

Religion & Democracy

Newsletter of the Institute on Religion and Democracy

January 1985

NCC Presidential Panel Reports:

Is It Reform or Redecoration?

The highly touted report of the National Council of Churches' Presidential Panel is now out. Although NCC leaders promised that it would be a blueprint for substantive restructure of the sprawling ecumenical agency, it provides little assurance of any major change. And even what small hope it does hold out may be jeopardized by budget battles and an intransigent New York church bureaucracy.

NCC structural and financial problems have provided an intriguing sub-plot in the larger drama that has played for two years over the Council's Left-leaning political agenda. In its December 1982 "Response to Reader's Digest Article," the NCC information office assured church members that

Representatives of the member denominations oversee and approve all the work of the NCCC. Therefore, channels for accountability already exist and have been successfully utilized.

These smug assurances were proved false when The United Methodist Reporter published a comprehensive analysis of NCC policy and structure in April 1983. The Reporter revealed that NCC programs are conducted by some 50 of what the Reporter called "self-selected" and "semi-autonomous" oversight committees. The NCC Governing Board can set general policy guidelines, but cannot mandate specific programmatic actions that the program offices must follow.

Ecumenical leaders responded to this embarrassing disclosure of organizational irresponsibility by claiming that all would be set right by a "Presidential Panel on Future Mission and Resources," which was first established in 1981 and, curiously, just happened to be taking up this very problem. Other needs the panel was also to address ranged from renewing an interest in ecumenicity to solving the NCC's severe financial woes.

Now the panel from which so much was expected (remember the phrase deus ex machina?) has made its recommendations. In fairness, its proposals -- all affirmed by the Governing Board this Fall, but none finally established by bylaws, constitution, or council procedures -- do contain some interesting items:

- * Every member communion -- including some smaller and more politically moderate churches -- will have a representative on the NCC Executive Committee.
- * The Governing Board will approve the budgets of all the program units.
- * All undesignated receipts will be put into an Ecumenical Program Fund, to be spent at the discretion of the Governing Board. Administrative overhead will be funded out of increased "taxes" on the budgets of the program units.

NCC, Cont'd on page 2



Photo by Beth Spring

New NCC General Secretary Arie Brouwer, of the Reformed Church in America, warns the Governing Board, "No longer secure in the ideals of freedom and justice, our nation has permitted itself to think that the world could be made free by force."

NCC, Cont'd from page 1

Will such changes as these really make a difference in NCC programs and policies? There is good reason to doubt it. The Governing Board will reflect a somewhat greater political and theological diversity than the program units. But the Governing Board members from the larger denominations will still be the same group of activists who are so wildly unrepresentative of their churches' membership. It is unlikely that a few additional figures from the smaller denominations will have the determination, the financial resources, and the political acumen to wrest control from the radical 475 Riverside Drive staff.

But it is the panel's proposal to pay NCC administrative costs from program units' budgets -- money which the denominations usually designate to particular projects -- which has provoked the greatest objections. The largest program unit, by far, is the NCC relief agency Church World Service, which accounts for over 70 percent of the NCC budget. One guess is that the proposal would double Church World Service administrative costs (now a commendably low eight percent). Some have suggested that this is nothing more than snitching money from the poor box to pay for the NCC's political addictions.

There is evidence, however, that some deno-

minational leaders think that the NCC may need more "overhaul and streamlining" than the panel proposes. According to Religious News Service (Nov. 28), the Episcopal Church's Executive Council has asked for a study of that denomination's membership in the NCC and WCC. "I believe, if proven necessary, it is better to start afresh," said Presiding Bishop John M. Allin, "rather than to struggle in a disjointed organization wherein participation is difficult and not accurately representative of the churches' membership."

Of course the NCC's problems are more substantive than can be solved by reshuffling the organizational charts. Other actions taken at the Fall Governing Board meeting are further cause to doubt that the NCC leadership is serious about change. The NCC is pressing on with its support of pro-Sandinista groups in Nicaragua and the U.S. In August, the NCC sent a six-man team to Nicaragua in response to IRD's campaign to halt such funding. The team report recognized "serious problems in present church-state relations in Nicaragua," but dismissed the concern over religious persecution as "a device being used to justify aggressive opposition to the present Nicaraguan government."

