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"The voice of one crying out in the wilderness, 'Make straight the way of the Lord'" Isaiah 40:3; John 1:23

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Financial Report for 2002



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Newspaper Ethics and Theological Education

By Joe E. Trull, Editor

T. B. Maston challenged his Christian ethics students to live every day with the Bible in one hand and the newspaper in the other. By that he meant the Christian faith was, in his oft-stated phrase, “abidingly relevant.”

I once proposed a course titled “Newspaper Ethics.” Students liked the idea better than administrators did. Using news stories as the basic starting point seemed appealing to seminarians (much easier than reading Niebuhr or Hauerwas), but to the Dean it seemed not academic.

Actually, however, to address the ethical issues raised in daily tabloids would demand of students their best skills in hermeneutics and moral decision making. In addition, it would prepare them to minister in the real world.

Look at this past year. A course in “Newspaper Ethics” in 2002 would have required students to grapple with difficult and challenging issues. A brief review of the major ethical questions of 2002 underscores the importance of Christian ethics.

War and Peace. At the top of every list of news events of 2002 is the continuing “War on Terrorism” and the potential war against Iraq. Christians of every stripe have been forced to ask tough questions. Should Christians model pacifism? What is a “Just War?” Is the killing of civilians and innocents ever justified? How is a just peace achieved in a sinful world? In 2002 the question “What Would Jesus Do?” has become more than a motto to wear on a bracelet.

Rowan Williams, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, suggested “that the attacks on America could ultimately become a teachable moment for the world and even a doorway to necessary transformation—or the horrible events of last year could be used in America and the West as an excuse for our very worst instincts and habits.” Editor Jim Wallis adds, “The United States has the biggest and best hammers in the world. But they are the only ‘tools’ we seem to know how to use. And all we seem able to do is look for more nails to pound” (*Sojourners*, 12/02, 7).

As North Korea has been added to the list of threats to world peace and the dangers of nuclear war, Christians must also deal with a very personal question: Is my first loyalty to God or government? The real patriots may be those who question the “rush to war” that seems so popular today.

Ethicist Glen Stassen reminds us that the focus of our efforts should be “Just Peacemaking” (CET, 10/02, 8).

Clergy Sexual Abuse. The spotlight has been on the Roman Catholic Church and the scores of pedophilic priests who abused children in their parish. Equally disturbing has been the apparent cover-up by the church (including relocation of the predators), which has led to numerous lawsuits, million dollar judgments (some dioceses have considered bankruptcy), drastic revisions of church policy, and a general loss of trust in the church by congregants.

Messengers at the 2002 SBC meeting approved a resolution calling for churches and civil authorities to hold those clergy guilty of sexual abuse accountable. However, the SBC resolution also asked churches to follow the pattern of Matthew 18, which indicates their ignorance of the nature of CSA. In addition, a prominent SBC ethicist told reporters that CSA was not a major problem among Baptists.

As a teacher of Ministerial Ethics for two decades and co-author of a basic text on that subject, I can assure you *it is* a problem among Baptist ministers. Reliable research indicates about 30-35% of all ministers admit to sexually inappropriate behavior and 10-12% admit to sexual intercourse with a parishioner. I assisted Texas Baptists in their recent study of this issue and the production of the unique resource, *Broken Trust*. The convention presently is developing procedures to aid churches facing this problem.

Churches need to develop policies and procedures before an incident occurs. Denominational bodies need to take the issue seriously. One of the saddest reports in a meeting last week was that most Baptist state conventions do not believe CSA is a major problem.

Church and State. “Language in the Constitution protecting religious liberty probably would not pass if Congress were voting on it today,” states Baptist Joint Committee leader J. Brent Walker. That is scary! But it is true.

Due to historical revisionists like Philip Hamburger (book review in this issue) who constantly attack church-state separation and the President’s insistence on giving more money to religious charities (Tom Teepen’s column), Jefferson’s wall of separation is crumbling.

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Editor: Joe E. Trull

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EthixBytes

(A Collection of Quotes Comments, Statistics, and News Items)

“Doubts are the ants in the pants of faith. They keep it awake and moving.”
Frederick Buechner in *Wishful Thinking*.

“Unlike his fellow ex-presidents, he never joined corporate boards or went on the lecture circuit. Instead, with seemingly endless energy and his signature toothy grin, he trudged up mountains to meet with warlords, cajoled dictators into granting more freedoms and found a second career of ‘waging peace,’ as he calls it.”

News story about President Jimmy Carter after the Noble Peace Prize Award

“It’s stunning that you would sit there—here’s a man who’s one of the most deeply religious people, goes around building houses for poor people, goes all over the world on his own time, monitors elections, tries to resolve disputes. I mean, what is it about people getting along that so irritates and aggravates you?”

James Carville in response to Bob Novak’s TV trashing of President Jimmy Carter

“Of the 535 members of Congress, only one has a child or grandchild in the Armed Services, that being Sen. Tim Johnson of South Dakota. The lack of military service among our leader’s children indicates the appalling level of insulation between the upper-middle-class elite and the military.”

Commentary by Armstrong Williams

“Why isn’t Trent Lott using this as an opportunity to discuss the issue of states’ rights and limited constitutional government, the very platform on which Thurmond ran? Aren’t those ideals still worth defending today?”

Professor Dave Black,
Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary

“President George Bush is a United Methodist, but so far he hasn’t been attending a church in Washington like some previous presidents. Instead, he worships at military-led services held at the Camp David presidential retreat. President Bush’s faith, it’s said, shapes his public policies.”

Christian Science Monitor, 9/6/02

“In the Civil War, 5 percent of the casualties were civilians. In WW I, 30 percent of the casualties were civilians. In WW II, 60 percent of the casualties were civilians. Have we any reason to believe that in a future war . . . the pattern would be reversed?”

Tony Campolo in *Baptists Today*.

“Although the Bush administration has seemingly made every argument possible in favor of war against Iraq, one case it hasn’t explicitly made is that a first strike against Saddam Hussein would pass moral muster under the traditional Christian ‘just war’ theory.”

William Bole, *Religious News Service*

“If you like God in government, get ready for the Rapture. These folks don’t even mind you referring to the GOP as the party of God. Why else would the new House Majority Leader say that the Almighty is using him to promote a ‘biblical worldview’ in American politics? So it is a heady time in Washington—a heady time for piety, profits, and military power, all joined at the hip by ideology and money.”

Bill Moyers, PBS

“If we are going to win the Muslim world to Christ, we cannot make stupid statements about their religion and we cannot, in fact, engage in a holy war against them. . . . American Christians have taken off their What Would Jesus Do? bracelets and replaced them with American flags.”

Tony Campolo

“Only 30 percent of TV watchers believed that more Palestinians had died than Israelis (since September 2000, 559 Israelis and 1626 Palestinians have been killed).”

Glasgow University Media Group

“Top CEOs earn 1,000 times the pay of an average worker. Over the past 20 years the income of the top 1 percent of Americans rose 157 percent, that of middle-income families rose 10 percent, and that of people in the bottom fifth fell slightly. Forty-three million Americans lack health insurance.”

The Christian Century, 12/2002

“Thirty-four percent of all ninth graders have had sex, a fig-

ure that rises to 60 percent by grade 12. However, half of the mothers of sexually active teens aren't aware of it."

University of Minnesota Health Center, Associated Press

"It looks as though we are trying in our denomination to meet year by year and issue by issue to rewrite the Bible. I fear that we are getting to the place where we must read the Book of Baptist [BFM 2000] before we read the Holy Scripture."

Frank Pollard, Southwestern Seminary Chapel Service

"The White House Budget office has revised its deficit numbers again, stating this fiscal year the federal government will run up a deficit of some \$150 billion, about \$530 per every man, woman, and child. That's \$2120 for the family of four who earlier this year received a \$1600 tax break."

Eric Munoz in The Oklahoma Observer, 12/2002.

"There were 6.8 million poor families last year, up from 6.4 million in 2000. The poverty rate for families rose to 9.2 percent, from a 26-year low of 8.7 percent in 2000. A family of four was classified as poor if it had income less than \$18,104 last year. For an individual the poverty level is \$9,039; for a married couple \$11,569."

U.S. Census Bureau

"Former Reagan White House aide Oliver North will lead a Caribbean cruise next year to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the invasion of Grenada, lauding an invasion [many] say was unnecessary, especially one that killed 58 people, including 18 Americans. North organized the Iran-Contra scheme in the 1980s that funneled money through secret weapon sales to Iran."

Associated Press, December, 2002.

"This is an important thing for Southern Baptists to do, if for no other reason than that we will have a major translation we can control."

Al Mohler, Southern Seminary President endorsing the SBC Holman Study Bible in opposition to the TNIV Bible

"Clearly it is disappointing that more than 15 years after fuel economy peaked, it is still hovering around an all-time low [20.8 mpg]. The technology is out there. We could be averaging close to 30-40 miles per gallon, and that's with conventional technology."

Senior Analyst David Friedman about 2003 Cars and Trucks

"Teens get hooked on tobacco much faster than researchers previously believed. It took an average of three weeks for girls. Half of the boys were hooked within six months, while it took about two years for adults to become addicted to nicotine."

National Cancer Institute

"What's wrong with a moment of silence? What's wrong is the state imposing it. What's wrong is the legislature wasting time arguing about imposing it. What's wrong is lawmakers never getting a cue from their own rhetoric of 'local control' and state interference. But what's wrong is more than hypocrisy. It's stealth, and the quest by stealthy means to take religion out of the realm of conscience and into the realm of the state."

John Young Editorial in the Waco Tribune-Herald

"From 1994 to 2000, the overall abortion rate in the U.S. fell from 24 abortions per 1000 women of childbearing age to 21. However, abortions during the period rose 25% for women below the poverty line."

Alan Guttmacher Institute

"If terrorism is a new form of war then war is the oldest form of terrorism."

Italian Baptist Union declaration against a preemptive strike in Iraq

"A recent survey reported that 49 percent of Americans think the First Amendment goes 'too far' in protecting certain freedoms."

Report from the Capital, October 22, 2002.



Learning the Lessons of Slavery

By William E. Hull, Research Professor
Samford University, Birmingham, AL

Note: This article was delivered as Part II of the Dotson M. Nelson, Jr. Lectures on Religion and Life, at Samford University on October 9, 2002.

Slavery has proved to be the most challenging moral issue in the history of the United States. It prompted secession, which threatened to split the Union into competing nations. It precipitated the most costly war that we have ever fought, drenching our own soil in the blood, not of enemies, but of fellow Americans. Its aftermath gave rise to segregation, which poisoned the soul of the South for a century. Even now, the spectre of racism is the most powerful shaper of our regional identity. The institution of slavery posed the supreme challenge to Southern religion, a challenge that our ancestral faith miserably failed to meet.

Here, as nowhere else, white southern evangelical Protestantism was tried and found wanting at the judgment bar of history. For our purposes today, the response of Southern religion to the sin of slavery provides a haunting case study of a faith that failed to grow. For this was not an instance of timidity or cowardice, as if the pulpit muted its denunciation of a monstrous evil. On the contrary, the Southern clergy in one voice went to the opposite extreme; vigorously defending slavery as divinely sanctioned. They succeeded in making slavery an article of faith in Southern Christianity, an essential component of its religious worldview. And yet this was a conviction which all of us finds repulsive scarcely more than a century later. Because we are agreed on how the slavery question should be settled, let us ask why our forebears, based on the same Christian faith which many of us share, came to a totally opposite conclusion.

The Cruciality of Hermeneutics

Then, as now, for Southern evangelicals, the Bible was the supreme source of religious authority. Therefore, the Scriptures were almost universally recognized as the final arbiter of the slave question. Again and again, preachers and theologians poured over the sacred text with minute care to determine its teachings on slavery. Nor were they free to find only what they were looking for, because northern abolitionists were vigorously challenging their pro-slavery conclusions. What evidence was advanced on either side of this bitter debate?¹ The pro-slavery South could point to slaveholding by the godly patriarch Abraham (Gen 12:5; 14:14; 24:35-36; 26:13-14), a practice that was later incorporated into Israelite national law (Lev 25:44-46). It was never denounced by Jesus, who made slavery a model of disci-

ple-ship (Mk 10:44). The Apostle Paul supported slavery, counseling obedience to earthly masters (Eph 6:5-9; Col 3:22-25) as a duty in agreement with “the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ and the teaching which accords with godliness” (1 Tim 6:3). Because slaves were to remain in their present state unless they could win their freedom (1 Cor 7:20-24), he sent the fugitive slave Onesimus back to his owner Philemon (Phlm 10-20). The abolitionist north had a difficult time matching the pro-slavery south passage for passage. They could only point out that biblical slavery was more benevolent and, in some cases, more temporary than its modern counterpart. They argued that neither Jesus nor his apostles legislated slavery but only sought to make it more humane. At best, they had to appeal to the spirit of the Bible rather than to specific texts, buttressing this appeal with general principles of justice and righteousness drawn from moral philosophy. But they could not shake the fact that slavery was commonplace in the Bible and that it was often cruel, especially in its treatment of foreigners. Israelite masters considered their slaves to be property that could be sold (Ex 12:44; 21:20-21, 32). They often used female slaves for reproductive purposes and claimed their offspring’s as their own (Gen 16:1-4; 30:3-4, 9-10; 35:22). They were permitted to punish slaves by beating them to the point of death (Ex 21:20-21).

Professor Eugene Genovese, who has studied these biblical debates over slavery in minute detail, concludes that the pro-slavery faction clearly emerged victorious over the abolitionists except for one specious argument based on the so-called Curse of Ham (Gen 9:18-27).² For our purposes, it is important to realize that the South won this crucial contest with the North by using the prevailing hermeneutic, or method of interpretation, on which both sides agreed. So decisive was its triumph that the South mounted a vigorous counterattack on the abolitionists as infidels who had abandoned the plain words of Scripture for the secular ideology of the Enlightenment. Here is the beginning of that familiar ploy by which those who insist on a literal reading of the text try to bolster their position by suggesting that their opponents are “liberals.”

The debate over biblical slavery was based on a Reformed hermeneutic, which insisted that Scripture was an omniscient, infallible authority for life, which should be inter-

preted literally using common sense.³ That approach may not be far from the view that some of you hold today. If so, how would you counter those who insist that the Bible sanctioned slavery? Admittedly that question has become somewhat theoretical in our day, but there are many who, like the more extreme abolitionists, are prepared to reject the Bible precisely because it does seem to endorse such reprehensible practices as slavery. The problem here is that the traditional Southern hermeneutic gave to slavery a transcendent justification rooted in sacred Scripture. Bad as it was to claim that slavery was backed by the almighty dollar, Southern preaching succeeded in claiming that it was also backed by Almighty God! Do you have a hermeneutic adequate to challenge that conclusion, or do you just hope that the hard questions will somehow go away?

