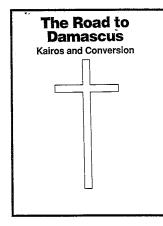
The Road to Crisis?

## Third World Liberationists **Launch Broad Attack on** "Right-Wing Christianity"



By Kenneth A. Myers Moral posturing has always been in greater

supply than moral profundity, but the former has never been as readily and eagerly confused for the latter as it is today. In this context, one may be forgiven for ignoring the weekly religion page of most major Where smaller papers carry newspapers. articles by local pastors or notices about upcoming youth group activities, the religion pages of the "organs of record" are usually cluttered with news of the latest "manifesto,"

"call," "proclamation," or "statement" addressing the crisis of the hour.

Some such documents are worthy of attention. Many alleged prophets cry, "Injustice, injustice," when there is no injustice, but this does not mean that all prophets are false, nor that all injustice is imagined. It simply means that press releases, like spirits, must be tested.

When The Washington Post and others alerted readers to the publication of a new document "signed by Third World Christians" called The Road to Damascus, no doubt many readers yawned and continued looking for more news about Jim Bakker. This is to be regretted. The Road to Damascus (subtitled Kairos and Conversion), if not as prophetic as its signatories and sponsors hope, is certainly a sign of the times.

They are not happy times. For Christians from El Salvador, Guatemala, Korea, Namibia, Nicaragua, the Philippines, and South Africa, the seven nations represented among the signatories to The Road to Damascus, they are times of suffering and struggle.

They are also very dark times for theological discourse. Damascus is a striking example of how confused and thoroughly politicized theology can be. What makes such unqualified adherence to a political movement especially depressing is the fact that those who stand to lose the most through the propagation of such malignant rhetoric are those oppressed (See Damascus, page 2)

## The IRD and Its Critics ...

November 1989

Over the last several months, the IRD has been the object of some harsh criticisms. Some are notable for their shrillness and unwillingness to engage in genuine dialogue (see, for example, Ken Myers' analysis of the attack by "Third World Christians," opposite). Other criticisms at least show some openness to confront real issues rather than hiding behind caricature and distortion. We note these criticisms to illustrate how the IRD defines its response within the public debate on the church's mission and witness.

- · The Christic Institute and its oldline church funders were the subject of analysis in a November 1988 issue of Religion & Democracy. Christic's Summer 1989 newsletter labeled the IRD "extremists of the Right" who prefer to intimidate Christic's funders and spread disinformation rather than debate political differences. They failed to note that many IRD members are Christic funders -unwillingly -- since their own denominations turn their giving into support for Christic. How worthy is Christic of In reward for its relentless. fanciful lawsuits against its political foes, the Christic Institute recently was sanctioned for the second time in court for frivolous or harassing litigation.
- More interesting was the response in Christianity & Crisis to the IRD's criticism of that magazine's wandering from Reinhold Niebuhr's founding vision. C&C's August 14 issue contained the claim that the IRD engaged in misrepresentation. The author's evidence, however, seemed to show that the IRD had

(See Critics, page 8)

(Damascus, from page 1)

and suffering people whose cause the document claims to champion. Reading *Damascus* should stir us to concern and prayer for Third World Christians whose self-appointed leadership is adding the insult of corrupted thinking to the injury of social injustice.

Exactly what does *Damascus* say? Large portions of it are similar in content to *The Kairos Document*, the manifesto originally issued in South Africa in 1985. In fact, *Damascus* was released at a July 19 press conference in Johannesburg attended by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, World Alliance of Reformed Churches President Allan Boesak, and Father Smangaliso Mkhatskwa, a Roman Catholic priest who serves as general secretary of the Institute for Contextual Theology in South Africa, which produced *The Kairos Document*.

Like its predecessor, Damascus argues that in revolutionary political situations, Christians cannot pretend to neutrality. They must side with the forces of change, since "neutrality is an indirect way of supporting the status quo" (§27). But Damascus, with its sheer boldness, is not as subtle nor as well-organized as The Kairos Document. The most widely quoted portion of Damascus closes: "We denounce all forms of right-wing Christianity as heretical" (§53). The only such Christians that are explicitly mentioned in the text are "theologians of the Institute of [sic] Religion and Democracy in the United States of America," who are singled out because of the "blasphemy" of "compar[ing] multinational corporations to the servant of Yahweh" (§80). This is characteristic of the way Damascus caricatures any political/economic understandings short of revolutionary class war.