The controversial US-USSR church exchange

NCC, Cont'd on page 7

A Candid Look at Religion in the USSR

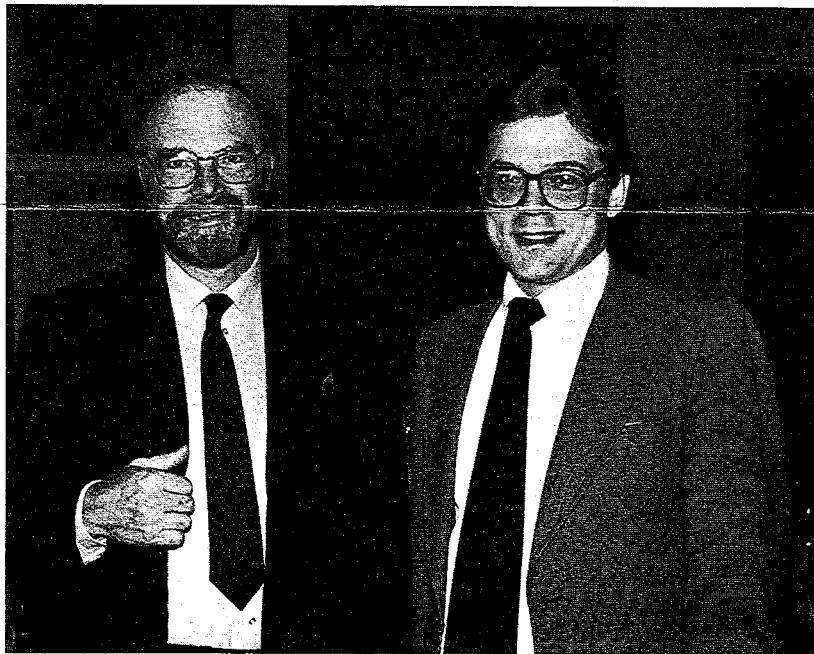


Photo by Rebecca L. Hammett

The NCC and WCC have "betrayed" Christians in the Soviet Union, according to two speakers at a December IRD luncheon. Michael Bourdeaux, left, an Anglican priest who was awarded the 1984 Templeton prize for his research on religion in the USSR, critiqued the WCC record on human rights advocacy for Eastern Europe. "Not a single document on repression in the Soviet Union was circulated" at the 1983 WCC Assembly, he said, "and nearly all the potential Soviet authors were under arrest." Joshua Muravchik, right, trained his sights on NCC-sponsored visits to the USSR and its praise of "peace work" by Soviet churches. "We have to remember that the position of the Soviet churches is one of having to engage in so-called peace work as the price for being allowed to exist," he said, "thereby becoming instruments of Soviet foreign policy."

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A Sojourner Returns

An Interview with Clark Pinnock

Since the late sixties, *Sojourners* — an advocacy magazine and a radical community of social concern — has had a powerful influence within the evangelical churches in America. Increasingly, many are wondering if the vision that *Sojourners* proclaims has become politically distorted. One such *Sojourners* dissident is Canadian theologian Clark Pinnock. Dr. Pinnock was involved with *Sojourners* from the time of its beginning in the Chicago area in 1970 until he withdrew from his position as a contributing editor to the magazine in 1983. Earlier this year, he published the story of what he calls "a pilgrimage in political theology." The following interview, conducted by IRD staff members at our Washington office, offers Dr. Pinnock's frank and forthright views on the *Sojourners* political agenda, the unique theological underpinnings of its radical social action, and his own "sojourn away from radical Christian politics."

Dr. Pinnock, would you start by telling us about the beginnings of *Sojourners* and how you became involved?