In quest of a growing rather than a static faith in the Bible, let me suggest four ways of interpreting Scripture that would result in a better understanding of what it has to say about slavery. First, recognize that, because the biblical revelation is given in history, it has an inescapably time-bound character. In the ancient world, whole populations were enslaved and subjected to a brutality that is almost unknown today. So pervasive was slavery that it could not fail to find a prominent place in the biblical story. But this does not mean that God intended for time to stand still so as to perpetuate political arrangements and social institutions, which were prevalent in the world of Abraham or Moses, Jesus or Paul. Rather, it means that, against all Gnostic notions of timeless revelation, God was willing to work with humanity just as it was rather than waiting for more ideal conditions to emerge. The fact that God involved himself in a world where slavery was commonplace only means that he will work with us today despite our own corrupt social structures.

Second, God is never defeated by our sinful circumstances but works redemptively to overcome such bondage in ways that honor our freedom of choice. In the case of biblical slavery, he was forever “pushing the envelope” by insisting on the more humane treatment of slaves, a strategy which came to a climax in Paul’s skillful appeal to Philemon on behalf of Onesimus. Indeed, by sending his own Son in “the form of a slave” (Phil 2:7), God transformed the very category of servitude and invested it with radically new meaning

foreshadowed centuries earlier by the Suffering Servant of the exile (Isa 52:13-53:12). In this forward thrust of the slavery texts we see God sowing the seeds of change in the rocky soil of human exploitation where their harvest would ripen slowly, even fitfully, in response to human growth. Here is the key issue: did God intend for this growth to come to a stop when the Canon of Scripture was closed, or did he intend for the dynamic launched by these texts to energize his people throughout the ages until they learned to express his will for human relationships in a more mature fashion?⁴

Third, always follow this redemptive movement of the text to its climax in Christ as the center and criterion by which the whole Bible is to be understood. Jesus could not fail to know that the majority of persons in the Roman Empire were slaves, yet his teachings on sacrificial love in human relationships undercut every rationale for slavery (Mt 5:21-48). It is just here that we see the cruciality of the “in Christ” formula freely used by Paul. On three occasions the Apostle insisted that “in Christ” the distinction between “slave and free” had been abolished (Gal 3:28; 1 Cor 12:13; Col. 3:11), even though that distinction was still important in the world of his day. But the Apostle insisted that life “in Christ” offered oneness to slave and free alike: they were members of one body (1 Cor 12:13), they shared one Spirit (Eph 4:4), they had become one new humanity (Eph 2:15). A new social order of voluntary equality had invaded the old order of enforced hierarchy and now coexisted within it to express, in advance as it were, the life of the New Age already inaugurated but not yet consummated.

Fourth, with a Christocentric hermeneutic firmly in place, set the sweep of God’s saving history in the context of creation and consummation. Ask: what was God’s original intention from the beginning before human sin entered the picture? What is God’s ultimate intention for his world when time shall be no more? As regards slavery, protology would suggest that we are all made in the image of God⁵ and thus destined for “dominion” rather than servitude in the created order (Gen 1:26-27), while eschatology would suggest that one day the creation will be set free from every form of subjection and bondage in order to “obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God” (Rom 8:20-21). In other words, slavery belongs neither to the Alpha nor the Omega of God’s



purposes but is a tragic interlude in human affairs introduced by our determination to rule others rather than being ruled by God. It has no place either in Eden or in Eternity, which is precisely why it should have no place “in Christ.”

To summarize these findings in formula fashion: (1) Never confuse a *descriptive* statement in the text of the way things were with a *prescriptive* statement of the way God intends them to be. (2) To avoid this mistake, ask not only about the *intentionality* of a text for its day but also about the *potentiality* of that text to define the horizon of promise toward which the people of God journey. (3) Remember that we are called to live, not only “in Corinth,” or wherever, but also “in Christ” as the sphere of God’s climactic redemption. (4) Hence, as Luther once put it, let the whole Bible lead you to Christ, then let Christ lead you back to the whole Bible, especially to its outer edges where history is bracketed by heaven.

The Power of Consensus

In the antebellum South, slavery had been viewed for centuries as a way of life. It was as much a part of the social landscapes as church and school and home. In particular, it was viewed as essential to the plantation system of the agrarian south, without which the economy would quickly collapse, resulting in the degradation of the culture. Lacking a dependable source of bound labor to supply emerging world markets, there would not be the money needed to send young men to the better schools and to cultivate in young women a life of refinement. Therefore, those who challenged slavery in the South paid a high price for their protest. Any who freed their slaves or failed to punish runaway slaves were subjected to bitter criticism or even ostracism within their community.

Why was religion unable to serve as a corrective to this repressive cultural consensus? To consider that question we must recognize two trends in the Americanization of Christianity. The first was the democratization of church polity according to which most congregations, especially in the dominant Baptist denomination, had become self-determining with little or no external control by ecclesiastical bodies or clergy hierarchy.⁶ The second was the interpretation of the priesthood of the believer in terms of American exceptionalism according to which the Bible was self-interpreting so that ordinary folk using common sense could readily grasp its message for themselves.⁷ The practical effects of these trends are described by Genovese with no little irony:

Decade by decade, church leaders frankly acknowledged that the sentiments of the white communities largely determined their response to measures for segregation, disfranchisement, and the politics of race. The capitulation to a community sentiment that, in effect, defied Scripture proved one of the many joys of the steady—indeed endless—democratization of the churches.⁸

What this means is that Southern religion had become such an integral part of the prevailing culture that it was never able to get the critical distance needed to challenge slavery. Pastors were so immediately answerable to their peo-

ple that they lacked the leverage to fulfill a prophetic role. The church became so enmeshed in the power structure of the day that *vox populi* had indeed become *vox Dei*, the voice of the people had become the voice of God, making the pulpit but an echo of the pew.

Here we are confronted in its most blatant form with what might be called the tyranny of the majority. To those accustomed to view “majority rule” as a cardinal principle of democracy, it is important to remember that, throughout much of the nineteenth century, an overwhelming majority that approached unanimity approved slavery in the South. In both overt and covert ways, virtually every congregation and denomination except for the Quakers lined up solidly behind slavery. The minority was not even free to form a loyal opposition and debate the issue. No comment was tolerated except to answer the infuriating claim of northern abolitionists that slavery was a sin. In a campus atmosphere of free inquiry such as we enjoy at Samford, it is almost impossible to realize how hopeless it was to question the views of leading opinion-makers in the community regarding slavery, especially when the prosperity of the economy was at stake.

But, of course, this cultural consensus contributed absolutely nothing to making slavery right. If slavery was indeed a sin, then we must recognize that it was a sin, not so much of individual moral choice, as of complicity in a vast collectivity of oppression from which it was almost impossible to escape. The autonomous conscience, which we so cherish, was no match for this monolithic Southern mindset. Even though only a small minority of Southerners was wealthy enough to own slaves themselves, this influential aristocracy received such solidarity of support that it created a vast social system with the power to legitimize slavery and marginalize dissent. We are sometimes puzzled over the dour doctrine of original sin, but one thing it means was abundantly illustrated in the antebellum South. Namely, that decent people with good intentions found themselves caught in a sinful situation not of their making (it was already there even before they were born), trapped by an aggregation of evils so enormous that only the most heroic could extricate themselves.

There is one more dimension to this dilemma that highlights its bitter irony. The Bible is replete with warnings of judgment and calls to repentance, so how did the clergy fulfill their calling to preach against sin if slavery itself was exempt from this indictment? The answer is that they succeeded in making a moral crusade out of this hideous system by seeking to bring it up to biblical standards. We have already seen that the Scriptures themselves urge a more humane treatment of slaves in comparison with the harsh practices of their day. This concern was translated into an appeal to end such abuses, such as breaking up families by selling off individual members, passing literacy laws making it a crime to teach slaves to read and write, and refusing to allow slaves to testify in civil and church trials. Many religious leaders warned that God would not honor the Confederate cause if the abuses of slavery were not corrected. When the war was lost, the pre-

vailing theology of defeat was rooted not in the evils of slavery, but in the failure of white owners to do their biblical duty to their black dependents.

Salutary as these calls for reform may have been, the constant stress on making slow, minor improvements in the conditions of slaves distracted attention away from the central issue of the legitimacy of slavery itself, particularly in its non-biblical form based squarely on African racism. The creation of an increasingly idealistic concept of “biblical slavery” made the appeal for reform more theoretical than practical. No matter how strongly preachers fulminated against flagrant abuses, their congregations failed to discipline slave owners guilty of brutality. Finally, the gradualism urged by the clergy to ameliorate the abuses of slavery became nothing more than an earnest effort to treat the symptoms rather than to cure the disease!

To summarize our second lesson: (1) One of the greatest threats to spiritual growth is the power of a cultural consensus to coerce conformity to the status quo. Beware of preachers who try to substitute the Bible for Christ because they cannot control Christ but can control how the Bible is interpreted from their pulpit, which is often in accordance with the power structure of the church. (2) Never allow your faith to be shaped merely by a majority vote even of sincere Christians. Remember that almost every moral and spiritual breakthrough in history has come from a courageous minority in opposition to an entrenched majority. (3) Never let the good become an enemy of the best. Gradual reforms are always needed, but they must not be allowed to dissipate the energies that are required to establish a new order in human affairs.

A Secular Messiah

Once the Southern church used its Bible to sanction rather than to condemn slavery, thereby enlisting God in support of the dominant cultural consensus, the Confederate cause was captured by the ideology of racism. By its very nature, an ideology is an abstraction grounded in theoretical idealism rather than in historical realism, which is why it eventually becomes absolutist, even totalitarian, resulting in a certainty that brooks no contrary opinion.⁹ Once the South gave its soul to this artificial “ism,” it lost its capacity for self-criticism. Slavery won by silence because dissent could not be tolerated. There was neither a free pulpit in the churches nor a free podium in the schools nor a free press in the communities. Soon the region was isolated by its cherished ideology, losing touch with the conscience of the world at a time when the emerging cash economy was producing revolutionary changes in the role of workers everywhere.

In such a closed society, how could the terrible shackles of slavery ever be broken? Enter a strange, even enigmatic, figure named Abraham Lincoln. Abolition was not his burning cause. Indeed, he hardly bothered himself with the slavery question until it was thrust upon him by necessity. Nor was he quick to play the religion trump card as the South delighted in doing. Son of a poor Baptist farmer, he was early stamped with the severe Calvinism of his parents, but he

could never bring himself to affiliate with the church even though it was politically expedient to do so. Intellectually, he was the opposite of those Southerners who found God cheering them on no matter where they opened the Bible. By contrast, Lincoln was a deconstructionist of his day, shrewdly recognizing the power of motives and of self-interest in shaping all that one says and does.¹⁰ Rather than jumping on a religious bandwagon to advance his cause, “he increasingly wrapped his political ideas around religious themes, appealing at the very end to a mysterious providence whose inscrutable and irresistible workings both baffled and comforted him.”¹¹

Strange as it may seem, it was this lonely, reluctant “redeemer president,” with his “wearying sense of ‘metaphysical isolation’”¹² who “proclaimed release to the captives” and “set at liberty those who were oppressed” (Lk 4:18). For this act of emancipation he paid with his life on Good Friday of 1865. As Joel Bingham would put it a week later, his was “a bloody sacrifice, upon the altar of human freedom, ‘which’ wrought out the painful salvation of the Republic.”¹³ When Lincoln had visited the Confederate capital of Richmond on the day after it fell, he was surrounded in the streets by African-Americans shouting, “Glory! Glory! Bless the Lord! The Great Messiah.”¹⁴ Many a Southerner might have welcomed that spontaneous tribute, for they viewed their cause as nothing less than messianic, but it filled Lincoln with awkward embarrassment since he was at best a secular messiah. We are reminded of how Scripture hailed the Persian King Cyrus as “the Lord’s anointed,” or Messiah, for his defeat of the Babylonians (Isa 45:1).

Like Cyrus, Lincoln was forced to use the “terrible swift sword” of war to do his messianic work of deliverance. And what a costly redemption it was! More than 620,000 soldiers lost their lives, more than all the casualties in our nation’s other wars combined from its founding through Vietnam.¹⁵ The South saw twenty-five percent of its white males of military age slaughtered in the carnage.¹⁶ Soon it would endure the agonies of Reconstruction and, to this day more than a century later; it still struggles to gain equal footing with the rest of the nation. But the religious cost was equally great in terms of the loss of credibility. Mark Noll remarks with biting irony of the biblical debates over slavery:

The North—forced to fight on unfriendly terrain that it had helped to create—lost the exegetical war. The South certainly lost the shooting war. But constructive orthodox theology was the major loser when American believers allowed bullets instead of hermeneutical self-consciousness to determine what the Bible said about slavery. For the history of theology in America, the great tragedy of the Civil War is that the most persuasive theologians were the Rev. Drs. William Tecumseh Sherman and Ulysses S. Grant.¹⁷

Clearly this heartbreaking bloodbath would never have been necessary if the evangelical faith of the solid South had been mobilized to solve the slave question by the deepest teachings of its Scriptures on sacrificial love instead of by

committing regional suicide without a foreign shot being fired. Does this mean, therefore, that we should simply give up on religion and resort to political and military action to achieve our moral aims? Not at all, for the Christian faith can be a powerful force for constructive change when its teachings are insightfully understood and courageously implemented. Antebellum Southern religion proved ineffective in solving the slave question, not because it was worthless and needed to be discarded, but because it was immature and needed to grow! At a catalytic moment in world history, when market capitalism made possible the substitution of free wage labor for bound labor (and hence the overthrow of slavery), capitalism allowed itself to be caught in a cultural *cul-de-sac*. It thus forfeited the chance to provide leadership in one of the great moral breakthroughs of all time.

The good news here is that, even when the church's faith refuses to grow, God has other contingency plans at his disposal. His agenda is too important to entrust to any one representative of his cause. When religion neglects its messianic mission, he can use secular messiahs, such as Cyrus and Lincoln, to do his bidding. It is liberating to realize that the clergy does not have to do it all. As in the great struggle against slavery, lawyers and politicians and journalists and, yes, even soldiers can also serve as the Lord's anointed. If it offends you to think of God using the rough-and-tumble side of life to accomplish his will, remember that in the crusade against slavery, he had precious few volunteers step forward in the stained glass ghetto of Southern sanctuaries. As Lincoln saw so clearly from his profound doctrine of divine providence, sometimes the will of God is done *because of* our goodness while at other times it is done *in spite of* our evil, but, in either case, it shall be done!

