# RELGON& The Institute on Religion & Democracy

October 1990

### Church Leaders Slow, Cautious on Gulf Crisis

Emphasize Diplomatic Solution

By Diane L. Knippers

rom the breaching of the Berlin Wall last fall to the demise of Romania's Ceausescu, from the Chamorro victory in Nicaragua to the reunification of Germany, this has been a year of much good news on the international scene.

Then came the jolt of August 2. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, along with the build-up of military forces in the region and new economic uncertainties around the globe, provided a sudden shock to those tempted to imagine increasingly rosy scenarios for world history.

U.S. religious leaders have been uncharacteristically slow and cautious in responding to the crisis in the Persian Gulf. (In 1983, it took a group of oldline Protestants just one day to denounce the U.S. intervention in Grenada.) Nevertheless, by mid-

September, Roman Catholic leaders and several major Protestant groups had spoken.

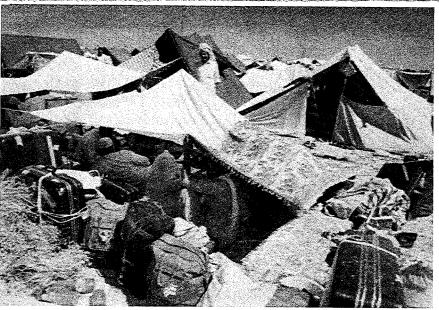
Two major themes play through most of the church statements: anti-militarization and multilateralism. Some touch upon sub-themes such as relating the current crisis to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and questioning the morality of blockading food. Several statements commendably urge church members to resist stereotyping Muslims and Arabs.

#### Not by might, nor by power...

The church condemnation of the violent Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is virtually unanimous. Most statements then urge non-violent responses to that invasion. The United Methodist bishops called for diplomatic strategy "rather than military action." John O. Humbert, president of the Disciples of Christ, and Paul H. Sherry, president of the United Church of Christ, went a step further: "We are concerned that the continuing build-up of an already massive military presence in the Middle East will hamper these [diplomatic] efforts and exacerbate tensions." A unit of the Presbyterian Church, (U.S.A.), likewise cites "increased militarization" as a concern, with references to "a massive build-up of U.S. forces."

#### Asian refugees

sit in tents in the No Man's Land between Iraq and Jordan in early September. For many non-Kuwaitis who fled after the invasion, the road home is slow, if not blocked. Photo: Philippe Wojezer / Reuter



The American
Friends Service
Committee "sees
disaster lying down this
road of U.S. and
Western military
intervention, even with
the cover of a U.N.
resolution."

No church statement we have seen endorses the calls of some policy analysts for preemptive U.S. military action to oust Saddam Hussein or to destroy his army's

 $\rightarrow$  See Gulf, page 2

#### Gulf, from page 1

capacity for aggression. An official of the U.S. Catholic Conference did venture to say that the U.S. military build-up so far did not involve "any egregious departures" from just war theory.

Among the Catholic left, however, are the most radical critics of U.S. action. Pax Christi "questions the morality of (U.S. military) involvement" in the Gulf and has called for the "immediate withdrawal (of) all foreign combat forces from the Gulf."

... but by the U.N., say the churches

Placing great emphasis on the United Nations, most church statements approve the multi-national aspect of the Bush Administration's response to the Gulf crisis. The Presbyterian statement presses for a "settlement of the crisis through U.N.-sponsored multilateral negotiations." Humbert and Sherry said, "As a general principle, multilateral action, under the auspices of the United Nations, offers the best possibility for a peaceful and just resolution of the crisis." Edmond L. Browning, the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, called upon President Bush "to remain within the mandate of the United Nations as that body seeks to resolve the crisis."

These statements are compatible with the oldline churches' record of enthusiastic reliance on the United Nations. A current policy statement of the United Methodist Church, for example, denounces *any* intervention (military, economic, political, cultural) by one nation "into the affairs of another country with the purpose of changing its policies or its culture." The only exceptions are allowed in support of U.N. actions.