Right-wing Christianity is described further in paragraph 64:

Right-wing Christianity under whatever name is a way of believing that rejects or ignores parts of God's revelation and selects or distorts other parts in order to support the ideology of the national security state. We are convinced that this heretical choice is made for selfish political purposes, although not all the adherents of right-wing Christianity are necessarily aware of this. Consequently right-wing Christianity is the conscious or unconscious legitimation of idolatry.

Right-wing Christianity "promotes authoritarianism and domination in the family and society" (¶67), it promotes blind obedience to the Bible (¶67), it encourages an "other-worldly interpretation of the Bible" (¶70), and it is "fanatically anti-communist" (¶71). All of these characteristics are described in *Damascus* under the sub-heading "Heresy." Unfortunately, as with other recent

statements from radical sources, "right-wing" means "non-left-wing."

Under "Apostasy," the document declares that right-wing Christians are involved in persecuting the Church by (among other things) "vicious attacks on liberation theology" (¶21). In fact, throughout the document, one of the gravest and most hurtful offenses of the right-wing Christians in view is that they refuse to accept the teaching of liberation theology. There is no effort to argue for the legitimacy of "liberation theology," which is unfortunately as vague a term as "right-wing."

The unquestionable validity of liberation theology is essential to *Damascus*, as its loose theological assumptions obviously are borrowed from the more radical work of various liberationists. Those who have detected shifts in some liberation theology away from ideologically inspired analysis will be disappointed by *Damascus*. In fact, what may be most striking about the document is its relative lack of theology at all. At least *The Kairos Document* reads like theology, even if it's often bad theology. *Damascus* reads more like an overheated monograph from a left-wing, secular think tank, with passages about the policies of the International Monetary Fund, strategic thinking about counter-insurgency and low intensity conflict, and the placement of nuclear bases.

Of course, the document's authors would argue that this is a virtue. Since political orthodoxy and theological orthodoxy are identical, all real Christians must not only display solidarity with the oppressed, they must also affirm the actions of certain self-appointed liberators of the oppressed, and cannot bring allegedly objective or transcendent theological criteria to bear in criticizing such political movements. *The Kairos Document* was marked by a similar partisanship. It argued: "The Church must avoid becoming a 'Third Force,' a force between the oppressor and the oppressed." As such, the Church must not "run counter to the struggles of those political organizations that truly represent the grievances and demands of the people."

"The people" play a big role in *Damascus*. The second sub-heading in the document is "People Against Colonialism," and the first sentence in that section reads: "The history of our people is not only a history of oppression and suffering; it is also a history of struggle." What "the people" is in view here? There are seven nationalities represented by the signatories, from all races and dozens of ethnic groups. It is certainly not the people of God in the Church, since a political entity is in view. As one reads on, one learns that "the people" is instead a "movement" of "popular resistance" to imperialism. They are

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not the masses, not even a majority of the population in any given place. Rather they are the 'enlightened' and the politically conscious:

This movement of organized and conscious people marks the coming of age of a new historical subject. As we exchange our stories not only within our countries but among different countries, we also learn the many names we give to this new creation -- the people, *el pueblo*, *minjung*, *and sambayanan*.

These "the people" are not the people who brought people power to the Philippines and ushered Cory Aquino to office. Aquino, after all, was a third way. So is this "the people" the New People's Army (NPA), or, in El Salvador, the FMLN?

From a document that seems to be so confessional, the "we" is a bit surprising. Don't genuine confessional

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documents usually speak for the Church? By not claiming to speak for the Church, the authors may be removing themselves another step from theological criticism. It should be noted that *The Kairos Document* also insulated itself rather neatly from criticism. Consider this passage from the introduction to the second edition of *Kairos*:

Most of the critics simply took the document out of its context and analyzed it in the realm of abstraction.... To appreciate the Kairos Document one needs to understand and internalize the concerns of those who produced it. Those Christians who live in the townships and are experiencing the civil war that is tearing their lives apart understand immediately what the Kairos theologians are attempting to say; whilst those who do not have this experience find it difficult to understand the document.

It is surprising that theologians who care so much for contextualizing theology should condemn others for reading theology in *their own* context. If the document had been intended for any audience outside the townships, then perhaps it should have been "contextualized" for that audience. Such a rendering would have been impossible. This is "you-had-to-be-there" theology. It is not only explicitly partisan; it is existentially personalized to the point that debate and discussion are completely cut off.

