

CHALCEDON

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Politics and Faith

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Electing "Pols" vs. Replacing the "Cultural Elite"

William D. Graves on
The Constitution Need Not Be Amended

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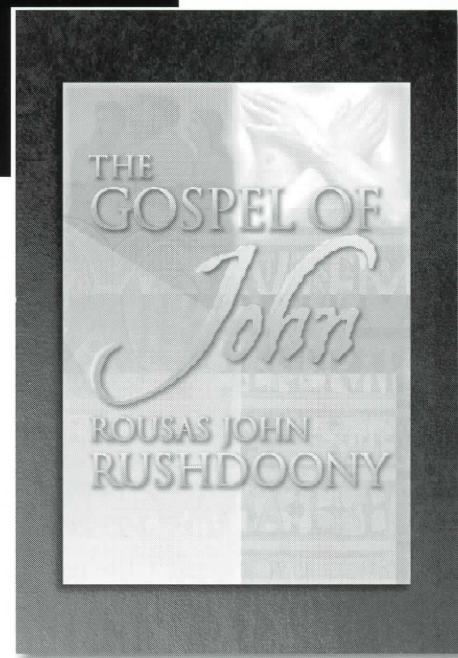
A New Commentary

The Gospel Of John

by Rousas John Rushdoony

The goal of fallen man is self-deification, to be as God (Gen. 3:5), whereas the goal of redeemed man is to be God's covenant man. Christ's perfect humanity is our standard, not His deity. We cannot have Christ as our God if we will not have Him as our true man, as our federal head. In the first Adam, we are born into sin and death; in the last Adam, we are born into justice or righteousness and life. Jesus is the true bread of life, come down from heaven. His flesh, His true humanity, is our bread of life; this He gives for the life of the world. We are in Him no longer the sinful and death-bound sons of fallen Adam, but the just and life-bound people of the last Adam. Christ gives us His flesh, His glorious humanity, so that we are remade into people of righteousness and eternal life. To feed on Christ is to know Him as the true man and our only hope for life. We become members of Him and serve His purpose, to bring every area of life and thought into captivity to Him.

In this commentary, renowned theologian Rousas John Rushdoony maps out the Gospel of John starting from the obvious parallel to the book of Genesis ("In the beginning was the Word") and takes the reader through to the glorious conclusion of Christ's death and resurrection.



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Chalcedon *Report*

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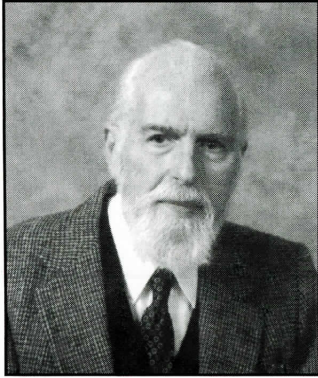
Chalcedon Staff:

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

Rev. Mark R. Rushdoony is president of Chalcedon and Ross House Books.

Rev. P. Andrew Sandlin is executive vice president of Chalcedon and editor of the *Chalcedon Report* and Chalcedon's other publications. He has written hundreds of scholarly and popular articles and several monographs.

Susan Burns is Chalcedon's executive assistant and managing editor of the *Chalcedon Report* and Chalcedon's other publications.



Politics and Faith

By Rev. R. J. Rushdoony

I was born in April, 1916; my parents had arrived in the United States in late November, 1915. When I was about eleven years old, a friend of my father's who had arrived well before World War I was visiting us. He questioned me about my faith and my patriotism and was critical of uncritical patriotism. When he had arrived in the United States, friends took him to their home. The next morning after breakfast, a police paddy wagon came by and ordered him in with many other immigrants. He was taken to a courthouse filled with other like immigrants. They were herded into a crowded courtroom where the judge proceeded to swear them into citizenship. He started to protest that after only one day in the United States, he was not eligible. The judge warned him to shut up or go to jail. As each and all were returned home, they were told

that on the morrow they would be picked up to vote for "Teddy Roosevelt, a grand American"!

Since then, I have heard other like stories. Politics is not all evil, nor is it all good. Salvation comes, not by politics, but by the Lord.

Today, too often the common assumption is salvation by politics. Politicians are too often not reformers, but would-be saviors. We need to vote, not for likely winners, but for godly men whose first task as candidates is to teach us.

Can such men win? Not as long as winners are most important to us.

The state should be a part of the kingdom of God, but it is usually at best the kingdom of man and is hostile to Christ.

At present, elections give their victories to the kingdom of man, not the kingdom of God. We have separated law and the political order from God. How can we expect God to approve?

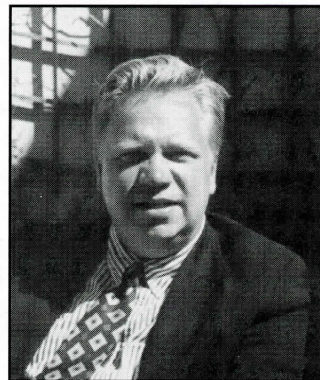
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Pulpits Before Politics

By Rev. P. Andrew Sandlin



Pietistic Withdrawal

Two serious temptations confront Christians as they ponder the relationship between their faith and modern politics. The first is *pietistic withdrawal*. This approach dominated most of Western Christianity from the 1870s to the 1960s. It is the notion that “good Christians” don’t dirty their hands with politics. The really important thing is individual piety — Bible-reading, private prayer, church attendance, soul winning, and so on — and getting ready for the any-moment “rapture” of the saints up to heaven. For Christians to get involved in politics is to divert their attention from their “true calling.”

Pietistic withdrawal created a vacuum into which secular humanism eagerly rushed. When Christians abandoned their world-conquering spirit, secularists and other non-Christians adopted a world-conquering spirit of their own. They soon assumed the crucial positions of cultural leadership: the denominations, education, technology, the arts, media, and politics. They became The New Establishment, replacing the long-lived Christian Establishment. It was Christians’ pietistic withdrawal that permitted this. In other words, Christian withdrawal permitted secular conquest. The agents of withdrawal therefore have only themselves to blame for much of the evil in modern society.

In the 1960s a significant segment of Christians recovered certain aspects of the older world-conquering spirit. Led by aggressive Christians like Chalcedon’s Colonel V. Doner, Christians left their marginalized cultural ghettos and began fighting battles to restore Christianity to more areas of life — particularly politics. The Old Christian Right was formed from this ethos. It was partially successful.

Political Salvationism

Its very successes, however, contributed to another problem almost as dangerous as, and sometimes more dangerous than, pietistic withdrawal. I refer to *political salvationism*. This is the notion that politics

is the chief sphere of social change or, worse yet, of Christian responsibility altogether. Since roughly the French Revolution, crusading secularists have been statist to the core. Why? Because when one abandons hope in the power of man’s regeneration activated by the Holy Spirit, he must employ coercive methods of social change — and, don’t kid yourself, the state is all about coercion. So if you deny that God changes people’s behavior by the gospel, you must presume that humans must change it by guns, prisons, torture, and electric chairs. This is the methodology of secular Marxists and secular Democrats and Republicans. Many politically active Christians over the last couple of decades have fallen into this trap — at least in thinking that politics is central. They think that if they can just capture the White House (or state house), they’ll have necessarily advanced the kingdom of God. This is delusional — and the limited but real Christian political successes of the last two decades, which by no means advanced the kingdom of God, obviously refute that notion.

Preaching and Social Change

Legitimate social change is always the effect of legitimate *religious* change. Society is a religious fact. Relevant Christians produce a Christian society. In other words, when people get saved and are properly taught, they start gradually changing their lives and spheres of influence and, as a result, they start to change a society of which they are part. But the greatest instrument instructing them how to do that is the pulpit — preaching. The problem today is that most of today’s preaching — liberal or conservative — is effete and ineffectual. On the one hand are the blathering emotionalists, for whom Christianity is little more than heart-string-yanking sentiment and, on the other hand, highly orthodox lectures peppered with the original languages (and a little Latin to impress the undereducated) which lack any fire and application and thus are *worse* than useless, settling the congregation into the diffident opinion that hearing the Word the God suffices, in spite of what

St. James so pointedly says (*Jas. 1:22*). The preaching of the New Testament era that “turned the world upside down” (*Ac. 17:6*) was Spirit-empowered, doctrinally anchored, immediate, direct, personal, and applicational. Read, to take but two examples, Peter’s sermon in Acts 2 and Stephen’s in Acts 7.

We don’t hear many sermons like that these days.

We don’t have much world-conquering Christianity like that these days, either. The preaching in the liberal Protestant denominations offers stones for bread, scorpions for fish. The preaching in the conservative Protestant denominations offers moldy bread and anorexic minnows. It is no wonder that modern Christianity lacks the strength to advance the kingdom of God in history.

There will be no healthy society without healthy Christianity, and there will be no healthy Christianity without healthy preaching. It is *preaching* that changes lives, and changed lives change societies. From St. Paul to Chrysostom to Augustine to Luther to Calvin to Knox to Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Kuyper, Spirit-empowered, doctrinally anchored preaching sparks reformations and revivals. This kind of fearless, powerful preaching ignited the American War for Independence. (If you don’t

believe it, read *Political Sermons of the American Founding Era*, edited by Ellis Sandoz.) No real revival was ever inflamed by prissy scholars who transform the pulpit into a lecture podium, any more than it was started by blathering pulpiteers who engage the pulpit as a circus ring. It is not more and better scholars or politicians that we most urgently need. It is better *preachers* that we desperately need. From a human perspective, *everything rises and falls on leadership*. The leadership of today’s church is largely feminized, relativized, and marginalized.

Strong, decisive manliness is scorned by feminists of both sexes. This feminization has entered not merely the church, but also the pulpit itself. As Ann Douglas notes in her impeccably documented work, *The Feminization of American Culture*, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries an incipient feminism transformed virile, Calvinistic ministers into soap-opera, evangelical hand-holders. It has been that way ever since.

Conservative — even Christian — politics won’t turn things around. If there is to be revival and reformation, it must start in the pulpit, not in politics.

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Christianity: Mother of Political Liberty

By Rev. P. Andrew Sandlin

Liberty has not subsisted outside of Christianity — Lord Acton¹

The most liberating political force in the history of mankind has been Christianity (*Jn.* 8:36). Christianity branched from the trunk of godly Old Testament Hebrew religion, and the ancient Hebrew commonwealth (before the era of the kings [*1 Sam.* 8]) was arguably the most libertarian society in the history of mankind. Christianity inherited from Old Testament faith the bedrock belief in the sovereign, transcendent God Who stands above and judges all humanity, including its systems of civil government.² The political order is never ultimate.

