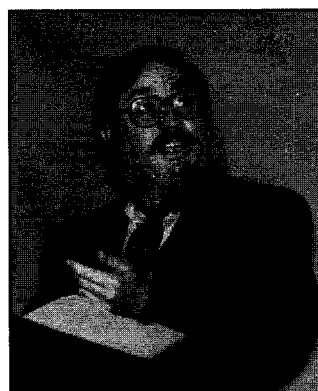
⁷ See *Second World's Christian Citizenship Conference* [collected addresses] (Pittsburgh, 1913).

⁸ R. J. Rushdoony, *Institutes of Biblical Law* (no loc. [Craig Press]), 1973.

OUR MAN IN WASHINGTON

The Sermon: Political Media Power

By John Lofton



The Centrality of the Sermon

It's hard to believe, but Christians in our country once were "the media." And when we were, we were more powerful than all our present-day media put together. As Harry S. Stout, Professor of American Religious History at Yale University, tells it is his book

The New England Soul: Preaching And Religious Culture In Colonial New England (Oxford, 1986), in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as a medium of communication, the topical range and social influence of

the New England sermon was so powerful in shaping cultural values, meanings, and a sense of corporate purpose that even the clout of modern television pales in comparison. He writes: "Unlike modern mass media, the sermon stood alone in local New England contexts as the only regular (at least weekly) medium of public communication. As a channel of information, it combined religious, educational, and journalistic functions, and supplied all the key terms necessary to understand existence in this world and the next. As the only event in public assembly that regularly brought the entire community together, it also represented the central ritual of social order and control. Seldom, if ever before, did so many people hear the same message of purpose and direction over so long a period of time as did the New England 'Puritans.'"

"The seventeenth-century founders of New England set out to create a unique and self-perpetuating 'people of the Word,' and by extending the sermon to all significant facts of life — social and political, as well as religious — they achieved exactly that. Throughout the colonial era the regular 'planting' of churches in most towns kept pace with the growth of the population so that by the time of the Revolution there were 720 Congregational churches in New England. In like manner the number of college-educated, ordained ministers grew with the population, resulting in a constant ratio of preachers to the general population that was among the lowest — if the not the lowest — in the Protestant world.

"Twice on Sunday and often once during the week, every minister in New England delivered sermons lasting between one and two hours in length. Collectively over the entire span of the colonial period, sermons totaled over 5,000,000 separate messages in a society whose population never exceeded 500,000 and whose principal city never grew beyond 17,000. The average weekly churchgoer in New England (and there were far more churchgoers than church members) listened to something like 7,000 sermons in a lifetime, totaling somewhere around 15,000 hours of concentrated listening. These striking statistics become even more significant when it is recalled that until the last decade of the colonial era there were at the local level few, if any, competing public speakers offering alternative messages. For all intents and purposes, the sermon was the only regular voice of authority."

The Religious Vision of Politics

Stout says that the implications of the power of the preached Word are especially important for understanding the "meaning of America" as it unfolded in the Revolutionary era. By 1776, Congregational ministers were preaching over 2,000 discourses weekly and publishing them at an unprecedented rate that outnumbered secular pamphlets from all the colonies by a ratio of more than four-to-one.

Indeed, Stout points out that the more one reads these sermons (and he spent nine years reading more than 2,000 of them!), "the more one finds unsatisfactory the suggestion that ideas of secular 'republicanism,' 'civil millennialism,' or class conscious 'popular ideology' were the primary ideological triggers of radical resistance and violence in the Revolution." Instead, he says, in Revolutionary New England, "ministers continued to monopolize public communications, and the terms they most often employed to justify resistance and to instill hope emanated from the Scriptures and from New England's enduring identity as an embattled people of the Word who were commissioned to uphold a sacred and exclusive covenant between themselves and God. The idea of a national covenant supplied the "liberties" New Englanders would die protecting, as well as the "conditions" that promised deliverance and victory over all enemies. It also provided the innermost impulsion toward radical thought and violent resistance to British 'tyranny' in New England." And in a passage that should warm the respective hearts of all those who, by God's grace, are Reformed, Stout observes: "Covenant theology as it evolved over five generations of New World preaching comprised a view of history and corporate identity that could best be labeled 'providential.' In this view God entered into covenants with nations, as well as with individuals, and promised that He would uphold them by His providential might if they would acknowledge no other sovereign and observe the terms of obedience contained in His Word.

"Covenanted peoples like those of ancient Israel and New England were the hub around which sacred (i.e., real) history revolved. Such peoples might be ignored or reviled by the world and figure insignificantly in the great empires of profane history, but viewed through the sacred lens of providential history they were seen as God's special instruments entrusted with the task of preparing the way for Messianic deliverance. As Israel witnessed to God's active involvement with nations in ancient times and brought forth the Christ, so New England's experience confirmed God's continuing involvement with nations that would persist until Christ's return to earth, when history itself would cease and be swallowed up in eternity.

"Within this historical covenant perspective, resistance to England was only secondarily about constitutional rights and political liberties. Ultimately, resistance became necessary the minute England declared the colonies' duty of 'unlimited submission' in 'all cases whatsoever' and, in doing so, set itself alongside God's Word as a competing sovereign. Such demands were 'tyrannical' and left New Englanders no choice but to resist unto death or forfeit their identity as a covenant people. As explained from the pulpit, New Englanders' revolution was first and foremost a battle to preserve their historic identity and unique Messianic destiny."

Stout adds: "Once we recognize and acknowledge the enduring hold of concepts like the covenant, *Sola Scriptura*, and providential mission on pulpit discourse and the public imagination, it is easier to understand the ease with which most New Englanders accepted the Revolution and its republican principles. . . . New Englanders . . . believed that in 1776 they were the same people of the Word that they had been in 1630, and their revolution was less a rejection than a fulfillment of the founders' dream of creating a holy nation subject in every regard to the claim of God's Word."

Christians in Media Today

But, back to the role of Christians as "the media."

Documenting his assertions in detail, Stout says that New Englanders, fed by the sermons they heard, "directed the flow of inter-colonial communications in the Revolutionary era so thoroughly that in almost all interchanges they were the 'exporters' of information that other colonies received. In local oratory, the message audiences heard most frequently was that the struggle with Parliament involved far more than the questions of home rule or even, for that matter, who should rule at home; the issues involved nothing less than the preservation of *Sola Scriptura* and New England's privileged position at the center of redemptive history."

No area of our society is in greater need of redemption, of being Christianly, Biblically, reconstructed, than our media.

Well, amen! And this is what Pat Buchanan is alluding to when, several times, he has asked audiences: "What do you think our founders would have said had the King of England tried to ban Bibles from our [colonial] schools," as our Supreme Court has done today? Pat's answer? They would have said three words: "Lock-and-load!" — which is precisely what they said, and did — thank God.

Okay. So, what's the point? So, there once was a time when Christians, in America, fed by solidly Biblical preaching from the pulpit, were "the media" and shaped, indeed, determined, public opinion. So what? Well, so we have to, again, play this role. But, I, alas, see no such thing on the horizon — though I am interested, and

equipped, to try to start such an enterprise.

Today, though polls show millions of us are "Christians," who spend billions and billions of dollars, there is no Biblical/Christian media. There is no Biblical/Christian radio-TV network, no Biblical/Christian wire service, no such national news magazine (such as *Time/Newsweek*). And those that purport to be such media are a joke, but not funny.

No area of our society is in greater need of redemption, of being Christianly, Biblically, reconstructed, than our media. And that's where you and I come in.

In the age of computers and on-line services, I see God as having constructed an "information highway" over which can go the Gospel and solidly Biblical teaching regarding all areas of life. I have read, and believe, speculation that God used the roads built by the Romans to send His people out to spread the Gospel. And we must do the same thing with this electronic, computerized, worldwide "information highway."

A Workable Plan

So, what to do, specifically? Well, I have e-mail, electronic mail, on the America Online service. My e-mail address is: JLoF@aol.com. For openers, I'd like to know if you have e-mail and, if so, please e-mail me your e-mail address. To begin with, for an agreed upon fee, I am willing to be your "Man In Washington," too. With my computer, and e-mail, I'd like to be, to start, a one-man Christian/Biblical news bureau for you. This means that during the week, I will e-mail you information regarding what's in the news and other things not in the news but which I think you should know about. And I will write about all of this from the same Biblical perspective you read here in the *Chalcedon Report*.

As your "Man In Washington" (full disclosure; I live midway between Washington DC and Baltimore, Maryland, actually), I could also serve you with exclusive interviews featuring questions from an explicitly Biblical viewpoint. If this thing gets up and going, I could even travel, covering events from a Biblical/Christian perspective.

As your "Man In Washington," I would also be willing to take questions from you and try and answer them, or get them answered. I would also be very open to suggestions regarding subjects and individuals to be covered, and specific questions to be asked of certain individuals.

Our opportunities, with just myself and one computer, and e-mail, and a downloading capability for longer dispatches, are wide open. There is no longer any excuse for serious Christians having to rely on our enemies for our news. Pray, please, for this project idea. And e-mail me your address and comments right away. I'm waiting to serve the Lord here, and you.

The Late Great GOP and the Coming Realignment

By Colonel V. Doner



In the past, reassessing our strategic alliance with the GOP as the vehicle of choice to correct the numerous ills besetting our Republic, seemed either an unaffordable luxury or an exercise in irrelevance promoted by a few cranks. Now, it is a necessity — a matter of our immediate survival.

The bitter verdict of 1996 is upon us, *ushered in by a debacle of catastrophic proportion*. The GOP has proven itself an unworthy steward of our hope to return America to the “Traditional Values” of our recent Christian past. It has also shown itself to be hopelessly inept. Its aristocracy of country club dolts and visionless mechanics has once again demonstrated it can no longer keep the Reagan Coalition together, let alone broaden it to embrace the blue-collar, independent, or conservative Roman Catholics that all rallied in droves to Pat Buchanan and Ross Perot. The GOP embargo on Pat Buchanan, coupled with its egregious insistence on running away from (rather than on) its own platform, was the last straw.

Consequently, a new political realignment is now taking place, driven by the sudden revelation (finally pounded home by this year’s unmitigated disaster) about the GOP: 1. It is faithless both to its proclaimed principles and to its allies; 2. It is suffering from terminal stupidity and clearly out of touch with the concerns of average Americans; 3. Its political strategists are hopelessly anchored in the past; 4. It is incapable of mobilizing the “Silent Majority” or “Moral Majority”; 5. It is visionless and morally bankrupt, without a clue as to how to restore the Republic to even a modicum of sanity; 6. Finally, its soul (i.e., its real power center) is much more comfortable with liberal secularists than Christian activists. In fact, in its heart, the real GOP despises us.

This essay, written after two decades as an apologist for the Republican Party, will examine each of these assertions in detail and the consequent course of action they suggest.

The GOP is faithless to its proclaimed agenda

While many examples might be cited, none could be more indicting than the GOP’s shattered “Contract with America” (Newt, please note: the downside of proclaiming a “National Covenant” with the American people is you lose credibility when it’s abandoned without even a peep). Pity the poor Republicans. They tried their best to prove they

have principles — and that they (unlike those two-faced Democrats) would actually stick to them — to the point of making a solemn contract with the American people.

But all this new-found principle soon faded in the face of the politically expedient. Now we have a broken contract and a disillusioned electorate who registered their displeasure with being snookered by voting for a paranoid, ditzoid billionaire from Texas or by not bothering to dignify what they correctly perceived as a political sham — by sitting the election out. Now might be an appropriate moment for you to explore your own feelings surrounding this unexpected and incredible letdown. Do you remember how hopeful you were when Newt, the revolutionary, and his army of reformers launched their blitzkrieg on Congress and promised to turn the political establishment upside down before they stood again for re-election? That lasted about six months. Then we never saw or heard from Newt again about the revolution (or anything else, it seemed). Shell-shocked by his high negatives (professorial arrogance does not play well on TV), Newt went into hiding, while his agenda foundered on the rocky intransigence of the GOP Senate establishment (shepherded by none other than Bob Dole); and his congressional troops went into a long funk after losing the moral high ground on the budget battle to none other than Mr. Balance-the-Budget, Bill Clinton. Licking their wounds, they had decided Bill had won the day so they had better lay low until a charismatic visionary like longtime party leader Bob Dole could whip the Republic into a frenzy of excitement and a consequent electoral sweep in 1996.

The disappearance of Newt’s agenda which engineered one of the greatest electoral reverses in history in less than twelve months from its unveiling is surely one of the most bizarre episodes in the history of the Republic. It is especially noteworthy that the panjandruns of the GOP have made no coherent effort to offer a rational explanation for their malfeasance in this regard to party regulars, let alone to the American public. Emulating the man they profess to disdain, the epitome of faithlessness, they simply walked off. No sustained effort, no strategic adaption, no explanation. Just a void filled with silence, a political black hole (which we will explore later in our story).

The Party is Clueless About the Values Issue

Newt’s Contract was a very good beginning, but many Republicans regarded it as the Alpha and Omega — pass this legislative package — and presto — America is back on track. The fallout from the failure of the Contract suggests that most of the GOP’s top-ranked players do not have a clue about the real ills besetting America. A balanced budget and term limits are twentieth-century answers for twenty-first century problems: secular medicine for a disease of the spirit.

Indeed, the man in the street understands the bedrock issues much more clearly than all the GOP think tanks (increasingly an oxymoron) combined, as pollster George Gallup, Jr. confirmed in August 1996 when he reported

moral values had displaced economic issues as the nation's primary concern. In fact, the loss of public virtue and personal morality surpassed economic concern by an astounding 53 to 38 percent, leading Gallup to note: "Americans are more concerned about moral values now than at any time of 60 years of polling." Even more amazing, **a super majority of voters** — 57 percent — indicated that where presidential candidates stood on moral problems was "very important" (another 30 percent rated moral issues "important"). A perfect opportunity to follow up the Republican juggernaut of 1994 and throw out the sleazy gang surrounding the most amoral president in history — right? A golden opportunity for the GOP to pick up the White House *and* improve its margins in both houses — Right? An obvious clue that the GOP "war room" (if they had one) should emphasize "It's values — stupid!" Right?

Here we have the standard-bearer of "God's Own Party" taking second place to the King of Sleaze when it comes to restoring even a measure of confidence in the President's ability to being an exhorter of the public morality. How could this be?

Not quite! In fact, it appears the only presidential strategist who read the issue correctly was Bill Clinton's alter ego, Robert Morris (who previously worked for Jesse Helms, Bill Weld and a number of other Republicans), who apparently seized upon this high concept in-between his now infamous trysts with a prostitute. Meanwhile, one of Dole's advisor's designated to expose Clinton's vulnerability on moral issues, abruptly resigned when the same scandal sheet that "outed" Morris the previous week, reported the GOP moral strategist was waging his own one-man advertising campaign in "swingers" newspapers soliciting single men to join him and his wife for "fun and games." One could imagine, Mr. Dick Morris replying and their subsequent collaboration on developing a bipartisan approach to the moral issues debate, breathing new life into the old cliché that politics makes strange bedfellows! Tragically, as this tawdry little soap opera illustrates, the powers that be in the GOP are profoundly uncomfortable

with moral issues, leading hapless Bob Dole to choke out what must be the most painfully embarrassing admission in the recent history of presidential campaigns: when asked by *USA Today* how his campaign was faring in the contest to present itself as the "values party" in 1996 as compared to Clinton, Dole mumbled "Oh, he's ahead of me on it." Simply amazing! Here we have the standard-bearer of "God's Own Party" taking second place to the King of Sleaze when it comes to restoring even a measure of confidence in the president's ability to being an exhorter of the public morality. How could this be?

Our first clue is to note that Dole cannot even bring himself to utter the words "moral issues" or "values." He has to refer to them (and thus to the hottest issues of 1996) with an alienated "it" as if he was afraid even to touch the "M" word lest he be thought a zealot. Meanwhile, Bill Clinton, with instincts honed by years of vegetating in Baptist churches and governing a "fundamentalist" state, has no such compunctions. He knows exactly how to manipulate value symbols, and, Hillary notwithstanding, he has enough Bible belt stuck in his craw not to only handle the issue comfortably but with apparent conviction (and you can be sure that at this very moment Clinton is indeed convicted of the importance of values!).

To accurately assess the limits of the GOP's vision or the deficiency of its "value system, we first need to understand Bob Dole, not just because he was Chairman of the Party in the '70's or the Senate Majority Leader in the '80's and '90's, or because he is the current GOP standard-bearer, but because he is the arch-type of the traditional Republicans who control the party. He is a perfect genetic clone of his predecessors, Nixon, Ford and Bush who are eerily similar in their lack of vision beyond the next day, and their unique inability to express themselves coherently. He mirrors the political pragmatism of the political mechanics, the stage managers, the blind hierarchs of the party apparatus. In short, Bob Dole is a GOP microcosm. He is not an aberration. He is the Party. To understand his limitations is to understand the party's inability to accept, let alone produce, visionaries.