The very fact that the church does not always rise to the occasion means that God's people should be heavily invested in a wide range of callings devoted to human betterment—which is one reason why Baptists sponsor comprehensive universities such as Samford. For example, there are times when the church is in the vanguard of change, as was the Black Church during the civil rights movement. At other times education is the harbinger of progress, as in the scientific revolution that has redefined our responsibilities for the care of the earth. In other settings the rule of law shapes a more just and humane society, as with the extension of civil liberties through the judicial process. Even business and politics, for all of their reputed corruption, raise up leaders who contribute powerfully to the common good. Spiritual growth does not occur just by our becoming more and more active in the life of the church. It also grows by discerning God's will for the entire created order and discovering how we can serve those great purposes through our chosen vocations, whatever they may be.

Here, then, are three important lessons of slavery: (1) It is dangerous to champion the Bible when you do not know how to interpret it aright. (2) Societies that suppress dissent in support of an ideological consensus sow the seeds of their own destruction. (3) When God is not well served by those

who claim his cause, he will use surprising substitutes to do his bidding. Learn well these lessons of the past and use them to face the challenges of the future. ■

¹ For a more detailed analysis of this debate see Willard M. Swartley, *Slavery, Sabbath, War, and Women: Case Issues in Biblical Interpretation* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1983), 31-53.

² Genovese, Eugene D., "Theological Roots of Southern Secession," unpublished manuscript of an address delivered at Samford University, February 20, 1997, 38.

³ For an analysis of this hermeneutic see Mark A. Noll, "The Bible and Slavery," *Religion and the American Civil War*, edited by Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 43-50.

⁴ On the "Redemptive-Movement Hermeneutic" reflected in this paragraph see William J. Webb, *Slaves, Women & Homosexuals: Exploring the Hermeneutics of Cultural Analysis* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 30-66.

⁵ On the struggle of the South to affirm the *imago Dei* in a context of white supremacy see H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . . Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1972).

⁶ On this trend see Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁷ On the power of "cultural hermeneutics" to control a popular understanding of the Bible see Noll, 45-50.

⁸ Genovese, Eugene D., *A Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 95.

⁹ On the pernicious effects of ideology, especially in the twentieth century, see Robert Conquest, *Reflections on a Ravaged Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 3-19.

¹⁰ Guelzo, Allen C., *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), 117-118.

¹¹ Guelzo, 5.

¹² Guelzo, 20, citing A. N. Wilson, *God's Funeral*.

¹³ Guelzo, 440.

¹⁴ McPherson, James M., *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*, *The Oxford History of the United States*, volume VI (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 847.

¹⁵ McPherson, 854.

¹⁶ McPherson, 856.

¹⁷ Noll, 66.

Second Baptist Church and the Little Rock HS Crisis

By Ray Higgins, Pastor

Second Baptist Church, Little Rock, AR

I proudly serve as pastor to a multiracial congregation today because of the courageous stand Second Baptist Church, Little Rock, took forty-five years ago under the leadership of its pastor, Dr. Dale Cowling.

In early September 1957, a hostile crowd watched as Arkansas National Guard troops blocked the entrance of nine black students into the all-white Little Rock Central High School.

Three weeks later, on September 25, 1957, after negotiations between Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus and President Dwight Eisenhower failed to resolve the stalemate, Eisenhower called in the U.S. Army's 101st Airborne Division to escort and protect the nine black students as they entered the school.

In those early days of television news, dramatic images of the conflict in front of the impressive façade of Central High, the largest high school in the country when it was built in 1927, remain in people's memories. The school was becoming the symbol for a greater lesson in education about equal rights and respect for all people regardless of race.

There were really three viewpoints in those days. The majority made an ugly scene for segregation. A minority tried to make a reasoned case that the right thing to do was to obey the law, which authorized the integration of the public schools. Finally, a very few actually believed that integration itself was right.

The pain of racism and the scars of racial segregation temper the pride that Little Rock citizens feel in celebrating these anniversaries. Looking back, almost everyone admits the evils of segregation and how hard it was to prevail against it. It's impressive to think about how much courage it took for community leaders and common citizens to work together for the integration of Central High School.

An interesting sidebar to this historic moment is the role that Second Baptist Church played in the crisis. Pastor Dale Cowling was a key community leader in the early civil rights movement, preaching sermons about the God-given dignity of all people and influencing community leaders.

When the governor closed Little Rock's high schools for the 1958-59 school year, Cowling opened an accredited high school in Second Baptist Church for the public. It stood in contrast to T.J. Rainey High School, which was opened only for segregationists. The school, called Baptist High, had around 300 students in 10th through 12th grades.

During the 1957-58 school year, Second Baptist member Lynn Heflin served as vice president of the Little Rock

Central PTA, becoming president for the 1958-59 year when the governor closed the school.

One of the most significant players in the crisis was U.S. Congressman Brooks Hays, a longtime member of Second Baptist, where he taught a popular men's Bible class of 350 people for over 20 years. He also served two terms as the first lay president of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Congressman Hays, who the *Washington Post* called "one of the gentlest spirits in this hard-boiled town—a steadfast and courageous man," was an outspoken advocate for the integration of Central High. He played a mediator's role between the Arkansas governor and President Eisenhower.

Cowling—from the pulpit—and Hays—from the halls of government—worked in tandem to help integrate Little Rock Central High School. Second Baptist lost members and financial support as a result. The 16-year congressman lost his seat to a write-in segregationist candidate. Yet today, we know beyond any doubt who was right and who was wrong.

Little Rock is still recovering from racism's destructive consequences. Just this month, the Little Rock School District was released from court-ordered sanctions for the first time since 1957.

Today, our church is still known in the community for its positive stand on "people relations." For over 30 years, our church has partnered in worship with two African-American Baptist congregations and another Anglo Baptist congregation.

Our church serves as the home church for Ernie Dodson and her husband, Jon. Ernie grew up in Second Baptist as a child in the 1960s and is the founder and CEO of EMOBA—the Museum of Black Arkansans. EMOBA develops exhibits and highlights the experiences of African-Americans in Arkansas' history.

This fall my oldest son, Adam, stepped onto the Central High campus as a freshman. I am proud to drive him to the school. To see the racial diversity on campus. To see the academic strength of the school. To see the equal opportunities available to all our children. To see the fruits of Second Baptist Church's leadership in a community crisis 45 years ago today.

Now we'll see if our churches, pastors and public leaders have the same measure of courage, as a few did 45 years ago, to keep pushing us in the direction of loving our neighbors as ourselves—because we still haven't reached that goal. ■

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The 1968 Statement Concerning the Crisis in Our Nation

By John Finley, Senior Minister
First Baptist Church, Savannah, GA

For the average Southern Baptist living in the election year of 1968, the world seemed to be crumbling. The civil rights movement had resulted in the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in Memphis that spring, and tensions were high. Kentucky state paper editor C.R. Daley wondered in an editorial, “Will Southern Baptists Fiddle While America Burns?”

There were also fears that Southern Baptist college students might be on the march. When word came that students at the University of North Carolina had formed “Baptist Students Concerned” to “wake up” the SBC at Houston to “the vital issues,” many Southern Baptists braced themselves for another takeover as had occurred at Columbia University.

Across the convention, leaders were realizing that some kind of official SBC resolution, with broad representation and view, was necessary. Daley again wrote: “Southern Baptists in Houston should . . . come forth with a loud and clear voice sounding our convictions on human rights. This voice should be so sharp and strong that no one hearing it could ever doubt where we stand.”

In Nashville, James Sullivan and Clifton Allen of the Baptist Sunday School Board, along with Foy Valentine of the Christian Life Commission and SBC President H. Franklin Paschall, met with other key leaders. They decided that Allen and Valentine would write the first draft of a statement. After further revision, a 1,000-word “Statement Concerning the Crisis in Our Nation” emerged which was subsequently endorsed by 67 people.

All SBC agency executives, state executive secretaries and editors were invited to sign the statement, and by the eve of the convention the number had grown to 71. Valentine remarked to a *Newsweek* reporter, “Southern Baptist officialdom is moving away from its old racist origins. The culture here is finally being rejected in favor of Christ.”

In Houston, opinion was not to be as unanimous. The convention’s executive committee, meeting prior to the opening session, wrangled for five hours before reaching agreement. An eight-member sub-committee was named to rework the statement. It chose to soften the section “We Voice Our Confession” and to reject a recommendation for a “task force” in favor of Home Mission Board implementation. The revised statement passed the executive committee without opposition.

When James L. Pleitz of Florida introduced the crisis

statement in convention session as Recommendation 24, the chair ruled that it be referred to the Committee on Order of Business and rescheduled. When the time for discussion finally arrived, an amendment encouraging “respect for the person and property of others” passed, while an amendment denouncing the “infiltration of communism” into the civil rights movement failed. After other attempts to amend and to table failed, the statement was approved by a vote of 5,687 for and 2,119 against.

Reaction to the crisis statement was quick and varied. Baptist Record editor Joe T. Odle bragged that no Mississippian had signed the original statement, and state paper editors in Alabama and Oklahoma also emphasized the “radical revision” of the original draft. Texas leaders were split in their enthusiasm with John J. Hurt, Paul Stevens and R. Alton Reed offering early endorsement, and Executive-Secretary T. A. Patterson and many pastors insisting that changes had been necessary. Editors in Kentucky, Georgia and North Carolina were perhaps most enthusiastic.

Beyond the SBC, *Newsweek* declared that the crisis statement called for the integration of all Southern Baptist churches, and *Time* heralded the statement as a call for open membership, better housing, employment and education for blacks. While *Newsweek* was more general in ascribing the statement’s passage to SBC leaders, *Time* credited approval to SBC President Paschall, “who had to face loud and sometimes bitter opposition in pushing it through.”

What proved especially perplexing for many journalists was not the passage of a racial statement, but the simultaneous election of conservative W.A. Criswell, pastor of First Baptist Church, Dallas, as convention president. *Newsweek* was quick to point out that this was the same Southern Baptist who had said, “almost everything to me is either right or wrong.” *Time* was equally surprised over Criswell’s election, especially in light of what it called “the spirit of the declaration.”

The Christian Century, while unsure where the elected leadership would take this progressive new agenda, nevertheless commended Southern Baptists: “To its credit the Houston meeting . . . approved the strongest social action statement in the SBC’s history—an urgently worded appeal for efforts to correct the national crisis.”

Shortly after the Houston convention, thirty-two agency
(continued on page 19)

The Ethics of Horsetrading

By Hal Haralson, Austin, Texas

Not much happened in Haskell County, Texas during the year 1900.

The “Watkins” man came by the farm with Watkins Liniment. He came often enough that the name was given to the Haralson boy born that year: Delma Watkins Haralson.

He was called Delma. Tragedy struck his first year. He fell out of a chair into the fireplace. The story goes that the family dog pulled him out of the flames. He was left with severe facial scars he would carry the rest of his life.

He told me he didn’t think he would ever marry because the right kind of woman would not have him with scars.

I’m glad he changed his mind. Otherwise I would not be writing this article. Delma Watkins Haralson was my father.

He attended Centerpoint School near Haskell, Texas. He graduated when he finished the eighth grade. This was the end of his formal education.

Thanks to the computer research of his grandson Brad, Delma was located in the 1920 census working on a farm near Haskell.

He next appears in Abilene, Texas, as the owner of a Texaco filling station at 2nd and Hickory. He seemed to be doing well: playing golf regularly and driving a Ford Roadster.

Delma was not impressive physically. He was about 5’6” and never weighed over 135 pounds.

It was during this time he crossed paths with “Uncle John” Roach. Mr. Roach lived on Ambler Avenue across from University Baptist Church. He took a liking to Delma.

“Delma, I’m going to teach you to be a horsetrader. I know where there is a herd of sheep near Moran. We can buy them for \$250 and bring them to Abilene and sell them for \$500. We’ll be partners.”

“I can’t be your partner. I don’t have \$125.”

“I know you don’t. I’ll put up the money and you’ll sign a note for \$125 and pay off the note when we sell the sheep.” (I have the check for \$125 dated May 16, 1931, made out to John Roach.)

Papa said it was the easiest money he ever made. So began many horsetrades between the old man and his understudy.

There were some rules that were always observed in Horsetrading:

- 1) Always let the other man make the first offer. He may not know how much his livestock is worth.
- 2) When it is your turn to talk, make your offer . . . shut up. Nothing creates pressure on the other side like silence.
- 3) An offer made one way is good the other way.
- 4) Your word is your bond. Never go back on your word.

Honesty and integrity are the trademark of the horsetrader.

Then one day the unlikely happened. At 35 years of age Delma fell in love with a 28-year-old schoolteacher. Her name was Adah Barber. She was my mother.

Adah lived near the Hardin-Simmons campus and taught school at College Heights Elementary. Her family came from Mitchell County near the towns of Colorado City and Westbrook.

Delma announced before a wedding date was set that they were moving to the country as soon as they married. He said he had no intention rearing his sons in the city. (What sons? They were not even married!) Adah was not enthusiastic about moving to the country. She liked her life as a schoolteacher and city girl. But move they did. The sons were born in 1935, 1937, and 1945.

Delma looked until he found the farm he wanted—400 acres, eight miles north of Loraine, Texas. There was no house, no fences, no well. They rented a room from the neighbors. There was not enough money to purchase the farm outright, so Delma went to Colorado City to talk with Dell Barber, his brother-in-law.

Dell was a lawyer, cattleman, and a pretty good horsetrader himself. He agreed to put up half of the money to buy the farm. The two men became partners.

Two years passed with Adah wanting to move back to Abilene. Many nights the rented room was filled with sobs as she expressed her desire to return “home” where her mother, sister, and five brothers lived.

Delma worked early and late putting the farm in a productive condition. Fences were built; 200 acres of the land was planted in cotton and maize. The rest was left as pasture where cattle grazed.

Delma never liked the idea of having his brother-in-law as partner. After two years of making improvements and working the farm, he went to Kirk Taylor, President of the First State Bank of Loraine.

He told Mr. Taylor he was considering buying the farm outright. Since he didn’t know what Dell’s half would cost, it was agreed that Taylor would cover his check and a Note and Deed of Trust would be completed after the transaction was finished.

Delma went to Colorado City to the law offices of Dell Barber. He told Dell that his sister (Adah) wanted to return to Abilene. “The farm has few improvements and we are still renting a room from our neighbors.”