The Ancient World

Christianity shattered the unity of the ancient, pagan world.³ The source of that unity was the state, usually identified with society itself, at the head of which was a great political ruler, a king or emperor, thought to be a god or god-like. The unity of the ancient, pagan world consisted of the divinization of the temporal order in the form of the state.

Christianity recognized “another king” (*Ac.* 17:7). While by no means anarchists, the early Christians recognized that no earthly authority, especially political authority, could be ultimate. God’s authority is ultimate.

In clarifying orthodox Christology (the doctrine of Jesus Christ), the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) laid the foundation of Western liberty.⁴ Jesus Christ *alone* is both divine and human, fully God and fully Man, the unique link between heaven and earth. He is the *only* divine-human Mediator. This decision dramatically repudiated every divinization of the temporal order. No state, no church, no family, no man could be God or God-like.

This recognition set patristic Christianity on a collision course with classical politics. Early Christians were savagely persecuted not because they worshipped Jesus Christ, but because they *refused* to worship the Roman emperor. Polytheistic societies encourage the worship of deities. What they resist is

the exclusion of all deities, particularly the state, except the true Deity, the God of the Bible.

The Medieval World

In the medieval world, the Latin Church became a countervailing force in society, checking and limiting the authority of the state. In fact, much of the time, the church’s size and strength far exceeded that of any particular state.⁵ Lord Acton was correct to suggest that the practice of political liberty in the West arose largely from this medieval church-state conflict.⁶ In addition, the medieval world, despite its many defects, supported a large measure of political liberty in fostering several human institutions besides the church which claimed the allegiance of man: the family, the guild, the feudal lord, and so forth.⁷ This meant that the state had to *share* its authority with other equally legitimate human institutions. No human institution may exercise ultimate authority.

The Modern World

Constitutional limitations on political power, out of which arose the practice of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century constitutional democracies, started in Christian England with the *Magna Carta*. England also delivered the first successful assault against the evil doctrine of the divine right of kings during the Puritan Revolution in the first half of the seventeenth century, and in 1688-89 during the Glorious Revolution of William and Mary it nailed the coffin shut on this long-lived threat to political liberty. The founding of the United States was the greatest experiment in political liberty to that time, and it operated self-consciously on certain distinctly Christian premises. The Founders, for example, recognized the Biblical doctrine of original sin and human depravity, and therefore fashioned a system of civil government that divided decision making among several branches and did not vest any single branch of civil government with too much power.⁸ Second, they argued that the

role of civil government is to secure the rights of "life, liberty, and happiness," with which God as Creator endowed all men. Third, recognizing the Biblical doctrine that civil government should protect minorities (*Ex. 23:9*), they drafted a constitution to which they attached a Bill of Rights, thus inhibiting tyranny arising from quick political change at the whim of democratic opinion.

Political liberty as reflected in the separation of powers, as well as checks and balances; the role of the state in protecting life, liberty, and property; and the constitutional protection of the rights of minorities — all these were bequeathed to the modern world by Christianity.

*Modern man has been willing
to trade away responsibility
to the family and church
and business for subjugation
to an increasingly coercive and
violent political order.*

Whither the West?

Today the West languishes under the violence of abortion and euthanasia, the scourge of homosexuality, the poverty of materialism, the coercion of socialism, the stranglehold of "public" education, the chaos of judicial activism, and the injustice of a forced racism and sexism. These tyrannies are *all* the direct result of the abandonment of Biblical Christianity. The Western world has increasingly accepted the proposal of that first modern political liberal, Jean Jacques Rousseau: the state will emancipate you from responsibility to all non-coercive human institutions like the family, church, and business, if only you submit yourself to the coercion of the state.⁹ Modern man has been willing to trade away *responsibility* to the family and church and business for *subjugation* to an increasingly coercive and violent political order. We are returning to the classical, pagan world in which the coercive state is the unifying principle for all of life.

The most vicious, violent, and murderous political regimes in the history of mankind have been non- or anti-Christian: the primitive pagan humanism of ancient Egypt, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, and the sophisticated secular humanism of revolutionary France, the Soviet Union, Red China, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and other modern secular states. Humanism is and always has been a recipe for political terror and tyranny.¹⁰

The only hope for the return of political liberty and the free society it fosters is a return to orthodox, Biblical Christianity. Christianity is not merely a matrix in which political freedom flourishes; it is the *only* foundation on which to build a free society.



- ¹ Lord Acton, *Essays in Religion, Politics, and Morality*, ed. J. Rufus Fears (Indianapolis, 1988), 491.
- ² James Muilenburg, "The Faith of Ancient Israel," in ed., George F. Thomas, *The Vitality of the Christian Tradition* (New York and London, 1945), 9.
- ³ Ethelbert Stauffer, *Christ and the Caesars* (London, 1955).
- ⁴ Rousas John Rushdoony, *The One and the Many* (Fairfax, VA [1971], 1978), 161-164.
- ⁵ Christopher Dawson, *The Making of Europe* (London, 1948), 204-208.
- ⁶ Lord Acton, *Essays in the History of Liberty*, ed. J. Rufus Fears (Indianapolis, 1985), 33.
- ⁷ Robert Nisbet, *The Social Philosophers* (New York, 1973), 125.
- ⁸ John Eidsmoe, *Christianity and the Constitution* (Grand Rapids, 1987), 20-21.
- ⁹ Nisbet, *op. cit.*, 145-148.
- ¹⁰ E. Stanton Evans, *The Theme is Freedom* (Washington, D. C., 1994), 39-56.



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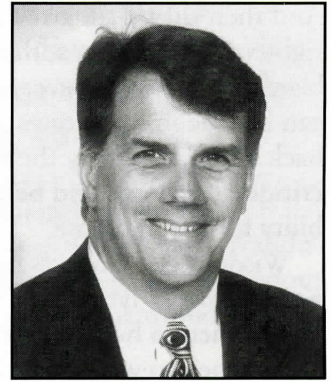
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God's Spies: Christian Politicians in a Pagan Culture

By Rev. Monte E. Wilson, III



Politics is a dirty business. Back stabbing, promise breaking, and soul selling are everyday occurrences. I have witnessed firsthand such wickedness and more. I have seen men who were touted for their personal honor refuse to keep their word because it would cost them position or personal discomfort. I have seen leaders betray friends because of a minor disagreement over a trivial matter. Lying, slander, gossiping, and bearing false witness — this I have seen firsthand on numerous occasions. It's a dirty, dirty business that is dangerous to one's spiritual health, family life, and physical well being. But enough about the ministry ... this article is about politics in the civil arena.

Amusing, isn't it? How often have we heard parents and church leaders warn their young people to stay away from the political arena because of the evil they would have to deal with? As a minister for over 29 years, let me tell you something you may not be aware of: the ministry can be even more dangerous. This is especially true if you are naïve enough to think your fellow deacons, elders, and presbyters are all knights in shining armor or that the ministry will protect you from your frailties.

All fields of endeavor have their challenges, their peculiar traps that must be avoided, games that must be played, and sins that accompany the territory. If there is an unusually high degree of sin in politics, maybe it is due to so many Christians opting out of this particular field of cultural influence.

The Christian Politician of the Twenty-First Century

As I write this article, I am watching the Republican Convention 2000. Leader after leader is speaking ... or at least I think they are speaking. Their mouths are moving, but I can't hear them over the babbling of the news commentators. Anyway, as I watch the parade, I am wondering about what sort of Christians we need in this arena.

Do we need people of character? Certainly we do. We need individuals whose yes is "yes," and whose

no is "no." But having sound character is not enough. We all know many people of outstanding character who can't remember the directions to the church they have been attending for twenty years. And there are plenty of people with character who couldn't inspire their own friends to follow them to *Wendys* for lunch. Character is not enough.

Do we need people rooted in Biblical orthodoxy? Yes, we need people who believe the Bible is God's Word and respect how the church has understood His Word regarding Who God revealed Himself to be and how humanity is to be saved. But even if a potential candidate has a degree from your favorite seminary, that does not guarantee that this individual knows how to apply his knowledge to the world in which he will be serving.

Will the individual need superior people skills? Absolutely. If you have yet to master how to attain and maintain rapport with individuals and crowds, how to expertly present and defend your ideals both overtly and covertly, and how to create and nurture friendships and team members, the odds will be stacked against your having much of an effect. But we all are familiar with politicians who have awesome people skills who are utterly without principle. And what of those people with character and people skills who have no vision or idea of where they wish to lead their followers? Such people may be all dressed up, but they have nowhere to go.

As I consider the political arena and all the confessing Christians that are working there, I believe one of the greatest needs is *wisdom*. By this word I mean a number of things. For example, possessing the ability to choose the most appropriate words and behavior in any given context or circumstance. And what would the most appropriate words and behavior be? Those that are ethically sound and are most suited to attaining the desired outcome.

How often do some Christian politicians fail to get their point across or the bill passed because they used words, phrases, gestures, and attitudes that repelled those people they were seeking to influence?

And then they walk away and speak of how the righteous is made to suffer or how the evil blankety-blanks resisted their every move. While this certainly can be true in some cases, the wise leader will step back and first re-play the movie of what transpired, critique his words and behavior, and take responsibility for the outcome.

Wisdom also nods its head in agreement with Kenny Rogers' lyrics in "The Gambler": "You gotta know when to hold'em, know when to fold'em, know when to walk away, know when to run." Wise people choose their battles well. They know that they only have so many resources (time, influence, money, employees, volunteers, etc.) and use them judiciously.

Wisdom understands that if you *constantly* swim against the current of popular opinion, you will be perceived as an insecure person who needs attention, an arrogant person who sees most everyone else as inferior, or a lunatic who needs to be avoided. (I am not suggesting this would be an accurate evaluation, only that this is how you would be perceived.) None of these perceptions are conducive to attaining one's desired outcomes. The wise Christian politician will seek out ways where he can *legitimately* join the majority and cultivate the image of camaraderie whenever possible.