In the traditional old-school mold shared by Bush and Ford, it is obvious that Dole is profoundly uncomfortable with any discussion of morality or values. For him, politics is the art of the possible and morals or values are regarded as "private matters" with no discernible connection to the process of governing. In his August 8 full-page interview with *USA Today*, Dole was as revealing as he was stupefying. Given a chance to reach out to millions of readers in a special edition dedicated to values, right off the bat Dole repeated the tired liberal cliché that "you can't legislate morality" (O.K., Mr. Rocket Scientist, then why is murder, rape and theft outlawed?).

When *USA Today* opened a Pandora's Box and asked whether Clinton had values, what was candidate Dole's brilliant response to this gift of a question? Did he address what everyone in Washington (pro or con Clinton) acknowledges, that the President is a pathological liar

(note recent comments to this effect by Democratic Senator John Kerry, Chairman of the Democratic Senate Campaign Committee)? Did Dole answer that the Prince of Lies is as unfaithful to his political pledges as he is to his wife, that his entire history from draft-dodging to drug abuse, from Gennifer Flowers to Paula Jones, from Whitewater to Filegate, from his much-touted religious beliefs to his embrace of abortion, homosexuality and radical feminism, is characterized by unfaithfulness, chicanery, evasion and deceit?

No, of course not. Rather, Dole answers with an astonishing, "Obviously he has values." His only real critique of Clinton's values was that Clinton had lost "credibility" because he had reversed his positions on welfare reform and taxes (kind of like George Bush!). Seemingly unable to cope with any meaningful discussion of values, Dole simply drew the conversation back to mundane political matters.

Likewise, Dole defended his waffling on the party's abortion plank this way: "This is a moral issue. **It's not like all the other things in the platform.**" Clearly in Dole's traditional Republican mindset, political principles and moral values are two very different things. Morality is something very private, "a matter of private conscience," something we should not be expected to agree on or even to discuss in polite company. Thus Dole is quoted as saying that Republicans can be expected to agree on taxes, trade, immigration and all the various issues in the platform *except* for abortion, on which we need to tolerate a divergence of opinion because this is an issue of private conscience. **Standing the moral universe on its head, what we have here is the essence of Republican establishment thinking.** We are all expected to agree and march in lock step on secondary issues like free trade, taxation policy and immigration but on fundamental moral issues we are free agents. What's wrong with this picture? Of course, what this really reveals is that the party's heart is centered around issues that protect its leaders' pocketbooks. We all need to agree on the most efficient way to protect our economic interests or our freedom of choice. Beyond that, everything else is up for grabs. Henceforth, the Litmus Test for being a true Republican will not be the issues of life and death, but as Pat Buchanan found out, issues of *real* concern like free trade. When pressed, Dole finally thought of a value he stood for. He wanted to restore "dignity" to the White House! And there you have it, for the Doles, Bushes, Fords and the party hierarchs: *values really boil down to good manners.* Typical of New England and Midwestern "cut-flower" moralists who value the benefits of Christian culture while denying their moral and spiritual foundations, civility, "family," honesty, responsibility, dignity and the like are considered to be generic virtues shared by all well-mannered WASPS. In this paradigm, masterfully modeled by both George and Barbara Bush, moral issues are thought to be private and beyond the realm of polite discussion. This secular sanctimoniousness is precisely why the Christian Right is held in such disdain by the self-appointed arbiters of acceptable social discourse. We demonstrate a

distastefully uncouth lack of proper etiquette when we bring up such "private issues" as morality or religious values. How uncivilized!

Finally, to demonstrate unequivocally how out to lunch Dole really is when it comes to any metaphysical or theological exercises no matter how simple, when asked by *USA Today* whose values he admired most, who he turned for direction or coaching, who do you think came to mind? Jesus? Senate Chaplains Dick Halvorson or Lloyd Oglivie? Or even every presidential favorite "cop out" — "Billy Graham"? How about the Pope or Mother Theresa? No such luck. It turns out Dole relies on his wife Elisabeth: "*She* really believes and practices *her faith*." After further prodding by a clearly nonplused reporter (even they know his answers to this most basic spiritual question lacked substance) Dole blurted out "Pete Dominici" — a moderate Roman Catholic Senator from New Mexico. Strange. Very strange.

Why the GOP is Vision-Averse

"Bob Dole is visionless"

Jack Kemp 1988

Bob Dole and his ilk are not only uncomfortable with fundamentals like "values" and "moral issues" but with vision itself, and seem equally estranged from the basic concept that ideas have consequences. The saga of Dole's much-heralded speech attacking Hollywood moguls for their ravenous and senseless debasing of culture is an interesting case in point, since it represents the one and only time Dole's handlers were able to nudge him close enough to have an encounter with something so alien. Dole reportedly had to be brought "kicking and screaming" to the fateful event. He did not want to give the speech. Too uncomfortable. All this talk about morality. Besides, a lot of Hollywood types supported his campaign. Can't risk alienating them. Finally Dole's aides prevailed. Hesitatingly and with many misgivings he gave the speech. He was reportedly shocked by its positive reception. As Bob Woodward reported in *The Choice*: "The impact was beyond anything in Dole's entire political history. This was entirely new territory." Dole was apparently amazed by the effect that an idea could have. An interesting revelation after three decades as a party leader! Of course, ideas are scary things and Dole never felt comfortable enough to dabble again with this strange new force. Instead, shrewd old pol that he is, he recruited Jack Kemp who had previously ravaged Dole as visionless, to be his token visionary. Kemp could do the thinking and he (Dole) would run the show.

We must understand that Dole is not exceptional in his aversion to vision (any vision); rather he is the rule when it comes to his fellow GOP panjandrums. This is why he was openly critical to the point of ridiculing Gingrich's Contract with America. Too revolutionary. This is why his fellow hierarchs in the Senate totally decimated the work Gingrich's House labored to build, thus eviscerating the short-lived Republican revolution. Finally, the GOP's aversion to visionaries is what motivated the unprecedented

show of unity when the entire Republican establishment (including Gingrich, Kemp and Bill Bennett) closed ranks to oppose the only real visionary candidate with any chance of winning the nomination — Pat Buchanan.

Since values, ideas and visionaries are likely to threaten to alter the status quo, the GOP hierarchy feels threatened.

The question is: Why this deep-seeded knee-jerk aversion to vision, visionaries, values or even ideas? First, ask yourself what these three categories have in common? Answer: They all spring from or at least are integral to fundamental, moral and metaphysical presuppositions. When deeply held values find contextualization within a compatible vision-paradigm which powerfully articulates then provides a methodology of implementation, personal zeal is often the result. A zeal not easily given to compromise or the etiquette of impeccable civil discourse as defined by the reigning establishment. Since values, ideas and visionaries are likely to threaten to alter the status quo, the GOP hierarchy feels threatened, for three reasons: First, they are uncomfortable with those of strong religious persuasion because these people tend to break the taboo that spiritual or moral issues are a strictly private matter.

Second, value-driven visions foster true believers who are unwilling to compromise, thus violating the first sacrament of modern American political strategy — the necessity of “broadening the base” through continual compromise.

Third, as antinomians who have consciously rejected God’s law and Christ’s redeeming power, they do not wish to be reminded however obliquely of the eternal condemnation they have brought upon themselves, and raising moral issues obviously implies that there is a God who sits in judgment — of them.

In short, vision is too dangerous to be handled, because like nitroglycerine, it’s easily out of control — likely to upset the apple cart (like Newt’s freshmen). Since the Mandarins of the GOP own most of the apples in the cart, this is not an acceptable option. Dole, as embodiment of the GOP soul, is the very antithesis of the revolutionary: just another bureaucrat. The truth is, the party platform notwithstanding (platforms are uniformly ignored by the people who actually run the party; for instance, at the GOP Convention both Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich announced with apparent pride that neither had even bothered to read the platform and would certainly not feel bound by it, a sentiment no doubt shared by Governors Wilson, Whitman,

Pataki, Weld, ad nauseam), the GOP has never been a party of vision. Even those who appeared to have vision basically faked it. Both Goldwater and Reagan had deeply held conservative beliefs (communism and big government are bad, a limited government governs best, etc.) but neither could be accurately described as a visionary or even someone who could embrace a full-orbed vision for governing from a new paradigm. What about Goldwater’s *Conscience of a Conservative* which served as a manifesto for many of us back in ’64, you ask? The truth is that not only did Goldwater not write this book; he didn’t even bother to edit it before it was published.

The GOP Is Morally Bankrupt As Well As Visionless

We don’t have to look far to begin to discover epidemic symptoms of the GOP’s moral bankruptcy. First is the glaring lack of any coherent vision to rectify the virulent complex of social viruses threatening the future of our civilization. The best of the current GOP visionaries from Kemp to Kristol offer answers that are almost exclusively economical or political — balanced budgets, term limits, immigration reform, supply-side economics, various “empowerment” schemes, tougher crime packages and so on — without ever dealing with the underlying structural questions of value systems which provide both the form and substance to culture, law and economics (that is why vast sections of the Bible are devoted to all three). It is imperative for Christian or traditionalist conservatives to understand that what little intellectual firepower the GOP has — is coming almost exclusively from neo-conservatives like Bill Kristol, editor of the *Standard* and Dan Quale’s former Chief-of-Staff. As a whole, neo-conservatives (most of whom are former liberals and secularists or Marxists) are interested in containing or moderating the government’s role as sovereign caretaker for the people, not replacing it.

Our second clue is the proclivity of the GOP to marginalize or co-op visionaries when they do turn up. The month-long pre-convention fight over retaining the party pro-life plank is a case in point. When Dole’s operatives realized they couldn’t somehow make the issue magically disappear, they sought to render it meaningless with the following declaration: Members of our party have deeply held and sometimes differing views on issues of personal conscience like abortion and capital punishment. We view this diversity of views as a source of strength....recognizing that tolerance is a virtue, and we call on all Republicans to reject the forces of hatred and bigotry.

From this most revealing sentiment from the GOP’s heart of hearts we deduce several insights on how the GOP holds ultimate issues of right or wrong. First, we note the stomach-turning devotion to post-modern moral relativism (as previously voiced by the party’s foremost spokesman, Bob Dole) regarding issues of moral import. Life-and-death issues like abortion and capital punishment are relegated as matters of personal conscience since there are obviously no universal standards of right or wrong that the party is

expected to agree on. Of course, for some, rape, incest, lying, theft, physical abuse and even murder are matters of individual conscience (just ask O.J. Simpson) which means that morally the GOP is truly bankrupt since its all-inclusive position holds that tolerance rather than truth is the primary virtue. Moral of the story: Since the party can't agree on ultimate moral issues, it must remain open to all comers — especially “Log-Cabin Republicans.” What better way to advertise one's moral bankruptcy?

And just to make sure we get the message, we are forewarned that if we refuse to be tolerant or if we perhaps try to inject an uncivil tone into the debate (as I've just done) then, well, we may qualify as hateful bigots! Hmmm. This sounds suspiciously like secular liberal Democratic politically correct rhetoric. Perhaps there is more than immediately meets the eye here. Could it possibly be that the party leadership — on a very fundamental level - has more in common with liberal Democrat secularists than Christian conservatives? We shall examine this little bombshell at a later juncton.

While rhetorically light years apart, the margin of difference between what the Democratic Party actually does and what the Republican Party actually does is rapidly shrinking.

“Bob Dole is the Tax Collector for the Welfare State”

Newt Gingrich

The GOP's disposition to relativism and compromise has left it not only morally bankrupt but also produced results alarmingly similar to the Democratic agenda (while still maintaining a basically conservative rhetoric). Historically, of course, the GOP has never presented itself to be “God's Own Party.” It has been the party of business, of free enterprise, of anti-communism, all of which Christians found attractive. But it has never been a particularly religious party. The closest the party has come to embracing religion is its rhetorical bent toward Libertarianism exemplified from Goldwater through Reagan to Kemp. To Christians, the Libertarian mantra that “the government that governs least governs best” was attractive because it suggested a hands-off approach to churches, Christian schools, homeschoolers and families in contrast to the numerous intrusive schemes hatched by Democrats in their social laboratory from hell.

However, we as Christian activists failed to consider: 1. A Libertarian hands-off approach essentially means we should all be free to do our own thing. As sometime party spokesman, P.J. O'Rourke eloquently puts it, “We leave you alone.” This of course means people should be free to express themselves in whatever way they please including sexual expressions or the consequences thereof, i.e. abortion. Thus the Libertarian wing from Goldwater to O'Rourke regards Christian morality as an affront equal to the Democrats' weird form of secular morality which is

improperly termed “political correctness.” No doubt this sentiment is what motivated Sen. Goldwater a decade ago to proclaim that Rev. Falwell required a good swift kick to his posterior.

2. The philosophical ramifications implicit in the GOP Libertarian dogma that relies so heavily on the dignity, potential and power of the individual uninhibited by restraints (whether they be governmental or religious) and its idolization of the individual at the expense of God's sovereignty.

If we were to boil down the basic presuppositions of the two parties to bumper sticker slogans, the Democrats would be: “Man is the answer and government is the vehicle” vs. the GOP's entree: “Man is the answer and the individual is the vehicle.” Both parties' hopes are deeply rooted in the Enlightenment's confidence in the basic goodness of man and his potential for progressive perfection through economic improvement and education (remember George Bush, the education president?). The only difference is Republicans place their confidence in individuals as opposed to the Democrats who favor the power of collective society (i.e., the state). Nevertheless, both are toeing the secular humanist line that man is the author of his own salvation, and if we only have enough (choose one): 1. social engineering 2. supply-side economics, we can fashion political paradise on earth. When was the last time you've heard a Republican candidate say that no party had the answers, that people were fundamentally depraved, and the only answer to America's long-term problem was national repentance? Clearly, our most likely bumper sticker, “God is the answer and his people are the vehicle” would seem quite out of place on the GOP bumper.

If all this were not bad enough, what we have not yet considered is the fact that the GOP establishment, while paying lip service one day of the week to the Christian agenda and six days of the week to the economic conservative or Libertarian agenda, has in fact been loyal to neither. Richard Nixon, a hero of many of us on the Right, primarily because of the enmity between him and the liberal establishment, funded a rash of newly intrusive and left-leaning federal programs. Under Ronald Reagan's budget-cutting stewardship, the national debt increased from 1 trillion to almost 3 trillion dollars and the government's budget increased from around 680 billion to well over 1 trillion dollars a year. Hardly a fitting tribute to the influence of Milton Friedman and Von Mises! It was, however, a tribute to Reagan's Senate Majority Leader, Bob Dole, who rammed 150 billion in tax increases through Congress to keep Reagan's deficit-laden budget afloat.

Reagan was followed by his hand-picked heir, George “Read my Lips” Bush, who went out of his way to break his word to the American people not to raise taxes so that he would have the funding necessary for financing various Planned Parenthood and abortionist schemes as well as propping up the NEA's pornographic arts projects. As Howard Phillips poignantly summarizes: “In the 20 years from Kennedy to Reagan ('61 - '81) government spending

rose by 500 billion dollars. In the twelve years of Reagan/Bush it grew by twice that amount to over 1000 billion (one trillion) dollars." It's hard to notice a commitment to less government here. Of course, such a commitment would entail telling the truth to the American people about our impending bankruptcy — and the necessity for cutting, not just slowing down, the growth rate of the budget — not a politically expedient thing to do. So meanwhile, the GOP Congress proposes a budget that would have us paying up to a trillion dollars a year just in debt service by the year 2002. Simultaneously, the Congressional Budget Office predicts an annual deficit of 400 billion dollars by the year 2004. And the GOP band plays on.

The GOP is faithless to its allies and supporters, willing to betray them for momentary advantage

That Christians and conservatives have been consistently instrumental in providing tens of millions of votes to the GOP, from Reagan to Bush to the congressional elections of '94, is accepted fact. That the Christian Right has made the difference in literally hundreds of legislative and congressional races since 1980 (a year in which I personally helped to channel the Christian Right's energy in defeating over three dozen Congressmen), is not questioned. That evangelicals' loyalty as a voting block is second to none — with 80% of the vote usually being cast for the party in question (rivaled only by the loyalty of the Black vote who normally deliver 90% of their votes to the Democrats) is clear. This is a key strategic consideration in any GOP campaign manager's handbook.

Given our significant voting strength and our record of awarding ever higher percentages of the evangelical vote to the Republican Party (to say nothing about supplying the majority of volunteers that do the real work of campaigning), what is our reward for our incredible fealty? Why, of course, a big slap in the face! Ronald Reagan rewarded us by allowing Nancy, Jim Baker, Dick Darman and Mike Deaver (all of whom regarded Christians *or* conservatives as "kooks") to run his administration and eviscerate his conservative agenda. (That's why Reagan didn't even push for symbolic issues like prayer in school, let alone more substantial issues like the Human Life Amendment). George Bush, of course, couldn't stand the sight of us and preferred stacking the White House staff with gays rather than evangelicals — a practice that got so out of hand that it led to the departure of the Christian Right's sole token on the White House staff, Public Liaison Director Doug Weed.