This seems to suggest that you cannot understand what the document means *unless* you agree with it. If you disagree with it, you obviously don't understand it, and, as the subtitle to *Damascus* suggests, you are in need of conversion. Gone from theological thinking is the hope for some Gospel-derived point of reference that transcends political dispute. As Richard John Neuhaus has warned,

"Any revolution that requires a compromise of theological truth, or sets itself up as the norm of theological truth, is a bad revolution. It is bad for truth, theological or otherwise, and it is almost certainly bad in its consequences for the people in whose name it is advanced."

While the partisanship of *Damascus* (like that of *Kairos*) is exceedingly troubling, what may be more important is the theological method both documents employ. One must ask whether even *disagreement* is possible when it is assumed by one side that those who have not made the same political choices are not only heretical and apostate, but incapable of understanding.

Arguing that involvement in the narrative of "the people" is the necessary prerequisite to understanding the meaning of the Gospel is exceedingly dangerous. The extent of that danger already has been played out on the stage of modern history, and its consequences are universally agreed to be horrific. In the mid-1930's, another "the people" was telling its story, and rejecting those who analyze and criticize abstractly and from another context:

How the German *Volk* regulate its own cultural affairs does not concern anyone else in the world.... "Justice" is not an abstraction but something which grows out of the blood and soil and history of a *Volk*.

Commenting on this assertion by German theologian Gerhard Kittel, Conor Cruise O'Brien has noted:

The Volk was the carrier of God's will in history, according to these theologians, and therefore a legitimate object of worship. Once you had brought yourself to believe that it was only a short step to believing that Adolf Hitler, the savior of the Volk, was the carrier of God's will in history and a legitimate object of worship.

It is a frightening prospect that the term "Third World Christians" may be like the term "German Christians" in ways that go beyond linguistic structure. They too were suspicious of conventional distinctions between sacred and secular. They too believed that Christian faithfulness required taking sides. As Neuhaus said, they thus gave "a moral and theological carte blanche to the Nazi regime."

The headline for the article on Damascus carried by the Washington Post was "Right-wing Christianity Denounced" That is not really news; it happens every day. The reporter missed the real story. The story and the shame of Damascus is not that one side was denounced and another extolled, but that the Gospel was presented as necessarily captive to any political or historical force. The Road to Damascus is being promoted by such groups as the Center of Concern and Sojourners in the U.S., and the Catholic Institute for International Relations and Christian Aid (an arm of the British Council of Churches) in Great Britain. If Damascus really reflects their thinking, we are indeed in a moment of crisis.

Kenneth A. Myers is Executive Director of the Villars Committee on Relief and Development and the editor of Public Eye and Genesis. Crossway Books just released his new book, All God's Children and Blue Suede Shoes. One Year After the Millennium:

# IRD Conference Examines Religion in the U.S.S.R.

One year after all the attention given to the millennial celebration of Christianity in what now is the Soviet Union, the IRD, the Ethics and Public Policy Center, the National Association of Evangelicals and the James Madison Foundation felt it was time to evaluate the present state of religion in the U.S.S.R.

Consensus at the Washington, D.C. conference on September 26 was that, indeed, long-repressed religious practices are being allowed. But these freedoms are not evenly shared by all, and since they have not been formalized into law (and in most cases remain illegal), they easily can be taken away.

Many, such as IRD Executive Director Kent Hill and the Rev. Leonid Kishkovsky, President-Elect of the National Council of Churches, shared keen and sometimes moving observations from recent trips to the Soviet Union. Also, recent emigre Vladimir Rusak and long-persecuted Soviet dissident Alexander Ogorodnikov shared wisdom gained through suffering for reform. Of particular significance was Ogorodnikov's description of his work in founding a Christian Democratic Party in the Soviet Union to challenge the Communist Party.

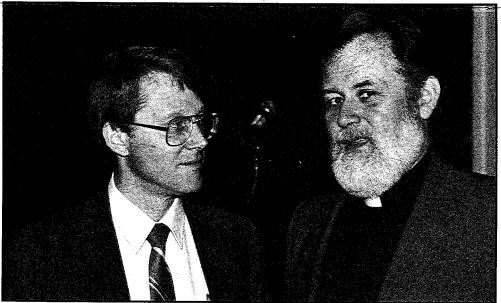
Kishkovsky said the slow process of legal reform for religious groups would not be bad if it opened up room for public discussion. He lamented that this is not happening. He further warned that if legal changes do occur, believers still should be careful. "Unless there are democratic, free structures of society, the laws might also be totally inadequate.... [T]here may be on

paper provisions for religious freedom, but those provisions may not ... exist in reality ...."