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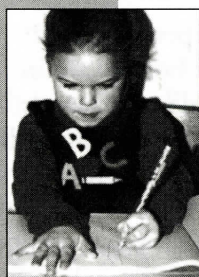
Wisdom requires the politician to seek to understand the times in which we live. This is not a culture that is familiar with Christianity, and what *is* thought to be known is hated. As Daniel was in Babylon, we are the minority report. This is a reality that some Christian leaders in the political arena seem unable to grasp. And because it is not grasped, the models they use in developing plans of action are often outdated, ineffective, and counter-productive.

In seeking to understand our times, I suggest that wisdom will lead us to see ourselves as God's spies in a pagan culture and then to plan and behave accordingly. For example, prophetic-type utterances from the church or even a Christian lobby are one thing, but such a posture as a congressman may not be the most effective course of action over the long term. Daniel didn't take on the powers-that-be over every breach of Biblical law. If he had done so, he would have been executed before he ever graduated from Babylon University.

As we seek to engage the culture around us, we need to pray and work towards preparing and supporting those people who "understand the times" and are well equipped for effective service in the twenty-first century. While many appear to be feeling that political involvement for Christians is futile, I disagree. I believe that many of our failures can be traced back to a lack of discernment regarding where we were in history. Consequently, we held on to models that were effective for an age that had passed and did not build new models to serve us in a postmodern society. And, as everyone knows, newer models are most often faster and more powerful than the old ones.



Dr. Monte E. Wilson is a noted Reformed speaker and writer. He can be contacted at (770)740-1401, montethird@aol.com, or P.O. Box 22, Alpharetta, GA 30239. He is available for preaching, lectures, and conferences.



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Christian Activism Loses Its Way in the Kulture Smog

By Colonel V. Doner



Let's begin with the basics. The implicit goal of the Christian Right has always been to transform the culture. Clearly we were not interested in electing politicians just for the sake of having more Republicans in office. We expected results — results, which would not only preserve whatever elements of Christian culture we still enjoyed, but would in fact expand them.

For instance, we believed that by electing the right men to office, the following things would happen:

1. Not only would prayer and the Ten Commandments be legal in the schools, but so would the teaching of creationism. Instead of “values clarification,” social Darwinism, and multi-culturalism, children would be inculcated with a more respectful attitude towards Judeo-Christian values (code word: traditional values).
2. Abortion and pornography would be outlawed.
3. All forms of child exploitation, particularly child sexual abuse, would be outlawed.
4. Gays would be driven back into the closet.
5. The federal government would be cut down to size, rendering it much less obtrusive.
6. The so-called walls separating churches and state would once again function to protect churches against interference by the state, rather than vice versa.
7. Judicial appointments, often used to expand the role of the federal government would be more representative of the Framers' intent of a limited central government and broad state rights.
8. Through a combination of increased executions and tougher sentencing, crime would be reduced to 1950s levels and the streets would once again be safe for citizens and children.

It was hoped that the combination of these various planks would somehow combine to create a nation, which would at a minimum be a safe place to raise our children, and optimistically would be closer to an earlier time when Christian culture dominated. What exactly this earlier time looked like was somewhat hazy. Some Reconstructionists thought it might look like the Puritan times; Pat Robertson thought it would look like the 1950s under the leadership of the moral giant Dwight Eisenhower.

Bottom line: electing the right people to office would, in fact, transform the culture. That was the illusion. After twenty years of Republican conservative dominance from Ronald Reagan through Newt Gingrich, many activists have been disillusioned, at least those paying attention.

As I pointed out in my recent monograph, *The Late Great GOP*, the Reagan years were productive in terms of foreign policy, judicial appointments, and economic policy, but bore little fruit on “moral” issues (namely because of the relentless opposition of Nancy Reagan and her inner-circle of social image advisers who were loath to appear to be too “Right Wing”). The final shock came with how quickly Newt Gingrich's much vaunted revolution dissipated into a puddle of vacillation.

It seems the revolution came and went and nobody much noticed, least of all, the enemy that was supposed to have been vanquished by Newt and his courageous command. What happened? As a number of astute observers have observed (including the venerable Paul Weyrich, the dominant figure in conservative circles in Washington for the last thirty years), Republicans, even conservative Republicans, have turned out to be much more survival sensitive than was expected. In other words, like most “pols,” they are *poll driven*. As the old cliché goes, they are more influenced by the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* than the folks back home are. In this

case, however, there is also a problem with the folks back home. The culture has changed, and not for the better. This is what has discouraged Weyrich and a number of other leaders.

For decades, conservative strategists operated on the premise that if we educated enough people, they would do the right thing. The assumption was that we would have at least two thirds of the country behind us, *i.e.*, the “moral majority.” But years of toil to educate people on Gay Rights issues and pro-life issues in key states failed to produce even a 51 percent majority of voters willing to do the right thing, let alone two thirds. The true epiphany that woke up many conservative activists was the recognition that even though the public acknowledged that Clinton was a shameless perjurer and sexual predator, two thirds of the public considered him to be worth retaining and were quite “put out” with the poor Republicans for even thinking about punishing him for breaking the law.

Indeed, it was Ken Starr (not William Jefferson) who drew the public’s wrath for having the audacity to keep this unsavory issue in front of them, when they simply wanted to forget and monitor the progress of their stock options or, lacking stock options, monitor “The Simpsons.”

Conservative leaders like Weyrich were beginning to notice that altering the political landscape exerted little or no correlation in the culture wars. Further, they noticed that the culture was becoming increasingly secularized and liberal, and that conservative politicians were less inclined than ever to buck the dominant culture. Their first priority (as they see it) is to get re-elected, so they can be in a position to do some good, at some point (the theory that it’s better to do something than nothing). Thus the overriding rationale of the typical conservative politician’s existence is that he must continue to be elected to be able to exercise any future potential good, thus his willingness to accommodate what he sees as lesser evils.

On the whole, the conservatives remain confused about just why they are losing the culture wars. Presidential candidate and notorious flapjack flipper Gary Bauer offers us a prime example. Mr. Bauer insisted that he didn’t care if the cultural elite were to rage against him, because the fact was that he had the working class (blue collar workers) behind him. Unfortunately for Bauer, his constituency was more influenced by what they heard and saw on the media, or what their children picked up at educational institutions, or what their union leaders passed down (all under the sway of the cultural elite) than

he suspected. At least that’s a plausible reason why he didn’t rise above 4 or 5 percent in the polls (and that’s *within* the G.O.P.!).

No matter how you cut it, decades of Christian involvement in politics, including some noticeable conservative victories (1980, 1984, 1994) have failed to alter in any significant or long-lasting way the drift of the culture.

Since it seems clear enough that this is so, it is logical that Christian conservatives would draw the conclusion that, rather than looking to the political process *alone* to transform the culture, they should begin examining what exactly it takes to transform the cultural elite. In other words, instead of replacing members of Congress who are all too easily driven by the cultural zeitgeist, the logical strategy would be to replace members of the elite who are doing the driving.

This, however, has not occurred. Christian conservatives seem happier than ever to continue in the illusion that the next politician (or election) holds all the answers. Desperate for any sliver of hope, they are willing to transfer their illusion to whoever happens to come out on top of the G.O.P. dog-pile. Even those who were convinced that George Bush was the Devil incarnate (or at least a liberal in disguise), now that their own personal heroes have been vanquished back to the sidelines of right-wing fund raising activities, have decided that Prince George, after all, may be their knight in shining armor.

Today, Christian conservative activists seem to be playing out the classic definition of insanity which is to keep repeating the same actions expecting to get different results. Maybe they need to read the popular little book *Who Moved the Cheese?*, which points out that things don’t always remain the same, and we need to notice when they change (to keep ourselves from running down the same maze, only to find that somebody has in fact “moved the cheese”). In our case, there never was any cheese, but a least we had reason to suspect that there was some. After twenty years of scurrying down the same political mazes, you’d think we would wake up. But in fact, it’s not so simple.

What really happens is that every few years many political activists do figure it out, and they simply give up or sidetrack to other things. But a new wave of activists follow hard on their heels, so it seems like a continual movement — a continuity of force — when, in fact, it’s fresh recruits thrown in as cannon fodder every few years. Some of the Generals stay the same, either blinded to their lack of results, or driven by

unlimited optimism, or perhaps driven by more pragmatic concerns (like keeping the cash flow going).

There are other problems, too. For one, old habits are hard to break. And they are almost impossible to break when one lacks an alternative battle plan. In other words, since no one has created a map showing how we might carry out a true culture war, replacing the mandarins of secularized culture with our own elect, out of necessity, we fall back on what we know how to do (I would say the tried and true, but that usually connotes positive results). If our goal is to transform the culture, we need to have an appropriate map, clearly defining the enemy's strongholds and suggesting the most efficacious routes upon which to encircle and besiege their power base.

The problem is that it is impossible to engage an enemy that we can't recognize in part because we've accepted so much of its worldview as our own. The cultural zeitgeist and its ubiquitous epistemological assumptions act as dense kulture smog permeating everything, especially evangelicalism's inability to think within a Biblical (as opposed to a humanistic) paradigm. For instance, evangelicalism's penchant for proving Scripture by using "scientific" benchmarks (evidentialism) is directly attributable to a secular modernist faith in the ability of man's reason to objectively verify truth. Likewise, evangelicalism's rampant spiritual individualism flows from the Enlightenment's faith in man's ability to be the final arbitrator of all truth claims.

In part, the secular elite's propaganda is so effective because their "Kulture Smog Machine" conveniently obscures its machinations behind a think blanket of "kulture smog." Thus, evangelicals routinely send their children to kulture reeducation camps (AKA — "public education") where, according to Kulture Meister John Dewey, they are systematically stripped of dangerous doctrines

instilled by church and parents, and indoctrinated with social Darwinism (as well as biological Darwinism). After school, kids spend their time being entertained by the most insidious propaganda device ever created — television! This is the main dissemination outlet of the "Kulture Smog Machine," chock-full of special features or "situation comedies" where every tenet of Western (let alone, Christian) culture is ridiculed, dismissed, or exposed as hypocrisy (usually all three), in favor of multiculturalism, hedonism, materialism, homosexuality, etc.

Many of these same evangelical families quietly pay 35-50% of their income in taxes to finance the machine's upkeep. Those who object to this onerous obligation or to other parts of the machine's agenda (which they are able to perceive) blindly devote themselves to electing candidates who are themselves cogs in a machine run by economic and cultural Darwinists (yes — the G.O.P.)!