That brings us to Bob Dole and the Republican Convention of '96. Here we see the GOP's "happy face" mask torn away to reveal the shocking ingratitude and superciliousness etched in stone. Rather than acknowledge the key role Christians played in delivering a Republican Congress for the first time in a half century, we are told that it's our fault that George Bush lost. It wasn't that George Bush was a lackadaisical, inarticulate dilettante, totally out of touch with the nation, who hardly even bothered to

campaign (and was widely acknowledged by pros like Reagan campaign manager Ed Rollins to have commanded the worst-run political campaign in modern history) — no, it was the Christian Right's fault for turning the '92 Houston Convention into a "Right-Wing spectacle." It was also that meany Pat Buchanan's fault. And those horrid Christian Right people. The GOP bureaucrats in charge of the '96 Convention were committed to one theme. Ironically it had nothing to do with what polls showed the public was interested about — namely, the rapid deterioration of the nation's values. Nor did (as Bill Clinton not so subtly pointed out) it have anything to do with following up on Gingrich's Contract with America that had served as the GOP's centerpiece just twenty months previous. Rather, the goal of the wise men controlling THIS Convention was "not to repeat the mistakes of '92" — codewords for saying that the Christian conservative zealots would have to be kept in the closet. In other words, the Convention would be "safe" (read: boring) with no upsetting visionaries (like Pat Buchanan) to unsettle the emasculated little bureaucrats running the show. As a further affront to common sense or even common decency, beyond this almost diabolical treachery (i.e., after handing the GOP Congress an unprecedented victory, we get accused of sinking the imbecilic campaign of feeble Prince George), the Dole campaign spent most of its pre-convention energy attacking conservatives from Gary Bauer to Pat Buchanan.

Even the normally congenial Dr. Dobson, who had just prayed with Dole publicly, accused him of going out of his way to insult and alienate the Christian vote. Dobson was reportedly so upset with Dole's effort to marginalize social conservatives "that he threatened to sit out the election." As Washington's conservative sage Paul Weyrich pointed out, most candidates begin by solidifying their base, but Dole began by "carpet bombing" his base. Of course, now Dole expects all to be forgiven because he has selected neo-conservative hero Jack Kemp (who reportedly stated he would never vote for Pat Buchanan) as his running-mate. One shivers to think once in office how Dole's chief advisors, i.e., his pro-choice, Chief of Staff feminist Sheila Burke or Donald Rumsfeld, Gerald Ford's Chief of Staff, would have rewarded us!

The GOP is suffering from terminal stupidity

Clearly, the sheen is off the GOP's aura of electoral prowess which was beginning to border on invincibility. If there's one thing the GOP spin-meisters have consistently demonstrated of late, it is a unique knack for distancing themselves from winning issues. No doubt historians will note the great irony of the '96 campaign: Bill Clinton, a man totally devoid of morality, being elected on a pro-family - moral values agenda! To compound this indignity it will be recorded that Mr. Clinton, well regarded as the patron saint of whores of all description (whether financial, political or sexual) did not abscond with the GOP's moral agenda by stealth. Rather it was awarded to him by default when GOP "strategists" jettisoned it as non-relevant at best,

“divisive” at worst. Since the received “wisdom” of the party elders dictated not repeating the “mistakes” of the ’92 Houston convention, the year’s hottest issues (as the Gallop Poll proved), were abandoned in the garbage dump for political scavengers like Dick Morris to reclaim. It is symptomatic of the blindness besetting the GOP wise men that in correctly seeking to avoid a repetition of the ’92 debacle, they overlooked the most obvious reason for their defeat, i.e. the nomination of a know-nothing, do-nothing (the man who elected him to the Vice Presidency, Ed Rollins, described him as lacking both conviction and vision) scion of the Eastern establishment, George Bush. Searching high and low, they finally found a suitable scapegoat for their own incompetence to moral-issue conservatives. Now we know how the early Christians felt when Nero blamed them for burning Rome! Which gets us to the next piece of evidence proving the irreversible brain damage afflicting the GOP brain trust to their unequalled penchant for anointing tongue-tied visionless mediocrities.

What is the GOP’s fascination with nominating men who consistently lack the primary ingredients of a successful candidate: a message and an ability to articulate it? Like the barely ambulatory Ford and clueless Bush with his “vision” thing, Dole could never spell out why he should be elevated to the highest office in the land. Indeed, the GOP’s top money men were said to be horrified that in a private meeting with them, Dole was at a total loss to tell them even in the most rudimentary fashion why he was running or what he hoped to accomplish! What sort of political aneurysm would precipitate nominating a candidate who can’t even spell vision, let alone articulate or implement one to lead us into the twenty-first century? A candidate who not only is wrong on the issues but whose lack of charisma and articulation make us pine for the days of the glib George Bush?

Clearly the party elders are suffering from some political variant of Alzheimer’s—debilitating them from remembering the hard-fought lessons of the recent past and propelling them to continually prostrate themselves before the candidates with the least substance possible. This bizarre scene is eerily reminiscent of the octogenarians who ran the Politburo: a bunch of old half-wit sitting around congratulating each other on how vital and brilliant they were to rotating the Premiership amongst their small number, all the while completely out of touch with reality.

As the ultimate proof that our patient is now totally brain dead and thus beyond any conceivable resurrection, let us dissect exactly how it was that Field Marshals Gingrich, Dole and Barbour, with a legion of highly motivated congressmen and zillions of dollars available from corporate America, managed to be outmaneuvered by one of the most liberal presidents of the twentieth century on their own turf — balancing the budget. Every poll taken in the last 40 years has confirmed that the American public places far greater confidence in the GOP than the Democrats when it comes to fiscal sanity. How then did Clinton win the battle of the budget by forcing the Republicans to back down on closing down the federal government if he didn’t sign their budget?

The answer is simple. Unlike his adversaries who as previously noted suffer from a serious lack of non-impaired gray matter, Clinton is a strategic thinker.

While congressional Republicans were totally absorbed with mirco-managing legislative tactics, Clinton was analyzing the larger strategic picture. Realizing that the battle would be won not in congressional cloakrooms but in the court of public opinion, Clinton launched a massive counter-attack employing over 18 million dollars raised by the Democratic National Committee for precisely this purpose. Clinton, the “Lyn’ King,” personally directed this massive media campaign predicated on Jim Carvell’s theory that if you tell a lie big enough and long enough no matter how outrageous it is, it will be believed. Clinton’s TV spots (which incidentally violated the spirit if not the letter of federal election law governing campaign spending limits) were, as usual, half-truths and distortions. They falsely claimed that Republicans in trying to balance the budget were going to eliminate Medicare (actually they were only going to try to slow its growth rate down by a paltry few percentage points) as well as abolish school lunches for children, loans for deserving college students, and perhaps even the very air we breathe. The effect of this unprecedented propaganda campaign personally directed by a sitting president was to drive his favorability ratings up 15 points or higher than they had been (a gain of roughly 1% for every 1 million dollars invested) in crucial states, while simultaneously driving the Republicans’ ratings down. This action intimidated the GOP into backing down while elevating Clinton to a position of overwhelming strength to begin the election year. Guess where the Democratic National Committee bought TV time — in the key states, of course, that Clinton needed to clinch the election twelve months later. What a coincidence! Clinton’s scare tactics were so successful that Republican Majority Leader, Dick Armey’s aunts thought he was trying to cut off their Medicare!

Now what’s truly incredible about all of this is not that a clever politician figured out that he could use TV to his advantage. Rather, the startling thing was the lack of a counter-move from the wunderkids at the RNC. Since they were sitting on a multimillion dollar war chest, one wonders why they didn’t come to Newt’s rescue. If they’d gone on the offensive, exposing the Democrats’ charade as the self-serving scam that it was, they most certainly would have reversed the polling numbers and won the battle of the budget. Moreover, if they had pressed the matter further, revealing Clinton as the characterless leader that he is, cynically attempting to manipulate the American people by exploiting their fears while blatantly and purposefully misrepresenting the truth, he would have been forced to capitulate on the budget and would have been greatly weakened entering the election year cycle. But, oh no, the RNC was too busy worrying about what the Christian Right was up to, to pay attention to such minor things as a multi-million dollar campaign to bash their heads in. In conclusion, the brilliant strategists of the GOP (who

constantly remind us of our own political inexperience and thus the necessity for allowing them — the pros — to handle strategy while we concentrate on licking stamps) allowed Bill Clinton who never saw a spending bill he didn't like, and who enjoys dangerously low ratings in the polls on the issue of his character, to hijack the moral highground on balancing the nation's books.

Even more astounding, however, was ceding to undoubtedly the sleaziest president in the history of the Republic, the title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, of the family, of traditional values, of motherhood, the flag and apple pie: a president subject to so many various investigations (Whitewater, Travelgate, Filegate, Hillarygate, ad nauseam) by multiple congressional committees and independent counsels, that he made Nixon look like a choir boy; a president surrounded by more Cabinet members and senior officials either convicted, under investigation, or about to be, than any president in history.

Didn't it ever occur to the GOP's leadership to use one of the Democrats' favorite tactics against them and run against Clinton on "the sleaze factor"? If ever a President or an administration deserved it, it is this one! This would have been an arguably sound strategy in light of the character question most Americans hold about our beloved leader. It would also have allowed Dole's managers to capitalize on one of his few apparent assets: a decent and honest character. Surely this strategy would have offset Clinton's incredibly hypocritical claim to moral leadership for the twenty-first century!

Or how about something even more difficult to overlook in its usefulness in deflating Clinton's stake-out of family values — how about reminding voters where Clinton's actions (rather than his rhetoric) place him on the record of "moral issues"? Remember the "values president's" first major effort upon capturing the White House? To make the military safe for homosexuality! What about his ambassador to America's families, the brilliant replacement of Everett Koop with the unforgettable Joycelyn Elders — who took great delight in lecturing school children on how properly to masturbate and who went on record as stating, "If I could be the condom queen. . . I would wear a crown on my head with a condom on it. I would." Well stated, Madam Surgeon General! Or how about Clinton's aborted attempt to replace the finally uncontrollable Ms. Elders with Dr. Henry Foster who midway through Senate hearings began to recall that after all — gee-whiz — he **had** performed quite a few abortions! Or how about contrasting Clinton's newfound fondness for public virtue with the fact that he is the first President to be hit with a sexual harassment lawsuit and the first presidential candidate to openly have staff members assigned to covering "bimbo eruptions" containing — one way or the other — an array of women from coming forward with even more lurid tales than spilled forth from Gennifer Flowers' twelve-year sordid affair with Mr. Moral Leadership. But the irony of a man possessed of all the moral virtue of a common street hustler posturing as the very embodiment of moral values is lost on the GOP

leadership who are obsessed with staying clear of moral issues lest they be confused with religious fanatics or Pat Buchanan. Thus, happily for Bill Clinton, who may need to exercise the pardoning power of his office sooner than you think, the Republicans snatched defeat from the jaws of victory, when they ceded the moral high ground which they themselves did not have the common sense to occupy. The consequences: The loss of 25% of the normal evangelical vote margin (i.e., 55% vs. 80%) and a major electoral route. I wonder if all those GOP leaders who distanced themselves from Pat Buchanan because he might prove to be so unpopular, are reconsidering their assumptions?

The big question in all of this is, of course, what should our reaction be to the Republican morass of moral bankruptcy, electoral incompetence, sheer stupidity and hostility to the Christian Right? What reasonable, workable options do we have?

Editor's Note: In our January issue, Colonel Doner previews the upcoming fight for the GOP soul, handicaps our chances of winning, and decides the price is greater than the purse to be won. He talks about the limitations of parties in setting a course for the good ship America and examines alternative strategies. He also discovers why the bulk of the GOP prefers the company of liberal secularists to Christian conservatives. Finally, he attempts to fathom whose side Ralph Reed is on.

Colonel Doner spent three decades in Republican and Christian politics as a professional fundraiser, media strategist, organizational consultant, and architect of the Christian Right. In the '70's his clients spanned the range from The American Conservative Union to Ronald Reagan. In the late '70's he co-founded the first wave of Christian Right organizations — The Christian Voice Lobby which pioneered issuing report cards on how members of Congress voted on "values" issues, and the American Christian Voice Foundation, publisher of the renowned Presidential Biblical Scoreboard magazine. Considered one of the preeminent political strategists for the Christian Right, his work was featured in hundreds of print articles and books as well as on "60 Minutes," "Donahue," "20/20," ABC, CBS and NBC news, and was credited for being the decisive factor in defeating over three dozen members of Congress. In 1980, his work as founder of Christians for Reagan, which aired TV spots tying the Democratic National Committee to the gay rights movement, drew forth a direct attack from an irate Jimmy Carter.

In 1984, he served as chairman of the national Reagan/Bush Christian voter registration campaign raising and spending millions of dollars to mobilize the evangelical community in 50 states. In the process, he co-founded the American Coalition for Traditional Values, the broadest-based coalition of major evangelical leaders ever to unite behind a political objective. His ferocious

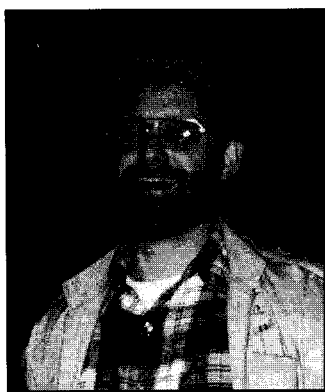
televised attacks on Geraldine Ferraro and his distribution of over 5 million Presidential Biblical Scoreboard magazines highlighting Mondale's anti-family positions earned him a televised assault from Walter Mondale. After serving as a senior strategist for what the media termed two or the "big three" Christian Right organizations, (i.e. Christian Voice, ACTV, and the Moral Majority) he left Washington to write several books including the widely acclaimed The Samaritan Strategy — A New Agenda for Christian Activism. He is currently working on two new books and serves as president of an international consulting company specializing in organizational, media and fundraising strategies. He resides in Orlando with his wife Miriam and son Brant.

For information regarding a reprint of this article and Colonel Doner's forthcoming article (both will be reprinted together in a monograph form), please write or fax:

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Proverbs and Politics

By Rev. William O. Einwechter



"Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom: and with all thy getting get understanding" (*Prov. 4:7*). By these words Solomon exalts wisdom and calls us to do all in our power to attain wisdom. But where to we find wisdom? "For the Lord giveth wisdom: out of his mouth cometh understanding" (*Pr. 2:6*). As the text says, the Lord is the source of

true wisdom and knowledge, and that He reveals His wisdom unto us in His Word. So then if man is to find true wisdom for living, he must seek it in the pages of Holy Scripture. The source of wisdom is not man's autonomous reason, "natural law," or experience. The source of true wisdom, according to Proverbs, is the revealed Word of God. The Scriptures instruct us in the ways of truth, wisdom, and righteousness, and are able to equip us for every good work in every sphere of life (*2 Tim. 3:16-17*).

The focus of this article is "getting wisdom" for the sphere of politics. If we are to honor the Lord and be

successful in our political actions, "wisdom is the principal thing" that we must obtain. A particularly rich fountainhead of political wisdom is the book of Proverbs. This portion of God's Word contains significant teaching on civil justice, the civil magistrate, and the duty of citizens. In this essay we will discuss the purpose, motto, and scope of Proverbs and apply each of these to the issue of politics.

Politics and the Purpose of Proverbs

Proverbs is part of the Hebrew wisdom literature and, as such, its fundamental purpose is to enable us "to know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding; to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgment, and equity. . ." (*Prov. 1:2-3*). Wisdom, in the Hebrew sense, dealt with the art of being successful in life from God's perspective. The goal of Biblical wisdom is to provide man with the knowledge on how to rightly live in accord with the principles of God's moral law. Proverbs is a book of practical morality and it teaches man how to apply the moral law to a wide variety of situations. As Toy observes, "Proverbs may be described as a manual of conduct. Its observations relate to a number of forms of life, to affairs domestic, agriculture, urban (the temptations of city life), commercial, political, and military."¹ Proverbs is an important Biblical source of wisdom for politics. First, in a general sense, the book teaches principles for human conduct, interpersonal relationships, morals, economics, etc., which can be applied to any sphere, including politics. These general principles must be obeyed if we are to be successful in our political dealings. Secondly, in a more specific sense, Proverbs reveals wisdom that directly addresses the political sphere. There are scores of verses in the book that teach on the issues of civil government: the standards of justice, the proper conduct of magistrates, penology, conduct of citizens, and national blessing and cursing.² When you combine the general principles of Proverbs with its specific instruction on civil affairs, it becomes apparent that Proverbs is an excellent and indispensable manual for politics. By following God's wisdom as revealed in Proverbs, any person or nation can become skillful in politics and be equipped to build a righteous and just social order.