The Executive Coordinating Committee of the National Council of Churches approved a statement in mid-September opposing "any long-term commitment of U.S. military forces in the Middle East outside the framework of a U.N. peacekeeping effort." The statement further urges "all governments to comply

#### Relief Assistance to the Gulf

Several church relief agencies are accepting donations to assist refugees displaced by the conflict in the Persian Gulf. Contributions may be sent to:

- · Catholic Relief Service, 209 West Fayette Street, Baltimore, MD 21201
- · Church World Service, Box 968, Elkhart, IN 46515
- · Lutheran World Relief, 390 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10016
- · World Relief, Box WRC, Wheaton, IL 60187

with all resolutions of the U.N. Security Council dealing with the situation in the Middle East." When asked how far back the reference to "all resolutions" was intended to go, Dr. Belle Miller McMaster, chairperson of the Church World Service and Witness Unit, said that, in effect, it probably did not matter. "I can't think of a time we disagreed with the U.N. going back in living memory. Can you?" she commented.

Of course, the U.N. can be a useful and effective instrument for international action. But too many church leaders seem willing to go much further, in fact entrusting to the UN an exclusive jurisdiction, implying that it is our final and ultimate authority for all international action. That's a problem. Any one of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council has a veto on a proposed council action. Should the United States concede its moral obligation to make policy choices to, say, the leaders of China, the same men who ordered the massacre at Tiananmen Square?

No responsible Christian would advise that military action be taken hastily or that diplomatic channels be disregarded. But none of the church statements we have seen wrestle with the toughest questions:

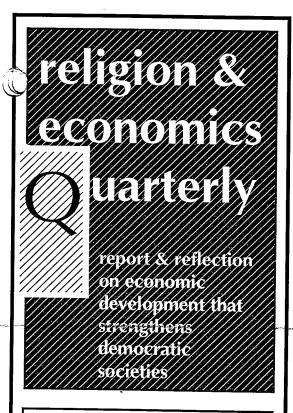
- · What if the current consensus at the United National falls apart?
- · And what if non-violent, diplomatic measures are not effective in reversing Iraq's aggressions and in providing security for the nations of the Gulf?

#### **Human Rights: More Tough Questions**

Few church statements struggle with the awkward question of the human rights records of our Arab allies in the Middle East. The National Baptist Convention did caution against the U.S. becoming allied with "nations that may prove to be an embarrassment to our moral leadership." Supporters of the President's Gulf policy ought to be quick to point out that Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are not democracies. Saudi Arabia, in particular, has a deplorable religious liberty record.

Clearly, U.S. security assistance to the Saudis must be evaluated morally on other grounds as well -- resisting a dangerous aggressor who commands terrifying weapons, and thereby promoting international political stability and protecting the economic viability of much of the world. (Regarding the latter, it would not mark the end of these United States if our citizens had to pay for moralli. The cost for our less fortunate brothers and sisters in parts of Africa and Latin America is another

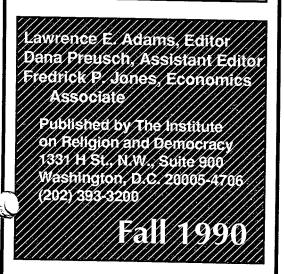
→ See Gulf, page 3



Reform in Eastern Europe: Each institution, including the church, playing its part -- page 1

"Sustainable development" with an emphasis on community: review of Herman Daly and John Cobb's For the Common Good

-- page 2



## Taking up Roles in Building East European Democracy

By Dana Preusch

new decade could not have been met with more hope and anticipation than the 1990s, after the incredible changes which swept across Central and Eastern Europe in 1989. The Church in these countries played a major role either in encouraging change or in sustaining those who worked for it. It is hard to assess with any certainty what course the various countries will take, but some trends are emerging in the crucial areas of democratic development and economic progress. The church has a major role to play in this process.

#### **Constructing Democracy**

Four major developments are necessary in the East European countries in order for nascent democracy to become secure. First, free, multi-party elections have been held in every country save Albania, which has only shown scant signs of movement away from a one-party state. Many would dispute as well the authenticity of the elections in Romania, where some repressive measures continue.

The June elections in Bulgaria, although a victory for the revamped Communists, seemed free of manipulation and fraud. If the integrity of elections continues to be ensured here, the prospects for a future victory by opposition parties are great. Yugoslavia, too, has made advances: multiparty elections have been held in the republics of Slovenia and Croatia while pressure for free elections in the remaining republics grows, though nationalist conflict threatens civil war.

East Germany, Czechoslovakia Hungary and Poland are well on their way toward the establishment of viable and thriving democracies. In elections, each of these countries clearly rejected any remnants of communism. Of course, problems still remain. Germany must contend with international uneasiness over reunification. Czechoslovakia and Hungary are being challenged to strike a balance between meeting the needs of repressed nationalities within their borders while providing an environment for national cohension.