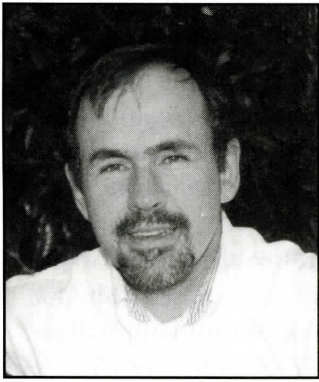
The kulture smog has done its job well — the average Christian's mind is too hazy to identify, let alone counter, the strategies of an opposing worldview. Consequently, the G.O.P. or an early rapture stand as their only hope — at least until someone provides a different map.



Colonel Doner has served in national leadership positions with various Christian activist organizations since 1966. A nationally recognized Christian Right leader in the 70s and 80s, he has founded and led a dozen businesses and cause-related organizations in the United States and Europe. He is a popular conference speaker and writer. He is the husband of Miriam Doner and the father of C. J. Doner; they reside in Northern California. He can be contacted at samaritan-group@mindspring.com.

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Just Win, Baby

By Ben House

When it comes to discussing political issues, you can be certain of being either irrelevant, incorrect, or naïve. Perhaps, with a little political savvy, all three can be accomplished. At this point in our political process as Americans, I can assume, falsely of course, that there is no need to convince Christians to be involved in politics. “The Religious Right” is now a part of our political vocabulary, almost as common as the political phrase, “The President committed perjury.” The books on Christian involvement in politics would once have fit in a small satchel with enough room left over for a sandwich or two. Now you could fill a bookcase with good books; you could paper your walls with newsletters; you could drive across the whole United States (or even from Texarkana to El Paso) listening non-stop to lectures on the topic. Great works of the past are also being reprinted. Conservative Christians have arrived on the political scene and are there to stay.

On the one hand, there have been great gains for Christian conservatives; on the other hand, some Christian involvement has been foolish, compromising, and embarrassing. If our goal was to establish the United States as a holy commonwealth with Biblical laws and Christian morality at every level, we have thus far failed. If our goal has been to begin to learn the process of politics and to be a bit of salt and a ray of light in a spiritually dead world, we have been blessed.

In politics, you have two kinds of people. You have political ideologues and you have political managers. Political ideologues are people who are motivated primarily by a set of beliefs, whether conservative, liberal, Christian, humanist, socialist, or free market. For the ideologue, sound political doctrine is everything. Mary Stuart was said to fear John Knox (or any Calvinist who was convinced he was right) more than an army of ten thousand soldiers. Knox was ideologically committed to a commonwealth that was Christian, Protestant, and

Presbyterian. The ideologue loathes compromise, pragmatism, and “playing politics.” For him, great issues are at stake — the only good Commie is a dead Commie — and compromise and appeasement are what gave the world the likes of Adolph Hitler. Every government program, to the ideological conservative, leads to socialism and one-world government. Every tax break, to the ideological liberal, leads to the oppression of the poor by the rich. Principles are all that matters.

The political manager operates under a different system. For him, politics involves one thing, and that is winning. Second place winners are the first losers. The manager recognizes that you must always have something to show for the effort. When the manager hears Henry Clay proclaim, “I’d rather be right than President,” he thinks, “Can we win with that slogan?” The manager realizes that the politics of pragmatism is politics, that compromise is the American system, and that playing politics is rough and tumble. In a political line that was hopelessly flawed, Robert Dole, a successful political manager in the Senate and a dismal one on the road to the White House, said, “If you want me to be Ronald Reagan, I’ll be Ronald Reagan.” Being Ronald Reagan was smart politics. It worked for Ronald Reagan twice in California as governor and twice as President. It worked once for George Bush. It worked many times for lesser candidates. Dole should have never said what he said, but he should have been Ronald Reagan. Clinton did a much better Reagan impersonation — tough on crime, tough on foreign policy, “the age of big government is over.” The political manager does whatever is necessary to win.

Christians in politics have fumbled and fought over whether to be political ideologues or political managers. The ideologues have marginalized themselves in the political arena. They have anathematized the Democratic Party — with a little help from Bill Clinton. They have threatened to rend the

Republican Party, which is uncomfortably trying to keep them in the big tent and keep them quiet. Christian political managers have been rare, sometimes foolish (*i.e.*, some endorsed Robert Dole long before he had the nomination), and generally inept. But, the movement is young, the gains are real, and we have barely begun to fight.

Where does this place us for the 2000 presidential election? The Democrats have nominated Internet inventor Al Gore, fresh from his triumph over the even more liberal and boring Bill Bradley. Texas Governor George W. Bush is the Republican candidate.

My ideological friends (my claims that I too am ideological will be unheard) will opt for someone else. Perhaps Pat Buchanan, who obtained Perot's Reform Party nomination. I have read his writings, watched him on television, put his bumper sticker on my car, and voted for him twice in Arkansas primaries against all hope. I hope he is a surprise candidate in 2000 who raises some serious conservative issues. But I don't think it will happen.

Buchanan's candidacy ended in the South Carolina primary in 1996. Buchanan could not reassemble and remodel the old Ronald Reagan coalition as a Republican; neither can he do so as a Reform Party candidate.

At this point, my friends will call for the rallying of the troops behind a third party. The American Taxpayer Party (which I supported in 1992 and 1996) stands a great chance in 2000. If all of its supporters will move to Montana, we can maybe swing that state's four electoral votes. Otherwise, on a national basis, the party can attempt to outpoll Ralph Nader this next time around.

In 2000, I want to go with the political managers who are saying, "Let's win." America has a two-party system. If you want to succeed in politics read that sentence several times. Third parties in America have two fates: they fizzle and go unnoticed, or they get absorbed into the larger mainstream, two-party system. Yes, I know that some expert is predicting the collapse of the two-party system. Yes, I know that the Democrats are finished as a political party and the Republicans are going to self-destruct. Yes, I know the two major parties are hopelessly doomed. I just need to know what year, decade, or era of American history you are discussing. The two parties have both been finished many times. Like the great whale, Moby Dick, the two-party system swims away and the political coroner is always last seen attached as a useless appendage to the whale's great body.

Governor Bush is going to strike chords across America that will appeal to some vague nebulous body of everyday people who will put him in the White

House. At various points, he will cause us to wince. He will not be pro-life enough; he will be too compromising on gun control; he will protect Social Security for the future (for he must win Florida); he will, like his daddy, want a "kinder, gentler" America; he will support some vague notions of "family values"; and most of all he will be for "Compassionate Conservatism." (A brilliant phrase coined by someone who understands.) He will be pragmatic; he will compromise; he will rub shoulders with the enemy; he will play politics. But, he can do something our ideological favorites cannot do: He can win.

Better Solomon than Adonijah; better Constantine than Nero; better Elizabeth than Mary; much better Roosevelt and Churchill than Hitler and Mussolini; and better George W. Bush than Al Gore. Meanwhile, lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and reverence, and pray for our king.



Ben House is Pastor of Grace Covenant Church and Administrator of Veritas School in Texarkana, Arkansas where he also teaches history and literature. He and his wife, Stephanie have three children. He can be reached at jbhouse@txk.net.

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The Middle of the Road — Where it Leads

By Richard M. Weaver

(From *The Best of Human Events: Fifty Years of Conservative Thought and Action*, edited by James C. Roberts, 1995. Reprinted with permission of Huntington House Publishers. Originally published in the March 24, 1956 issue of *Human Events*)

When you drive your car, do you drive in the middle of the road? This seems a silly question to ask because you don't, of course, if you want to stay alive and get somewhere.

But a lot of people have been sold on the idea that the middle of the road is the safest place in politics and on all sorts of controversial questions. They have been led to believe that in the middle position you are out of harm's way and you are more likely to be right than those who are on either side of a question. A little thought will show that this idea is born not of wisdom but of confusion or fear or both.

Properly speaking, middle-of-the-roadism is not a political philosophy at all. It is rather the absence of a philosophy or an attempt to evade having a philosophy. All great movements in the past have grown out of and have depended upon some self-consistent view of man and society. They have presented a program embodying clear principles, and people have gotten behind the movements because they wanted the principles to triumph. In no case did they labor and fight to see the principles bartered away for a few concessions by the opposition. The great sacrifices of history have not been inspired by political trimming and unmanly compromise. Try imagining the figure that Washington would cut in history today if he had decided on a compromise settlement with the British.

Middle-of-the-road politics have a false attraction for some people because they keep them from having to think a position through. All they have to do is borrow a little from the parties on either side of them, add this up, and tell themselves that this is the "sound" position. But a position halfway between right and wrong is not a sound position. It only postpones and makes more difficult the eventual decision. And there are different views of man's destiny which can never be compatible.

Middle-of-the-roadism is seldom anything more than shortsightedness. It is not an insight into political matters because it is wholly dependent upon

what other parties say, or stand for. It takes its bearing from them. And far from being safe, it is just the spot to catch brickbats from both sides.

When you ask people why they have adopted a middle-of-the-road position, you nearly always discover that they fall into these two groups. The first group has been deceived into believing, as we have just noted, that you find the right by averaging right and wrong. If this were true, there would never be any use for intelligence and moral conviction.

The second group is usually fearful of taking a position which an enemy might characterize as "extreme" in spite of the fact that many ideas are attacked as extreme for no other reason than that they express clear-cut principles. Nearly all advocates of principles have been attacked at one time or another as "extremists." But if the principles were sound, the leaders generally prevailed. It does take some intestinal fortitude to champion an idea that has powerful enemies. But people who are frightened by this kind of criticism are usually afraid to stand up for any principle.

There is a third group of middle-of-the-roads which is even less admirable than these two. These are the opportunists, the believers in pure expediency, who think that the best chance is to take a middle position and play off both sides against each other. Then while the parties on either side are fighting they try to run off with the bacon. These are the ones who believe that you cannot really stand for something and win an election. They are generally afraid of all ideas because their sole object is to get into office. They are politicians in the worse sense of the word. Everybody recognizes this type of political "leader."

History, however, shows that they are dead wrong even about the matter of winning. Occasionally dodging about in the middle of the road does lead to a temporary victory. But these are fleeting successes for the simple reason that you can't fool all of the people all the time. In their hearts people despise a trimmer and, as soon as they find him out, they

leave him. The great causes that have triumphed and the leaders who have led them have never been found in the middle of the road. They have set their course by some ideal and have resisted all temptations, which have sometimes been many, to come halfway to the other side. And the parties that have played the game of compromise on vital issues have seen their glory and their power vanish. For proof of this, let's go to history.