It is imperative that the church begin to teach the wisdom for politics that God has revealed in His Word. For too long now the church has failed to show how the Scriptures define and regulate civil government. Proverbs rebukes the pietistic, antinomian rejection of the Christian's responsibility to glorify God in the political realm by setting forth wisdom for righteous political action. If it is God's purpose in Proverbs to give us wisdom for politics, then it is clear that He intends for His people to teach that wisdom and to follow that wisdom! If the Scriptures speak to every sphere of life (and Proverbs most certainly indicates that they do), then we must conclude that the church must apply the Scriptures to every sphere of life, including politics.

Proverbs not only instructs us in God's wisdom for

politics; it also points us to the only true source of wisdom: “the Lord giveth wisdom: out of his mouth cometh knowledge and understanding” (*Pr. 2:6*). God’s Word is the only infallible source of wisdom and truth for politics! Yet many Christians play the fool and either minimize or outright scorn the idea that the Bible is the only infallible source of wisdom for civil law and government. These Christians would rather get their political “wisdom” from natural law theorists and conservative think tanks than from the Bible. However, Proverbs will allow for no such folly; it points us to the wisdom of God as revealed in His law-word.

Politics and the Motto of Proverbs

The motto of the book of Proverbs is that “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge, but fools despise wisdom and instruction” (*Pr. 1:7; cf. Pr. 9:10*). This declaration strongly affirms that the fear of the Lord is the starting point for all true wisdom and knowledge. To fear God is to honor Him as Creator and Lord, and to humbly submit to His authority. As Payne states, “‘Fear’ is faith, as it submits to His will.”³ The man who fears God will see God’s Word as the revelation of God’s wisdom and truth and will believe and obey all its precepts and teaching. On the other hand, the “fool” rejects the wisdom of God and, following Satan’s lie, accounts his own “wisdom” as superior to God’s Word.

The motto that “the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom,” establishes that all the moral instruction in Proverbs is based on the law of God. The concept of the fear of the Lord brings together law and wisdom because both are rooted in the holy nature of God, and both are the revelation of God’s will for man. Biblical law sets forth the essential principles and precepts of righteous living and action, and Biblical wisdom applies these righteous standards to various circumstances. Since wisdom is the proper application of Biblical law, the wisdom of God is as binding upon men as the law of God.

Furthermore, the idea of the fear of the Lord establishes the close relationship between the law of Moses and the wisdom of Solomon, between Deuteronomy and Proverbs. The command to “fear the Lord thy God” is central to the teaching of Moses in Deuteronomy (*Dt. 6:13, 24; 8:6; 10:20; 13:4*). In fact, the fear of the Lord is set forth as the essential starting point for whole-hearted obedience to God’s law (*Dt. 10:12-13*). Solomon continues this same emphasis and makes the fear of the Lord the motto and constant theme of Proverbs (*Pr. 1:7; 2:5; 3:7; 8:13; 9:10; 10:27; 13:13; 14:2, 16, 26, 27; 15:16, 33; 16:6; 19:23; 22:4; 23:17; 24:21; 31:10*). In both Deuteronomy and Proverbs to fear the Lord is to depart from evil and to love and obey God’s law (*Dt. 10:12; Pr. 16:6; 8:13*), because both books are based on the same unchanging standard of righteousness—the holiness of God. The relationship between Proverbs and God’s law is expressed by Kaiser: “The counsel given in this book was applied to the more practical situations in life, but its aim was to command the same standard of righteousness

commanded in the law of Moses.”⁴ If the fear of the Lord is the beginning of all wisdom, then we must conclude that the fear of the Lord is the first principle of true political knowledge and understanding. Why is this so? The fear of the Lord leads men to believe that God is Lord over all His creation and that every aspect of life is to be governed by God’s law. Therefore, those who fear God look to the Bible for their wisdom for politics. In the Scripture they learn the truth that civil government has been instituted by God, that the civil magistrate is a servant of God, and that the standard of civil law and justice is the law of God! No one can be a truly wise citizen or ruler who does not believe these truths and take them as his starting point in politics.

*If Israel and the nations
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the standards of civil
justice revealed in Israel’s
civil law!*

Those who reject the fear of the Lord make their own wisdom the foundation for their politics. Proverbs requires that we consider such political thinkers and politicians to be “fools.” The motto of Proverbs requires that we understand that all who do not fear God are devoid of true political wisdom! How can anyone be wise who does not even know the first principle of wisdom? According to Scripture, all non-Christian political thought is foolish because it is based on the lie that the one true God does not exist (*Ps. 14:1*); all non-Christian political thought is rebellious because it seeks to suppress the truth in unrighteousness (*Rom. 1:18*); and all non-Christian political thought is idolatrous because it worships the creature rather than the Creator (*Rom. 1:25*). Now it is true that the work of the law has been written in the hearts of all men (*Rom. 2:15*), and that this accounts for any truth or justice that may surface in non-Christian cultures and politicians. However, since the unbeliever is in rebellion against God, his political system is based on the lie. The unregenerate

politician begins his thinking with the false presupposition that man does not need the Word of God but is able to determine good and evil for himself. That such a blasphemous premise can lead to true wisdom is a dangerous error. The sad thing is that many Christians do not understand this, and they continue to drink at the polluted springs of humanistic political doctrine.

The motto of Proverbs also establishes the centrality of God's law for politics. If the fear of the Lord is to depart from evil and keep God's commandments, then the fear of the Lord requires that we have God's law as the standard of civil government. The written law of God is the measure of true justice; true political wisdom is fully theonomic in orientation. The relationship between Proverbs and Deuteronomy that is established by the mutual emphasis on the fear of the Lord points us to the civil law of Moses for the revelation of political justice and equity.

Additionally, the motto of Proverbs helps us understand the Biblical qualifications for the office of civil magistrate. Throughout Scripture the fear of the Lord is set forth as an essential requirement for any man who would serve as a governor, ruler, or judge (*Ex. 18:21; Dt. 17:19; 2 Sam. 23:3; 2 Chr. 19:7; Neh. 7:2; Ps. 2:10-12*). As Proverbs indicates, all who reject the fear of God are fools who are wise in their own eyes; and they are fools because they reject the wisdom and authority of God's Word! If Christians would heed the political wisdom of Proverbs then they would only support for political office men who fear God and they would stop seeking to place "fools" into positions of authority over them.

Politics and the Scope of Proverbs

The book of Proverbs expresses the moral law in terms of wisdom for living in the world created by God. As is the rest of the Old Testament wisdom literature, its teaching is "generally divorced from Hebrew national life and ceremony (with but few exceptions, as in *Pr. 3:9*). The Proverbs are timeless, separated from the limits of localization."⁵ Bahnsen rightly contends that Proverbs has universal application and authority, saying, "It is generally conceded that the scope of the wisdom literature opens up onto the whole world and is not restricted to what is true only in Israel; thus we find axiomatic and categorical truths throughout a book like Proverbs, truths which lack distinctive national traits . . . it is concerned with all nations."⁶ Even the Jewish commentator Cohen says that the teaching of Proverbs "is applicable to all men everywhere and is true of life generally and not of any particular people or land."⁷ Through the Proverbs God instructs all nations that true wisdom is to fear Him and obey His Word. So then, Proverbs indicates that God's wisdom is for all men in every nation. Though the book was primarily written by Solomon the king of Israel, its teaching covers all aspects of life, transcends national boundaries, and is universally applicable. The universal scope of Proverbs shows that God intends for all nations to fear Him and to live according to the principles of justice and righteousness revealed in His

law-word. Therefore, the fact that Proverbs contains a wealth of instruction on politics and civil government leads to some important conclusions concerning politics.

First, it reveals that God intends that our politics be regulated by His wisdom and not by our own. Human reason and natural law are not enough; all men need the Word of God to instruct them in true political wisdom. Second, Proverbs demonstrates that God holds Israel and the Gentile nations to the same measure of political righteousness. Proverbs makes absolutely no distinction between Jewish magistrates and Gentile magistrates when it reveals the duty of kings; both are held to the same standard of conduct and of justice (*cf. Pr. 8:15-17; 16:12; 17:15*). The clear message of Proverbs is that all nations and rulers are responsible to God's law, and that they will be blessed or cursed according to their obedience to God's law (*Pr. 14:34*). There is not even the slightest hint in Proverbs that God judges the nations by a different (or lower) standard than He judges Israel! Proverbs helps to establish the truth that there is only one rule of justice and equity for all nations and that every magistrate in every land is to govern by that single righteous standard. Third, if Israel and the nations are held to the same standard of civil justice in Proverbs, and if the standard of civil justice in Israel is the law revealed by Moses, then we are driven to conclude that God binds the nations to the standards of civil justice revealed in Israel's civil law! The inescapable message of Proverbs is that true political wisdom is to build one's civil laws on the civil laws of the Old Testament.

Conclusion

The book of Proverbs contains a wealth of wisdom for politics. However, Proverbs also declares that "fools despise wisdom and instruction." Sadly, in regard to politics, the church has often played the part of the fool. The evidence that this is the case is too strong to deny. The church has largely rejected the cultural mandate and the authority of God's Word over the political sphere, and has substituted a pietistic and antinomian worldview. In many cases the church has shamefully retreated behind its own walls and has virtually conceded the control of politics to men who do not fear God; thus the humanists are now in power. In other cases Christians have been involved in politics, but they have not made the fear of the Lord and the authority of His law-word the first principle of their political wisdom. Hence, their politics is driven by a vision of pluralist democracy which dishonors the Lordship of Christ and by an adherence to a "conservatism" that is as godless as modern liberalism in its presuppositions. Because of the church's failure, our nation has departed from the fear of the Lord and is fast heading to a day of judgment at the hands of the great King of the nations (*Ps. 2:9-12*). The time has come for the church to repent. The call to obey God's wisdom for politics is upon us. Will we hear it?

¹ Crawford H. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* (Edinburgh, 1981), x.

² I have personally identified about 125 such verses. If the reader would like a copy of the listing of these verses (written out), he may obtain them by contacting me at the address at the end of this article.

³ J. Barton Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament* (Grand Rapids, 1962), 307.

⁴ Walter Kaiser, *Towards an Old Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids, 1978), 174.

⁵ J. Barton Payne, *op. cit.* 55-56.

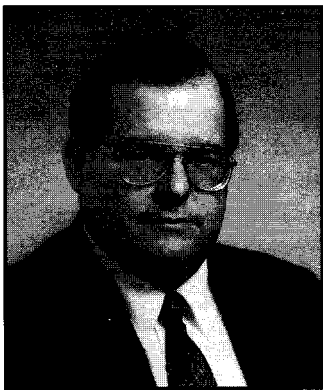
⁶ Greg L. Bahnsen, *Theonomy in Christian Ethics* (Phillipsburg, 1977), 343.

⁷ A. Cohen, *Proverbs* (London, 1946), xiv.

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Political Correctness and the Doctrine of Hell

By John E. Stoos



Education of the heart is confessedly too much neglected in all our schools. It has often been remarked that 'knowledge is power,' and as truly that 'knowledge without principle to regulate it may make a man a powerful villain.' It is all-important that our youth should early receive such moral training as shall make it safe to give them knowledge.

David P. Page

Congressman Vic Fazio used his National Press Club appearance to popularize the sport of "Christian Bashing." While Vic has not yet called for the return of the lions, a T-shirt worn at a recent Capitol rally bore the inscription, "I hope I shall live to see the last Christian."

We are engaged in a battle for the "heart and soul" of America, and it is time that our side understood this as well as our enemies. Do you think for a moment that Mr. Fazio held his press conference to attack the "Religious

Right" because he cares about the well-being of the Republican Party? He is the fourth most powerful Democrat in Washington D.C. and is in charge of the Congressional Campaign Committee whose job it is to defeat as many Republicans as possible.

Congressman Fazio is concerned because he recognizes seeds of an actual full-blown political movement, a movement that could challenge the hold liberal humanists have had on Washington D.C. for almost forty years. Mr. Fazio said he has no problem with "religious people" or "Christians." His only concern is for those who are "intolerant"! Mr. Fazio, and the rest of the liberal humanists, want you to believe that they are open-minded and tolerant of other people's beliefs, while those who follow our Biblical heritage are narrow-minded bigots who are intolerant of other people's views. "We live in a pluralistic society and must learn to respect the views of others," is the liberal battle cry. It sounds so good that fellow Christians often accept this premise and then wonder why they have trouble reaching the unconverted.

Pluralism is Transitional

We must understand that pluralism is nothing more than a transitional phase a society goes through as it shifts its moral foundations from one world view to another. We were once a Christian nation, governed on the principles of God's Word. Now we have a pagan culture, governed by principles of evolutionary humanism. As a result, we have the breakdown of the family, rampant violence, fiscal chaos and moral degeneracy that is beginning to rival that of the Greeks and Romans. If we are really concerned, we cannot treat only the symptoms, but must be willing to engage in the battle to restore a proper foundation for American culture. "If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?" (Ps. 11:3).

Our founders believed that a loving, all-powerful God sent his Son to save sinners and that those who reject him are cast into hell. Vic would think that pretty intolerant! He would never want to live in a nation controlled by such narrow-minded people. Just imagine what the schools would be like!

Even Public Education Was Once Christian

While home-schooling our children, my wife, Linda, found an 1847 training manual for public school teachers by David P. Page. *Page's Theory and Practice of Teaching* became the standard textbook for training public school teachers. In the 1899 reprint, E.C. Branson said, "Although more than half a century old, there is hardly a judgment in this book that needs to be revised. It is a wise book — a book for all time. It comes nearer being a classic than any other book on teaching ever written in America. A teacher who has not mastered his Page will some day be as ridiculous as a lawyer who has not thoroughly thumbed his Blackstone."

It will help one to understand how far we have strayed

in a few short decades by quoting from the section in Page's book that discusses a teacher's responsible for the religious training. Please remember, this is from a teacher's training manual for those preparing to teach in the PUBLIC SCHOOLS! "We live in a Christian land. It is our glory, if not our boast, that we have descended from an ancestry that feared God and Reverenced His word. Very justly we attribute our superiority as a people over those who dwell in the darker portions of the world, to our purer faith derived from that precious fountain of truth—the Bible. Very justly, too does the true patriot and philanthropist rely upon our faith and practice as a Christian people for the permanence of our free institutions and our unequaled social privileges.

"If we are so much indebted, then, to the Christian religion for what we are, and so much dependent upon its life-giving truths for what we may hope to be, — how important is it that all our youth should be nurtured under its influences!

"When I say religious training, I do not mean sectarianism. In our public schools, supported at the public expense, and in which the children of all denominations meet for instruction, I do not think that any man has a right to crowd his own peculiar notions of theology upon all, whether they are acceptable or not. Yet there is common ground which he can occupy and to which no reasonable man can object. He can teach a reverence for the Supreme Being, a reverence for His Holy Word, for the influences of His Spirit, for the character and teachings of the Savior, and for the evil of sin in the sight of God, and the awful consequences of it upon the individual. He can teach the duty of repentance and the privilege of forgiveness. He can teach our duty to worship God, to obey His laws, to seek the guidance of His Spirit and the salvation by His Son. He can illustrate the blessedness of the divine life, the beauty of holiness, and the joyful hope of heaven, —and to all this no reasonable man will be found to object, so long as it is done in a truly Christian spirit."

America, even at the turn of the century, not only taught its youth the importance of God's Word, but the principles of Scripture were practiced by the adults. We understood the importance of self-government, the family and the church. We had minimum government and maximum liberty. Property rights were respected and people did not even have to lock their doors. We had our problems, especially when it came to the compassionate use of accumulated wealth and the proper respect of other races, but these could have been addressed without changing the entire foundation upon which our nation was founded.

The Humanists Fear Applied Christianity

However, over the next forty years our Christian foundation was treacherously dismantled and replaced with evolutionary humanism: a foundation where there is no God, and all concepts of right and wrong are relative.

Today we have the survival of the fittest, with the need for an ever more powerful government to try to bring some kind of order to the growing chaos and violence. Today's teachers must prevent any type of praying in schools and are forbidden even to post a copy of the Ten Commandments, let alone discuss them.

In 1847 it was politically correct to discuss going to hell in a public school textbook. Now those are some basics worth getting back to!

What politicians like Vic Fazio are really afraid of is people like me, and a growing cast of thousands, who are convinced that America has taken a wrong turn and are willing to work long and hard, with much prayer and sweat, to restore the Biblical foundations we have cast aside.