"I am considering selling my half of the farm. I don't know for sure what I am going to do, but I would like to know how much you will give me for my half if I decide to sell."

Dell thought for a while. He wrote some figures on a piece of paper and pushed it across the desk to Delma. The offer was ridiculously low.

Rule 3: An offer once made is good both ways.

Delma looked at the offer and then at Dell. "If my half is not worth any more than that I think I will buy your half." He wrote a check for the amount Dell offered.

They lived for 30 years on that 400-acre farm. Three sons spent their formative years fulfilling Delma's prophetic statement, "I want to raise my sons in the country."

He never prayed in public. They were faithful members of the church in Loraine and later of First Baptist Church in Abilene.

My mother finally got her wish to return to Abilene. In 1967 they realized none of the sons wanted to return to work the family farm. Delma answered an ad in the Abilene newspaper for a Farm/Ranch Real Estate salesman. The ad said "Don't apply if your are over 35." He was 57. He got the job.

At his funeral, Dr. James Flamming said, "When I really wanted to know the truth about something I went to Delma Haralson. He was the most honest man I knew."

Rule 4: A man's word is his bond.

I never heard him use profanity. I heard him ask men who did, not to do so around his sons. They always honored that request.

He spent much of his time with his sons. He would take us on his horsetrading excursions.

With a trailer behind his pickup he drove into a farm or ranch and asked if they had something to sell. It might be a horse or a cow or a sow and litter of pigs. They "traded" until Papa felt a good deal was made. He then took the animals to the "sale" at Colorado City and sold them. I never knew him to lose money.

His punishment of my brother and me was usually swift and appropriate. Once when we were at the sale, Papa went inside and left Dale and me up on the catwalk above the cattle. We waited until he was gone and pulled out a chew of Days Work chewing tobacco. This was strictly forbidden, but these early teenage boys really felt like men when they spit tobacco juice down on the backs of the cattle.

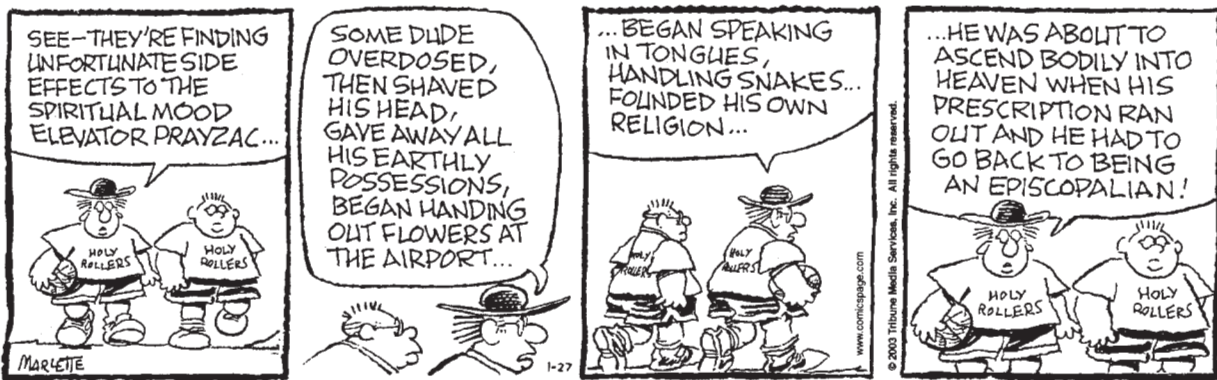
Papa's voice told us he had returned sooner than we thought. Our choice: swallow the tobacco or take the punishment. We swallowed.

He had to stop the pickup several times on the way home and let his sons relieve upset stomachs. He told us later he didn't think that further punishment was needed.

He was my first model in ethics. The most honest man I've ever known. He served as deacon at First Baptist Church of Loraine (population 750) and First Baptist Church, Abilene. His ethical standard made him equally at home in either church.

I am not sure what constitutes "greatness" in a man: Honesty-Faithfulness to wife and family-Faith in God. My father had all three.

What I know about ethics, I learned from a "Horsetrader." ■



Politically Correct Language and The “War on Terrorism”

By Paul J. Piccard, Professor of Political Science Emeritus
Florida State University

Paraphrasing an aphorism from a nineteenth century sermon by Hugh Price Hughes, what is ethically wrong cannot be politically correct.¹ Conversely, to be authentically correct politically requires correspondence with sound ethics. One might suppose, then, that political correctness would be sought after, as indeed it is by many sensitive people. But other people, some calling themselves “conservatives,” ridicule and mock it, even flouting their desire to be politically incorrect, as Ralph Reed did.²

Both words and deeds—the talk and the walk—may be politically correct or incorrect depending on how they meet ethical standards. Politics does not allow any neutral ground in such matters. We must use some language; we must make decisions about actions; and whatever language we use or actions we take or fail to take, we change the world we live in for better if we are correct or worse if we are not.

In this essay we start our examination of political correctness with words—the talk. Next we shall consider some actions—the walk. We conclude with special attention to the issue of war and peace as that matter hung in the balance last October when Congress authorized a second Iraqi war.

The Talk

Before the term “politically correct” came into vogue or into disrepute, George Orwell said that all language is political. Here we shall examine some language that is overtly political—and some, perhaps more influential that is covertly political.

The problem of political correctness is as old as politics—that is to say, as old as human society for politics is the way groups make decisions. Serious authors and people engaged in casual conversation alike have always chosen words for their effect. When Pericles, speaking to and about the Athenians, said, “We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character. . . ,”³ he was flattering the males in his audience and exhorting them to participate in the affairs of state. Likewise, when my fellow school boys and I used derogatory ethnic and religious slurs in the 1930s to refer to people who were not like us, we were unconsciously engaging in the politics of exclusion and strengthening our bonds with the dominant group.

We boys, and I suppose too many girls, had insulting names for Negroes (as was then the proper way to refer to them), Jews, Italians, Poles, Japanese, Chinese, and others. We knew that some of these derogatory names could not be used around adults, that others were alright to use at home, and that many were fighting words not to be used face-to-face with the outsiders if they were bigger than we were. We did not confront an ethical problem.

Today, however, the matter can be better understood as an ethical issue. My sense of the matter runs like this: ethical behavior is grounded in moral precepts. A basic moral precept is to treat others as we wish to be treated. This fundamental morality is recognized not only by Christians and others with religious faith, but also by those unbelievers who have a decent sense of right and wrong. What racial bigot, for example, would ever wish to be treated with the kind of contempt the bigots inflicted on others? Who among racial segregationists, for another example, would ever wish to be pigeon-holed with a group that was discriminated against, regarded as inferior, and untouchable? Which of my school mates would have welcomed being called by insulting names? Yes, to hurt other people by word or deed raises ethical issues.

Race is a political concept, not a biological classification. It exists primarily in our minds and we make of it as much or as little as we wish. Alexis de Tocqueville, in the nineteenth century, noted how large race loomed in America and what an intractable problem it was.⁴ While considering ethics and politics we cannot ignore it. We require some acceptable labels. By the time I was in high school I had learned that the proper way to refer to the three races that were identified by teachers in those days was to call them Caucasian, Negro, and Oriental.

Early in the twentieth century the founders of the NAACP used “colored.” In mid-century “Negro” was better. Later in the century “black” (as in “Black is beautiful”) became a preferred term, and before the end of the century Justice Thurgood Marshall settled on “African American.” One problem with that term, besides being a mouth full, is that it leaves us stammering when we want to refer to the black people of other nations. So I am still using “black” and mean no disrespect.

In addition to changing names for races, the history of political correctness has some other curious twists. While

some conservatives complain about the PC police today, much of the public rhetoric is shaped by language that is politically correct for conservatives without ever being called politically correct. We can examine some of that language and then look for the transition that took place in order to bring us to today's controversies. Then we can see that the PC wheel took one more turn when hijackers turned airplanes into murder weapons.

First, however, in the interest of full disclosure, I must confess my first foray into imposing political correctness on university students. I was a PC cop before any of us knew the term. In the 1950s and 1960s, at three Southern state universities, I met classes in American government and politics. I was at the University of Texas when racial integration of the student body reached the campus. From there I went to Tuscaloosa and left before Autherine Lucy enrolled and was chased away from the University of Alabama. When I arrived at Florida State University the only known blacks on campus were employed by the office of Buildings and Grounds.

In those days many young white males felt an obligation to defend the Southern way of life and Southern traditions. They knew, however, that they could not use the "N-word" in class. Neither could some of them bring themselves to use Martin Luther King's word, *Negro*. They would grudgingly say "nigrah" and I would respond with something like, "Come on, Mr. E____, you can speak more clearly than that." I also required the students to capitalize the proper noun, *Negro*, although some of them thought the capital letter lent too much dignity to the race. I shall leave to others the verdict on whether or not I violated the students' academic freedom or personal integrity. At the time, I thought mine was the way to initiate them into the community of American, not just Southern, college graduates.

With that confession out of the way, let us return to some politically correct language from before the concept was given its name. Most of my examples here served conservative interests. During the 1930s, "business men" ran corporations; "bosses" headed labor unions.⁵ In both cases the offices were staffed by "girls" who did not have to be paid as much as women. Labor union organizers were "agitators." Political party conventions elected "chairmen." Even the New Deal developed programs to help "free enterprise" which, since Alexander Hamilton, has always depended on government rather than facing the risks of a truly free market.

After World War II, "China" moved its government to Taiwan and kept its seat at the UN while "Red China," excluded from the UN, ruled the mainland. During the 1960s many of my students had a favorable view of "right-to-work laws" although they opposed compulsory open shop legislation, not worrying at all that the two are identical. A rose by another name has a different fragrance in politics. During the 1970s the "domino theory" dominated public discussion of American foreign policy in

Southeast Asia although no dominos were to be found there. During the Reagan presidency we learned that "freedom fighters" were on our side; "terrorists" were not.

Throughout American history most of our governments, national and state, have had a "death penalty." Since death is a sensitive issue, we often prefer to refer to "capital punishment" or "execution." But even "death penalty" is a euphemism for killing prisoners. It is sometimes "carried out" (like a bucket of slops?) without considering the messy details of a premeditated killing of people who, at the time of their death, are helpless. We would rather "execute" these convicts than kill them, but kill them we do. The politically preferred terms help us to support the policy without fully engaging its substance.

Death at the hands of government agents in vastly different circumstances may be the killing of "innocent civilians," an atrocity committed by our enemies, or merely "collateral damage" that is excusable. The Oklahoma City bomber, a military veteran, shrugged off the murder of children in day care as collateral damage.

Another kind of expression that conservatives find politically correct is calling giant agricultural corporations "farmers"—or even better when possible, "family farms." Farms are not only entitled to subsidies but, according to some advocates, they should be exempt from "death taxes" (otherwise known as inheritance taxes, depending on your politics). Then we may ignore the miniscule role played by family farms in the debate over subsidies and taxes.

For conservatives, the politically correct term for the driving force in business is the "profit motive." That sounds better than the obviously judgmental and pejorative "greed" that others see in corrupt accounting, insider trading, favoritism, kick backs, ruthless price cutting, and illegal combinations in restraint of trade. Whether motivated by the profit motive or greed, conservatives are winning the "class war" by assuring us that referring to class warfare is politically incorrect.

Almost nothing in the conservative lexicon is more politically correct than "the law of supply and demand." We are told smugly that we cannot repeal the law of supply and demand. That is true because it was never enacted. It is based on a set of false assumptions: that buyers and sellers are in the same market, that they all have full information, and that no player on either side is big enough to have a significant impact. We cannot reason from error to truth. Thus the law of supply and demand is in some respects like the law of gravity. It might work as advertised in a vacuum but we do not live in a vacuum.

Closely related to the law of supply and demand is a mystic term preferred by conservatives. This is the "unseen" or "invisible hand" that guides both producers and consumers in the market place to insure good results for the whole community. Ironically, this mysterious force was first identified by a Scottish professor, Adam Smith. Many conservatives are not so comfortable with the strange ideas of today's American professors, finding them

too impractical and theoretical.

Some businesses and doctors advocate “tort reform.” That is their politically correct way of seeking limited liability for the accidental property damage, injuries, and deaths they cause. When they are forced into court the plaintiffs’ attorneys are “greedy trial lawyers.” I do not know who represents the defendants—perhaps counsel sharing the profit motive.

“Separation of church and state” has become a politically correct idea in the United States although the phrase does not appear in our Constitution.⁶ Conservatives have nevertheless sought to breach the so-called “wall of separation” by intermingling government and “faith based” organizations. Whether or not the appellate courts will accept this verbal distinction remains to be decided.

Conservatives talk about “our tax money” being spent on programs they do not like. Those programs are run by “bureaucrats.” What conservatives see as politically correct programs are funded by “revenues” and administered by “public servants.” Conservatives do not want to “throw money” at the schools or poverty programs but they are happy to “appropriate funds” for national defense and other good programs.

At times, conservatives find “freedom” and “states rights” politically correct. They invoke those popular terms selectively. Freedom has no meaning until we specify freedom for whom to do what. Southern slave owners fought the War Between the States partly for freedom—freedom to own slaves. Nearly a century later conservatives suffered a loss of freedom when labor unions were favored by the Wagner Act. The freedom lovers’ response was the Taft-Hartley Act depriving labor unions of some freedoms. At the state level some freedom lovers advocate criminalizing unnatural sex acts rather than defending freedom in the bedroom. Freedom is very much in the eye of the beholder, but it is such a politically correct term that it may be invoked as camouflage by conservatives.

States rights are a similar situational matter. Conservatives have invoked states rights to segregate schools by race, regulate labor unions, legalize child labor, outlaw miscegenation, defend the poll tax, deny the concept of “one man, one vote,” exploit natural resources, and more. In other situations conservatives are the first in line to seek federal aid in the face of a natural disaster or serious financial difficulties for a major corporation such as Chrysler or the airlines. They do not trust the states to deal with assisted suicide or medicinal marijuana. They call on the federal government to regulate or prohibit abortions. They ask the Feds not to give full faith and credit to state law recognizing same sex couples.

Almost a century ago Theodore Roosevelt explained states rights in what conservatives regard as a most politically incorrect fashion. Conservatives have managed to smother his words ever since. In 1910, speaking in Denver, he explained:

I have been genuinely amused . . . at having

arguments presented to me on behalf of certain rich men from New York . . . as to why . . . Rocky Mountain states should manage their own water power sites. Now, many of these men may be good citizens according to their lights, but naturally enough their special interest obscures their sense of the public need; and as their object is to escape an efficient control, exercised in the interest of all the people of the country, they clamor to be put under the state instead of under the nation. If we are foolish enough to grant their requests, we shall have ourselves to blame when we wake up to find that we have permitted another privilege to entrench itself and another portion of what should be kept for the public good to be turned over to individuals for purposes of private enrichment. . . .