A century ago this country had an important and powerful party called the Whigs. Its leader was the attractive Henry Clay and he had support from the best elements in all parts of the country. But his party made the fatal mistake of trying to straddle the fence on major issues. As a result, it was not Clay, "the Great Compromiser," who went to the White House, but the hard-hitting Andrew Jackson. By 1856 the Whig Party was dead. Stephen A. Douglas tried the same trick, looking for the middle of the road between issues that were in direct conflict. He lost to Abraham Lincoln, who had taken a definite stand on one side. Even when the Democratic Party has won, on issues that many do not approve of, it has done so in taking a decisive stand for something. Better an opponent whose position you are certain of than a supposed friend whose only interest is in dodging the crucial issues. Such has generally been the judgment of the American voters on those who were merely looking for the line of least resistance.

So much for the claim that the middle of the road is the path to success. Dodging issues and watering down solutions is not merely the way to failure; it is the way to extinction.

All great political parties owe their vitality to the importance of the things they stand for. And this is never truer than in periods of defeat which, in the normal alteration of political circumstances, must sometimes occur. A beaten party with a real issue has an excellent chance of coming back. A beaten party without an issue is a dead duck. And those parties which have tied their fortunes to some personality who happens to excite the masses are only setting a term to their effectiveness. When he goes, as he must, the wind is out of their sails. These considerations have a melancholy bearing upon the situation in our country today. There is one group, not clearly distinguished by a party name, but quite definite about what it wants and expects to bring about in this nation. Most accurately speaking, it is a party of collectivism. It works on various fronts and under various labels, but there need be no confusion about its objectives. It wants an America, new-modeled according to the Soviet Union.

There are two ideas in the philosophy of collectivism of which every American ought to be aware. One of them is a thoroughgoing materialism, which insists that man is merely a natural animal, which repudiates religion and all belief in the Divine Providence, and which maintains that happiness is purely a matter of gratifying this animal's appetites. The other idea is that the state is supreme and the individual nothing, that society should be managed down to the smallest details by a centralized authority, and that there is no higher power — no human tradition, no conscience, no precept of religion — by which this control can be criticized. An all-powerful state, designed along engineering lines to satisfy the physical wants of the masses, is their aim and goal, although often it is their method to admit only part of it at a time. In the writings of their prophets, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, however, it is revealed without any squeamishness.

There is a great segment of our population to the right of collectivism and morally committed to fight it. Strange as it may sound, however, a good many of its leaders have adopted the policy of appeasement. Instead of issuing a direct challenge, in terms of principle, they have tried to see how many concessions they could make without being accused of surrender. They have tried to see how closely they could approach the position of collectivism while still paying lip service to what they are supposed to be defending.

Logic and duty call for them to stand up for their side, not to fight the battle by retreating from it. They have sought a middle-of-the-road position between a militant collectivism and our tradition of freedom and individualism. Historical examples show that the next step is capitulation, or liquidation of the party which is so cowardly.

If this should come about, it will certainly be recorded by history that no people ever gave up so much for so little. We possess a great, beautiful, inspiring country. In our comparatively brief history we have created some traditions that any people would be proud to sustain; we have borne leaders and heroes to match those out of Plutarch; we have accomplished many things which by previous standards were thought impossible. We have combined equality with a method of rewarding success and distinction which has no parallel in history in its ability to produce social satisfaction and incentive to achievement.

Best of all, we have created a spirit of kindness and helpfulness which mitigates the lot of life's failures without trying absurdly to place them in the driver's seat. Every candid foreign observer is struck

by this, and we feel intuitively that it is a very American thing. "Nowhere is cruelty more abhorred," Lord Bryce wrote admiringly of the America he saw. Now it is proposed to exchange this for the regimentation, the directives, the penalties, perhaps even the forced labor camps and executions of an alien and inhuman philosophy.

There is little doubt that the middle of the road today leads in this direction. The radicals know what they want; too many of the rest of us only temporize and hope.

Already a good many people are behaving as if their conscience hurt them over being American, so they give a little here and a little there in the hope of not being too offensive to the truculent enemy.

This is the reason that even the election of 1952 did not halt creeping socialism. Because no influential leader drew the line in terms of clear principle, the immense bureaucracy of the New Deal was allowed to consolidate itself further. This and that clamorous group has been able to extort state aid

according to New Deal methods. All candid observers realize that the trend toward statism has not yet been reversed.

The need of the time is for a leadership willing to face the facts. Complacency toward what is happening is a betrayal of the America we have inherited. The kind of leader that people are willing to stay with, and to sacrifice personally for, is the kind that says, "I'm going to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." Wavering and self-defeat through compromise where vital points are at stake never yet held a following. To win this struggle we have got to get on the right side of the road and keep it with resolution.



Richard M. Weaver was the author of the well-known book, Ideas Have Consequences. He was Professor English at the University of Chicago and a member of the board of directors of the Foundation For American Principles and Traditions.

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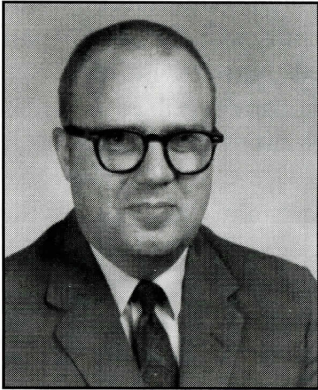
Itinerary 2000

- Sept. 28-Oct 1 P. Andrew Sandlin and Monte Wilson at Grand Ledge Christian Center, Grand Ledge, MI. For more information contact Pastor Craig Dumont at (800) 290-5711 or 1wcog@tcimet.net.
- Oct. 1, 8, 15 C.L. "Smoky" Stover at Reformed Heritage Church, Modesto, CA (10:00 a.m.). For more information contact Dave Turnbaugh at (209) 578-5362. Also at Reformed Heritage Church, San Jose, CA (3:00 p.m.). For more information, contact Gary Wagner at (408) 866-5607.
- Oct. 15 P. Andrew Sandlin at Covenant Reformed Church, Grass Valley, CA (11:00 a.m.). For more information contact Dennis Roe at (530) 272-6693.
- Oct. 21-22 Steve Schlissel in Southwest Virginia and Tennessee. For more information contact Larry Ball at (423) 288-3664.
- Oct. 22 P. Andrew Sandlin at Church of the King, Santa Cruz, CA (10:00 a.m.). For more information contact Bill Garaway at (831) 477-7805 or (408) 482-4314. Also at Reformed Heritage Church, San Jose, CA (3:00 p.m.) For more information contact Gary Wagner at (409) 866-5607.
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- Oct. 28 P. Andrew Sandlin and Monte Wilson at the Student Worldview Conference at San Jose, CA. See ad on page 6. For more information contact Zachariah Wagner at (408) 866-5607.
- Nov. 4 Steve Schlissel at Preakness URC, Wayne, NJ. For more information contact Nick Lindemulder at (973) 694-8510 or Mrs. Peter Palmer at (973) 694-8198.
- Nov. 26 and Dec 17 P. Andrew Sandlin at Church of the King, Santa Cruz, CA (10:00 a.m.). For more information contact Bill Garaway at (831) 477-7805 or (408) 482-4314. Also at Reformed Heritage Church, San Jose (3:00 p.m.). For more information contact Gary Wagner at (409) 866-5607.
- Jan. 26-28 Steve Schlissel at Grace Presbyterian Church in Metairie, LA. For more information contact Bill Tremblay at (504) 568-2947 or (504) 888-5534.

Noah Webster and the Formation of the American Nation

A Selective Review of H. G. Unger's Biography

By Forrest W. Schultz



Harlow Giles Unger's *Noah Webster: The Life and Times of an American Patriot* (N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1998) is must reading for anyone interested in the early days of America because it contains important, but

little-known, information about the significant role which Noah Webster played in the development of the American Constitution, American education, and American language. Webster exercised this influence in three ways; and Unger's discussion of these (and of just about everything else in his biography) is quite interesting and well-written.

First, Webster wrote a pamphlet published in 1785 and read by virtually every educated American entitled *Sketches of American Policy*, most of whose principles became incorporated into the Constitution as well as into the essays in the *Federalist Papers* written by Hamilton and Madison. Although the principles themselves were not original with Webster, he was the first to publish them in the form of specific proposals for a new Constitution. After the Constitutional Convention in 1787, Webster wrote anonymously his *Examination into the Leading Principles of the Federal Constitution*, a short, easy-to-read pamphlet, which was influential among ordinary Americans.

Second, in 1785 Webster began delivering, all across the country, a series of public lectures advocating a purified, uniform national language and an improved and universal education. These language and educational reforms were embodied in the school textbooks Webster had written, which shall be discussed below. These lectures and textbooks were the vehicles Webster used to accomplish these reforms.

Third, Webster in the course of his wide travels had the opportunity to meet and influence almost all

the prominent people in the nation at that time, and some of these resulted in close friendships, such as the one with Benjamin Franklin, a surprising fact, given the great disparity in their ages.

This, in itself, is interesting enough, but what makes it even more interesting is another little-known fact brought to light by Unger, namely that Noah Webster embarked upon this arduous national tour mainly for the purpose of promoting the passage of state copyright laws in order that his textbooks might be protected from piracy. And he succeeded: at his instigation every one of the thirteen states passed a copyright law! It was necessary for Webster to do this on the state level because no federal copyright protection was possible under the Articles of Confederation.

Unger's discussion of how and why Webster wrote his spelling book (the first edition of which was published in 1783) also makes for interesting reading. Webster was then a schoolteacher who was so dissatisfied with the deficiencies of the spellers then in use that he decided to write his own, which became ever more widely used until it became the standard in spellers, and consequently, one of the best-selling books in the nation. Due to the color of its cover, it was known by the public as "the blue back speller" or "Old Blue Back."

Webster also wrote a grammar (in 1784) and a reader (in 1785), again due to his dissatisfaction with those then in use. The patriotic significance of these is apparent from their inclusion of American words, references to American places and American events, and of speeches, essays, and poems written by Americans. The speller, grammar, and reader were then published, beginning in 1785, as a three volume set. The grammar and reader are not as well-known today as the speller because they were supplanted later on (circa 1836) by the *McGuffey Readers*. But the speller was not supplanted because McGuffey intended his *Readers* to be used with it. So, the speller continued to be used along with the *McGuffey Readers* until they themselves were supplanted by the textbooks of the twentieth century.