Jim Wallis, *Sojourners* founder and editor, was brought up in a Christian church, but he rebelled against Christianity because he thought it didn't address social issues. He became interested in the New Left at Michigan State University. Eventually he became an evangelical Christian and went to Trinity Evangelical Divinity School near Chicago to study theology. Working with others, including myself, it seemed possible to adopt an Anabaptist reading of the Bible which seemed to endorse the New Left. There was a very potent fusion of these two, providing for the New Left a "sacred canopy" of sorts.

I was a sympathetic faculty member at Trinity, the school where these younger people gathered. I was sympathetic to them and must have been influenced by the sixties too. I was able to support them, especially when the divinity school administration and the constituency began to get nervous about what they were doing. I wrote in the journal right from the beginning when it was called the Post American. But in 1983 I decided to drop the association, because *Sojourners* was too ideologically committed and rigidly one-sided.

So you would say that at the beginning Sojourners had an authentic Christian inspiration?

Definitely, yes. Even now it adopts the Biblical motifs such as concern for the poor, for peace and justice, for the kingdom of God and for the fair distribution of the world's resources. All these things on which the Bible touches lend themselves to a New Left analysis which offers a concrete method for applying the Word in a modern context.

You mentioned Anabaptist theology. Could you explain what this is?

It's the theology of the radical reformation. The regular Reformation was a more conservative reformation, wanting to reform the Church of Rome, but still accepting things like infant baptism and just war. They generally believed in operating in civil society constructively and positively.

The Anabaptists said that you cannot be a Christian without being personally converted and baptized when you are converted. Therefore you couldn't be a Christian simply by being a citizen of the state. Being a Christian puts you over against the powers of the world. The Anabaptist theology has a sharply drawn dualism of the light and dark in the moral realm. Counterculturalism is basic to Anabaptist thinking about the world. For many Protestants, involvement in counterculture radicalism is a working out of Anabaptism.

What changed about *Sojourners*, or was it you who changed?

I changed, not *Sojourners*. *Sojourners* has been quite consistent. The *Sojourners* young people were deeply alienated from American reality on issues like the Vietnam War, and the plastic character of modern life, and what they thought to be racism and sexism in America. These causes made them feel that America was a very evil place. They were alienated from their own backgrounds since they were generally educated people, like myself, born into middle class homes. They also believed that there could be a society in which all the evils they perceived are largely absent. They were sympathetic to revolutionary governments which proclaimed that they are making efforts to do away with these deficiencies in large measure.

You mentioned that Sojourners magazine was first called Post American. Why did they choose that name? Why the change?

Pinnock, Cont'd on page 4

Pinnock, Cont'd from page 3

Post American illustrated this profound disenchantment with America and a desire to get away from it to a more just and peaceful society. This paralleled the spirit of the New Left. Later they felt that their title did suggest politics more than theology. Sojourners was a nice Biblical name which would put the accent on the scriptural root rather than on the political one.

The concept of "sojourners in this world" evokes a kind of other-worldly spirit. Yet this movement has become so profoundly engaged in the political conflicts of our time. It seems to be a misnomer.

That's right. What you have with Sojourners is the use of Anabaptist countercultural theology, coupled with a reformed kind of social theology. This is a heady mix. You've got a theology that believes in transforming the world coupled with a theology which would make the necessary transformation utopian and even revolutionary. Reformed and Catholic theology, which taught that we should change society, never thought we should do impossible things but only possible things.

The Sojourners movement has injected into that reform social model the goal of an ideal society. Sojourners was attracted to societies which claimed all of these things and was inclined to believe those claims because they wanted them to be true. Nicaragua is the current example. They believe what they say because they hope it is true.

It does seem possible for a pietistic Christian, with complete authenticity, to reject participation in the military, or even in political life. But when Sojourners begins to justify the government of Nicaragua, it is not withdrawing from participation in the sins of this world. It is endorsing a government and a worldly social movement against another. How do they explain this?