Remember also that many of the men who protest loudly against effective national action would be the first to turn around and protest against state action, if such action in its turn became effective and would then unhesitatingly invoke the law to show that the state had no constitutional power to act. . . . Long experience has shown that it is by no means impossible . . . to get one set of judicial decisions which render it difficult for the nation to act, and another set which render it impossible for the state to act. . . .

If there is one thing which is more unwise than another, it is the creation . . . of a neutral ground in which neither the state nor the nation has power, and which can serve as a place of refuge for the lawless man, and especially for the lawless man of great wealth, who can hire the best legal talent to advise him how to keep his abiding place equally distant from the uncertain frontiers of both state and national power.⁷

Like states rights, much of what has been politically correct (without being called that) has served conservatives well. What, then, happened to make them turn on the concept? As actions speak louder than words we may find the answer among actions.

The Walk

What a society deems politically correct is a function of social norms and government action. No society ever claims to be imposing incorrect standards of speech and action. In biblical times, monarchy, gerontocracy, and slavery were politically correct. Democratic elections were not.

In medieval times serfdom was politically correct. In the eighteenth century “laissez-faire” was a liberal response to the prevailing politically correct mercantilism. When in 1919 my mother married my father, a foreigner,

she lost her American citizenship although she was descended from an American soldier in the Revolutionary War. American women were not allowed to vote in national elections until the next year. A federal wage and hour law and collective bargaining became politically correct in the 1930s. At the same time child labor became politically incorrect. In 1944 the Supreme Court of the United States found the forced relocation of Americans with Japanese ancestors politically correct,⁸ a shameful decision now acknowledged to have been politically incorrect. Although enfranchised by the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1870, various forms of discrimination against potential black voters remained politically correct in parts of the country as late as the 1960s. Today, however, courting the black vote is politically correct throughout the country.

The times change and so does political correctness. Each generation of American conservatives until now has yielded to liberal reforms. Three recent attempts by liberals to redefine political correctness finally pushed many conservatives too far and they struck back with the ridicule and hostility we noted at the outset of this essay. Affirmative action on behalf of women and racial minorities, equal pay for equal work, and equality for gays seem to be the culprits that lead conservatives to add “politically correct” to our vocabulary and to give it a bad reputation. Having to use polite language in public may have irked some conservatives but their protests were muted until the ground swell of public opinion in support of more equality became law.

The whole matter of political correctness, as we have seen, takes many twists and turns. Much of what I have noted may be seen and construed differently. One curiosity in current politically correct language illustrates the complexity of the problem. Earlier I contrasted business men and labor bosses, as conservatives called them. Today, however, the good guys are “entrepreneurs.”

Perhaps this change to a gender free term was made in deference to the women’s movement, but we may wonder why this one term has proved acceptable to conservatives while most other gender free language continues to rub some of them the wrong way. Perhaps business men themselves earned such bad reputations that another term

was substituted—a new label for the old package. Another possibility is that “entrepreneur” has a certain academic dignity. It appears to be a technical or scientific term and so fits nicely with the vocabulary of prestigious economists. It seems to shift the focus from people who manage (or mismanage) businesses to a sort of essential institutional entity, almost as mysterious as the invisible hand that guides them.

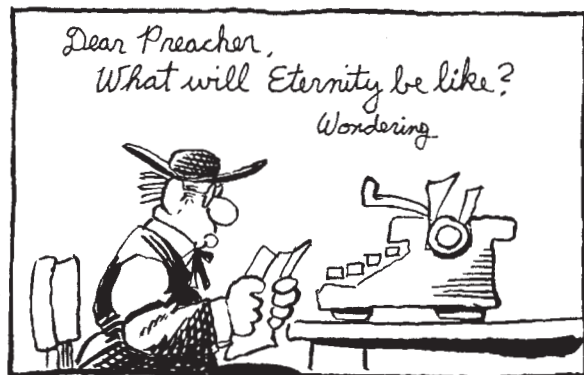
One other gender free term serves conservatives and liberals alike. When we are dismayed by “children killing children” that is what we say, bestowing a sort of equality on girls. The politics of this problem might shift if we focused on it as the behavior of boys.

Despite the contempt some conservatives heap on political correctness, they have accepted some politically correct terms. We turn now to their greatest triumph with politically correct language.

The “War on Terrorism”

When this essay was written, the second Iraqi war was still restrained. Aerial warfare was slowly escalating, American efforts to assassinate Saddam Hussein, if any, were covert, and Congress had just authorized the President to use military force against Iraq (but not against Korea as the President’s first request for a blank check might have done). This examination of politically correct language has not dealt with the substance of a war against Iraq or our wisdom in waging it. Here we have not considered the variety of theological, ideological, and geopolitical arguments about just and unjust wars nor have we examined the case for Christian pacifism. We are looking only at the year-old “war on terrorism” and political correctness. The question here is not about whether the war is ethical,⁹ but whether we would understand it very differently if we had found a different politically correct vocabulary for it.

War itself has a strange grip on us. The “war” between the sexes is fought by people profoundly attracted to each other. It is certainly not a war. The metaphor of football players fighting in the trenches is a travesty. The great grandfathers of the young athletes might have fought in the trenches, their grandfathers might have been, as I was, in a foxhole in Germany, but they are playing a game—just a game. They are entertaining spectators and attract-



ing a TV audience for commercials to sell beer and fast cars.

Poor President Johnson's "War on Poverty" never enlisted the nation and seems to have been won by the very wealthiest people in the country, cheered on by a middle class desperately afraid of the lower and under classes. The "war on drugs" has fared somewhat better and has taken many prisoners. By carefully attacking only certain drugs—not the more popular ones, alcohol and nicotine, which are promoted by legitimate commercial interests—the war on drugs continues slightly below the horizon most of the time.

The "war on terrorism" has spawned a whole vocabulary of politically correct terms of which "war on terrorism" is the most insidious and effective. I use it here only reluctantly. Other popular terms are 9/11, ground zero, weapons of mass destruction, united we stand, one nation under God, and axis of evil. With these hair-trigger words we hardly have to think at all about the politics and substance of our foreign and military policies.

Within hours of the collapse of the World Trade Center towers an academic from Johns Hopkins University was given a national radio audience to voice his hysteria at the sight unfolding on our television sets. The sight itself was sufficient to traumatize large numbers of people but the rhetoric from Johns Hopkins practically ended serious or analytical thought. It was very quickly adopted by the White House. We were told that the plane crashes were not a criminal act but an act of war. They were worse than the Oklahoma City bombing but still criminal. Murder on a large scale is criminal. We have never regarded killing vast numbers of people, including those innocent civilians we keep hearing about, as murder when done by the U.S. Air Force. When private individuals do it, they are criminals. Calling them criminals instead of terrorists would have made a difference and would have given them less status.

Even people who have not been personally terrorized—people who are still flying in airplanes and living routine lives—have accepted the notion that we are engaged in a mighty struggle against terrorists. Nobody has a good word to say about terrorists. They cannot be freedom fighters.

We were also told by the excited voice from Johns Hopkins that the destruction of the Twin Towers was an act of war, but it was not. To paraphrase Lloyd Bentsen's remark to Dan Quayle, "I knew war and this was no war." If we had called it sabotage we could have pursued the saboteurs by juridical means rather than by our brutal assault on Afghanistan. We might then have generated less hatred for the United States and fewer recruits for the campaign of murder and destruction still directed against us. Our President was right in September, 2001, when he

The "war on terrorism" has spawned a whole vocabulary of politically correct terms

said that this would be a long fight. Perhaps it will make the "Cold War" seem a short and tranquil interlude.

The very dramatic TV images were easily portrayed as a catastrophe. They could be seen in a different light, still serious but not catastrophic. We routinely kill more people on our roads in less than five weeks than the number who were murdered in New York and Pennsylvania and at the Pentagon. Each of two atomic bombs dropped on Japan killed vastly greater numbers but the

results were not catastrophic. Within a very few years Japan was better off than it had been before. We could honestly mourn the dead and injured and be deeply sympathetic for the bereaved and suffering families even if we put the event in a different perspective than the one that gripped the nation so quickly and so effectively.

The popular "One Nation Under God" is an arrogant and self-serving slogan. It reminds me of the belt buckles German soldiers wore proclaiming "God With Us." A very sophisticated theology must be required to ascertain God's preferences in public policy generally and in warfare particularly. I am not sure that God has been on our side in all our wars, including the Civil War.

"United We Stand" is another unfortunate slogan. We may be united in wanting what is best for our country, but a vibrant free democracy is not characterized by such a quick toeing of the line as we experienced in the fall of 2001. For about a year we had no significant alternative policies to consider and thus no way to test the policy adopted by our government in such haste. Only as the so-called war on terror metamorphosed into planning an attack on Iraq did we begin to hear some murmurs of dissent in the mainline media, and even then only tentatively. A loyal opposition is vital to a democratic government. We have not had one.

Starting with the suicide bombing of our Marine barracks in Lebanon in 1983 some of our Presidents have found that calling suicide bombers cowards is politically correct. I cannot fathom the mentality of suicide bombers, but I understand that heroic soldiers have routinely volunteered for missions that are virtually suicidal. The suicide victim who smothers a grenade to protect his comrades is honored. When a middle-aged man with the world's best protection calls young men cowards he does not contribute to an understanding of our problems. Some of these young men may be fanatic or crazy; but "cowards"? Calling them cowards is politically correct language for a grade school playground. We might, instead, see these men in the light of the observation by Jesus that "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."¹⁰ Imagine that being politically correct in today's climate.

George Orwell had good reason to note that language is political. We have seen that political rhetoric, whether correct or incorrect, has an impact on human relations, economic policy, and military and foreign policy. We have seen something Orwellian about the double-speak of the hawks, who persuaded Congress to authorize war in order to preserve the peace and to authorize unilateral action in order to bring the United Nations on board. We have seen the irony of a nation united in “patriotism” but divided along all our usual fault lines.

In 2000 George W. Bush campaigned against “nation building.” Isolationists then told us that we could not be the “world’s police.” Today, our President seeks “regime change” in order to dictate to other nations their form of government. Thus political correctness now girds this “peace loving nation” for endless war. We could use a new breed of PC cops. ■

¹ Originally, “What is morally wrong can never be political-ly right.” Quoted by Alan Simpson, *Puritanism in Old and New England* (Phoenix Books; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), 114.

² Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect: The Emerging Faith Factor in American Politics* (1997).

³ Thucydides, Book I, ch. 22, translated by Benjamin Jowett (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900) quotation and citation from Albert R. Chandler, *The Clash of Political Ideals: A Source Book on Democracy and the Totalitarian State* (3rd ed.; N.Y.: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957) 3.

⁴ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*. (For example: Phillips Bradley, ed.; N.Y. Random House, 1945). See especially vol. 2, 270.

⁵ As recently as last March, the Associated Press reported that “the leftist Workers Party candidate” a “former union boss” won a plurality of the votes in the Brazilian election. *Tallahassee Democrat* (Oct. 7, 2002), 3.

⁶ See, Paul J. Piccard, Mary Piccard Vance, and Ann Piccard, “Church and State: Once More Unto the Breach,” *Christian Ethics Today*, 8 (April, 2002), 20.

⁷ From a “Speech at Denver before the Colorado Live Stock Association,” August 29, 1910. Theodore Roosevelt, *The New Nationalism* (New York: The Outlook Co., 1910), 61-65.

⁸ *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 US 214. Many of the “relocated” people were incarcerated at Camp Manzanar where tourists now are greeted by a plaque that concludes, “May the injustice and humiliation suffered here as a result of hysteria, racism and economic exploitation never emerge again.” From Robert F. Cushman with Susan P. Koniak, *Leading Constitutional Decisions* (18th ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall., 1992), 395. Some recent treatment of American Muslims suggests that this lesson from World War II may not have been well learned.

⁹ See John M. Swomley, “Ethics of the War on Terrorism,” *Christian Ethics Today*, 8 (October, 2002), 6.

¹⁰ John 15:13.

Feeling Like A Black Man

By Al Staggs

Hearing the melodies,
the lyrics,
the major keys of white kids
singing songs of faith
do not touch me
as the earthy, groaning
protests of anguish
set to song,
the music of black people
who sing their songs from Memory,
a Memory laced with desperation
with the search for truth amid horror.

The contexts of our lives
set the tonalities of our songs,
the setting of our lives
dictate the lyrics we
join to our tunes.
For it’s not just heaven
that is at stake.
It is singing in the midst of hell
it is proclaiming the
timeless truth in a world of countless trials.
This is song, this is worship,
this is music. ■

The 1968 Statement Concerning the Crisis in Our Nation

(continued from page 11)

heads and program leaders met in Atlanta to begin charting the crisis statement’s implementation. *Home Missions* magazine reported that Southern Baptists had “grappled with the soul of America” and now stood at the “crossroads” of a new identity.

Those would prove to be prophetic words, prompted ironically by one of the high watermarks of progressive SBC social action. ■

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The Concept of a Just War

By Jim Evans, Pastor
Crosscreek Baptist Church, Pelham, AL

Momentum seems to be building for a war with Iraq. The Bush Administration has been strategically leaking information for some time now. These leaks serve several purposes, one of which is to measure public opinion about the idea. Administration officials are anxious to know what questions a war with Iraq is likely to provoke.

What questions should it provoke? Should we question anything at all? Does being a loyal citizen and patriot require we accept without question whatever our government decides to do—especially in a time of war?

This is a hard matter for anyone to resolve and even more so for people of faith. Communities of faith often find themselves in the difficult position of having to choose between conflicting loyalties.

Christianity has a long-standing uneasiness about war. This uneasiness is rooted in Jesus' identity and teachings. Jesus was, after all, hailed as "the Prince of Peace." It was also Jesus who said, "Love your enemy" and "Turn the other cheek."

Jesus' identity and teachings have not made Christianity a pacifist faith, although there are pacifist sects within Christianity. But it has made Christians cautious about war. As early as Augustine, Christian leaders realized that war was fundamentally opposed to the ideals of Christianity. If Christians choose to participate in war, it can only be under the most stringent of circumstances.

In order to establish these circumstances, Christian leaders formulated over time what has come to be known as the "Just War Theory."