Webster also wrote two other widely used books: a series of concise biographies (21 of which were of prominent Americans) for use in the schools (in 1830) and a *History of the United States* (in 1832), which gave credit to the guiding hand of God for the development of the USA, and which claimed that the civil liberty we enjoy is due to the principles of the Christian religion, especially early New England Puritanism.

One of the first — and most prestigious — endorsers of Webster's speller was Ezra Stiles, the President of Yale College, from which Webster had received his B.A. and M.A. degrees. President Stiles was so interested in this speller that he even suggested to Webster a title for it, which Webster used for the first six editions as the main title, but after that relegated to a sub-title, using then as the main title *The American Spelling Book*. This title contains the term "Grammatical Institute," which Stiles believed was warranted for such an important project as the creation of a new system of education, since the term "institute" denotes an authoritative codification, as in law (e.g., *The Institutes of Justinian*) or theology (e.g., John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*). In fact, according to Unger's discussion, it appears that Stiles, as a Calvinist, had Calvin's *Institutes* in mind when he made the suggestion, and that Webster, as a Calvinist, thus acceded to the suggestion, although, as a young man (only twenty-five years of age), he feared that the term "Institute" might seem too "pompous" and that its obvious derivation from Calvin's monumental *Institutes* would expose him to criticism for vanity. While this humility is certainly commendable, it must not be forgotten that John Calvin himself was only 26 years old when he wrote the first edition of his *Institutes*!

Unger mentions Webster's Calvinism from time to time, but, unfortunately, he provides no systematic study of it, which would have been helpful, because from what Unger does say, it appears that Calvinism was important to Webster, but that he was not always consistent with it in his thinking. For instance, for a period of time in his early life he believed in Rousseau's social contract theory, but later turned away from it when he began to see the dangers of what today we would call "mobocracy."

The work for which Noah Webster is best known, his *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828), was done at the end of his life and was such a gargantuan work — both in its composition and as a finished product — that it is impossible in a short book review such as this to even summarize what

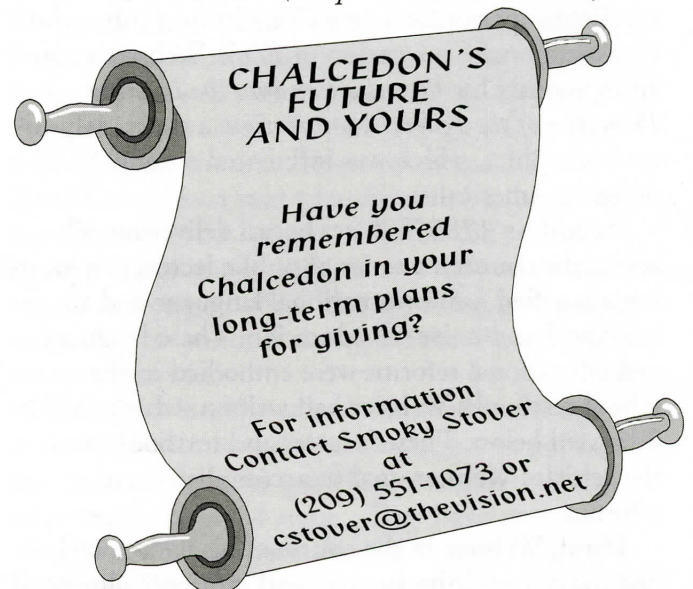
was involved. You will need to read Unger's account of it, which is quite fascinating. It was the largest and best English dictionary ever produced, and it received high praise from Englishmen as well as Americans.

Webster was an indefatigable worker who did far more than this review might indicate (as if that weren't enough). This is a selective review: I have only included discussion of Webster's activities which were nationally influential. I did not mention his endeavors which did not succeed: e.g., a newspaper, a magazine, and a revised translation of the Bible; nor his work as a lawyer and a public servant in New England, which were successful, but were only of local importance.

In conclusion, Unger's biography clearly shows the important but little-known role which Noah Webster played in the formation of the early American nation, especially in its political, linguistic, and educational aspects. This study needs to be followed by one which examines the influence of Webster's Calvinism upon his patriotism, because Unger's book only provides a few glimpses of this influence.

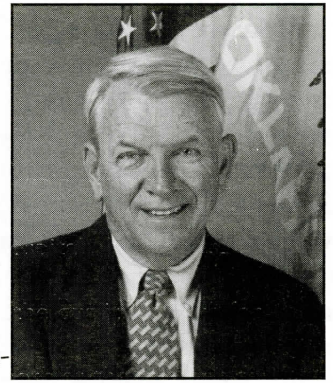


Forrest W. Schultz has been an early American history "buff" all his life. His formal education, however, is not in that area but in chemical engineering (B.S., Drexel University, 1963) and systematic theology (Th.M., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1971). Speaking of history, Mr. Schultz is now in the process of assembling material for writing a history of the contemporary Christian Reconstruction movement, for which he would appreciate receiving pertinent information. He can be reached at 703 West Grantville Road, Grantville, GA 30220 (Telephone 770-583-3258).



Constitution Need Not Be Amended, But Courts Curbed, to Restore Religious Freedoms

By William D. (Bill) Graves



If at the end of World War II the Allies had gotten back only a small portion of the land wrongfully taken by Nazi Germany instead of it all, it would not have been viewed as a victory. If the so-called Religious Freedom Amendment (RFA) proposed by Rep. Ernest Istook (R-OK) becomes law, Americans would be getting back only a very small portion of the religious liberties wrongfully taken from them by federal courts. It would not be a victory. RFA's passage would be a defeat resulting in a substantial net loss of constitutionally protected freedoms. It provides:

To secure the people's right to acknowledge God according to the dictates of conscience: Neither the United States nor any State shall establish any official religion, but the people's right to pray and to recognize their religious beliefs, heritage, or traditions on public property, including schools, shall not be infringed. Neither the United States nor any State shall require any person to join in prayer or other religious activity, prescribe school prayers, discriminate against religion, or deny equal access to a benefit on account of religion.

The U.S. Constitution, as *written* and *intended* by its Framers, guarantees all the freedoms sought in RFA, but much, much more. The real problem is not a defective Constitution, but judicial tyranny by which that document has been grossly and dishonestly misinterpreted. It is the federal courts, not the Constitution, which need correcting. The Constitution provides appropriate solutions. More about that later. Rep. Istook obviously means well, but RFA raises these disturbing questions.

Passage of RFA Would Be Admission That the Supreme Court's Fallacious "Wall" Doctrine Is Actually a Part of the Constitution

Passage of RFA (HR 66) would be an admission that the Supreme Court was constitutionally correct when it fraudulently held that there is a "*wall of separation between church and state*" which prohibits government-sponsored prayer. There is in fact, no

such wall. The words do not appear in the Constitution. Chief Justice

Rehnquist has said the Court's "wall" has "no historical foundation." Absolutely nothing was said in the Congressional debates on the First Amendment about such a wall. That Amendment states only in pertinent part as to religion: "*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof...*"

The First Amendment Allows Government-Sponsored Prayer

The First Amendment's "free exercise" clause protects prayer and religious observances in public places. After completing its First Amendment work, the first Congress established the Congressional chaplaincy by which daily prayers to God are still offered by government-paid chaplains. It also recommended that President Washington proclaim a national day of prayer and thanksgiving and have a religious service in connection with his inauguration. He did. Is it probable that Congress did this while simultaneously proposing constitutional law to prohibit such activity?

RFA Abandons Common Law Meaning of "Establishment" in Favor of Broader, More Restrictive Meaning

Justice Joseph Story, described as the greatest scholar ever to serve on the Supreme Court, said the "real object of the First Amendment was not to countenance, much less to advance, Moham-medanism or Judaism or infidelity by prostrating Christianity; but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects, and to prevent any national ecclesiastical establishment which should give to a hierarchy the exclusive patronage of the national government." In fact, James Madison, the principal author of the establishment clause, stated in the congressional debates that such a preference, *i.e.*, where one sect is preeminent over others, was exactly and only what he was trying to prohibit.

Moreover, according to Sir William Blackstone, the great expert on the English Common Law, “an establishment of religion,” is a Common Law term meaning a “state church,” where one religious sect is preferred by government over others. The U.S. Supreme Court held in *U.S. v. Smith* (1820) that when terms defined at Common Law are included in the Constitution, the definitions “are necessarily included.... as if they stood in the text.” Without the Common Law, Chancellor James Kent said the courts could “roam at large in the trackless field of their own imaginations.” Tragically, the modern Court has abandoned this guide to correct Constitutional interpretation.

By prohibiting Congress from making a law “respecting *an establishment of religion*,” the first Congress only prohibited the federal government from, 1) establishing a national church, 2) interfering with the then existing official state churches (at least five) in the several states, and 3) interfering with the free exercise of religion. School prayer or Bible study is not an establishment.

Notwithstanding the Common Law and the intent of the Framers, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Everson v. Bd. of Educ.* (1947), interpreted “an establishment of religion” to mean a prohibition against government, federal or state, from aiding one religion, all religions, or preferring one religion over another, or participating in the affairs of religious organizations, from taxing to support religious activities, or from teaching religion. The RFA, with its prohibition against establishing “any official religion,” would make the Court’s misinterpretation an actual part of the Constitution.

RFA Removes Power of States Over Religion

The First Amendment does not prohibit “Congress *and the States*” from establishing an official church, but so prohibits only *Congress*. “(T)he whole power over religion,” Justice Story said, “is left exclusively to the state governments.” Thus, the Supreme Court had held in *Barron v. Baltimore* (1833) that the Bill of Rights restricted only the federal government and not the states. After enactment of the 14th Amendment in 1868, it was argued that it made the Bill of Rights a restriction on state governments. Since no mention of such “incorporation” appears, express or implied, in the 14th Amendment, this argument was rejected by the Supreme Court for more than 56 years.

Nevertheless, in *Gitlow v. New York* (1925), the Court suddenly, without explanation, reversed itself and held that the First Amendment was a restriction not only on Congress as to free speech, but the states as well. *Gitlow* then became the basis for the Court’s declaration in *Everson*, wherein it held that the 14th Amendment “incorporated” the First Amendment and made it a restriction on the states as well as Congress in regard to religion.

Conclusive proof against “incorporation” is the proposed Blaine Amendment. Introduced in Congress in 1875, Blaine would have amended the Constitution by prohibiting the states from making “any law respecting an establishment of religion....” Blaine failed passage 20 different times. In the Congress first considering it were 23 members of the Congress that authored the 14th Amendment. Not one such member ever suggested that the First Amendment was “incorporated” in the 14th Amendment. If so, why was Blaine necessary?