You've pointed out just where Sojourners has broken with the historic Anabaptist or pacifist position. In the early days they were opposed to the Vietnam War on the grounds of pacifism. Any war would be unjust. But there was also a strong sense that this war was more wrong than most. They moved away from expressing an impartial distaste for violence in general; they came to believe there was a just cause and it was not ours. They were really hoping that the Vietcong were going to win, to beat the might of American imperialism. When Saigon fell there was great rejoicing. Normally a pacifist wouldn't rejoice in a victory as bloody as that one. This was a mutation of Anabaptism on a Reformed line.

The attitude among radical evangelicals towards Nicaragua is similar. They are one hundred percent in favor of the Nicaraguan revolution. The attacks on the Sandinistas are all lies, they say. Their view of Nicaragua has moved even farther Left than their view of Vietnam: they not only favor the revolutionaries, they want them to be successful.

The theory is Anabaptist, the practice is Calvinist. You see in the early Calvinism the idea was that you could overthrow an unjust ruler. Calvinism has this revolutionary strain, though it was always very cautiously used. When Marxist analysis is available, numerous unjust rulers are found. The ways to overthrow them are also well known, guerrilla movements and so on. Sojourners approves of these movements. While claiming to disapprove of violence, they clearly approve of certain of the results of violence. They seem to be "just war" people, who are pacifist when it comes to American intervention and their own activities, but not necessarily that of others. They are able to use this ambivalence to avoid responsibility and involvement, while applauding from the sidelines the dirty work of revolution.

Could you identify some of the similarities and differences between the evangelical Left and the mainline churches?

Sojourners has been given a voice in the Left-liberal mainline church bureaucracy because it articulates so eloquently, from an unexpected evangelical source, the Left view of the world. In spite of the stereotypes, these evangelicals came along and actually said exactly the same things, but with even greater fervor because they based them upon the Bible. (You might even speak of hermeneutical ventriloquism in the case of the evangelicals. If they are feminists, for example, then the Bible has to be feminist or they can't be. They have to believe the Bible really says it, even if it is necessary to make the Bible say it by way of ventriloquism.)

Anyway, the mainline churches saw that these young evangelicals were part of a growing, vital movement, while their own denominations were declining and shunned by youth. So they asked themselves, what if the mainline could get the evangelical charismatics to come over to their causes? Goodness, we could really get something done then! It was a shot of adrenalin for the mainline. Sojourners therefore was accepted among the Left in the mainline churches. My own belonging to Sojourners brought distinct advantages in terms of acceptance. The mainliners so admired such opinions from us, which were indeed their own.

The question is, whether Sojourners, espousing

these causes over time, can retain its Biblical base. There seem to be indications that it cannot. It does tend to favor those who endorse the correct political view even if they are not evangelical, or even protestant in theology. It doesn't enforce theological censorship, but there is a political line of orthodoxy. Its orthodoxy is based upon an analysis of the world rather than the Bible. (To be fair, this kind of thing crops up on the Right wing as well.)

Has Sojourners ever broken ranks with the mainline?

Sojourners did have an editorial last summer which decried the war in Afghanistan. They deplored the fact that the World Council of Churches had not done this adequately at its Assembly. I thought it was a fine example of what Sojourners needs to do and they should do more of this. Concerning Nicaragua, they should be fair and acknowledge those who are not enraptured by the direction of this revolution. That would be the test. Will they stand up for those churches of Nicaragua which appear to be under persecution and pressures from the ruling Sandinistas?

What have been some of the influences on Sojourners? Who has helped shape the group's views?

John Howard Yoder, who communicates the Anabaptist vision so effectively, could be considered a mentor. His chief concern is the peace movement.

Richard J. Barnet, of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), clearly is another mentor of theirs. He is one of the contributing editors. That

certainly illustrates the spectrum of opinions with which Sojourners aligns itself. Barnet writes often for them on defense and economic issues. But I don't know of any other official relationship with IPS; I think it's fraternal. But then, any such relationship is important given the views of the radical IPS.

Another influence has been Art Gish and his very interesting book called The New Left and Christian Radicalism. The first half of his book outlines the New Left's ideals; the second half explains what the Anabaptists said. His conclusion is that these are much the same thing.