Hill noted the pessimism among Soviet citizens concerning the condition of the economy. Its continued unraveling, he said, combined with nationalistic pressures, could give the upper hand to anti-reformists or shackle Mikhail Gorbachev in ways that would stop progress toward religious freedoms.

Upper right: Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Richard Schifter. Lower right: IRD Executive Director Kent Hill (left) with the Rev. Leonid Kishkovsky, President-Elect of the National Council of Churches.





Alexander Ogorodnikov, founder of the Christian Democratic Party in the Soviet Union and publisher of the Bulletin of Christian Opinion and the Messenger of Christian Democracy:

"I was pleased to see glasnost and perestroika because I was released from prison during this period by Gorbachev. But I do not think it was the merit of Gorbachev, but the merit of you. It was the merit of world Christian opinion for combining all its energy for my release. Gorbachev knows very well that he cannot receive any help from Western countries without the victory of human rights in the Soviet Union."\*

\* From a speech given at the IRD's Episcopal Committee on Religion and Freedom board meeting prior to the September 26 conference.





otos by Lonni Jacks

**Dr. Mark Elliott,** Director of the Institute for the Study of Christianity and Marxism at Wheaton College:

"The present possibility for Bible distribution in the U.S.S.R. is a combination of glasnost (relative openness); an unusually high level of interest in reading the Scriptures among Orthodox, Catholics and nonbelievers, as well as Evangelicals; and the West's economic capacity and will to meet the demand. Ironically, the Western will presently appears to be the weakest link in this historic convergence of opportunities."

## Soviet Believers: All Dressed Up and Nowhere to Go?

The biggest obstacle for persecuted Soviet citizens hoping to emigrate used to be gaining their government's permission. But now that the reins have loosened on the Soviet side, the number likely to receive exit permits exceeds what the United States is equipped or willing to handle.

Of the 125,000 refugees the U.S. expects to admit in fiscal year 1990, well over one-third of them will be from the Soviet Union (the ceiling for Soviet refugees was raised for 1990 from 43,500 to 50,000; but according to current U.S. budget plans, 10,000 of these remain unfunded). But many more now are able to leave, and sudden administrative changes aimed at managing the flow have thrown up serious roadblocks for persecuted Soviet believers who were banking on what many consider to be an implicit commitment by the U.S. to receive them.

Previously, those pursuing refugee status could take a foreign letter of invitation to a regional emigration office and request an exit permit. If it was granted, they would go to the Dutch embassy, which represents Israel, and obtain an Israeli visa (Soviet officials dislike granting exit visas to the U.S., and besides, passing through Israel has been the quickest route). Many Christians and Jews would then use the Israeli visa to travel as far as Vienna or Rome, where they would register for resettlement in the U.S. Before mid-1988, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) presumed that that Evangelicals, Jews, and other religious minorities experienced or feared persecution, thus virtually guaranteeing them refugee status.

Now, however, the Soviets are letting out many more All applicants are being required to submit evidence to INS personnel that they have been persecuted, or convince them of a well-founded fear of persecution. This procedure conforms more closely to the 1980 Refugee Act, but further overloads the recently overhauled, but understaffed U.S. processing system, which since October 1 handles new cases only in Moscow. The resulting procedural changes were made with only three weeks notice; by comparison, according to Serge Duss of World Relief, illegal immigrants in the U.S. were give 18 months to file for legal status under the 1986 immigration reform act.

The result is that many may be refused refugee status simply because of the numbers problem, and others who have-been trying to emigrate have been forced, suddenly, to reapply in Moscow (or directly to Washington, D.C.). where a backlog of 65,000 other emigre cases already exists. Moreover, according to Duss, it is unclear, beyond cases of family reunification, what criteria will be used in choosing those to be interviewed. Figuring out how to contact would-be emigres is also unresolved. For refugees without family in the U.S., it is especially uncertain whether the Soviets will allow emigration here directly.