There are three main features to Just War Theory: just cause, competent authority and right intent. A just cause

includes self-defense or defending a weaker country from a more powerful aggressor. Competent authority refers to a duly recognized governmental body to make the decision about war. Right intent refers to the motivation for war. If the intent is merely to inflict harm or to seek revenge or gain some economic advantage, then the cause is not just.

As people of faith facing the prospect of a war with Iraq—an action that will put millions of lives at risk—we must consider the issues raised by the concept of a just war.

No one questions the legitimacy of the American government to make the decision. However, to ensure the best decision possible, both houses of Congress should be consulted. This decision should not be left to the executive branch alone.

The other criteria are more difficult to establish. Is our country under direct threat, or are we dealing with a potential threat, or even a likely threat? In short, do we have a just cause for waging war?

And what is our intent? The stated purpose of the war is to remove Saddam Hussein from power. Is that a legitimate cause? Is any part of our action motivated by revenge for the events of Sept. 11?

If we adhere to our faith's ideals, before we consent to killing our declared enemy, we should strive diligently to be sure our cause is just. If we determine it is not, then we should not pursue it.

Even if we determine our cause is just, we may only submit to war with a somber spirit and repentant hearts. No cause is so just that we may kill without sorrow. ■

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The American Military Empire: A Threat to Human Rights?

By *John M. Swomley, Professor Emeritus of Christian Social Ethics*
St. Paul School of Theology

America's role as the world's only "superpower" is obvious, and many Americans take pride in that role. Few, however, are aware that America's armed forces have built a worldwide empire that has led millions of people to fear and even hate the presence of uniformed American personnel. American journalists and the media do not describe life in the satellites, colonies, and bases that are a part of the imperial complex, or report the disregard of human rights, environmental damage, land seizures and other abuses that characterize the American presence.

The Pentagon maintains some 800 stations and air bases around the world. Some entire countries are virtual colonies. In South Korea, for example, the U.S. Army has 37,000 combat troops at 96 bases occupying 65,500 acres of that country's land. It has for many years controlled a South Korean armed force of 670,000, 460 combat aircraft, 44 destroyers and frigates, as well as four attack submarines, all under a command structure led by U.S. military personnel. All of this happened when there was no Russian or Chinese occupation of North Korea to threaten control of South Korea. Even the less well-armed North Koreans never threatened the South when the U.S. commander and South Koreans withdrew a South Korean border division to deal with riots in South Korea. The North Koreans, although not a threat, were always used by the Pentagon as a rationale for the military occupation of South Korea and for periodic aerial and naval war games against the North.

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, which has long been active in South Korea, helped create the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), as a secret police organized to prevent dissent, including student protests and labor unrest, and in the process maintain censorship of the press. After its early organization it grew to about 350,000 agents within a country of only thirty million.

General Park Chung-hee was the President and virtual dictator of South Korea from 1961 to 1979, accepted by the U.S. Army and theoretically in charge of the KCIA. However, in October 1979 the KCIA commander shot the President's bodyguard and then the President. No motive surfaced, but many in South Korea assumed that the U.S. had given the order to kill him because he was a nationalist, pursuing policies opposed by the U.S. such as a program to develop nuclear weapons.

A new President, Choi, and a new commanding general, Chun who was also acting director of the KCIA, took power in 1980. This led to widespread student protests and then to martial law, the closing of the universities, and the banning of political activities. There was a general assumption that all of this repression had taken place with at least the tacit consent of the United States. One reaction was the rebellion of whole populations in some areas, including an appeal to the U.S. embassy to intervene, but the U.S. commander had already given permission to Korean forces to act independently. In the city of Kwangju about 150,000 civilians seized weapons and ammunition from arsenals as well as armored personnel carriers, trucks and buses.

As a result of a decision in Washington, U.S. General John Wickham withdrew the Korean Division on the border of North Korea and turned it and other South Korean forces loose to engage in what later was called the Kwangju Massacre. South Koreans knew that the United States was involved in the killing of thousands of South Koreans, but the American people remained ignorant of the deaths and repression.

Under the leadership of Kim Dae-jung, the current democratically elected President of South Korea, some conditions have improved, such as relations with North Korea. The U.S. Army, however, continues its widespread control at many points and the Korean economy is still heavily influenced by the United States.

Another more tightly controlled U.S. military colony is Okinawa. Although there are eight major bases in Japan itself, there are forty-seven bases in Okinawa which nominally belongs to Japan but since the end of World War II has been largely controlled by U.S. armed forces. Neither the Okinawan nor Japanese police or courts have any control of the land, sea and air spaces occupied and used by the United States. The U.S. bases occupy 20% of Okinawa's land, including the most fertile farm areas of a mountainous island.

During the 1950s, the U.S. took the land by armed force, burned and bulldozed houses and land without compensating the owners, and used the CIA to fund and encourage political control friendly to U.S. occupation. Okinawans are left with little arable land and most food is imported. Of all Japanese prefectures, Okinawa has the highest unemployment rate, highest prices and lowest wages.

The U.S. bases at best provide only about 5 percent of the

gross domestic product of Okinawa, while tourism has become the main source of income.

U.S. damage to the environment is extensive. Fifty-five years of live shelling in U.S. artillery practice has resulted in severe erosion of mountains and fields, the destruction of coral reefs and oceans, the loss of livelihood of fishermen and the endangerment of rare species of birds and animals. Over 1,500 depleted uranium shells were fired into an offshore island.

Since 1972, 5,000 crimes (including rapes, murders, robberies and burglaries) have been committed by U.S. military personnel against Okinawans. The rape of an Okinawan schoolgirl by three American marines in 1999 resulted in a people's rally of 815,000 Okinawans, parents, teachers, students, labor unions, women's groups, civic organizations and people from all political parties. U.S. Admiral Richard Macke, commander of all U.S. forces in the Pacific, was quoted in the press as calling the rape "absolutely stupid. For the price they paid to rent the car (used to kidnap the child) they could have had a girl." No U.S. official review or inquiry was conducted.

In addition to the bases just described, there is Kadina Airbase, the largest in the Far East, and Futenma Marine Air Station, which covers a huge area in the center of Ginowan, second-largest city in Okinawa.

Within the United States there is the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, which is often treated as part of the colonial empire. The small island of Vieques off the coast of Puerto Rico's main island has approximately 9,300 residents. In the 1940s the U.S. Navy took three-fourths of its land for military use and relocated its residents to a tiny area between a live firing range and a munitions storage area. The Navy uses the island for bombing practice and amphibious landings. The lives of residents have been threatened, as has the environment. There is 50% unemployment and cancer rates are much higher than in the rest of Puerto Rico.

In July 1999, Puerto Ricans marched to the naval base to demand that the Navy leave Vieques. The residents want the island demilitarized and the contamination cleaned up. Other civil disobedience has continued, with demands for community economic development. The Navy has responded by promising a vote in November 2001, and if voters want to expel the Navy they agree to leave by May 2003.

Congress could have removed the Navy long ago if it were not for the power of the military industrial complex and its devotion to superpower status.

When referring to U.S. bases, we speak not only of huge military facilities, but also of soldiers and their dependents, housing complexes, swimming pools, golf courses, post exchanges, and nearby bars, brothels, and STD disease clinics. When I taught in the Philippines in 1973, the U.S. naval base at Subic Bay was near the town of Olongapo, whose only industry was entertainment houses which included almost 55,000 prostitutes, along with various other places offering rest and recreation to U.S. naval and military personnel.

In Australia, according to an Australian Encyclopedia, the U.S. maintains more than two dozen installations concerned with military matters. However, there are many more joint

facilities manned by Australians and Americans, but funded by and for the U.S., such as a Joint Defense Space Research Facility. In addition there are U.S. Air Force land and sea surveillance flights that operate over the Indian Ocean, and a transit point for aircraft carriers, nuclear-powered attack submarines, missile cruisers and destroyers. One facility for communicating with U.S. submarines is the largest and most powerful of all the stations in America's worldwide submarine communications system. It covers U.S. military operations in the Indian and western Pacific Oceans. In fact, Australia is integrated into the American military system via a thorough military alliance. It is host to more U.S. operations than any other country except for the United Kingdom, Canada and Germany.

The American military empire includes storage facilities for nuclear weapons. The November-December 1999 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* lists the following total nuclear deployments in places in the Pacific of 1700 weapons in Okinawa, Guam, Taiwan and the Philippines. Almost 800 were at Kadena Airbase in Okinawa. Presumably they have been withdrawn, but B-61 bombers are listed as still remaining at ten airbases in seven European countries.

The military empire also includes a program called Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) whereby the Pentagon sends specially-trained U.S. forces for training missions in 110 countries to establish close relations with their officers for possible future operations and for training them in espionage and other skills. The U.S. officers also get invaluable information about those countries and their terrain while preparing the country's officers for internal defense against rebel groups in their own countries. Indonesia was a prime example of this during the Suharto regime, where U.S. trained officers opposed the independence of East Timor.

These are illustrations, by no means complete, of the American Military Empire. They can be considered positive and useful only if one approves of imperialism. Certainly its victims do not approve of it, and there have been numerous demonstrations against the bases in Korea and Okinawa, almost all of them nonviolent.

The most recent example of U.S. imperialist sabotage of international law and order is our opposition to a treaty to establish an international criminal court to hold accountable soldiers and political leaders charged with war crimes and crimes against humanity. The world's leading democracies support such a treaty but the U.S., China, Israel, Libya and Yemen voted against it in the United Nations. The U.S. wants to keep its soldiers, CIA officers, and other operatives who are part of the 200,000 imperial agents deployed in at least 40 countries from being tried for rape, murder, torture, and other crimes or infractions of human rights.

The cost of U.S. imperialism, with all its liabilities in terms of financial outlay, hatred engendered against Americans abroad, terrorist activities, and the bad reputation that comes from CIA "secret" operations, is too high a price to pay. Its ultimate cost is, in fact, nearly irreparable damage to future world order. ■

Wall Between Church and State Teeters Under Bush's Faith Initiatives

By Tom Teepen, *Syndicated Columnist*
Cox Newspapers, Atlanta, GA

The nation will just have to take it on faith that President Bush's one-man decision to start giving more tax money to religious charities won't steamroll the wall separating church and state.

With a series of executive orders, the president has installed the faith-based initiative that was one of his campaign promises. In doing so, he at least undermined the historic principle that in most situations has wisely withheld public funding from religious activities, and he did so without legislative guidance or the safeguards that any enabling legislation presumably would include.

The president was unable to get his program through a chary Congress split among red hots, ice colds and would-be compromisers who couldn't cobble together a majority for any program.

That legislative hesitation seems prudent, in part because federal law already permits substantial public funding for religious social work under reasonable restrictions. The overly picky requirements of the past were repealed several years ago. (Though the federal granting agencies didn't always get the word.)

Despite that standing indulgence, the president declared that he was ending "discrimination against religious groups just because they are religious," a crude misreading of principled support for church-state separation and a cheap shot that plays to the victim mongering paranoia of the religious right, which absurdly claims Christians are borne down in this country under a crushing burden of discrimination.

In a passing nod to concerns about fudging church-state

separation, the president ordered that religious charities receiving federal money will have to observe state and local anti-discrimination laws, disappointing groups such as the Salvation Army that have been lobbying to exclude gays and lesbians.

But worryingly, Bush apparently would extend to their outreach charities the current legislative exemption that allows religious groups to hire just within their own faith for strictly religious programs. And although federal money would be denied direct proselytizing, grants may now go to charitable programs that operate in a clearly sectarian atmosphere.

The Bush administration has withdrawn U.S. support for international family-planning programs. It is working to limit school-based sex education to abstinence-only indoctrination. The coming congressional session seems likely to enact several restrictions on abortion, with sure White House concurrence if not public leadership. The president's appointees to federal courts typically include misgivings about church-state separation in their qualifying conservative kits.

In his presidential run, Bush's coziness with televangelists and so-called family-value organizations and symbolic gestures like his speech at Bob Jones University strongly implied that his presidency could accommodate the religious-right agenda.

At the time, that was widely shrugged off as just Republican theatrics, but the president is proving as good as his implication. ■



BOOK REVIEWS

Separation of Church and State

Philip Hamburger (Harvard University Press, 2002) \$49.95

Reviewed By J. Brent Walker

Executive Director of the Baptist Joint Committee

In a new book titled *Separation of Church and State*, Philip Hamburger tries to debunk what he calls the “modern myth” of church-state separation. He peddles the wrong-headed thesis that our nation’s founders and early religious dissenters consciously avoided using the word “separation” and never intended to ensconce even the concept of separation in the First Amendment. Rather, he contends separation was popularized in the 19th and 20th centuries as an anti-Catholic polemic and as a tool of secularists to segregate religion from public life. Hamburger concludes that this view of separation has militated against the full flowering of religious liberty in this country.

Hamburger could not be more wrong.

While Roger Williams advocated for the “wall of separation between the garden of the church and the wilderness of the world,” during the 17th and 18th centuries, the words “separation of church and state” were not widely used or well known. It is also true that 18th-century Baptists, like Isaac Backus and John Leland, probably did not use the word “separation.” But they certainly supported the principle. Backus, for example, argued that church and state should “never be confounded together” and Leland opined that attempts by “the magistrate to foster Christianity has done it more harm than all the persecution ever did.” They both fervently opposed the use of taxes to support the advancement of religion.

Although there is no evidence that Thomas Jefferson or James Madison used the word “separation” in the 18th century, how could anyone read Jefferson’s “Bill Establishing Religious Freedom” in Virginia and Madison’s “Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments” without concluding that they unequivocally supported the concept? They both used the word explicitly in the early 19th century.

The fact that the separation of church and state has been supported by some who exhibited an anti-Catholic animus or a secularist bent does not impugn the validity of the principle. Champions of religious liberty have argued for the separation of church and state for reasons having nothing to do with anti-Catholicism or desire for a secular culture. Of course, separationists have opposed the Catholic Church when it has sought to tap into the public till to support its parochial schools or to argue for on-campus released time in

the public schools. But that principled debate on the issues does not support a charge of religious bigotry.

Hamburger’s gravest error comes when he creates a straw man of his caricatured view of church-state separation—one in which religion is segregated from public life. In his view, “separation” harms religious liberty, when a proper understanding of the concept suggests the opposite.

For some of us, religious liberty is bound up in the notion of “soul freedom” that all receive as a gift of God; for others, it is intimately tied to freedom of conscience. Church-state separation is only the political/constitutional *means* of protecting the *end* of religious liberty.