This gets us into economic theory. Art Gish's book isn't so much anti-capitalist as it is monastic, or rural anarchist. These Protestant monastics are saying we should live more simply, a kind of rural communalism. Economic sharing is crucial, so they stress the passage in Acts, "they had everything in common." That's what we should do, it's argued, especially in the context of helping the poor. We should decapitalize and become Protestant monks. Of course, by itself, this is wonderful and inspiring. But historically speaking, those who have embraced monasticism have been those for whom this is their special vocation. They don't condemn everybody who doesn't.

But for Protestants, everyone is on the same level, and the result is: "Why isn't everyone a monk selling everything that he has?" You have some Protestants saying the Christian responsibility is for everyone to attain these incredibly high expectations. For radical evangelicals, involvement in public life is countercultural, and

Pinnock, Cont'd on page 6

Call for Democratic Change in South Africa

Meeting on December 10, the IRD board of directors adopted the following message to be sent to the Embassy of South Africa:

We protest the practice of arbitrary arrest and detention of persons in South Africa who engage in peaceful activities to organize democratic alternatives to the apartheid system, such as the 21 labor leaders recently jailed and later released.

As Christians aware of the link between democratic values and the Christian faith, and opposed to movements of Left and Right that threaten these values, we call on the South Africa Government to take immediate steps toward racial integration,

full political democracy and elementary economic justice.

This is the second IRD resolution opposing apartheid. "It is especially urgent to speak out on behalf of those working for peaceful, democratic change," said IRD chairman Edmund Robb. "They are squeezed between the Soviet-backed African National Congress and the repressive apartheid system of the South African Government. Christians need to boldly and vigorously oppose apartheid. There will be change in South Africa, but we want to support those forces leading to democratic evolution rather than totalitarian revolution. The independent black trade unions in South Africa are an important force for democratic change there." □

Pinnock, Cont'd from page 5

never culture-reclaiming. You don't build anything, you don't invest in this world. You wouldn't build buildings or libraries or anything. You give away. If you think that that's the Christian norm, well, that's an economic statement.

This economic view is radical, measured against any society in which people would provide for their families and build for the future and invest. It is particularly opposed to a successful, affluent, competitive society. The fact that this kind of society is productive of wealth is ironic, of course. Those in the evangelical Left believe in sharing the wealth, but they never seem to consider how the wealth gets produced in the first place. Their concern for the poor gets them into supporting regimes that have not, in fact, been able to help the poor. Yet these societies are held up as examples and their spokespersons are always quoted.

What we really need is another kind of evangelical political liberation theology which agrees with the ideals of concern for the poor, but is more sanguine about what in the real world actually helps poor people. I agree with the way that Peter Berger has been moving on this matter.

It seems your growing disagreement with Sojourners then was not principally over its theology or the validity of the group as a form of Christian witness, but rather over the implications of the views they were taking in political or ethical terms.

It was a bit of both. Certainly I began to question the alienating process. Sojourners agrees with William Stringfellow, who considers America the great whore of Babylon. That's the way they see the world. This same dark view of the world is espoused in the work of Jacques Ellul which has influenced Sojourners too. If they were consistent and more fair-minded about it, the Babylonish character of the Soviet Union would become plain, as, in fact, it is in Ellul. They do seem to recognize that "Babylonish states" differ as to the degree of their depravity. My disagreement is they seem to have gotten it wrong. In my view, America is less Babylonish. Yet they were decrying it more than world communism, whose Babylonish character is especially clear.

For example, we rejoiced in the fall of Saigon. But we never admitted that after the fall of Saigon, terrible, terrible things happened in Southeast Asia and Cambodia. One doesn't hear people who formerly rejoiced admitting that they might have been wrong; there has been no admission of any kind of complicity in this.

Solzhenytsin pointed out that the anti-war movement in that period was complicit with the terrible genocide that followed and should shoulder some of the blame for this. But they refused to.

I also wrestled with whether Sojourners' interpretation of the Bible was plausible. It was the old debate between Calvin and the Anabaptists about how to interpret the Bible and particularly how to view the Old Testament contribution measured against the New. How radically should Jesus be read?