RFA’s passage would strip the states of the whole power over religion that is theirs alone by the First Amendment *as written* and make this Court perversion an actual part of the Constitution.

RFA Would Prohibit Government Encouragement of Christianity and Place All Other Religions on an Equal Basis with It

It is astounding that Christian groups are so supportive of RFA in view of its provision prohibiting *discrimination as to religion*. Why are they such willing parties in discarding our nation’s great Christian heritage? The Constitution itself affirms (in its date) that Jesus Christ is Lord. Justice Story wrote that Christianity was “the great basis” on which republics, such as our own, rest for their support and permanence. The “general if not universal sentiment in America” on enactment of the First Amendment was, he said, “[T]hat Christianity ought to receive encouragement from the State.”

For over 100 years after enactment of the First Amendment, the federal government did exactly that by funding the teaching of Christianity to the Indians. The RFA, with its prohibition against “any official religion,” would totally prohibit this. Such preferences would constitute unconstitutional discrimination. Thus, the end result of RFA will be to finish changing America from “a Christian nation,” as the Supreme Court

called it in *Church of the Holy Trinity v. U.S.* in 1892, to an officially pluralistic nation in which Muslims, Hindus, Moonies, Satanists, Secular Humanists, New Agers, Wiccans, pagans, and atheists, etc., will now be on an equal footing with Christianity.

RFA Would Not Bring Back Bible Study and Reading in Public Schools

The RFA does not address the issue of bringing back the study of the Bible in public schools — something that was done in over 2,200 public schools in America (and now in Russia) until the Supreme Court wrongly declared the practice unconstitutional in 1948. Neither does it bring back public school Bible reading — standard practice until the Court declared this invalid in 1963.

School Teachers May Not Lead in Prayer under RFA

Before the Court's prayer cases, teachers lead prayers in public school. Many people see no harm in such government-sponsored prayers, although many have been browbeaten into thinking there is. British educator Sir Walter Moberly has said that it is a fallacy to suppose that by omitting a subject you teach nothing about it. On the contrary, he said, you teach that it is not very important. This is particularly true for very young students most of whom, without the aid of the teacher, are too timid to initiate or lead a prayer. Under RFA most will still not have prayer in school.

RFA's "Equal Access" Provision Would Legitimize Big Government and Ultimately Diminish the Role of Religion in Society

Some commentators are fearful that RFA's prohibiting denial of "equal access to a benefit on account of religion" would require state and federal governments to fund religion just as they now fund secular activities. This would result in a loss of autonomy from government. Fearful of the loss of benefits, churches would ultimately resign their "prophetic role" in society as many have already done out of fear of losing their income tax deductions.

RFA Would Totally Eliminate Any Possibility of Restoring the Religious Freedom Guaranteed by Our Founding Fathers

If RFA becomes law, a future conservative Supreme Court majority, obedient to the real Constitution, could not overturn the Court's fraudulent "wall" doctrine and restore the religious freedom guaranteed by the Framers, because it would be bound by RFA.

Congress Has Authority Under Art. III to Curb Power of Federal Courts

Enactment of RFA would remedy only particular symptoms of our Constitutional illness. It would not cure the primary disease itself, which is judicial tyranny. Moreover, there is a much better way to address the problem than by Constitutional amendment, which requires a two thirds vote of both houses of Congress and approval of three fourths of the states. While Congress may not interfere with the way federal courts rule, it may, under Art. III, by majority vote, take away their power to rule by curbing their jurisdiction, including the Supreme Court's. Without "jurisdiction," courts have no power to rule. It is like trying to fly without wings.

Congress has, under Art. III, § 1 of the Constitution, total control over both the original and appellate jurisdiction of inferior federal courts. In *Kline v. Burke Const. Co.* (1922), the Supreme Court held that such jurisdiction may "*be taken away in whole or in part.*" Art. III, Sec. 2(2), provides that the Supreme Court (it has very little original jurisdiction) "shall have appellate jurisdiction.... with such *Exceptions*, and under such *Regulations* as the Congress shall make."

Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth, who was a member of the Committee of Detail at the 1787 Constitutional Convention which drafted the "exceptions" clause, declared in *Wiscart v. Dauchy* in 1796: "If Congress has provided no rule to regulate our proceedings, we cannot exercise an appellate jurisdiction; if the rule is provided, we cannot depart from it." Chief Justice John Marshall put it even stronger by asserting the "exceptions" power went as far as Congress thinks proper. In *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821) Marshall said to decline jurisdiction when given, or to usurp that which is not given, "would be treason to the Constitution."

The Supreme Court's appellate jurisdiction was first delineated in the 1789 Judiciary Act. In *U.S. v.*

More (1803), it was held that the Court did not have appellate jurisdiction in criminal cases because the Act did not mention such jurisdiction. Moreover, it was not until 1914 that Congress authorized Supreme Court review of cases invalidating state conduct on federal grounds.

Under Congress' regulatory power, it could strip *all* federal courts of jurisdiction to consider cases involving public school prayer, Bible reading, or posting of the Ten Commandments, etc. This would restore much more lost religious freedom than RFA would.

U.S. Supreme Court Has Upheld the "Exceptions" Power

Rep. Istook has told this writer that Congress may not curb the power of federal courts to declare a law unconstitutional. On the contrary, it can and has. In 1868, the Supreme Court had already heard oral arguments in *Ex parte McCordle* involving the writ of *habeas corpus*. Congress, fearing that this case would be used by the Court to declare the Reconstruction Acts unconstitutional, passed a law stripping the Court of jurisdiction to decide the case, whereupon the Court declared it no longer had any jurisdiction and dismissed the case.

The Supreme Court has also held in *Ohio ex rel. Bryant v. Akron Metro. Park Dist.* (1930) that limitations on the use of judicial review do not violate either the Due Process or Equal Protection provisions of the U.S. Constitution. The Court upheld a state constitutional provision requiring the concurrence of all but one of the Justices of the Ohio Supreme Court to hold a law unconstitutional.

Rep. Istook obviously believes the federal courts were meant to be the supreme branch of government. He states that it is "not just mistaken [but] dangerous" for Congress to utilize its Art. III power over the courts. Founding Father Alexander Hamilton would have disagreed. He said (*Federalist* No. 81) if grants of judicial power resulted in "inconveniences," Congress "will have ample authority" under Art. III, "to obviate or remove" them. Congress would not be usurping authority, but retrieving Constitutional power wrongfully usurped by federal courts.

Use of "Exceptions" Power Does Not Eliminate Judicial Review

Nevertheless, Istook asserts that if Congress can bar federal courts from ruling on religion cases, it can (God forbid) bar review of other Bill of Rights

cases. This would not be such a bad thing since, as pointed out above, the Bill of Rights were to be restrictions on the federal government only and not the states. In fact, Chief Justice Marshall would have considered the Court's "incorporation" doctrine "treason to the Constitution." Moreover, stripping federal courts of this power would not leave litigants without judicial review, as Istook implies. Under Art. VI of the Constitution, state judges are bound by the Constitution and would be free to interpret it by its original and true meaning as they did before "incorporation."

It is Not Honoring the Law to Condone Disobedient Courts

Rep. Istook says we must be an orderly society "that believes in honoring the law" and that if we teach children to ignore what courts say, "we are not teaching respect for the law," but "anarchy." Chief Justice John Marshall said the Constitution was a rule for governing courts as well as the legislature. Is it "honoring the law" to teach children that the courts may rule contrary to the words of the Constitution — the great bulwark of our civil liberties? Istook apparently believes federal courts, which under the Constitution have no power to make law, but only to interpret laws, should be free to ignore what all other officials are sworn to obey and uphold.

Judge Robert Bork has said that when courts disobey the Constitution they engage "in *civil disobedience*, a disobedience arguably more dangerous, because more insidious and hence more damaging to democratic institutions, than the civil disobedience of the streets." Thus, the better policy would be to teach children that the Constitution is not what the courts say it is, but that the Constitution is what the *Constitution* says it is.

Judicial Review vs. the "Exceptions" Power

By claiming that "judicial review" is superior to the Art. III (2) "exceptions" power, Rep. Istook has put on the robes of the judicial imperialist. He claims that judicial review is paramount to the "exceptions" power; that representatives elected by the people are subordinate to unelected judges. While this writer is not challenging judicial review, the renowned constitutional scholar Prof. Raoul Berger has said that it "is derived from questionable implications and debatable history."

For example, the only form of judicial review proposed at the 1787 Constitutional Convention was one in which the Judiciary was to be joined with the executive in a Council of Revision that was to have veto power over legislative acts. This was rejected four times by the Convention. Thus, proponents of absolute judicial review power like Istook in effect assert a *non sequitur*: i.e., that the "exceptions" power, a part of the expressed supreme law of the land in Art. III, is subordinate to judicial review, an unexpressed and strictly court-assumed power!

Judicial Usurpation Destroys Free Governments

Finally, Istook says that while Americans have never accepted the Supreme Court's prayer rulings, it is now

George Washington said "usurpation" was "the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

practically impossible to persuade the country that the Supreme Court should not be the *de facto* arbiter of the Constitution. Yet, it is not the people, but the liberal elite who, unable to achieve their radical goals through legislatures elected by and representative of the people, seek change in courts disobedient to the law. These courts, in the guise of interpretation, have for years "legislated" a radical, liberal agenda and in effect rewrote the Constitution in violation of Art. V.

If a Constitutional amendment was passed for every usurpation by the Supreme Court, dozens of amendments would be required. Americans have grown weary of having their rights to govern themselves usurped through judicial imperialism. Our Founding Fathers, who pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor to combat tyranny, would be appalled to know that we have surrendered to another form of it, even though they provided a way in the Constitution's Art. III to prevent it.

George Washington said "usurpation" was "the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed." Congress should reject RFA and then remove the power of federal courts to decide cases involving prayer and other religious freedoms. Impeachment is available if Congress is disobeyed. Congress should not tinker with a Constitution that British Prime Minister William Gladstone called the greatest thing that had ever been conceived by the mind of man.