Moreover, the separation of church and state serves *both* religion clauses in the First Amendment. It operates not only to insist upon non-establishment, but also to ensure the free exercise of religion. In fact, the Supreme Court’s first use of the words “separation of church and state” came in a free exercise case in 1879. Properly understood, separation calls for “neutrality”—even, to use Chief Justice Warren Burger’s words, “benevolent neutrality”—toward religion, not in any sense hostility.

Finally, the separation of church and state does not require a “segregation” of religion from public life. In fact, even Leland and Backus, for all of their insistence upon the principle of separation, were thoroughly involved in public policy debates and attempts to influence legislation in their day. I know of few separationists today who would endorse Hamburger’s hard-edged characterization of separation as hostile to religion.

Separation has been good for both church and state. For each to do its work, there must always be a decent distance, between the two—some “swingin’ room,” to use Gardner Taylor’s phrase. The institutional and functional separation of church and state has resulted in a vibrant religion, a plush pluralism and a vital democracy. History teaches and contemporary geo-politics reveals that nations that abjure a healthy separation of church and state wind up with tepid, attenuated, majoritarian religion, at best, or a theocracy, at worst.

I, for one, will cast my lot with my Baptist forbears Williams, Leland and Backus, and founders like Jefferson and Madison, not with misguided historical revisionism. ■

Reprinted by Permission from *Report from the Capital*,

Militant Islam Reaches America

Daniel Pipes (W. W. Norton, New York, 2002), \$25.95

Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam

John Esposito (Oxford University Press, New York, 2002), \$25

Reviewed by Darold Morgan

President Emeritus of the Annuity Board, SBC

Here are two books on a subject that scarcely had entered the American mindset before September 11, 2001. But these books can now be categorized as “must reading.” A number of books have been rushed to publication since the terrorist acts against our nation, but these are among the best. The books are objective and balanced in their approach, informing the under-informed American citizen about Islam and its key issues. The authors discuss the emergence of a radical Islam, the rather insipid stance of the government about the problems of an resurgent Islamic presence here and around the world, the basic points of Islamic theology and history, the sticking points of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the defeat of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

Daniel Pipes is a well-known journalist who has written extensively, particularly from his years of reporting on the Middle East. He brings to the table a reporter’s eye, which often is precise and objective. John Esposito, on the other hand, is a professor at Georgetown University and is recognized far and wide as a major scholar in the field of Islamic studies. Islamic theology and history come to the forefront in his book, presented in a developing format that is readable, understandable, and creditable. These two books genuinely complement each other primarily because of the varying approaches the authors take to the same challenge—the surprising presence and danger of a radical Islam in America!

Both authors concur that this radical Islamist presence must be distinguished from Islam itself. One of Esposito’s most helpful contributions is found in his extensive presentation of how the ideology of Osama ben Laden, the founder of the al Qaeda terrorist movement, came to be. Reading this book one will learn much about Egypt, Iran and other sections in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia and the Wahhabi connection, Somalia, and the Taliban in Afghanistan. These graphic lessons of history are necessary as the pieces of this tragic puzzle come together. Pipes adds to this in his descriptions about the cultural clashes which come almost to the levels of a near Armegaddon-like conflict as one determines

the depth of feelings that radical Islam has against Western culture.

Ethical issues abound for the Christian as a result of reading these books. What is the proper attitude toward people who view you as a heretic or a blasphemer because you hold to the concept of the deity of Jesus Christ? How do you respond to those whose Islamic views preclude any consideration of separation of church and state? How do you react to Islamists who almost automatically lump you as secularist or hedonistic simply because you are an American citizen? What should be your approach to those whose announced goals in America is to turn this land into an Islamic state with its attendant “Sharia” religious law as the norm. In an age of religious pluralism how can a Christian even debate these controversial subjects without being accused of bias and prejudice? Do we continue to group all followers of Islam as potential enemies of American democracy? Are Islam and democracy compatible? Do we support unilaterally American policy toward Israel despite the almost unanimous feeling of the Arab/Muslim world against it? In this reading experience questions like these abound in every chapter.

To some degree these books shed some light to those whose concerns center in these ethical challenges. It is apparent that the more information one has about this entire spectrum, the better equipped all of us will be in dealing with this astonishing array of questions that will be around for a long time.

Daniel Pipes is understandably critical of the American government’s long standing policy of a benign neutralism regarding Islam. Bureaucrats of several administrations have a “less than adequate” grasp of Islamic theology, history, and aspirations, resulting in ineffective approaches to this intense problem. Ben Laden’s words are sadly prophetic: “This war is fundamentally religious. Under no circumstance should we forget this enmity between us and the infidels. For, the enmity is based on creed.”

This is not pleasant reading, but it absolutely is necessary that all Americans be informed about these issues. Terrorism mandates that the average citizen, here and in Europe, bone up on Islamic theology, history and aspirations! Even more important, it is time for the citizenry to join in a continuing revival of genuine patriotism, moral renewal, and ethical behavior. Pipes is right on target when he says, “We are not the flabby regenerates of the militant Islamic imagination” (p. 48). It is past time for a rediscovery of the massive strengths of the Western world—i.e. democracy and freedom, religious pluralism, separation of church and state, and the solid strength found in the lives of untold millions of folks who live decent and God-fearing lives.

Both books direct a powerful enjoinder to the great plurality of moderate Muslims. “Quit being cowed by the radical Islamists.” Stand up to these powerful forces with the truth of Islam. There is no excuse for terrorism in the name of Islam. With a renewal on the part of Westerners in moral and ethical values combined with an assertive renewed moderate Islam, there is hope for the future. ■

No Offense, But Apology Isn't Necessary

By Doug Marlette, Hillsborough, NC

Last week, I drew a cartoon showing a man in Middle Eastern garb driving a Ryder truck hauling a nuke with the caption, "What Would Mohammed Drive?" The drawing was a takeoff on the recent controversy among Christian evangelicals over the morality of driving gas-guzzling SUVs, "What would Jesus drive?"

To a cartoonist working in the current geo-political atmosphere it is a natural step to ask, "What would Mohammed drive?" And I'm sorry to report that the image in post-Sept. 11 America that leaps to mind is the Ryder truck given to us by the terrorist Timothy McVeigh, carrying a nuclear warhead and driven, alas, not by an Irish-Catholic, an ultra-orthodox Jew or a Southern Baptist, but, yes, by an Islamic militant.

Unfortunately, for many Americans these days, such a leap of the imagination is not a great stretch. Hence, the homeland security office. We have watched Islamic militants commit suicide by flying planes into our buildings, killing thousands of innocent civilians, including many Arab Americans.

In Afghanistan, we watched the Taliban murder noncompli-

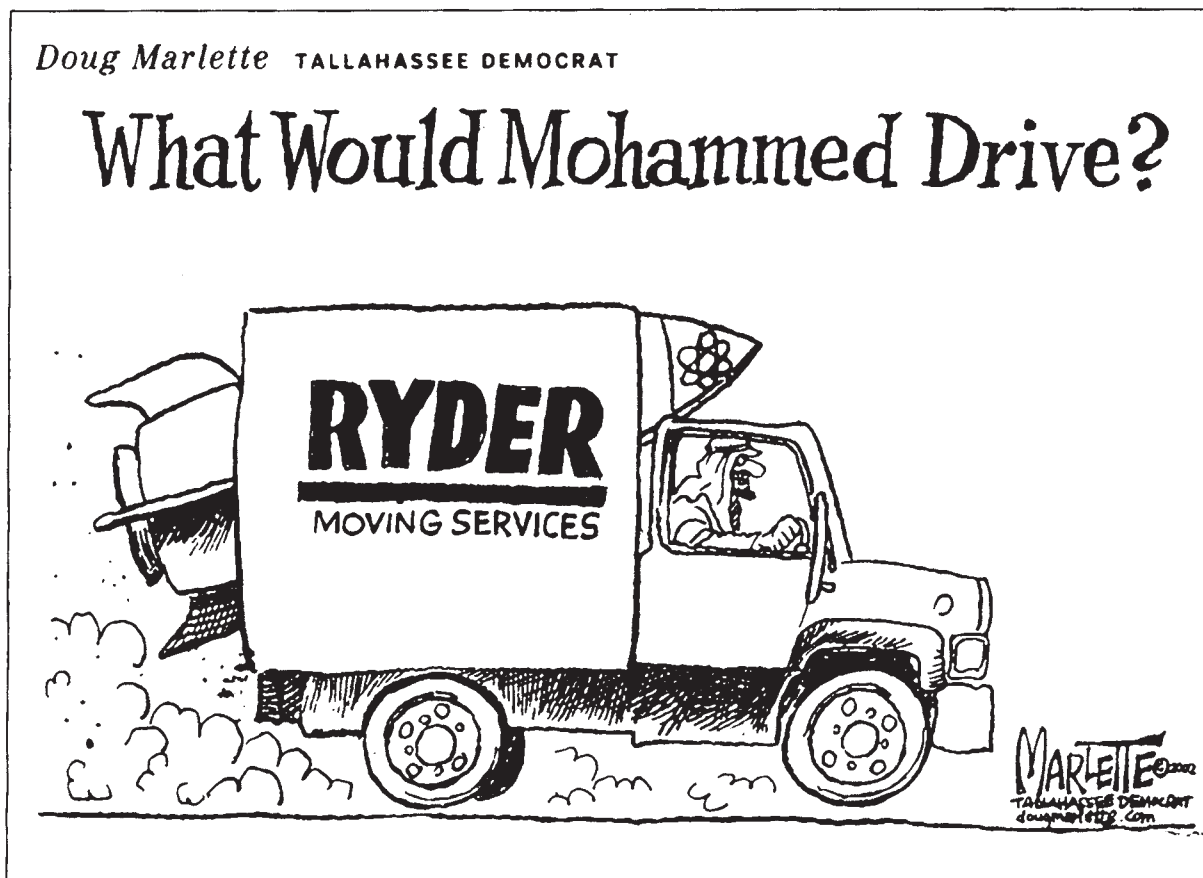
ant women and destroy great works of art. We watched an American reporter decapitated by Muslim "true believers." We watched young Palestinian suicide bombers murder innocents in cafes and markets and on buses, in the name of the Prophet Muhammad.

Such nihilists are considered by many Muslims to be martyrs worthy of admiration and emulation. Meanwhile, an Arab country led by a genocidal maniac intent upon developing weapons of mass destruction is bringing us into war.

How would you have drawn it?

My cartoon has prompted a firestorm of reaction orchestrated by a lobbying group called CAIR (Council on American-Islamic Relations). This is not the first time my cartoons have prompted such organized attacks.

Years ago when I went after the corrupt excesses of Tammy Faye and Jim Bakker's Praise The Lord Club, for example, I similarly outraged fundamentalist Christians with cartoons that, like this one, depicted the obvious correlations of real events to instinctive imagery.



That, by the way, defines the art of political cartooning. The objective is not to soothe and tend sensitive psyches, but to jab and poke in an attempt to get at deeper truths, popular or otherwise. The truth, like it or not, is that Muslim fundamentalists have committed devastating acts of terrorism against our country in the name of their prophet.

My only regret is that the thousands who e-mailed me complaining felt that my drawing was an assault upon their religion or its founder. It was not. It was an assault on the distortion of their religion by murderous fanatics and zealots.

In fact, I have received death threats and hate mail throughout the years for standing up for the rights of minorities in my drawings, including Muslims and Arab Americans. Just as Christianity and Judaism and probably Zoroastrianism are distorted by murderous fanatics and zealots, so, too, is the religion of Islam.

May I rest assured that the constituents of CAIR who e-mailed their outrage to me and my newspaper were just as vigorous in condemning those who dishonored their religion with the attack on the World Trade Center? Have they been equally diligent at protesting the widespread support—among intellectuals, “charities” and government officials—that the terrorists enjoy in the Muslim states of the Middle East? Were they part of the anti-Taliban movement in this country that long predated Sept. 11?

In my 30-year career I have regularly drawn cartoons that offend religious fundamentalists and true believers of every stripe, a fact that I tend to list in the “accomplishments” column of my resume. I have outraged fundamentalist Christians by skewering Jerry Falwell, Roman Catholics by needling the pope and Jews by criticizing Israel.

What I have learned from this experience is that those who rise up against the expression of ideas are strikingly similar.

No one is less tolerant than those demanding tolerance. A certain humorlessness, self-righteousness and literal-mindedness binds them. Despite differences of culture and creed, they all seem to share the egocentric notion that there is only one way of looking at things—their way—and that others have no right to see things differently. What I have learned from years of experience with this is one of the great lessons of all the world’s religions: We are all one in our humanness.

Here is my answer to them: In this country, we do not apologize for our opinions. Free speech is the linchpin of our republic. All other freedoms flow from it. I do not apologize for my drawing. Granted, there is nothing “fair” about cartoons. You cannot say “on the other hand” in them. They are harder to defend with logic. But this is why we have a First Amendment—so that we don’t feel the necessity to apologize for our ideas.

I welcome the thoughts of all those who made the effort to e-mail me. But what I would urge them to consider is that minorities should be especially vigilant about free speech and circumspect about urging apologies for opinions. Because history shows that when free speech goes, it is always the minorities who are the most vulnerable and suffer the most from its absence.

Just ask the Arabs currently being held in detention without being charged with a crime. That’s how it works in totalitarian regimes. This is not a totalitarian country, which, I presume, is one of the reasons those who wrote to me live here. ■

*“Whatsoever things are lovely . . . think on these things”
Philippians 4:8*

The Joy of Eating

By Foy Valentine, Founding Editor

A motley crew of Positive Thinkers have taken it upon themselves to write books aplenty and articles more than aplenty about The Joy of Cooking, The Joy of Sex, The Joy of This, The Joy of That, and The Joy of Nearly Everything Else Under the Sun, just barely short of The Joy of Having a Root Canal.

Over the recent holidays, Thanksgiving, Christmas, and New Year’s Day, however, the Joy of Eating has washed over my psyche time and again. Why not extol the virtues of this special joy ere the days come on, as the author of Ecclesiastes says, when “I shall have no pleasure in them” (12:1)?

Holiday feasts are really wonderful events. Why let the Blue Noses of this world play the grinch to steal the pleasure from this wonderful experience? I think, therefore, that I want to slip with you into a small season of reverie about the Joy of Eating.

Let me share with you some precious memories, memories that come readily to mind about marvelous meals that, pardon the expression, flesh out these thoughts about the joy of eating. I will limit myself to ten of them though I could as easily square the ten and present a hundred. But then you might accost me as a glutton. Just remember that our blessed Lord, for going to parties and feasts and eating out often with sinners and republicans, was dubbed by his detractors “a gluttonous man and a winebibber” (Mt 11:19). Please permit me to note that I myself have never ever bibbed wine.