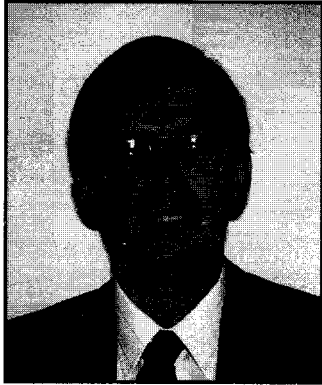
And what about tolerance? Let me close with one more refreshing quote from Mr. Page, "*The school* [and I would add political office] is no place for a man without principle, I repeat, THE SCHOOL IS NO PLACE FOR A MAN WITHOUT PRINCIPLE [emphasis is in the original]. Let such a man seek a livelihood anywhere else; or, failing to gain it by other means, let starvation seize the body and send the soul back to its Maker as it is, rather than he should incur the fearful guilt of poisoning youthful minds and dragging them down to his own pitiable level. If there can be one sin greater than another, on which Heaven frowns with more awful displeasure, it is that of leading the young into principles of error and the debasing practices of vice."

In 1847 it was politically correct to discuss going to hell in a public school textbook. Now those are some basics worth getting back to!

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The Error of Excessive Political Expectations

By Wayne C. Johnson



Does the Christian Coalition (or other such groups) promise too much — or more particularly, are Christians expecting too much — from political action?

Put another way, is it really anyone's responsibility to impose righteousness upon the land? In the answer to that question lies one of the least understood differences

between our historic Protestant roots and current quasi-Christian political organizations.

Historically, Protestants have viewed the hierarchical state with suspicion. While confessing that the state derives its authority from God, we also confess this authority to be strictly limited. In other words, the state is not sovereign.

What Politics Cannot Do

Yet today, many Christians are acting as though it is. They appear to believe that genuine social change will flow from the ballot box and, too often, appear ready to impose change by the same means. This is antithetical to our most basic precepts.

Biblical law must be embraced; it cannot be imposed.

As a professional political consultant, I am constantly asked by fretful and occasionally angry people, why we are failing in our efforts to change the country, why the two parties don't work, why the system is broke and can't be fixed, etc. Too often, the implication is that what we are doing isn't working, and therefore we may need to adopt the shortcuts of our enemies.

The surprising truth is that the system works quite well. More to the point, we are getting approximately the government we deserve. It would be far more startling if we held an election and the next morning no one wanted to rob the 7-Eleven, everyone spoke respectfully to his parents and CBS told the truth. Few would question the life-

changing power of the ballot box.

Because we do *not* believe that politics is the stuff of salvation, why should we expect righteousness to miraculously result from an election? *Of course* we want to elect godly men to public office. *Of course* we need judges who will defend the truth and magistrates who will protect the innocent. But is it the role of civil government to regulate all sinful behavior? No, it is not. We can't see men's hearts and that's where most sin is. The magistrate has a very limited role in preserving peace and administering justice. If he, or we, step across that line, we become the enemies of another of God's gifts, liberty.

Decentralized Religion, Decentralized Politics

Biblical law must be embraced; it cannot be imposed. Civil government does not have the power to change men's hearts and we certainly do not want to give it the power to try. The church tried with the Inquisition and ended up making religious nonconformity a capital crime. The state has tried and ended up with fascism. Both are the result of ungodly authoritarianism.

The Reformation destroyed the concept of the hierarchical church, through its doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. The reformers believed every man could read the Bible for himself. Christ was his only Mediator, making earthly priests irrelevant. Not surprisingly, the hierarchical state soon collapsed in areas where the hierarchical church paradigm disappeared, replaced by forms of government which decentralized power and limited its use through covenants, compacts and constitutions. Interestingly, it is these same areas which resisted the rise of fascism in our own century.

Misguided Expectations

The problem in our current age is not with Christian political action, *per se*; it is with the *expectation*. Just what is it that we *expect* to accomplish through politics? Unfortunately, for many Christians, the answer is to remake society in the image of Biblical Christianity. Not only will this lead to disappointment; it is downright dangerous. Nations are not changed by elections; they are changed by grace — and they are changed one person at a time.

The chief goal of political action for the Christian is to have a government that protects the free preaching of the gospel. Yes, the magistrate is to be a terror to evildoers and enforce the peace, but he cannot change the heart of a single child, let alone save a nation. That is the ministry of the church and can be accomplished only by the operation of the Holy Spirit.

Because the reformers understood this principle, they didn't fall for political solutions trying to change matters of the heart. Neither should we. Few movements are inherently more dangerous than those which promise salvation through political action. Examples abound, from Latin American-style fascism to the twin evils of our century, the Nazi and Soviet states. In all of these systems, the state is absolute.

Defensive Politics

As Reformed Christians, we abhor such authoritarianism. There is no room for compromise on this issue and we must be constantly vigilant that we do not succumb to the seductive lure of such political absolutism. We must keep our focus. Politics in our age is not an *offensive*, but rather a *defensive* activity (unlike the mission of the Church).

To put it bluntly, our goal is to keep the politicians from either padlocking the church door or preventing us from raising our children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Along the way, we'd like a civil society where innocents are protected from murder and mayhem and a system of just courts to resolve disputes prevails.

Because of our abhorrence of unrestrained state power, Reformed believers have often found themselves on the firing line. We believe strongly in submitting to lawful authority, but Reformed Christians certainly saw their duty in standing up to the Nazis and Stalinists. Many paid with their lives and are buried in the same unmarked graves as the Gypsies, Jews and political dissidents they felt compelled to try to rescue.

Those Christians were right and we need to learn from their precious example. Accordingly, let us be careful of state power, lest we come to love it too much. When it grows beyond the bounds which God has established, it will be more a terror to the law-abiding than to the evildoer.

Realistic Politics

This may seem repetitious and obvious to Reformed Christians, but to those believers whose social and political activism is as new as their praise songbooks, these fundamental Biblical principles of limited government cannot be overstressed.

Because we do not expect salvation from politics, political organizations ought not be viewed in the messianic terms in which many Christians mistakenly view them. We do not need an exclusively Christian political party, for instance.

Why? Because most Americans will not vote for such a party and we will therefore lose. The purpose of a political party is to win. Under our two-party system, we form our coalitions *before* the election, unlike multi-party models in which the coalitions are formed *after* the election. For this reason, the parties must stay slightly to the right or left of the rest of the country (to use the very imperfect linear political model), sufficient to show contrast, but close enough to still win a majority.

The parties are remarkably good at this. I know they are good at it because my party is always moving away from me in the General Election while the opposing party is always simultaneously moving toward me, each trying to steal enough of the other's thunder to appeal to 50% + 1 of the voters. (The result is either a Bill Clinton or a Bob Dole, which is why we're so happy that politics really isn't everything, after all).

If this were the church, we would have an entirely different attitude. In the church, our struggle is not to give people the government they deserve, but rather the truth they're likely to hate. The state, on the other hand, contains people who ought not be in the church. The standard is therefore very different from the standard for the church. When we confuse these two organizational principles with one another (and we seem to), we get a marginalized political asterisk for a party and a watered-down gospel with the soul-convicting power of a fortune cookie in the church.

The civil covenant in our country contains all citizens; therefore the form of our political organization (which is not prescribed in Scripture) may encompass all civil covenant members, not just Christians. This explains the Republican Party. (Nothing *really* explains the Democratic Party). It is therefore quite clear that in a civil covenant as ours, the church is a particularly unsuitable model to use when designing a political party, and *vice versa*.

To put it in the simplest of terms, consider a nation composed of ten voting citizens, three of whom are Christians. If the Christians create their own party, they will get three votes, at best (probably less). If the secularists divide into two parties, the Christians can deliver the majority to one party or the other in exchange for the freedom to preach the Gospel and raise their children in the faith.

The only way the equation changes is if a) the Christians insist on being a "pure" third party (purely irrelevant, that is), or b) two or more of the secularists are converted. At that point, the center of the political debate shifts because hearts have been changed. This is a political model of liberty and representative government in which free people choose a government which represents their hearts. As the people change, so does their government, and that explains better than any poll or radio talk show host could hope to, exactly why our government is the way it is today.

For this reason, when it comes to politics, we ought to be, well . . . political. We need to stay in the game. Meanwhile, we need not only to pray for reformation and revival; we need to work for it. Most importantly, we must clearly understand the philosophy of Christian liberty which we profess, refusing at all costs to adopt the authoritarian model of our opponents. David addresses this very subject in the 37th Psalm (vs. 7-9):

Rest in the LORD, and wait patiently for him: fret not thyself because of him who prospereth in his way, because of the man who bringeth wicked devices to pass. Cease from anger, and forsake wrath: fret not thyself in any wise to do evil. For evildoers shall be cut off: but those that wait upon the LORD, they shall inherit the earth.

Wayne C. Johnson is a veteran political campaign consultant and Trustee of the Chalcedon Foundation.

The Transformation of American Law

By Herbert W. Titus



"The life of the law," wrote Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. in 1881, "has not been logic; it has been experience."¹

With this simple sentence, Holmes began a legal revolution in America that continues to this day. Prior to the rise of Holmes, American law rested on God's revelation.

In 1798, Jesse Root, Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Connecticut, wrote that Anglo-American "common law was derived from the law of nature and of revelation – those rules and maxims of immutable truth and justice, which arise from the eternal fitness of things. . . ."²

Less than one hundred years later, Holmes, soon to be appointed to the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, countered:

The felt necessities of the time, the prevalent moral and political theories, intuitions of public policy ... even the prejudices of judges ... have had more to do than the syllogism in determining the rules by which men should be governed.³

Holmes's sources of law diametrically opposed those identified by Root who explained:

...[L]aw is the perfection of reason, arising from the nature of God, of man, and of things.... It is universal It is in itself perfect, clear and certain; it ... cannot be changed or altered...; it is superior All positive laws are to be construed by it, and wherein they are opposed to it, they are void.⁴

Root's proposition that law was unchanging and unalterable contradicted Holmes who claimed:

The law embodies the story of a nation's development through many centuries, and cannot be dealt with as if it contained only axioms and corollaries of a book of mathematics. In order to know what it is, we must know what it has been, and what it tends to become.⁵

Root insisted that law did not come from men and civil society, but from "all the works and ways of God," including the created order, and, most especially, the Holy Scriptures:

The dignity of ... [the] original [law], the ... perpetuity of its precepts, are most clearly made known and delineated in the book of divine revelations; heaven

and earth may pass away and all the systems and works of man sink into oblivion, but not one jot or tittle of this law shall ever fall.⁶

Root understood that Biblical law was not limited to "religious" matters. Rather, he knew that Biblical law comprehended all "the rights and duties of man," including property ownership, contract rights and obligations, torts (wrongs to others), crimes (wrongs against the State), and domestic and civil relations. No wonder Root called the Bible "the Magna Charta of all our natural and religious rights and liberties — and the only solid basis of our civil constitution and privileges. . . ."⁷

Holmes would have none of this "religious stuff." To him, law was "nothing but a prediction that if a man does or omits certain things he will be made to suffer in this or that way by judgment of the court. . . ."⁸ Law, he continued, must therefore be understood from the perspective of a "bad man" — one who cares nothing about maxims, ethics or reason, but does care about "getting caught."⁹

At the time of America's founding, her legal statesmen received God's law as law.

In sum, Holmes perceived law to be what is practiced by men, disconnected from God. He measured law by its utility, not by its "rightness" or "wrongness." Thus, he argued that it would be "a gain if every word of moral significance could be banished from law altogether. . . ."¹⁰

Holmes's view that law is a pragmatic instrument, fashioned by men to meet the needs of society, dominates law today. God's law has been firmly rejected; judge-made "law" has taken its place. The Genesis account of creation has been thoroughly discredited; a neo-Darwinian conception of human evolutionary progress has become the driving force of legal thought. The Biblical revelation of a God-created world order has been discarded; legal analysis is now shaped by a tightly shut system of naturalistic premises.

God's Law Rejected

At the time of America's founding, her legal statesmen received God's law as law. They understood God's rules to be, as Jesse Root put it, "most energetic and coercive, for every one who violates its maxims and precepts are [sic] sure of feeling the weight of its sanctions."¹¹

This view of God's law followed that of Sir William Blackstone who wrote that "[l]aw, in its most comprehensive sense, signifies a rule of action ... which is prescribed by some superior, and which the inferior is

bound to obey.”¹² Blackstone’s views, in turn, mirrored the Genesis account of creation in the Holy Scriptures:

Man, considered as a creature, must necessarily be subject to the laws of his creator, for he is entirely a dependent being. A being, independent of any other, has no rule to pursue, but such as he prescribes to himself; but a state of dependence will inevitably oblige the inferior to take the will of him, on whom, he depends, as his rule of conduct.¹³

Blackstone and his contemporaries understood God’s law to be a self-sanctioning system of rules. God did not need civil society in order to reward those who obeyed His law or to punish those who disobeyed. The consequences of obedience and disobedience were built into the very created order.

This was evident from the beginning, in the account of the Garden where Adam and Eve were rewarded for their obedience and punished for their disobedience without aid of any civil ruler.¹⁴ And so it has been “outside the garden,” from the time of the first recorded murder in Genesis 4 to date.¹⁵

While this system of rewards and punishments may not be apparent to most people today — even to professing Christians — it was self-evident to all Americans in the founding era. What made it self-evident was their knowledge of God. In the words of Blackstone, they knew that

... the creator ... infinite [in] power ... [and in] wisdom ... has laid down only such laws as were founded in those relations of justice, that existed in the nature of things antecedent to any positive precept.... [And] the creator ... in his infinite goodness ... has so intimately connected, so inseparably interwoven the laws of eternal justice with the happiness of each individual, that the latter cannot be attained but by observing the former; and if the former be punctually obeyed, it cannot but induce the latter.¹⁶

This view of the effectual reign of God’s law continued to be held and espoused well into the nineteenth century. For example, John Austin in his 1832 treatise on jurisprudence reiterated that God’s rules were binding and enforced, for “God is emphatically the superior of Man. For his power affecting us with pain, and of forcing us to comply with his will, is unbounded and resistless.”¹⁷

Three years before Austin wrote his treatise, Justice Joseph Story of the United States Supreme Court delivered his inaugural oration as Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University, reminding his listeners that “[t]here never has been a period, in which the Common Law did not recognise Christianity as lying at its foundations.”¹⁸

In 1842, Justice Story put into practice what he preached. In his famous opinion in *Swift v. Tyson*¹⁹ he ruled that “law” and a court opinion are not one and the same, but that law is the “true” and “just” rule furnished by universal principles binding on all men everywhere. Such was Blackstone’s understanding when he wrote that “no

human laws are of any validity, if contrary to [God’s law] and such of them as are valid derive all their force, and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original.”²⁰

In 1857, Theodore Sedgwick, an eminent New York lawyer and a Jeffersonian Democrat, repeated with approval Blackstone’s definition of law and restated the Blackstonian proposition that all men are bound by the law of God:

Man, in whatever situation he may be placed, finds himself under the control of rules of action emanating from an authority to which he is compelled to bow, — in other words, of LAW. The moment he comes into existence, he is the subject of the will of God, as declared in what we term the laws of nature.²¹

From this foundational proposition, Sedgwick proceeded to itemize other laws governing the affairs of men, including the moral law, the municipal or civil law, and the laws of nations. He then offered this summary to his reader:

These codes are variously enforced, but each has its own peculiar sanction. They are curiously interwoven together, and in their combination tend to produce that progress and improvement of the race which we believe Christianity teaches.... Thus, the law of nature (the will of God), the moral law, the municipal law, and the law of nations, form a system of restraints before which the most consummate genius, the most vehement will, the angriest passions, and the fiercest desires, are compelled to bend, and the pressure of which the individual is forced to acknowledge his incapacity to resist.²²

Even as late as 1884, Thomas Cooley, Jay Professor of Law at the University of Michigan and a noted constitutional scholar, wrote in his introduction to a new edition of Blackstone’s Commentaries:

Even when convened to consider what shall be the terms of their government the people are not without law.... The law of God precedes their action; the immutable principles of right and justice are over and about them, and cannot rightfully be ignored....²³

Placed against this nineteenth century backdrop, Holmes’s statements divorcing law from morality, and limiting law to nothing more than “[t]he prophecies of what courts will do in fact,” are startling.²⁴ But Holmes was not alone. Nor did he pioneer the abrupt departure from America’s founding legal heritage.