Bill Graves is a lawyer and a member of the Oklahoma Legislature. He is the author of Oklahoma's voluntary public school prayer law which he successfully defended the constitutionality of, as a lawyer, in federal court. He can be reached at gravesbi@lsb.state.ok.us

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The Weapons of Hope: War in America and the Next Generation

by Megan R. Daggett



Training Ground

Most people in this country would be surprised to know that teenagers have been dictating politics at our state Capitol buildings for over 50 years. No, I am not speaking snidely of our state legislators (though in some cases this metaphor would be appropriate). Nor am I speaking of mobs of young miscreants hell-bent on abolishing curfews and speed limits. In fact, I am speaking of some of our country's brightest and best junior and high school students who participate in a 52-year old YMCA mock legislature program called Youth and Government. Every year, students in the Youth and Government program dedicate themselves to months of training in the art of responsible politics. They study their state's legislative structure, campaign for executive and legislative offices, research and author bills, lobby platforms, build political parties, raise funds, write editorials and publish debates, and practice rhetoric and debate skills. This rigorous training culminates in a Model Legislature weekend, during which these political aspirants attempt to prove their mettle. I have had the privilege of working with such students in the state of Arizona, and love to boast that none of our dedicated youth have worked harder and accomplished more than have Christian students. These students consistently encounter the humanist philosophies that control our political climate, and they have fought the ideological strongholds on both an intellectual and a spiritual level. This struggle has not been without cost, but their victories have been impressive.

A growing number of Christian families within the state of Arizona have recognized that the Youth and Government program provides young Christians with an invaluable opportunity to become mature American citizens, and not simply through political experience. Christian students have the opportunity to disarm a political environment that is hostile to the Christian worldview by defending the reasonableness of Christianity. Experience in this program teaches these students that spiritual warfare is a

reality, and it broadens their understanding of the connections between worldviews and lifestyles. Our students not only expect that Biblical commitment will be resisted and repulsed by their peers; they actually seek opportunities to participate evangelically and apologetically in the program. Their work has been amazingly fruitful. Thanks in part to organizations such as the Chalcedon Foundation and the National Reform Association, whose political activity models the means and matter of Christian politics to our students, Christians have executed a veritable coup of the Arizona Youth and Government program. During the 1999-2000 session, the Christian political party had such a large membership that all other parties were forced to form as a coalition in order to be represented in the program. Not only did the Christian party gain control of the House and the Senate, and Christians were elected to all but one executive office; these students also earned the respect of their opponents. Maintaining this strong Christian presence within Youth and Government proves to be the greatest challenge yet.

The War of the Worldviews

Despite its strengths, the Youth and Government program also has many weaknesses. At the same time that it provides students with an opportunity to pursue Christian politics, it also adheres to the humanism of our culture. Parents and students must be prepared to challenge the relativism and neutrality that Youth and Government teaches. Because Christians have been convinced of the truth in Christ (*Eph. 1:13-14*), we know that everything that stands in opposition to this truth is, by definition, false; there is no neutral ground for our lives. We are called to apply this basic tenet to every feature of life, including politics, because all of life belongs to the Lord (*Isa. 45:18*). Christians within the Youth and Government program affirm this truth by fighting unbiblical politics, as well as

unbiblical worldviews. As part of their training for political debate, Christian students are taught the basics of worldview confrontation, beginning with the understanding that every belief system that is not founded on the righteousness of God and His Word is founded on the sinfulness of man. This training is essential, because students who know how to recognize humanism in its various forms are not only less likely to succumb to its charms, but are also able to challenge it with greater intellectual fervor. However, Christian parents and advisors must teach these lessons in the program secretly. Nonbelievers in Youth and Government impugn worldview instruction, claiming that it violates the students' moral and intellectual freedom. Consequently, those who teach students to judge belief systems and lifestyles are deemed oppressive and tyrannical. The humanism that students are taught to combat in politics, therefore, threatens Christian parents and advisors who provide a structure for the program. The most decisive battles within this war of worldviews take place through our constant challenge to humanism within the Youth and Government program.

To its credit, the Youth and Government program has been masterfully designed to involve young generations in the politics of our culture. Not only do students learn first-hand about the American systems of government: they also learn how Americans can participate in politics at every level. Such practical experience is invaluable for the maturity of our youth, and especially for Christians who desire to alter the course of American politics with the law of God. However, a weakened foundation continues to threaten the integrity of this program. The YMCA was founded in 1844 as a Christian ecumenical missionary organization, and yet over the past century it has grown increasingly liberal in its commitment to Biblical Christianity. Today there is scarcely a hint of the Christian commitment in YMCA programs throughout the United States, Youth and Government included. Funding for the YMCA Youth and Government program in the state of Arizona often comes through sources committed to salvific philanthropy rather than to Biblical Christianity. And money talks. The Youth and Government program touts a philosophy of rational and moral neutrality, which it teaches our youth, largely because humanism pulls the strings. Consequently, those who direct the Youth and Government program commit themselves and program participants to the anti-Christian and vain philosophies that thoroughly permeate our culture. If we fail to teach students how to recognize the

consequences of false worldviews, not only will our youth have no foundation upon which to build a Christian culture, they will also be left vulnerable to a culture that seeks to destroy their minds and bruise their souls.

Preparing for Battle

Students who are educated at home or in Christian schools are far better prepared to understand and challenge the relativism in Youth and Government, as well as in society at large, because only a Christian education can train students to think like Christians. However, students whose minds have been warped by government indoctrination are vulnerable to the lies that bombard them daily in our culture. In Youth and Government, students learn about politics from a philosophy that ultimately destroys all meaning in life. The reprobate condition of American youth culture proves that this philosophy has had a disastrous effect on young minds. Relativism claims that there is no universal standard for truth and asks students to determine truth for themselves. However, if there is no universal standard by which to judge what is true and what is false, debate over moral (political) issues is meaningless. And if morality is meaningless, the consequences for humanity are tragic: every single conviction — even our reason for living — is empty, futile, and irrelevant. Thus humanity is destroyed. At a time when their natural optimism should nourish growth into maturity, young people are emaciated by despair. We cannot live without hope. Too often we do not recognize that this silent attack on young people aims to create hopeless Christians because an immature and listless generation is easy to control.

The consequences of relativism are dire for our youth whose strength and maturity depend on hope in God's faithful promises. Christian parents and advisors must train young people to battle the world wisely. We must show students how to navigate through deceitful sophistry and poor logic, and we must protect them from false hope and cynicism in our culture. Students who mature in their thinking through these lessons will be equipped and eager to lead our political culture, because they will be able to recognize vain philosophies in every feature of life. But we must teach these lessons in a very thoughtful and calculated way. Young people will grow in wisdom when they see the destruction brought about by foolishness; therefore, it is not enough to insist that young Christians support certain causes in the political arena. If young people do not see the

results of man's law (autonomy) in our culture, they will not see the need for God's law (theonomy) to transform it. So training our students requires that we reinforce our instruction with application. We must teach young people to build amidst the destruction.

Winning the War

Thankfully, we already know how the war will end. We know that after the dust settles, every knee will bow and every tongue confess. We must labor faithfully according to our covenantal responsibilities while each enemy is made the footstool of Christ. If we are wise, we will know to discern the

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signs of the times for battles in future generations. As the twentieth century comes to a close, the struggle for leadership in America grows intense. We pray that the humanist strongholds in our political culture will crumble before the holy law of God. But as society decays before our eyes, indictment is upon us. Our failure to establish the law of God as the law of the land has brought curses upon our culture, one of which is the legacy of despair we have bequeathed to young generations. The curses of relativism serve to remind us of our covenant disobedience (*Dt. 28:46*), and our only hope is covenant faithfulness. Popular Christianity in America has long been emaciated by dispensationalism and hopeless eschatologies. This sad fact proves that the despair of relativism is not particular to the secular culture. We must seriously consider that if we fail to recover the hope of the gospel in Christian thinking, we will fail to provide true hope for our youth in the future. The antidote to hopelessness is not pep rallies and a plastic Jesus.

We can only train our youth to demolish the strongholds of our culture if we train them to have cultural dominion according to the commandments of God.

There is much work to be done in preparing our young people to lead in American society. If we fail to train our children to subdue our political culture evangelically and apologetically, and with Biblical excellence, we will fail to disciple the nations for the crowning rights of Christ. We will leave our children robbed of the blessed inheritance that they have been promised, and we will be accountable for the curses that befall them. Christian America must rejoice that its hope is in an unchanging, everlasting covenant, and we must establish this hope for our generations through continual obedience to God's righteous law.



Megan Daggett is a third-generation Arizonan who lives in Phoenix. She is author/editor of homeschool curricula for Alpha Omega Publications in Chandler, Arizona and volunteers for the Tempe YMCA Youth and Government delegation giving instruction on logic, rhetoric, and debate. She is a member of Emmanuel Covenant Church in Phoenix. She would love to hear from people interested in Youth and Government, or similar groups that involve young people in politics. She can be contacted at knowgood1@hotmail.com.

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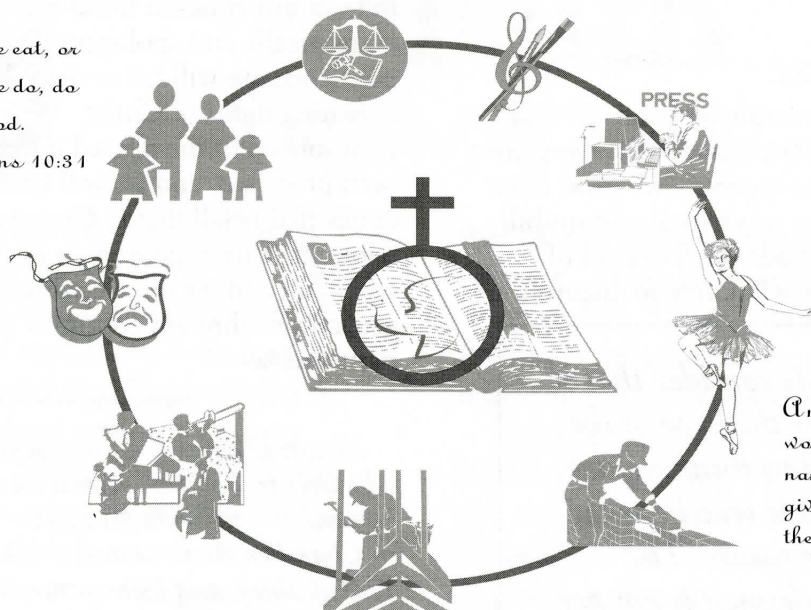
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