Second, democratization must include the dismantling of communist structures. For example, Czechoslovakia and Hungary will want to concentrate on eradicating the last vestiges of security forces once loyal to the communists. Another problem is an entrenched local bureaucracy (nomenklatura). In Romania and Bulgaria, the nomenklatura played a crucial role in producing the overwhelming rural peasant vote favoring the reformed communists in both countries and continues to exert substantial influence.

Third, an unencumbered media works in tandem with multi-party elections to hold politicians accountable, and it insures the survival of opposition parties. Poland and Hungary have already privatized press and broadcast media outlets. Yet some countries lag far behind. Reformed communists in Bulgaria and Romania were accused of dominating media outlets during their election campaigns and continue to exert an excessive amount of control.

Finally, it is no longer enough for newly elected governments in Eastern Europe to base their legitimacy on the fact that they replaced the communist regimes.

— See Democracies, page 4

## Review

## Community, Biosphere & Paradigm Shift

Some in the church world are scrambling for a new economic paradigm in this post-socialist, eco-sensitive age. Accordingly, For the Common Good: Redirecting the Economy Toward Community, the Environment, and a Sustainable Future (Beacon Press, 1989), by Herman E. Daly and John B. Cobb, Jr., is being read heavily in and beyond religious circles. Reviewer Dana Wichterman finds much that is challenging and much that is questionable in this expansive work. She is a research analyst at the Agency for International Development and a consultant for the Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs.

or the Common Good is a disturbing book -- in a good way. The authors, Herman Daly, a World Bank economist, and John Cobb, professor of theology at the School of Theology at Claremont, have joined together in a scathing, but comprehensive critique of mainstream, neoclassical economic thinking. Not to leave a vacuum, the authors propose an astonishing array of alternative strategies to achieve economic health based on the needs of "persons in community" rather than individuals.

Although the authors admit to making the bulk of their argument on

non-religious grounds, this shift to emphasis on community requires "awakening the religious depths" of the American people. Apart from God, they claim there would be "no meaning, no life, no righteousness, no truth, no value." Their view of God is rooted in assumptions from "process" theology, though how this influences their recommendations is unclear.

Belief in an absolute, transcendent truth is not often acknowledged in the academic community. The authors persuasively argue that economics as a discipline has been uprooted from its earlier moral parameters by the modern "god" of relativism, and has pursued quantitative knowledge without a sufficient qualitative foundation.

#### The Priority of Community

Fundamental to the book is a concern with building and safeguarding the community. This is grounded in the fact that God's Word is generally directed to people-in-community, such as the Israelites, and not to individuals. Emphasis on individuals results in a preoccupation with economic growth (measured in GNP per capita) at the expense of genuine development. The latter would utilize measures of wealth and welfare that integrate, rather than externalize, the social and ecological costs of production.

Daly and Cobb call for a fuller application of true biblical stewardship of the earth, which they distinguish from the earth-worshipping worldviews of some sympathetic environmentalists. Love of the earth, according to the authors, is not an end in itself; it is an expression of love for future generations -- our "community extended through time."

Though the authors emphasize community over individuals, the book is by no means anti-market. In fact, Daly and Cobb take pains to underscore their unequivocal support for capitalism, claiming it is still the

best mechanism to adjust supply with demand. However, early market theorists, such as Adam Smith, believed that markets should be constrained by principles of fairness, justice, and the common good. This is the mooring that current economics has abandoned -- to the detriment of various forms of human community and the biosphere.

The bridge between Daly and Cobb's general critique of economic theorizing and their own proposals is their rejection of free trade and foreign investment. They argue that free trade theory, dating from Ricardo, assumed that labor and capital were immobile, and therefore restricted by and loyal to national economies. These conditions no longer hold true, thus undermining the possibility of determining "comparative advantage" in a world market. The notion of "world community" based on the market is a myth, according to Daly and Cobb. Instead, they focus on the national community as the appropriate scale for market-based economic development.

The focus on the national community is consistent with their environmental concerns. Daly and Cobb argue that the scale of human activity is already too large relative to the earth's capacity to sustain it. Acid rain and global warming are just precursors of "the disasters to come" if we fail to acknowledge the earth's limits to growth. Such an acknowledgment requires, they claim, an end to unrestrained productivity through deindustrialization and organic, smaller-scale agriculture.