Judicial Opinions Substituted

Prior to Holmes’s 1881 book on the common law and his 1897 lecture on the nature of law generally, Christopher Columbus Langdell promoted the same views as Dean of the Harvard Law School. Langdell assumed that post in 1870. In 1871, he published his teaching materials on contracts. In the preface to that book, entitled *Cases on Contracts*, Langdell laid out his philosophy of law:

Law ... consists of certain principles and doctrines.... Each of these doctrines has arrived at its present state by slow degrees; in other words, it is a growth, extending in many cases through centuries. This growth is to be traced ... through a series of cases; and much the shortest and best, if not the only way of mastering the doctrine effectually is by studying the cases in which it is embodied.²⁵

Implicit in Langdell's concept of law is that law is made by judges. What had been implicit in Langdell's new case method of teaching law, Holmes made explicit in his writings and lectures on law. What Holmes began, his Harvard colleague, John Chipman Gray finished in his 1909 Carpenter Lectures at Columbia University. Published under the title, *Nature and Sources of Law*, Gray debunked all sources of law except one, judges:

...[T]he law is made up of rules for decision which courts lay down; that all such rules are Law; that rules for conduct which courts do not apply are not Law; that the fact that the courts apply rules is what makes them Law; that there is no mysterious entity "The Law" apart from these rules; and that the judges are rather the creators than the discoverers of the Law.²⁶

As Gray trumpeted his view of law in the legal academy, Holmes continued his crusade from the bench, now the United States Supreme Court to which he had been appointed in 1902. In 1910, he dissented from Justice John Marshall Harlan's opinion that the federal courts were free to decide a state's common law independently from state court opinions. Holmes responded:

The law of a state does not become something outside of the state court, and independent of it, by being called the common law. Whatever it is called, it is the law as declared by state judges, and nothing else.²⁷

Seven years later, again in dissent, Holmes coined a phrase that became a favorite of his followers:

The common law is not a brooding omnipresence in the sky, but the articulate voice of some sovereign or quasi sovereign that can be identified....²⁸

Holmes's persistent dissents bore fruit twenty years later in *Erie R. Co. v. Tompkins*²⁹ which overruled Justice Story's ruling in *Swift v. Tyson* discussed above. Ardent Holmes disciple, Justice Felix Frankfurter, explained the significance of the Court's reversal:

In overruling *Swift v. Tyson* ..., *Erie R. Co. v. Tompkins* ... did not merely overrule a venerable case. It overruled a particular way of looking at law which dominated the judicial process long after its inadequacies had been laid bare.... Law was conceived as a "brooding omnipresence" of Reason, of which decisions were merely evidence and not themselves the controlling formulations.³⁰

What is remarkable about Frankfurter's statement is that he transposed Holmes's revision of Story's understanding of law as if it were Story's. This kind of misrepresentation of America's founding legal philosophy has become commonplace. Modernists simply cannot conceive that men like John Marshall, for example, really believed that law had been revealed by God and that judges discovered that law rather than made it up.³¹ Thus it is that man has become his own standard, with court opinion weighed against court opinion to determine the law, without the transcendent legal compass of Biblical law.

Jurisprudential Autonomy

Even modern conservative jurists, like Chief Justice William Rehnquist, have adopted the Holmesian premise that there is no law apart from courts and their opinions. As Hadley Arkes has written, Mr. Rehnquist has come to the conclusion that judgments of right and wrong are "simply products of personal belief" and have no authoritative or binding effect on others "until they are in some way given the sanction of law."³²

If that all that law is, then it has become no more and no less than the will of judges. For it is they, and they alone, who are empowered to foist their personal values and policy preferences on the rest of society in the name of law. This did not come about by accident, but was well planned and executed beginning in the early twentieth century with a new generation of Harvard-trained lawyers engineering the *coup de grace*.

¹ O. W. Holmes, *The Common Law* 1 (1881).

² J. Root, "Government and Laws in Connecticut," reprinted in *The Legal Mind In America*, 33 (P. Miller, ed. Cornell: 1962).

³ Holmes, *supra* note 1, at 1.

⁴ Root, *supra* note 2, at 34-35.

⁵ Holmes, *supra* note 1, at 1.

⁶ Root, *supra* note 2, at 35.

⁷ *Ibid.*, at 35-36.

⁸ Holmes, "The Path of the Law," reprinted in Holmes, *Collected Legal Papers*, 169 (1922).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 172-73.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 179.

¹¹ Root, *supra* note 2, 35.

¹² I. W. Blackstone, *Commentaries On The Laws Of England*, 38 (U. Chicago reprint: 1765).

¹³ *Ibid.*, at 39.

¹⁴ *Genesis* 3.

¹⁵ *Psalms* 2.

¹⁶ I. Blackstone, *supra* note 12, at 40.

¹⁷ J. Austin, *The Province Of Jurisprudence Determined* (1832) reprinted in Cohen and Cohwn's *Readings In Jurisprudence and Legal Philosophy* 22 (Little Brown: 1979).

¹⁸ J. Story, "Discourse Pronounced Upon the Inauguration of the Author as Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University (Aug. 25, 1829) reprinted in *The Legal Mind In America*, 178 (Cornell: 1962).

¹⁹ 16 Pet. (U.S.) 1, 18-19 (1842).

²⁰ I. Blackstone, *supra* note 12, at 41.

²¹ T. Sedgwick, "A Treatise on the Rules Which Govern the Interpretation and Application of Statutory and Constitutional Law" (New York: 1875) reprinted in *The Legal Mind In America*.

²²*Ibid.*

²³Blackstone, *Commentaries On The Laws Of England*, ix (Cooley ed. 1884).

²⁴Holmes, "The Path of the Law," *supra* note 8, at 173.

²⁵C. Langdell, *Cases On Contracts* (1871). An account of the role of Langdell as dean and the complete preface to his casebook may be found in Titus, "God, Evolution, Legal Education, and Law," *Journal Of Christian Jurisprudence* 11 (1986).

²⁶J.C. Gray, *Nature and Sources Of Law*, Sec. 2669 (Columbia U.: 1909).

²⁷*Kuhn v. Fairmont Coal Co.*, 215 U.S. 349, 372 (1910).

²⁸*Southern Pacific Co. v. Jensen*, 244 U.S. 205, 222 (1917).

²⁹304 U.S. 64 (1937).

³⁰*Guaranty Trust Co. v. York*, 326 U.S. 99, 101-02 (1945).

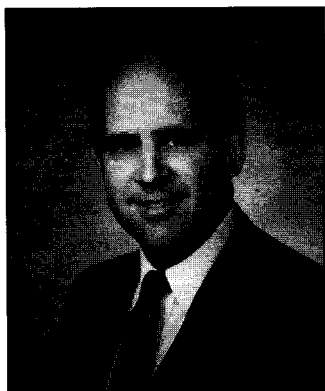
³¹See Titus, "Moses, Blackstone and the Law of the Land," *Christian Legal Society Quarterly* 5 (Fall 1980).

³²H. Arkes, *Beyond The Constitution* 15-16 (Princeton: 1990).

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A State Representative Reacts to "The Family As Government"

By David Knowles



I read with interest Dr. Rushdoony's June, 1996, editorial entitled "The Family As Government." In this editorial, he contends that, under Biblical law, "... the basic powers in a society are almost entirely given into the hands of family," and he proceed to outline several ways in which this is true. As representative of the Vallecito area in the California State

Legislature, I offer you the following point-by-point response to these bold assertions:

Christian Education

The basic way in which Rush indicates that Biblical law empowers the family with society's basic powers is in the control of children. As I approach the end of my terminated career as a California State Legislator, it is my observation that, not only has God blessed our own six children with having been consistently home-educated, but that some of the most meaningful legislative experiences I have had have centered on quiet intervention to preserve home educators' liberties in California at many junctures, and to preserve the

integrity of the family and its safety from direct statist intervention. In a somewhat miraculous set of circumstances, I witnessed the signing into law of a hard-fought bill that I authored in 1995 known as AB 1355, which for the first time in California law allows the holding of juvenile court social workers civilly liable when they maliciously bear false witness in child removal proceedings.

Taxation

Second and third, Rush states that control over property and inheritance is control over the future, citing the state's usurping of a family right via burdensome taxation. I am pleased to report that, in my years in the Legislature, God has kept me from ever voting for a tax increase, or supporting another insidious pressure to tax families generationally, known as long-term bond financing of expenses that civil government should either pay for in the current period, or avoid altogether as inappropriate.

Family Control

Fourth, Rush indicates that "... education is again control over the future and is a family power. ..." It has been my pleasure to support both home-based and other locally-founded educational efforts that are closely related to family life in favor of the nearly-universally accepted alternative which we know as ceaseless empowerment of the juggernaut state education machine.

Biblical Alternatives to Statism

Fifth, Rush asserts that charity and obedience to God's tithe are family powers to be practiced. What a pleasure it has been to attempt and encourage proper behaviors in these key areas in lieu of legislatively supporting the poor substitutes of the welfare state mentality.

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So much of my own world view as a family man and as a civil governor has been shaped by R. J. Rushoony, and by others, like David Chilton, who write and teach consistently

in support of God's law-word. I have cited a few of the above legislative experiences not to trumpet my own limited accomplishments, but to thank God for his grace in my life that has enabled me to be a small but meaningful force for His Kingdom in and through civil government. Rush was instrumental in equipping me to be so. Although uncertain as to what my future career holds, I have undoubtedly been greatly enriched by being able to serve in this capacity, and to do so as Rush helped prepare me to do. For that I am thankful, indeed.

Rush concluded his editorial by stating that "... a new reformation is under way," and that "Many forces are involved in it." It is my hope that people everywhere will pray for God to prepare men to govern civilly who are committed to God's laws of governing in all walks of life—the first and foremost area being that of the family. Seeing the multiplied overgrowth of civil government reduced to godly bounds and the family's governing structure once again bolstered will most certainly be fruits of just such a formation taking place. Thank you, Rush, for all of your work in helping bring it about.

Confronting Objections To Imprecatory Prayer

By Frank Ulle

Many Christians on first exposure to imprecatory prayer (prayer for judgment on God's enemies) find themselves very uncomfortable. There are those who had fairly effectively eased their consciences with the explanation that these "embarrassing" imprecatory Scriptures flowed from the harsh God of the Old Testament. Now God had "reinvented" Himself into a loving God of mercy who is quite saddened by the wicked acts of men, but wouldn't lift a finger in judgment in this "age of grace" ("God hates the sin, but loves the sinner"). When the subject of the validity and contemporary relevance of the imprecatory Psalms comes up, it usually generates a number of objections. Some are the sincere concerns of those who wish to understand the nature and work of God and find these sections of the Bible in conflict with what they had thought to be correct. Others are excuses to ignore the possibility that God not only hates the sin, but the sinner as well. Regardless of the reason, each objection must be taken to the Scriptures where it will either stand or fall.

Lack of Compassion?

Does imprecatory prayer display an uncompassionate attitude towards unbelievers? To some this type of prayer seems mean-spirited and vengeful. How do we reconcile imprecatory prayer with the compassion of God, especially

in the New Testament? We need to apply the rule known as *Sola Scriptura* as we seek the answer to these questions. *Sola Scriptura* means Scripture alone. We need not discover what we feel is compassionate and what is not, but rather what God says compassion is. We need to allow the Word of God to instruct us and not define our own terms.

For example, there is a popular song used in worship in a number of churches which has Psalm 104 as the basis for its lyrics. Verses 33-35 are, "I will sing to the Lord as long as I live; I will sing praise to my God while I have my being. May my meditation be sweet to Him; I will be glad in the Lord. May sinners be consumed from the earth, and the wicked be no more. Bless the Lord, O my soul! Praise the Lord!" Ironically the first part of verse 35 ("May sinners be consumed from the earth, and the wicked be no more") is not used in the song. To most of us that half-verse just doesn't fit in with the spirit of the rest of the verses, yet God seems to think it does. God's judgment of the wicked is a part of the Psalmist's worship and praise. We need to decide that either we know what is more proper than God does, or that our understanding of God's character concerning judgment is lacking.

Lack of Love?

What about love? Won't sinners be more likely to come to Jesus if we downplay His justice and emphasize His love? It may seem to us that it would work that way, but it doesn't. The humble receive God's grace (because they acknowledge their guilt and their need) and the proud will be resisted (because they refuse to acknowledge their guilt and their need). With this in mind, what does God say concerning "loving" the wicked into His covenant? Isaiah 26:9 gives us the answer. It says, "For when Your judgements are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness." This was illustrated for us in Acts 13, where the Apostle Paul spoke to Elymas the sorcerer: "O full of all deceit and all fraud, you son of the devil, you enemy of all righteousness, will you not cease perverting the straight ways of the Lord? And now, indeed, the hand of the Lord is upon you, and you shall be blind, not seeing the sun for a time" (*Acts 13:10,11*). The result of this was the causing of Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Paphos, to believe the Gospel.

Isn't it possible to win some into the Kingdom by showing them grace? Certainly, but only those whose hearts are humble. But going back to Isaiah 26, verse 10 informs us, "Let grace be shown to the wicked, yet he will not learn righteousness; in the land of uprightness he will deal unjustly, and will not behold the majesty of the Lord." Even if a whole nation is upright, the wicked will not cease from dealing unjustly. Also, if shown grace and left unchecked, they will continue in their wicked way.

From God's judgment can come repentance. The hope of imprecatory prayer is that men will repent. Step one is that they would humble themselves and see their true condition. Psalm 9:19,20 says, "Arise, O Lord, do not let man prevail; let the nations be judged in Your sight. Put them in

fear, O Lord, that the nations may know themselves to be but men." Psalm 83:16 puts it this way, "Fill their faces with shame, that they may seek Your name, O Lord." We pray for the salvation of the world. If there are those who won't repent, or until they do, we ask God to remove them for the sake of the Kingdom and glory of God; and for the sake of his people and for the good of the world. To do less is to in effect say that it is better that the wicked continue in their wicked ways (murdering children through abortion, legislating evil through public office). It is accepting that God be mocked and scorned, and His Law made void. It is allowing justice to lie dead in the streets, rather than praying that the wicked be dealt with by God.

Taking Judgment into Our Hands?

Aren't we, by praying imprecatory prayers, taking things into our own hands? Quite the contrary. Psalm 119:126 states: "It is time for You to act, O Lord, for they have regarded Your Law as void." We are calling for God to act in accordance with His Word, remembering that "Vengeance is Mine, I will repay, says the Lord" (*Heb. 10:30*). Psalm 94:1,2 says, "O Lord God, to Whom vengeance belongs — O God, to Whom vengeance belongs, shine forth! Rise up, O Judge of the earth; render punishment to the proud."

Generate Hatred?

Doesn't imprecatory prayer generate hatred? Let us consider the words of David in Psalm 139:21,22: "Do I not hate them, O Lord, who hate You? And do I not loathe those who rise up against You? I hate them with perfect hatred, I count them my enemies." Imprecatory prayer should neither generate nor feed hatred in the sense of a personal hatred against someone who has wronged or hurt us. But when we have a zeal for God, we find ourselves burdened with and angry at the same things that God is. Psalm 5:6 tells us that "The Lord abhors the bloodthirsty and deceitful man" (*Ps. 5:6*), and Psalm 7:11 says, "God is a just judge, and God is angry with the wicked every day." The hatred that rises up within us, when based upon God's Law and motivated by a zeal for Him, is "A perfect hatred."

What about the condition of our heart? David goes on to pray in Psalm 139, "Search me, O God, and know my heart; Try me, and know my anxieties; and see if there is any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting" (*Ps. 139:23,24*). He had a concern that this hatred he felt not be motivated by personal feelings or emotions but rather by his desire and fervor for God.

When we pray imprecatory prayers we must lay our feelings aside and base our prayers on the law-word of God. In 2 Timothy 4:14, Paul prayed an imprecation on Alexander the Coppersmith. We don't know exactly how this man harmed Paul, though we can be certain that Paul's prayer was not based upon personal vindictiveness, but upon the harm done to his service in his work for the Lord.

Lead to Arrogance?

Doesn't imprecatory prayer make us arrogant? What

makes us better than the ungodly, for we have all sinned and fallen short of the glory of God? How can we ask God to judge the unbelievers and not extend to them the mercy he extended to us? We can pray this way because God's Word says we can; in fact, that we must. Also, it is God, not we ourselves, that has declared us righteous. If we are boasting, it is not in anything we are or have done, but who God is and what He has done. "Let him who boasts boast in the Lord." For it is not the one who commends himself who is approved, but the one whom the Lord commends" (*2 Cor. 10:17*). God is the one who has translated us from the Kingdom of Darkness and into the Kingdom of Light (*Col. 1:13*). He is also the one who has said that the wicked will not inherit the Kingdom of God (*1 Cor. 6:9*). Our standing with God is His doing, not ours. The condemnation of the wicked is His judgment, not ours. Our zeal for Him compels us to count His enemies as our enemies. Our love for His honor compels us to desire to see His Kingdom come.

If imprecatory prayer makes us squeamish, that is good. It is good because it is serious business. We are not to pray this way frivolously. When we call upon God to move in judgment against an individual or a nation, the impact of our prayer is powerful.

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How can we be sure we are doing the right thing? How can we know that our heart is pure? We base everything upon the Word of God. We cite the person or organizations violating the Law-Word of God by how they have sinned against Him. That, then, becomes the basis upon which we examine our hearts and upon which we present the case to God.

In Matthew 6:10, Jesus instructed us to pray to the Father, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." If our hearts are evil, and our desire is to see our enemies destroyed and not primarily to see God's name exalted and His kingdom advanced, then we are in error and do not understand the heart of imprecatory prayer. If our hearts are pure, and the zeal for God's house is consuming us, and we desire, above all else, to see God glorified in the earth, then we can pray for God's hand to be seen in judgment on the earth.