It comes down to the Sermon on the Mount, which invites a radical interpretation from which pacifism can be derived. If one cannot resist evil under any circumstances, a Christian cannot be engaged in any governmentally sanctioned police agency. I cannot feel that such an interpretation is very likely.

Is your departure from Sojourners largely just an individual event, or is there some evidence that other people who were involved are also reappraising their politics?

I know a number who have changed their mind as I have. But there are always the new con-

Pinnock, Cont'd on page 7

Nicaragua Update

The IRD's campaign to halt church funding of pro-Sandinista groups in Nicaragua and the U.S. continues unabated. A petition with over 2,000 names was delivered to the National Council of Churches this Fall (see page 2). Signatures for the IRD petition drive are still being sought. Our newest publications on Nicaragua are:

The Barren Fig Tree: A Christian Re-appraisal of the Sandinista Revolution (\$3.00), by Sister Camilla Mullay and Father Robert Barry, carefully documents the record of Sandinista efforts to restrict and undermine Nicaragua's churches -- especially the Roman Catholic Church, a leading force in the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship.

Who Speaks for Nicaragua's Evangelicals? Briefing Paper No. 5 (\$1.50), an interview with Kate Rafferty, who has travelled extensively throughout Nicaragua for the California-based Open Doors. Rafferty reports on the views of the largest and most broadly based group of Nicaragua's evangelicals, the National Council of Evangelical Pastors. She refutes the idea that CEPAD, a relief organization supported by U.S. churches, represents Nicaragua's Protestants.

Pinnock, Cont'd from page 6

verts. The new wave of Sojourners influence is the increased circulation of the magazine in the Catholic churches. Jim Wallis has told me that about 50 percent of the Sojourners circulation (totaling some 60,000) is Catholic.

It would seem though that there is a new voice coming which is articulating an equally concerned Christian political theology, but which has a different vision of the world than Sojourners. We will probably find in the near future that the evangelical Left will encounter articulate alternatives to their ideas. We undoubtedly will have interaction and friction between the two. I would think that the power to appeal to people would lie more with the centrists than with the Left liberal axis. Ordinary people are much more likely to see the sense of what centrists are saying than what Jim Wallis is saying. One would wish Sojourners would present a more balanced position.

How would you describe yourself politically? When you went through this change, where did you come out?

On matters of government I have the conviction that the 20th Century is the century of the totalitarian state. Totalitarianism has done more damage than any other system. The Nazi and communist state usurps all the power to itself and squelches all opposition and diversity of opinion and power. This understanding of totalitarianism would remove any idealism in the naive Sojourners world view. I tend to be more liberal in the old sense of non-statist. Let me refer to the Paul Johnson's book Modern Times for a shocking reminder of this.

It's often thought in the politics of the U.S. that the evangelicals are a naturally conservative constituency. We have been arguing that this is by no means so, that there is in fact great diversity. Would you say that there is considerable potential amongst evangelical Christians for the kinds of things that Sojourners advocates?

In Christian colleges, Sojourners has to be one of the most popular magazines read. Essentially, it appeals to utopian high-mindedness. How could you disagree with what they want? Why couldn't the poor make more and the rich make less? Why racism? Why does America support nasty governments like Marcos abroad, and so on? It seems to me that the students do have those concerns; but the more neo-conservative opinion about these questions is increasingly convincing to them. We have a struggle of social visions now whereas before Sojourners stood as a kind of lone voice. They are not alone any longer.

We are seeing the rebirth of a liberal (or neo-conservative) cultural vision. Though viciously criticized from the Left, and often shallow in its thinking, this democratically-oriented social movement is the new liberation theology of our time. In the days to come a great debate, among evangelicals and in the church and society at large, will take place around the issues it raises. I am grateful to Sojourners for helping me to see the importance of Christians thinking about political issues, even if now, having thought about them, I have chosen to walk along a different road. □

NCC, Cont'd from page 2

program -- which is conducting "peace invasions" while relegating its supposed concern about religious repression to not-so-prophetic "quiet diplomacy" -- will remain a NCC priority until 1988, according to Presbyterian Bruce Rigdon, who chairs that program.