Though some of the conditions for religious practice



Soviet refugees arriving at Termini Station in Rome

have improved in the Soviet Union, many experts point out that the changes are only partial and not yet grounded legally. "It leaves me with a reoccurring nightmare of the Iron Curtain slipping back in place, and this time Soviet Jews are waiting to get out, not in Italy, not in Vienna, but they are waiting in the Soviet Union," said Philip Saperia of the Hebrew Aid and Immigration Society, speaking at a conference on religion in the U.S.S.R. co-sponsored by the IRD (see page 4). According to Duss, making Christians and Jews wait inside the Soviet Union "defeats the whole concept of what a refugee is, that is, someone who flees his or her country for reasons of persecution."

In cases involving Evangelicals denied refugee status. 85 percent have been overturned on review. Though this percentage is not as high for Jews, the generosity in the review process recently promised by Attorney General Richard Thornburgh led Duss to speculate that the remaining 150 Christians and 500 Jews in Rome would be allowed to emigrate to the U.S. Recent reports from other refugees, however, point to another problem resulting from the processing changes: homelessness in Moscow. Some 4,000 Jews and Christians with exit permits who sold everything to leave the Soviet Union, but were unaware of the October 1 cutoff date for Rome or Vienna processing, are hovering around the U.S. embassy.

With the world awash in refugees, added burdens fall upon Western democracies. It is critical that we continue to open our arms to those who qualify as refugees. To create administratively an unnecessary and demoralizing obstacle course for those in need is to undermine one of the finest aspects of the American foreign policy legacy.

Please write the President and your House and Senate representatives expressing your concern that the U.S. expedite the emigration of those who qualify as refugees. Today's liberalized Soviet emigration policy may not last.

-- Fredrick Jones

## Operation Hunger Leaders Discuss Empowerment of Blacks in South Africa

On October 27, Ina Perlman, Executive Director of Operation Hunger (OH) in South Africa visited the IRD offices here in Washington, D.C. Perlman is an extremely compassionate woman whose enthusiasm and energy have been the driving force behind the success of OH, the largest relief and development organization in South Africa. Because of her efforts on behalf of the poor, Perlman has been described as "South Africa's Mother Teresa." Topically, her comments to the IRD staff ranged from the current situation in South Africa to OH and its strategies for future development work among the poor.

Operation Hunger is a project that the IRD has promoted since the inception of its Building a New South Africa (BANSA) program. OH's achievements in feeding the poor and promoting economic development are a sign of hope and encouragement.

Operation Hunger began in 1980 in response to the need for coordinated action among voluntary organizations to address rural hunger and poverty. Now its vision includes growing urban needs. OH's basic objectives are twofold: first, hunger relief and malnutrition prevention; and two, establishing self-help development projects.

Currently, Operation Hunger feeds well over 1,000,000 people each day, and has a sizable waiting list. The number of people who live below the poverty line and require assistance has increased as unemployment continues to grow in South Africa. Perlman's deep involvment in these problems uniquely positions her to speak critically on the U.S. sanctions and disinvestment campaign, which she considers irresponsible because it has worsened unemployment and poverty.

Self-help projects are perhaps the most exciting component of Operation Hunger's work. "Right from the start," Perlman said, "we knew that

our food-aid program was only a response to a crisis and that our real objective must be self-help and development. It is a wonderful feeling when we hear, as we often do, that the groups we work with are able to reject seasonal labor on the farms at 40 rand a month (about \$20), because they can achieve double that, and more, by working on their own. This, to me, is what development is all about -- creating alternatives for people, and giving them options so they can be truly independent."

Operation Hunger does not set up projects in its own name, but instead works through established, community-based organizations. This provides maximum credibility and accountability locally.

Regarding the future, Perlman said that "in the capital-intensive, siege economy that is being established to beat sanctions and embargoes, (poverty) can only get worse."

The IRD strongly encourages church groups to support Operation Hunger. It is a practical way to become responsibly involved in promoting positive change in South Africa. The IRD's BANSA program does not solicit contributions itself, but encourages churches and individ-



Photo by Lonni Jackson

Dina Mabudafhasi of Operation Hunger (left) shows IRD Office Manager Kendrick Smith crafts made for export.

uals to make contributions directly to the organization. Tax deductible contributions can be sent to:

Operation Hunger
11 Circle Road
Scarsdale, NY 10583
Please indicate that your contribution is in response to an IRD appeal.
-- Lonni Jackson

## PDRF Holds Liberation Theology Debate, Honors Cuban-American Pastor

"Does liberation theology have a future?" This question was posed at a recent dialogue sponsored by Presbyterians for Democracy and Religious Freedom, a Nashville-based caucus for reform in the Presbyterian Church (USA). The October 13 event took place in Washington, where Presbyterians gathered from around the nation for PDRF's third annual Faith and Freedom Award Dinner.