The War We Face

There is a war going on. We, by necessity, have to recognize the war that is being fought between the opposing kingdoms of Light and Darkness. This war cannot be fought halfheartedly or in a position of ease. Jesus told us in Matthew 11:12 that "The Kingdom of Heaven suffers violence, and the violent take it by force." Jesus also told us that the gates of hell would not prevail against His church (*Mt. 16:18*).

What we are doing in praying imprecations is advancing the Kingdom of God and proclaiming the crown rights of King Jesus. We are declaring that He has the right to rule in the affairs of the kingdoms of this earth and all those who willfully and continually rebel against that right fall under the judgment of God. We are actively working to see Him honored and worshiped, so that all men may know that Christ, not man, is King.

Frank Ulle is the music minister at Shiloh Christian Church, Painesville, Ohio.

Urban Nations Update: The Greenpoint Philosopher *By Gerald Wisz*



Some Urban Nation Ambassadors take a breather at a staff meeting. Left to right: Elena Pertgen, Gerry Wisz, Volunteer Barbara Glover, David Schildkraut and Bob Ciago.

Part of my ministry with Urban Nations involves distributing tracts on the streets of Greenpoint, a predominantly Polish neighborhood in Brooklyn, and to try to engage people in conversation about the gospel.

I've had some interesting conversations over the last year, and have been able to maintain contact with some of the people that I initially met on Brooklyn's street corners.

But recently, I met someone who brought more to the conversation than I bargained for. Unlike most people who stop and talk with me, this man didn't simply ask a few questions before moving on; we spoke on the sidewalk for nearly an hour as passersby ogled, and some even stopped to listen in on our conversation.

Waldamir ("Waldy") asked what I was handing out, and when I told him it was an explanation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Polish (John Blanchard's "Ultimate Questions"), he immediately started asking challenging questions. "How do you know this is true?" was the first one, and after I talked to him about God's authority, the nature of faith and its origins, he began talking of myths and traditions in ancient cultures and the need for man to invent them in order to make sense of the world.

I acknowledged that this is partly true, but pointed out that this does not negate the gospel. Rather, it actually confirms it: Man, who is made in the image of God, strains in his sinfulness somehow to make sense of his God-given knowledge that he is a creature and that God is his Creator. Sometimes, armed only with general revelation, he may come close to self-consciously apprehending truth about God, but never close enough. The Greeks and some of the Roman Stoics are examples. It still takes special revelation, which God gives us in His Word and makes available to us by His Spirit, to apprehend God as He is.

We spoke next of the end of the world, which Waldy does not acknowledge. He said that we are ever in a cycle of birth, death and rebirth.

When we spoke of the sinfulness of man in his social order, he said that this is merely "nature," and that man must reach a point of destroying himself before he can begin anew. I didn't completely disagree with him, but noted that God deals with people covenantally; He holds societies and cultures responsible for their obedience to Him according to the light they have been given, and in the West, we have been given much light but have turned our backs on it.

It is entirely possible, I said, that things will get a lot worse before they get better. But however worse or better they become, history, as we know it, will *ultimately* close and the rebirth that Waldy spoke about will be the new heavens and the new earth. I was able to point out to him that his theory of the world's spiritual dynamics was itself an example of my earlier point: general revelation provides an incomplete glimpse of God's intentions, but to get the whole story we must come to the Word of God with humility.

We also spoke of Darwinism, Hegelian synthesis and man's justification of relativism, and the importance but ultimate powerlessness of science *to explain man*. Waldy, the Greenpoint philosopher, was more than I had

expected to encounter that sunny Saturday afternoon; but I could see he expected something different from what he was hearing from me, too. Perhaps he expected a raving fundamentalist who would ignore his challenges and simply repeat over and over again, "Repent, for the Kingdom of God is near," instead of someone who listened to what he said and sought to answer each objection from a Biblical world and life view.

Not that I am a great philosopher, but that Saturday I was grateful for having read Van Til and for having sat numerous times under Rev. Steve Schlissel's apologetic preaching. Our God is the God of the universe. He made it and runs it. There is nothing that cannot be explained from His vantage point.

After our talk, Waldy gave me his address and asked for me to visit him. He said he would read the literature I gave him and would be willing to discuss it with me. As it turns out, he has done graduate work in Europe in the history of science, and after being in the U.S. for ten years, feels confident enough in his English language skills to enroll in an MBA program at Long Island University.

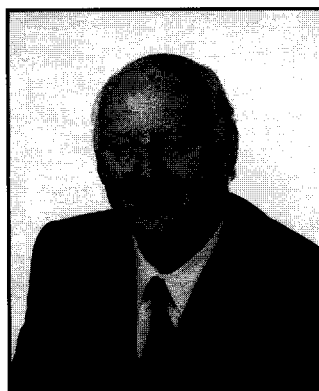
What is remarkable is that just a couple of weeks before at an Urban Nations' staff meeting, I spoke of my desire to begin worship services in Greenpoint, God willing, by the end of the year. Although I have been meeting with several people, they are all women or teenagers, and so the question of future leadership of an indigenous work in that community came up. Rev. Schlissel said that God's raising up of men for the Greenpoint ministry would be a specific item of prayer for Messiah's Congregation and the Urban Nations staff. Could Waldy be an answer to that prayer? We will have to wait and see. Won't you pray with us?

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A Political Bridge Too Far

By Peter Jones



The Democratic Convention of studied centrist sound bites sculpted by spin doctors and damage control experts gave the people what they wanted to hear but confirmed for those with eyes to see, the dismal trend in Western civilization. Behind the dulling rhetoric of concern for families and the defense of children, President Clinton, in his acceptance

speech in Chicago, 1996, reached a high point of tragic irony when he elevated the killing of unborn children as a noble act of spirituality, to be decided "by a woman, her doctor and her god." He failed to note that abortion not only kills babies. It kills, according to the intention of the radical feminist agenda, the deep maternal instinct in the young women who should be the mainstay of families in the twenty-first century; it kills the public's delicate trust in the healing profession; and it effectively eliminates the role of the father in the real issues of life and death. Beyond the smoke screen of made-to-please political newspeak, the "bridge to the future" leads to a violent "Village" of family collapse, cowardly infanticide, physician-assisted euthanasia, power grabbing, and endemic suspicion in which neither marriage, and hence the family, nor children nor even the individual citizen is ultimately safe.

In spite of constant claims to the contrary, this agenda is, without question, a bridge to the past — to the immediate past of the revolutionary Sixties' agenda of sexual liberation, moral relativism and anti-Christian spirituality — with all the social destruction of sexually-transmitted diseases, especially AIDS, family breakup and juvenile crime it has brought in its wake. President Clinton's first appointment to the Supreme Court shows just how far this ideology, in spite of its patent failure, has come in one generation. A radical, doctrinaire feminist lawyer from the ACLU, who is anti-gender distinctions in any nook or cranny of the state, including the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts, but pro-abortion, pro-ERA, pro-women in combat, pro-legalization of prostitution and pro-gay politics [see Gary Hoitsma, *Human Events*, August 16, 1996], Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg, from her tenured place in the highest Court of the land, now prepares legal justice for the idyllic village of tomorrow. It should be stated that this "pro-choice" ideology has little to do with classical Democratic programs and a lot to do with the stunning revival of pagan spirituality in the West in our time. Whatever they might say, this is not a time of politics as usual.

The Radicalism Now Status Quo

The 60s chickens are coming home to roost — and to

crow! Twenty-eight years to the day, the radicals, in particular members of the "Chicago Seven," returned in triumph to the Windy City, winners of a thirty-year culture war. These contemporary purveyors of peace and love came to remember their violent civil war with society when the Democrats locked them out of the 1968 Convention and Mayor Richard J. Daley's police cracked open their heads with truncheons. The reception in 1996 was different. Present Mayor Richard M. Daley (son) welcomed them with open arms.

Once an armed hippie, Tom Hayden was back, not only with his old revolutionary colleagues, but as an official delegate to the Convention. A California state senator with a new message, Hayden also teaches pantheistic "deep ecology" and the unity of all things at Episcopalian Matthew Fox's Creation Spirituality Institute in Oakland, CA, a center for the exploration of pagan "Christian" worship and various forms of witchcraft.

Rennie Davis, another "war hero" of a different kind, in typical New Age fashion, spoke of new spiritual discoveries that will push humanity into greatness within the next five years. His forthcoming book is significantly entitled *The Great Turning*. "I am very lit," he told the several thousand attendees at the "Return to Chicago 1968/1996" rally. "In two to three years you will be lit too." Appropriately some of the original cast of "Hair" were present singing once more, "This is the Dawning of the Age of Aquarius." The revolutionaries of yesteryear were back for "closure" and "healing." In fact they were also back to savor victory, celebrating the triumph of their once radical agenda which now constitutes the spiritual and philosophical underbelly of much of contemporary mainstream politics. Their victory means that in some real sense, the deeply spiritual pagan Age of Aquarius, predicted by the gurus to appear around the year 2000, stands beckoning on the other side of Clinton's Bridge.

With the phrase "a woman and her god," President Clinton surreptitiously introduced a new element to the "Democratic" political platform — a particularly modern (though very old) god who, on the one hand, can whisper to some that abortion is a heinous *slaughter of the innocents* and, on the other, can reassure others that abortion is a social good. Take, for instance, the luminous testimony before Congress of ex-Surgeon General, Jocelyn Elders, according to whom "abortion has had an important and positive public health effect" [*Human Events, ibid*]. In prose worthy of certain German doctors of a couple of generations back, she offered as proof the fact that in Washington State in 1976 the number of Down's syndrome infants "was 64 percent lower than it would have been without legal abortion." Obviously Dr. Elders never saw what I saw — a Down's syndrome child playing the violin in her school orchestra and the beaming faces of her proud parents. Either the god behind these conflicting ethical systems is schizophrenic and confused, and thus not worthy of divine status, or there is more than one god speaking.

The Paganism of 60s Radicalism

Few people, whether Democrats or Republicans, realize that at its deepest level, the Sixties revolution was the rejection of monotheism and the adoption of pagan polytheism. Some radical theologians during the Sixties proclaimed the "Death of God." We were all mildly amused, claiming not even to know that God was sick! But the radical theologians were deadly serious, seeing in this divine death announcement "the obituary of a useless single-minded and one-dimensional norm of a civilization that has been predominantly monotheistic, not only in its religion, but also in its politics, its history, its social order, its ethics, and its psychology." At the funeral of the God of the Bible, this radical minuscule minority heralded "the rebirth of the Gods and Goddesses," and a coming political system to go with it. Incredibly their prediction has come to pass, as, in the 80s and the 90s, well-placed radical feminists in society and even in the church turn to the goddess for spiritual "empowering" in order to change the world. Discovering one's own god, and beyond that, that one *is* god, constitutes the essence of the spiritual regeneration of the 60s' "Me Generation." Ideas have consequences. Gods give life and take it again and are thus quite capable, being only human after all, of creating hell on earth. Clearly, this election is about gods, not children.

The Prospects of the Challenger

At this most crucial intersection of politics and religion, only the clear-headed stand a chance. As Bob Dole turns away from the base that elected a resounding old-style majority to Congress in 1994, he seems to be heading for a certain and major defeat. In trying, mostly ineptly, to imitate the ideology of the opposition and accepting to play a game whose rules the other side composed, he surely will be tongue-tied, hog-tied Arkansas-style and eaten alive by a skilled opponent whose mother tongue is the language of all-inclusive double-speak and whose core values are relativism and a modern, subtle form of polytheism.

If the spiritual children of the 60s revolution have anything to do with it, the utopian village that will raise the next generations of our children will not be in any real sense Christian. The global village of the twenty-first century will be polytheistic and animistic, oddly enough, just like the African villages that now serve Mrs. Clinton as a cutesy model for her theories of communal child-rearing. One-dimensional gods speaking univocal truths are not welcome in the all-inclusive, encircling postmodern womb of the returning pagan goddess. "God bless America" now has an ominous ring as it is sung in ball parks and at civic celebrations throughout the land. Now we must ask: "Which God? and what 'blessings?,' realizing that this particular bridge to a blessed future is seductively broad except for those who still hold to the old views of God.

If, by carefully chosen soothing sound bites, this new religious/political rhetoric succeeds in selling itself to unsuspecting voters as the "right track" and the "train into the twenty-first century," one day in the not too distant

future America may discover, alas, too late, that this “bridge into the future” was a bridge too far.

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Educational Vouchers: A Trap

By David Chilton

The latest “conservative” fad in education — vouchers for private schools — is little more than dangerous humbug.

At first glance, the voucher system looks good, if you like welfare and statism. It provides a way for parents to give their children the benefits of private school without having to pay extra for it. Payment would be handled simply by transferring to private schools the money that would otherwise go into public schools. This seems eminently reasonable to those who have difficulty seeing past their own pocketbooks. The state already taxes me for my children’s education, they say. If I’d rather place them in a private school, why should I pay twice?

The High Cost of Cheap Vouchers

What they forget is a fundamental principle of life: he who pays the piper, calls the tune. Whatever the government finances, it regulates. And just wait till those bully regulators get their hands on all those nice, naive, virginal private schools, especially the Christian ones. If the history of government is any indication, what we will certainly wind up with under a voucher system is the state educational bureaucracy exercising complete control over what used to be called “private” education. Your favorite private school will be subjected to the same Department of Education guidelines, the same daffy psycho-experimentation on unsuspecting students, and the same amoral courses that have ruined the public schools. Oh, I almost forgot. Red tape. Lots and lots of it. So much for “choice in education.”

Certainly, the argument for educational vouchers seems fair and reasonable. After all, goes the logic, the state already taxes me to pay for public schools. If I decide to teach my children at home, or send them to a private school, I’m actually being forced to pay twice for the same product. Why not have my education dollars go to the same institution my children are schooled in? It’s an attractive argument, as pocketbook arguments always are. The idea has a special appeal for conservatives, who have been complaining about

the decline of the public schools for many years. A voucher program — or, as the popular slogan phrases it, “choice in education” — appears to redress the inequity of a corrupt system in which an educational monopoly extorts money from parents and then dictates which school their children must attend. If parents are allowed to designate their tax dollars to the school of their choice, public institutions will be forced out of a monopoly position. They’ll have to compete with private schools — and everyone knows who the winner of that fight will be. As good as it looks, however, it’s a trap. The real issue for the education bureaucrats has never been a simple matter of money. They are after a bigger prize: control. If we are so foolish and shortsighted as to keep our eyes on money alone, our children will be stolen right out from under us.

The Course of Compromise

Think, for just a moment, of how such a program would be administered. Let’s say you ask the state to send your tax dollars to Chilton’s Private Academy, where your seventh-grader is enrolled. The state investigates the school, and finds to its horror that children are not being taught the three R’s, but are sitting around playing Nintendo all day long instead. Will the state allow you to claim my academy as a valid recipient of tax dollars? Of course not. Okay, it was a ridiculous example. Now let’s consider a real scenario. Instead of teaching Nintendo, Chilton’s Private Academy is teaching Creationism — not as an “option,” but as incontrovertible Fact. Evolution is regarded as silly hogwash. Abortion is called murder. A single human life is regarded as infinitely more precious than any number of spotted owls. Sex education is left to the parents. The Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments are recited every day, in place of a flag salute. Students who don’t make the grade are unceremoniously flunked. Students who get violent, use drugs, or blaspheme are kicked out. All employees are required to sign a statement of faith (which includes a pro-life article). Oh, and one more thing. The school not only refuses state accreditation; it flatly denies employment to any state-credentialed teacher. Hiring is based solely on theological orthodoxy, personal morality, academic achievement and teaching ability. Would such a school stand a snowball’s chance of getting your tax dollars? Not as long as militant secular humanism is the reigning philosophy in the state educational establishment. Now let’s take it one step further. Headmaster Chilton would like more students in his school, and he’d like to get his hands on all that tax money. He realizes the school must conform to state standards in order to qualify for funding, so the rigid standards are dropped. The curriculum becomes more “balanced.” But as the school becomes more acceptable to the state, something remarkable takes place. Chilton’s Private Academy begins to look more and more like a state school. Soon it is totally dominated by state policy, completely indistinguishable from a public school. Educational vouchers will result in nothing less than the functional destruction of private and Christian schools in America. In fact, such a system was responsible

for the demise of Christian schools in Great Britain. Remember this iron rule: what the state finances, the state regulates. No exceptions.