1. My childhood home was not one of food deprivation. On the contrary, my Mother was a splendid cook and my Father was a willing and eager co-dependent in the enterprise. The boys in the family also fell to with a vengeance, leaving no biscuit unbuttered, no hot cornbread unlathered, and no heaping platter of fresh pork ribs unattended. Gastronomically challenged we were not. Of all my Mother’s masterpiece meals, this one stands out with special stars, asterisks, and trumpet flourishes: succulent roast pork with velvety brown gravy, corn fresh from the field, cut off the cob and then scraped and stewed a little, potatoes in a cream sauce that was to compose odes about, hot biscuits which were without any peradventure of a doubt the best in the county—no, make that country—and when baptized in that fabulous brown gravy inevitably called for more. There was always an offering of dessert, but my own favorite was nearly always two or three of those marvelous little biscuits buttered back and then consumed with ample helpings of

the homemade fig preserves for which my mother regularly took the blue ribbon at the Van Zandt County annual fair. (The judges would have deserved to be horse-whipped and banished from the county for life if they had denied my Mother those blue ribbons for those glorious fig preserves.)

2. Another homemade dinner comes to mind. This one is my wife's doing and is one of my all-time favorites: baked turkey—tender, moist, and hot—giblet gravy, cornbread dressing, not dry, with plenty of onions and lots of sage, fresh cranberry sauce, a sweet potato soufflé about which to become unabashedly lyrical, whole green beans wrapped in bacon and then broiled to crisp perfection, hot cornbread, and after that, hot, fresh coconut pie. Talk about the joy of eating?

3. To go a little farther afield, I invite you to consider Brennan's in New Orleans, although their Houston establishment is equally outstanding. Their fried oysters are simply the best on earth, with or without pearls. They will offer you a dab of potatoes and something akin to a salad, but the fried oysters are their *piece de resistance*. Then their Bananas Foster are required to leave a body in an ecstatic state of exquisite torpor as one arises with substantial effort and waddles out the door.

4. Still more distant geographically but quite near and dear to my heart, is the world-famous Peking Duck. When this incredibly tasty dish is served up with Chinese delicacies, there are few things better to eat in this whole wide world. As for the details of those side delicacies, suffice it to say

All things wise and wonderful,
All things great and small,
All things bright and beautiful,
The Chinese eat them all.

5. Once upon a time I was on a preaching mission pressing the cause of Christian Ethics over the length and breadth of the Hawaiian Islands (21 sermons in 21 days)

when a preacher friend and his wife took my wife and me to the windward side of the Island of Kauai, found a cozy little shelter under a high bluff, hollowed out by high tides and occasional tsunamis, made a fine charcoal fire in his hibachi, and cooked ample quantities of teriyaki steak which he had marinated overnight and then laid lovingly on the grill over those hot coals. I do not recall whether there were any accoutrements, but the memory of that teriyaki steak with plain bread will linger with me, through thick and thicker, to my dying day.

6. In the old days New York City offered nothing more delicious than dinner on a night out at Mama Leone's. More money can easily be spent at the Twenty One Club or dozens of other places, but the food was simply never as marvelous as it was at Mama Leone's: fresh shrimp cocktail, half a dozen oysters on the half shell, broiled fresh fish, stuffed deviled crab, steaming new potatoes, and then a generous rasher of spumoni befruited and benuttas as if there would be no tomorrow. The glitz and the bustle left something to be desired in the realm of the aesthetic; but the food was sheer, unalloyed joy.

7. One of the best eating places on earth was, is, and I hope ever shall be, the Stagecoach Inn at Salado, Texas. For more than fifty years I have contributed materially to keeping them in business. To begin with, you are served a cup of exquisite, scaldingly hot chicken broth and about a half bushel of very special hushpuppies, water cornbread delicacies rolled up in little bitty rolls about the size and length of your little finger and served crisp and brown and hot with real butter from genuine cows. Then comes tomato aspic garnished with a dash of mayonnaise and a generous sprinkling of capers. Then they bring a plate of freshly barbecued chicken slathered with homemade tomato-based sauce and accompanied by fried bananas and oven browned potato wedges. Cold iced tea and a slice of lemon chess pie to top it all off are enough to make a dog break a logging chain to get loose and get to it.



8. For many decades the best seafood feast in the world could be relished at the San Jacinto Inn hard by the Battleship Texas some thirty miles outside of Houston. Hungry landlubbers would be inundated from a set menu with fresh shrimp, fresh oysters, steamed crab, fresh fried fish, stuffed deviled crab, hot hushpuppies, hot biscuits, and tomato preserves. Wow. Joy.

9. For decades the world's best roast beef has been served up at the Monocle on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. If you are fortunate you may get the end piece with an ample supply of au jus. You can then take a small salad and a small baked potato and simply inhale the whole thing with a goodly portion of hot sour dough bread. Small wonder that famous men and women cross all lines of party and class to patronize this place. It's not the location. It's not the ambience. It's not the clientele. It's the roast beef.

10. For the nearly three decades that I lived in Nashville, the best eating place in town was the Satsuma Tea Room. This was a downtown establishment which served only lunch, five days a week. Presided over by Miss Arlene Ziegler who was the owner, manager, buyer, meal planner, and sometimes cook, the Satsuma had one special meal every year just before Christmas. The whole city oriented itself to this Happening from about 3 p.m. until the food ran out about 9 o'clock. The spread was fabulous: baked ham, roast turkey, boiled shrimp, spiced round, Swedish meat balls, fish, chicken, even a plump roast pig with an apple in its mouth, salads, aspics, delicious vegetables (cooked, not the raw ones that yuppies pretend to like), salads, deviled eggs, turkey hash, sweet potatoes, boiled custard, all kinds of great desserts, and bottomless cups of steaming hot coffee. One entered into this incredible experience without having eaten a bite of lunch and then exited some two hours later with no earthly intention of *ever* eating again.

Time and space have fled. As the author of Hebrews says, "Time would fail me to tell" of fried chicken and chicken gravy and hot biscuits served up at the world-famous Loveless Motel and Restaurant near Nashville, mouth-watering barbecued brisket all over Texas, Regas' world-class restaurant with unfailingly delicious meals in Knoxville, Mrs. Dickey's fried pies, Mrs. Wenske's glorious coconut cakes, Mobile's Original Oyster House, Hong Kong's fabulous Peninsula Hotel's storied Sunday buffets, the Kahala Hilton's coconut pies, Chuck's hamburgers, and Mrs. Margurette Price's chicken and dumplings.

Suffice it to say that of all human joys, not the least of these is The Joy of Eating. Bon appetit. ■

Newspaper Ethics and Theological Education

(continued from page 2)

Though faith-based legislation has been stymied by Senate Democrats, the director of the Office of Faith-Based Initiatives states "the President is certainly going to work administratively to achieve his goal" (*Christianity Today*, 11/18/02, 25). Last October 3 a "compassion capital" grant of \$24.8 million was awarded to 21 recipients, including \$500,000 to Pat Robertson's Operation Blessing International—an interesting grant since Robertson had criticized the possibility of money going to Wiccans, Moonies, and others he considered heretical religions.

Church-state issues such as prayer in public schools, school vouchers, the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance, and other questions will continue in 2003. Baptists who have traditionally been the "watchdogs of religious liberty" will need increasing vigilance, especially in light of new SBC leaders who want to use political power to support and enforce religious convictions.

Bioethics and Cloning. A cloning firm associated with a religious group that believes space aliens created human life recently claimed they have produced the first cloned human infant. Baptists ethicists of all varieties condemned the announcement. Ethicist David Gushee said the news means delays over illegalizing human cloning in the world's legislatures may have had disastrous consequences.

Meanwhile a host of other bioethical issues continue to be debated. Stem-cell research, contraception, abortion, euthanasia, genetic engineering, and reproductive technologies are major concerns. Thinking Christians soon realize these issues are not a simple decision between pro-life and pro-choice. At the same time, the basic issue in this complex area is our understanding of both human life and human responsibility.

Since this area deals with our basic understanding of humanity, many ethicists contend this is the battleground for Christian ethics in the twenty-first century. While recognizing the limitations of public discourse in bioethics, Alasdair MacIntyre noted "theological talk about medicine and morals may at least remind a pluralistic culture of the minimal character of the standards it presumes are universal, rational, and sufficient."

Capital Punishment. Last evening Gov. George Ryan of Illinois announced the pardoning of four death row inmates stating, "We have evidence from four men, who did not know each other, all getting beaten and tortured and convicted on the basis of the confessions they allegedly provide." In an hour-long speech, Ryan called Illinois' criminal justice system "inaccurate, unjust and unable to separate the innocent from the guilty, and at times, very racist."

Although most Americans and the majority of politicians favor capital punishment, that percentage is decreasing as new investigation (especially through DNA) has revealed many persons on death row who should not be there. False convictions are blamed on "rogue cops," zealous prosecutors,

incompetent defense lawyers and judges who rule on technicalities rather than on what is right.

Ironically, many pro-choice advocates are among the strongest opponents of capital punishment and war. Likewise, many Christians who are strongly pro-life and oppose abortion for any reason are also among the most vocal in support of capital punishment and war. Cardinal Bernardin was the first to coin the term “seamless-garment ethic,” noting the need for our ethical positions to be consistent. In other words, if one believes in the sanctity of life, that conviction must be applied to all life and death issues in the same way. Otherwise our ethical garment has a glaring seam dividing it.

Teaching Christian Ethics. Theological scholarship, as Ron Sider observes, is forever leaving ethics till last, and then leaving it out. Which brings me to my “present obsession.”

In light of these crucial and complex issues, how important it is to train our future church leaders, both laity and clergy, in the discipline of Christian ethics. I am saddened to report Baptists are failing in that task—both SBC fundamentalists and Baptist moderates are “Equal Opportunity Offenders.”

A few examples. How sad it was to learn that Southwestern Seminary, renowned for its Christian ethics department birthed and nurtured by the respected biblical scholar T. B. Maston, has suspended doctoral degree programs in this discipline “due to the retirement or resignation of faculty.”

As a former professor of Christian ethics at another SBC seminary from 1985 until 1999 (no replacement there either), I can venture the reason. A friend who was contacted about teaching at Southwestern was told, “We want to get away from the Maston tradition and get back to the Bible.” How ridiculous! Even Maston’s critics recognized he was biblical to a fault—if he or his students neglected anything, it was never the biblical basis for ethics. No wonder Southwestern has had difficulty.

Another SBC seminary president recently bragged that “Southeastern is the only institution on earth with three ethics.” Although I applauded his intent, I knew the statement was disingenuous (e.g., Notre Dame has 13 ethics teachers). According to the SEBTS catalogue, the two elected ethics

faculty at this seminary never attended any Southern Baptist school, and the third is presently working on a PhD at Southeastern after graduating from Jerry Falwell’s Liberty University. Sorry, I’m not impressed!

Now before you criticize SBC seminaries, take a look at our moderate institutions. I was on sabbatical in Richmond when the Baptist Seminary in that city began. I remember being told that “we will incorporate ethics into our theology classes.” I had heard that one before. And I keep hearing it from too many other moderate seminaries.

I love Truett Seminary at Baylor and thank God for its phenomenal growth. Yet it grieves me that after nine years of existence and six graduating classes, to date not one specific course in Christian ethics has been taught. I understand the financial limitations—I have heard the plans for the future. Yet I continue to witness the hiring of additional teachers in theology and other disciplines, even after hearing in 2000 with the rest of the seminary study committee that an ethics teacher was a first priority.

To their credit, Logsdon Seminary at Hardin-Simmons in Abilene does have the T. B. Maston Chair of Christian Ethics, occupied by Dr. Bill Tillman. This is commendable. Yet, I have been told this chair is required to teach undergraduate introductory courses in religion at the B.A. level. If so, this not only limits the Christian ethics emphasis, it also fails to follow graduate school guidelines.

My purpose behind all of these comments is positive—the hope that Christian ethics will not be neglected or overlooked in theological education.

In that regard, we have much work to do. We must recover the biblical vision given by Jesus when he was asked, “Which commandment in the law is the greatest?” After quoting the command in Deuteronomy 6:5 to love God supremely, Jesus added “A second is like it. You shall love your neighbor as yourself” (Mt 22:36-39).

Like the two beams of the cross on which Christ was crucified, our faith has both a vertical and a horizontal dimension. The two cannot be separated. Faith without works is a dead faith (Jms 2:14-17). The critical ethical issues of our day demand our best. To do less is to limit the power of God to change people and to change the world. ■ JET



Financial Report For 2002

From its inception in 1995, *Christian Ethics Today* has been offered to anyone free of charge. The voluntary contributions of readers and supportive institutions have allowed our readership to grow to over 3000 subscribers.

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CHRISTIAN ETHICS TODAY

A Journal of Christian Ethics

"We need now to recover the prophethood of all believers, matching our zeal for the priesthood of all believers with a passion for the prophethood of all believers."
—Foy Valentine, Founding Editor

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The Christian Ethics Today Foundation publishes *Christian Ethics Today* in order to provide laypersons, educators, and ministers with a resource for understanding and responding in a faithful Christian manner to moral and ethical issues that are of concern to contemporary Christians, to the church, and to society.

PURPOSES

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- Support Christian ecumenism by seeking contributors and readers from various denominations and churches
- Work from the deep, broad center of the Christian church
- Address readers at the personal and emotional as well as the intellectual level by including in the Journal narratives, poetry, and cartoons as well as essays
- Strengthen and support the cause of Christian ethics

Christian Ethics Today was born in the mind and heart of Foy Valentine, as an integral part of his dream for a Center for Christian Ethics. In his words, the purpose of the Journal was "to inform, inspire, and unify a lively company of individuals and organizations interested in working for personal morality and public righteousness."

When the Center was transferred to Baylor University in June 2000, with the calling of a permanent Director, the disbanding Board voted to continue the publication of *Christian Ethics Today*, appointing a new editor and a new Board. The Journal will continue to be published six times per year.

From the beginning *Christian Ethics Today* has been sent without charge to anyone requesting it, six times per year, "as money and energy permit." More than ever before, your financial support is "greatly needed, urgently solicited, and genuinely appreciated."

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Joe E. Trull, Editor
101 Mount View
Wimberley, TX 78676-5850

Phone: (512) 847-8721
Fax (512) 847-8171
email jtrull@wimberley-tx.com

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