Father Joseph Rozansky, a doctoral candidate in economics at the American University and former missionary in Brazil, made the case for liberation theology. Dr. Kent Hill, Executive Director of the IRD, presented a critical appraisal.

Father Rozansky rejected the idea that liberation theology is in any sense dependent upon Marxist ideology. Hill acknowledged the importance of a theology that genuinely liberates both spiritually and temporally. He went on to say, however, that insofar as liberation theologians have been "enamored of socialist -- or more specifically, Marxist -- ideas," they have "not been faithful to the poor."

Regarding the goal of helping the poor, Ervin Duggan, PDRF Chairman and a formal respondent at the symposium, asked Fr. Rozansky to take some of the economic good sense of the industrialized democracies back to the Third World. Both Rozansky and Father Joseph Nangle, who heads the peace and justice division of the Catholic men's orders in America, countered with the charge that capitalism has been an oppressive force in the Third World.

(see Liberation, page 8)

(Liberation, from page 7)

Duggan said that most Third World political economies are feudal, with "intrusive government policies and widespread corruption -- more redolent of mercantilism than capitalism." The debate was held in the context of historic changes in Eastern Europe and Marxism's increasingly obvious failures relative to market systems.

Personal testimony regarding human rights conditions added to the case against Marxist-Leninist political economy. The Honorable Armando Valladares, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and keynote speaker at PDRF's Faith and Freedom Award Dinner after the debate, spoke of his love, by God's grace, for those who tortured him for 22 years in Castro's prisons. At the same time, however, he deplored visits to Cuba by church leaders who praise Castro's regime.

While being held in solitary confinement, Valladares and his Christian friends were given newspaper accounts of such visits. "It was another form of torture used by the regime upon us. We Christians who opposed Communism waited, year after year, to become embraced by our Christian brothers and sisters. But in the end, those who were embraced were our jailers, our torturers." Valladares was the recipient of the IRD's 1986 Religious Freedom Award.

PDRF's 1989 Faith and Freedom Award was given to the Rev. Martin N. Anorga, also a Cuban exile. Since leaving Cuba in 1963, Mr. Anorga has served as pastor of the 950-member First Spanish Presbyterian Church of Miame. He also has become widely known as a radio broadcaster and newspaper columnist speaking on behalf of greater political and religious liberty in his homeland. PDRF's Faith and Freedom Award affected him deeply, he said, because "it is the first time that I have been honored by Presbyterians who did not speak Spanish."

By the Rev. Dr. Paul Scotchmer, Executive Director of Presbyterians for Democracy and Religious Freedom.

(Critics, from page 1)

characterized the magazine correctly; its writers simply disagreed with the IRD about evidence showing the failure and injustice of Marxist-Leninist states.

• When an Episcopal priest wrote recently in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* about the decline in oldline church membership, he cited IRD Executive Director Kent Hill, whose quote in the May 22 *Time* magazine said that some churches have a "political agenda masked with a veneer of spirituality." Two letters to the editor subsequently questioned the articles account of oldline decline, and the author's use of IRD as a source. One described the IRD as trying to "undermine lay, confidence" by attacking church processes and leadership on the basis of "innuendo" and "partial information". Ironically, both falsely labeled the IRD as a lobbying group working most recently on behalf of the contras in Nicaragua.

How does the IRD respond to such allegations? Kent Hill's letter to C&C was printed October 9. Here are excerpts:

From our founding in 1981, as the primacy given 'religion' in our name suggests, our highest goal has been the renewal of the church as the church — the body of Christ, not another political action committee. Even so, the IRD does not presume to speak as the church, but rather as a group of concerned Christians. We have also ... insisted on the distinction between our political judgments and our confessions of faith. We reject as blasphemous any equation of the Reagan policies or the Sandinista policies — or any others — with the Kingdom of God ....

Yes, the IRD does make political judgments .... We do assess liberal democracies as offering the most favorable conditions for the church to carry out its mission in this world. We do urge Christians to promote democratic values, and we do criticize those who would use the church to bolster anti-democratic movements.



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