The Only Solution

Roy Maynard's impassioned plea for vouchers in a recent *World* magazine cover story (August 17-24), "Pro-Choice (on Education)," cleverly ignores the fact that any possible voucher plan requires the government to confiscate more tax dollars from citizens in order to fund a "Christian" education. Even in the name of Christ, theft is still theft. Oppressive taxation is a great evil. But it will never be abolished by a tax rebellion. The only way to rid ourselves of an unjust tax burden is what economist Hans Sennholz calls a "benefits rebellion" — when the American people develop the moral character to "Just Say No" to government handouts. Taxation will stop when everybody refuses to be bribed. Do you want real choice in education? Simply abolish public schools, and education taxes along with them. Why make the state the middleman? Just let parents have complete freedom about where to educate their children, and leave them alone. Offer parents a clear alternative. If they want, they may enroll Dick and Jane in a secular humanist school. The kids might not learn how to read and write, but they'll sure find out all there is to know about condoms. Or the parents may choose a traditional Christian school with strong disciplinary standards, or a Jewish or Muslim school. Or they may opt out of the system altogether and teach their children at home. In any event, this would offer a true choice in education — a choice, incidentally, that the political and educational establishments will fight tooth and claw to prevent you from getting.

It'll never happen. So let's stop dreaming about the government suddenly turning benevolent and get back to reality. If there must be a voucher system, let's make sure it applies only to public schools! That way, parents can have their children indoctrinated at the state institution of their choice. If private schools refuse welfare, I can confidently make another prediction: They will overcome. No matter what unfair advantages public schools have — indeed, in some cases, because of them — they will only get worse and worse. This is inevitable. Humanists will always disembowel themselves on the altar of consistency. As an analogy, consider an interesting sociological aspect of abortion. In droves, humanists are killing their seed — their future — while Christians keep having babies or adopting them. That alone should tell you who will win in the long run. One side sacrifices their children for the sake of convenience. The other side sacrifices their own convenience for the sake of their children.

The case of education is exactly parallel. Sure, private education is costly, and the costs are unfair. It's a sacrifice. That's why it works! Parents who care about their children's education are willing to make sacrifices. And those who make the sacrifices end up caring even more. Don't be fooled. Private schools only cost money. Public schools — or "public" money in private schools — could end up costing you your children. So the heathen shall fear the name LORD, and all

the kings of the earth Thy glory! — Psalm 102:15

They shall not hurt nor destroy in all My Holy Mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea! — Isaiah 11:9

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POSITION PAPER NO. 206

Nationalism

By R. J. Rushdoony

One of the problems to the modern intellectual is nationalism. It is a disturbing phenomenon to the modern mind because it is an irrational idea. Most modern national states are all made up of very different groups. Thus, a few European countries have substantial Celtic minorities whose desire for freedom is a real one. The Spanish Basques are intense in their insistence on freedom, and so on and on. Marxism is strongly opposed to nationalism, but the Soviet Union became an incubator for many nationalistic causes on the part of various minorities.

Intellectuals have long promoted internationalism, a one-world order, but it seems as though efforts in that direction are counterproductive. Not only nationalism but localism is in resurgence.

Now nationalism is indeed irrational. Few countries have "natural boundaries." Even island countries have differing groups. Britain has the English, the Scots, and the Welsh, not the most harmonious of fellowships. Japan has, under the surface, very ancient and differing groups. Mexico has Indians, Spanish, and Mexicans.

Despite these problems, the modern nation state survives and reasserts itself. In the face of a growing internationalism, we have seen such break-ups as Czechoslovakia, the USSR and Yugoslavia. Others may soon occur.

At the same time, the drive for a one-world order is very great. Intellectuals and "liberals" see it as the intelligent and inevitable solution to mankind's problems. The formation of the modern state was, after all, in most cases the union of various states of differing characters. France was once a collection of nations, and Germany, well into the eighteenth-century, was an array of very many states, great and small. Even now, many "Germans" prefer to identify themselves as Hessians, Pomeranians, Bavarians, and so on and on.

Our purpose is not to defend nationalism nor to criticize internationalism but to call attention to a modern fallacy. To call nationalism irrational does not mean that it is contrary to reason but it can mean that it is not a rational

need. Rather, it can be a product of intelligent historical developments and necessities. Again, to call internationalism a rational idea does not make it a necessity. The world is too much influenced by Hegelian ideas which see the world state as the logical development. However, history is not the outworkings of reason, nor of Hegel's Geist or Spirit. Its goals and developments are not determined by what philosophers see as rational. Far from it!

The attempt to reduce history to a rational order and goal is a product of humanism from at least Plato (if not the Tower of Babel) to the present. But the "reason" governing history is not man's but God's: it is His sovereign purpose and decree. Its meaning is not to be found in man's reason but in God's eternal plan.

The goal of a one-world order in the Tower of Babel was to establish determination and control not in God but in man. The "good" society was to be created and determined by man, and its reason was man's idea of truth, and freedom from God. Nationalism has been a road-block to man's efforts to play god. The confusion of tongues serves to divide men for whom division, not sin, is the evil.

Nationalism does not necessarily mean "natural" and good divisions into nation states, but it at least provides a limited insurance against world tyranny. Precisely because the various forms of tyranny are growing, so too will the divisions. Marxism, the triumph of reason (usually bad reason) over history will continue to beget more nationalism. China may well see a return to various actually free realms within the united front but in effect a return to the old regional war lords. There is a rush to divide as the pressure grows to unite.

The intellectuals are so convinced of the rationality of their one-world state that they fail to recognize that the world does not move in terms of their rationalistic imagination. Contemporary attempts to determine the future of man rationally are doomed to fail because they have no roots in history nor in man's hopes for his future.

Random Notes, 62

By R. J. Rushdoony

1. Recently, when reading an article about contemporary fiction, I suddenly realized why the critics and the writers, while often highly talented, are so radically wayward and off-base. Consider this: whether it be novels, short stories, film scripts, or television stories, can you for a moment think of any of the characters in the plot as someone made in the image of God? What is very clear is that the people in modern fiction are simply Darwin's higher apes. Because of this, the characters and plots are radically falsified, and, in future time, will be seen as the false and unreal things they are. Too often, the contrived plot carries the characters, whereas the

characters should determine the plot.

I recently read a favorably reviewed novel, and I was impressed by it. But the next day, not a single character was real to me, and my memory was simply of a well-contrived plot.

I do believe that we have seen many very talented writers in this century, but because they are believers in Darwin's "man" and world, they have severely limited their abilities and effectiveness.

To presuppose Darwin rather than the triune God is like attempting to live and write in defiance of gravity, only worse.

We are what our presuppositions allow us to be.

2. Summer-time always brings more memories than other seasons do, although I relish them all. But summer-time to a boy on a farm with a river within walking distance is paradise. This past summer I remembered how my cousin Ed and I, in the early 1930s, would go every week to a neighbor's farm. He grew watermelons (and other varieties of melons as well), and when the melons were picked for market, the fully ripe ones (the very best) could not be shipped. They were sold to anyone who came by for 25¢ for two dozen. Ed and I would load them in the back seat of the Model T Ford, put them in his family's cellar, and in ours, and then the happy eating twice daily.

3. An interesting point is made by Andre Corvisier, in *Armies and Societies in Europe, 1494-1789* (1976); wherever the military aspect was dominant, except for certain parts of the Austrian empire, there was a weak bourgeoisie, or urban middle class, and a powerful nobility.

4. In *The Formation of Hell* by Alan E. Bernstein (1993), the concluding three sentences read as follows: "The symmetrical system of justice threatens more than the wayward within its own community. It menaces all who deny the belief system that erected it. For that reason, the horror lies less in hell's torments than in the damning dismissal of its detractors." Balance that against the clear statement some years ago by Emory Storrs: "When hell drops out of religious, justice drops out of politics."

5. Grayce Flanagan passed on an old clipping to me, of a letter written by a Karen Clark. Her father grew beautiful flowers around their home in Clinton, Mississippi. Years ago, when her mother was still living, a woman stopped to admire the landscaping, and she asked, "How much do you pay your yard man?" Her mother replied, "Nothing, but I have to sleep with him."

6. I may have told you this story before, but, when I left my youth work in Chinatown for the Indian Reservation, Owyhee, Nevada, the Elko pastor, 100 miles south, was very helpful. The Rev. J. Mortimer Swander had begun his ministry in early mining camps. Now on the verge of retirement (and very ably succeeded by the Rev. Harold Van Zee) he was a rich source of stories. My favorite was about the effort of a dispensational premillennialist to convert the old man. Mr. Swander's fellow pastors who were pre-mil never tried to argue with him but were gracious friends, but this zealous layman was determined

to convince Mr. Swander of the "error" of his ways, and he insisted that the only way to read the Bible was to accept the literal meaning. Mr. Swander, when his patience began to wear out, commented slowly, "You may be right, you may be right. If so, I hope I live long enough to see the woman (*Rev. 17:9*) whose backside covers seven mountains!" The man left promptly!

7. In the mid-1930s, when my father was a pastor in San Francisco, a friend from our home-town and MD, Dr. Olson, went to a SF hospital for treatment. He asked my father to visit him. Dr. Olson, more than little angry, began by saying, "We doctors are the worst patients; we know too much for peace of mind, and we resent soothing talk. Also, he said, because he was a small-town doctor (by choice), it was assumed that he was none too good. Then there is the ancient medical tradition of treating patients as retarded people. Added to that was the silly hospital gown, nothing in the back but a tie-string, hardly the thing to wear in the hall! He was doing his best to give the staff the bad time he felt they deserved. After talking with my father, it was agreed that since he was not about to change, why not make it fun for himself and educational for the hospital, which he did. My father would come home daily laughing over Dr. Olson's heckling of the staff, and the staff would ask my father to beg him to behave meekly like other patients. After a long stay, Dr. Olson recovered, and, to thank God for sparing him from the hospital's ways, he went to Africa as a medical missionary and enjoyed it greatly.

8. This too I have repeated often, so you may have heard this story, a favorite of mine. In the early 1950s, this ship's captain whom I knew retired. He insisted strenuously to his wife that he could not live in their inland home but had to be near the sea. His wife, who loved him dearly but who hated to leave her son, daughter, and grandchildren, finally agreed. They moved to a coastal city, about five miles from the beach. The day after the move, Capt. A. had his wife drive him to the beach. He got out, sniffed the air with satisfaction, went home, and, for the rest of his life, never went near the ocean again. Whenever his wife complained, Capt. A. looked at her with amazement and remarked, "But I know it's there!" This, she commented was their only disagreement.

9. A. N. Wilson, in *The Rise and Fall of the House of Windsor* (1993), commented on the expectations which arose with Queen Victoria that the royal family should represent Christian and middle-class virtues, and how costly failures to do so have been for Edward VIII and Prince Charles. In earlier years and over the centuries, royalty has often been arrogant, immoral, and evil to a startling degree. Royalty held itself to be accountable to only God, and no one else, and they were scarcely responsible to God in most cases. What happened c.1860 in Europe was the rise of public opinion, and the insistence on accountability to the people as well as to God. Public figures less and less have a license for corruption and immorality. This change has affected most Western countries. In the US, this accountability existed from the beginning but has waned

in recent years.

10. In the "debate" concerning welfarism, one young woman, an unwed mother, said, "Why should I pay for the rest of my life for a mistake I made at 19?" First, it was a sin, not just a mistake. Second, who then should pay for your mistake, the taxpayer? We all continue to pay for our sins and errors. A problem in our day is the loss of responsibility. As one man, a murderer, insisted, "I'm not the same person who committed the crime ten years ago."

In the young woman's case, nothing was said about making the father of her child pay.

But the key question to be answered is this: when will the Christian community do more to help in such cases? There are some able groups at work, but more needs to be done.

11. Inflation in this century has been phenomenal, and the worst may be ahead for us. In the year of my birth, one college president received \$800 a year (1916) and was well paid. However, in 1861, the pay was \$500 a year. It was after 1914 that our monetary instability set in.

Special Announcements

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Important Announcement On Answering Mail and E-Mail

We at Chalcedon receive many more letters and e-mail messages than we can answer. In fact, it would probably require hiring a full-time staff member just to answer all our mail. Ours is not a large, sophisticated foundation. We try to respond to the most urgent mail. We hope our faithful supporters and readers understand.

Instead of college, why not your own business?

Why give the humanists your money for a worthless diploma? Grace Community Schools has openings for qualified Christian Reconstruction career aspirants. Learn how to grow your own day-care, pre-school, school, and/or church from scratch. Contact: Ellsworth McIntyre, % Grace Community Schools, 6075 Pelican Bay Blvd., Naples, FL 34108.

If You Can Help

All of our Chalcedon vehicles are old (over 100,000 miles) and requiring increasing maintenance. If you have a good used vehicle you are willing to donate to Chalcedon, please contact Mark Rushdoony at the Chalcedon office. As with all gifts, these donations are tax-deductible.

Blumenfeld to Speak in Western Pennsylvania

Chalcedon scholar Samuel Blumenfeld will be addressing the annual fall meeting of the National Reform Association on Friday, November 8, at 7:00 p.m. in the Skyview Lounge at Geneva College in Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania.

The *Chalcedon Report* editor is president of this august organization.

For more information, contact Bill Gould at 412-243-4471 or wwgould@aol.com.

Christian Reconstruction and the Arts

In March of this year, I started an email/internet newsletter called Christian Reconstruction and the Arts. Here is a short description of it:

A newsletter Christian Reconstruction and the Arts has been started for artists who wish to advance the Kingdom of God through their works of art. Its purpose is to provide inspiration, resources, and networking opportunities for Christians in the Arts. Discussions topics may include (but will certainly not be limited to) the following: Architecture, Cinema, Dance, Graphic arts, Music, Photography, Sculpture, Theatre.

For more information, see the World Wide Web page <http://www.wp.com/bynumm/cra.html> or send an email request to bynumm@icsi.net. Those without email may call Matt Bynum at (210) 822-2854 to request that information be sent to them by postal mail.

One of the things we are proud of is the many varied activities of our staff. Some of them are publishing important newsletters, and we take this opportunity to tell you of them.

1. Samuel L. Blumenfeld publishes ***The Blumenfeld Educational Letter***, P.O. Box 45161, Boise, Idaho 83711, \$36 a year, a monthly.
2. ***The Lofton Letter*** by John Lofton, P.O. Box 1142, Laurel, Maryland 20725, e-mail address: JLoft@AOL.com, \$100 a year, monthly (20 pages).
3. Ian Hodge of Australia's Foundation for the Advancement of Christian Studies is an affiliate, and he publishes ***F.A.C.S. Report, Probe, and Christian Economics*** monthly, on a donation basis: write to him at P.O. Box 547, Ferny Hills, QLD 4055, Australia, Tel/fax 07-851-1265.
4. For those of you who read French, Jean-Marc Berthoud publishes several periodicals. For sample copies, send a donation and write to Jean-Marc Berthoud, Trabendan 16, Lausanne, CH 1006, Switzerland.
5. For the Chalcedon tapes, write to Christian Tape Productions, P.O. Box 1804, Murphys, California 95247. The twice monthly Easy Chairs are \$4.50 each, and the weekly Bible studies (two lessons on each tape), are also \$4.50. For a sample of either, send \$5; California residents add 7¼% sales tax.
6. For those of you who read German, Dr. Thomas Schirmacher (a professor of missions and ethics) and his wife Dr. Christine Schirmacher (a scholar in Islamic studies) publish ***Querschnitte*** (obtainable from Culture and Science Publ., Friedrichstr. 38, D-53111 Bonn, Germany).
7. ***Friends of Chalcedon*** provides networking and other resources to Chalcedon and its supporters. It assists Chalcedon in producing books and video materials, hosts conferences to bring Chalcedon supporters in contact with each other, and refers Chalcedon supporters in ways to help Chalcedon. Friends of Chalcedon is at 4960 Almaden Expressway, #172, San Jose, CA 95118 [408] 997-9866 (phone and fax).

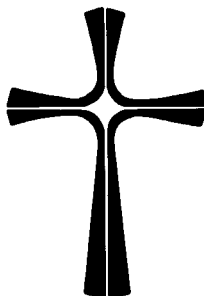
THE MINISTRY OF CHALCEDON

CHALCEDON (kal•see•don) is a Christian educational organization devoted exclusively to research, publishing, and to cogent communication of a distinctly Christian scholarship to the world at large. It makes available a variety of services and programs, all geared to the needs of interested ministers, scholars and laymen who understand the propositions that Jesus Christ speaks to the mind as well as the heart, and that His claims extend beyond the narrow confines of the various institutional churches. We exist in order to support the efforts of all orthodox denominations and churches.

Chalcedon derives its name from the great ecclesiastical Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), which produced the crucial Christological definition: "Therefore, following the holy Fathers, we all with one accord teach men to acknowledge one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, at once complete in Godhead and complete in manhood, truly God and truly man . . ." This formula directly challenges every false claim of divinity by any human institution: state, church, cult, school, or human assembly. Christ alone is both God and man, the unique link between heaven and earth. All human power is therefore derivative; Christ alone can announce that "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth" (*Matthew 28:18*). Historically, the Chalcedonian creed is therefore the foundation of Western liberty, for it sets limits on all authoritarian human institutions by acknowledging the validity of the claims of the One who is the source of true human freedom (*Galatians 5:1*).

*The **Chalcedon Report** is published monthly and is sent to all who request it.*

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