The major action which will affect the ongoing work of the NCC taken at the Governing Board meeting was the election of Arie Brouwer of the Reformed Church in America as General Secretary. Brouwer offered no suggestion that he would depart from the NCC's present agenda of political advocacy. When asked about The United Methodist Reporter's finding of a four-to-one imbalance in the Council's criticisms of human rights abuses of the Right and the Left, he argued that such a count was irrelevant, trotting out the old argument that the Council has a unique responsibility to criticize the U.S. and its allies. (Most church members, we suspect, think that their contributions are being used to strengthen Christianity world-wide -- not simply to expose the various failings of the United States government.)

Brouwer's defense of the NCC agenda is, in fact, a step backward from the tentative efforts toward reform made under the short tenure of James Armstrong as NCC President. Armstrong had pledged to work for balance, agreeing with Amnesty International's statement that in order to have a strong influence on human rights matters, an organization not only must be impartial, but it must be perceived to be impartial.

In sum, the NCC Governing Board offers just a little bit of hope for the future of the organization: it is moving toward answering the question "Who's in charge?" At least this may open the way for the more important debate about the substantive policies and programs these leaders are supposed to be in charge of. □

RESOURCES

● If you are looking for a readable, well-reasoned collection of essays on one of the most urgent aspects of public policy debate, try Nuclear Arms: Ethics, Strategy, Politics, edited by Presbyterian R. James Woolsey (Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1984). As the title suggests, the contents range from narrow strategic issues to broader ethical questions. Woolsey, who was Undersecretary of the Navy under President Carter, served in 1983 on the Scowcroft Commission and as delegate-at-large to the START talks.

● Woolsey's book contrasts sharply with the National Council of Churches' new mission study Visions of Peace, edited by Shirley J. Heckman (Friendship Press, 1984). Our first jolt came when we read as an example of "The Vision of the Gospel" that Karl Marx had a "dream of how working-class people could take some control over their own destinies....His dream became a reality with world-changing consequences." There are some surprises in the volume, especially Robert Culver's articulate defense of just war. More predictably, just war theory is also embraced by Nicaragua's Ernesto Cardenal, who exploits it to defend a Marxist revolution. This book will be promoted heavily for local church study groups. IRD's Peace and Freedom (\$6.00), a capably written volume by George Weigel, would be a helpful companion -- or substitute.

● This year's other NCC mission study, which focuses on Korea, is Fire Beneath the Frost, by Peggy Billings -- the controversial head of the United Methodist international mission agency (Friendship Press, 1984). The study analyzes the Korean church for its class consciousness and political relevance. Those in the dynamic Korean

church growth movement (which boasts the largest churches in the world) are blasted as "Christian-McCarthyists," a telling contrast to the sympathetic treatment extended to various non-Christian religions of Korea. Most of the book is a litany of U.S. failings in our relationship to Korea, although Billings concedes that "The Soviets do not seem to have had any clearer idea of how to govern Korea." The religious and political history of Korea is treated exhaustively, but there is one stunning omission -- the brutal denial of religious liberty in North Korea. We found only one mention of the latter, and that in a section attacking the South Korean Church for its acquiescence to authoritarian rule: "Those Christians who moved to the south because of the communist persecution and purge of Christians in the north willingly embraced (former South Korean strongman Syngman) Rhee and his authoritarian policy."

● Jubilee, a new quarterly Episcopal magazine, holds promise for those looking for responsible theological reflection on social and political questions. Especially noteworthy: "Making Distinctions about Making Peace" by Allan Parrent and "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity -- Old Ideals, New Revolutions" by James H. Billington. Write The Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Ave., New York, NY 10017.

● "The National Council of Churches and the U.S.S.R." by Joshua Muravchik (This World, Fall 1984) provides a comprehensive look at Soviet policy toward religion as well as a critique of the NCC's US-USSR church exchange programs. The 24-page article is coolly reasoned and the arguments, compelling. Order from the IRD, \$3 each.

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