This perspective sets Daly at odds with his colleagues at the World Bank concerning what is best for the Third World. The World Bank is misguided in fostering development through free trade and investment, contends Daly. Foreign aid and investment, benefiting only elites, has actually facilitated the

"present rush toward poverty." Instead, the Third World would be better off if it pursued self-sustaining policies, though le is said about how less developed ountries are to do this where sufficient indigenous capital is lacking.

#### A Sustainable Future

Most of the book's recommendations focus on the United States and how it should pursue "sustainable development." Here is a sample:

1) The United States should adopt a broader definition of economic welfare. The current measure, GNP per capita, is totally inadequate.

The authors' proposed index for measuring economic welfare, by including crucial quality of life indicators such as natural resource depletion and life expectancy, warrants serious consideration by the church. Theology *can* play a positive role in the construction of a new paradigm for determining the common good.

The United States should increase participatory democracy. This would involve decentralizing much decision-making to state and local levels.

Although the authors admit that some issues, such as global warming, will require international cooperation. and some, such as human rights, should be maintained at the federal level, they fail to tell us how a decentralized society should decide controversial issues such as abortion. Wages in America and other industrialized countries will fall to Third World levels if free trade persists. Poor countries will benefit minimally, if at all. Free trade will eventually compete away America's high standard of living and vastly increase the gap between the rich and the poor in this country. Therefore, we need to raise sariffs to protect U.S. industry and iculture, balance the trade budget, and limit capital flows out of the country. The United States should become self-sufficient (in both

agriculture and industrial sectors) on a national, if not regional level.

Even if their scenario is possible, is isolationism a desirable strategy? If so, why are traditional "isolationists" such as the Soviet Union and China desperately attempting to integrate into the world economy? Has not the dismal failure of attempted autarky (i.e., import substitution) pursued in Latin America and Africa in the past decades been repudiated by their own people? The United States is the largest importer of goods from the Third

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World -- however, Daly and Cobb fail to deal adequately with the burdens imposed on the Third World if America closes her borders. Though the United States perhaps could afford to isolate itself, is it realistic that small, resourcepoor developing nations could successfully adopt similar strategies? Would they want to be so isolated? 4) To preserve the health of the biosphere, we must pursue sustainable. economic development by acknowledging limits to growth. We must pursue global population control and drastically reduce per capita resource use in the developed countries. Legal "rights" to have children would be traded through the market.

Cobb and Daly hinge ultimate global well-being on slowing world population growth. They hold China's population policy up as a laudable achievement, and want to achieve similar results by allowing people to trade reproductive rights through the market. While this may appear less

authoritarian, Christians must examine whether the "community" should have the authority to regulate optimal family size. Christians also must question the ethics of buying and selling "rights" to have children. What impact would this have on the poor?

5) Building national economies supportive of community will result in greater military security, allowing the United States to reduce drastically military spending.

One may agree that military spending needs to be reduced without adopting Daly and Cobb's dubious core assumption, namely that the central goal of U.S. foreign policy is "world domination." This leads to a rather simplistic dismissal of threats to global peace and justice — whether they be by superpowers, madmen, or poor states frustrated in their isolated underdevelopment.

There is much to appreciate in the provocative questions raised by For the Common Good. This book will no doubt enjoy a wide audience among economists, as well as those in the oldline/ecumenical churches that are searching for a new economic paradigm. But will it do more than recreate the 1970s fear of spaceship earth heading toward a Malthusian doom? Will its call for economics as if peoples mattered be any more likely to inaugurate E.F. Schumacher's world where small is beautiful? Will it be as widely read as the 1980 Brandt Report ... only to be as widely disregarded?

The strategies put forth in For the Common Good to achieve sustainable development rest on many controversial assumptions. Still, Daly and Cobb should be applauded for re-examining neoclassical economic assumptions, as well as their concern for genuine stewardship. God, indeed, has much to say about the common good; what this means for economics rightly deserves continued public debate.

→ **Democracies**, from page 1 Their right to govern must be anchored in the effectiveness of their own policies and **reform programs**.

#### Restructuring the Economy

To a large degree, the success of economic reforms will be be the primary indicator of a government's effectiveness. Economic austerity may strain the level of trust that currently exists between new governments and the people in Eastern Europe. Thus, policymakers must be effective communicators if they are to convince their constituents that hardships will be worth bearing. Paying close attention to the social costs of reforms is also a necessity. Unemployment, for example, is and will continue to be a chronic problem in the region, particularly as state industries begin to privatize. Provisions such as a safety net and retraining programs must be put into place.

Furthermore, if economic liberalization is to succeed, it must be accompanied by legal liberalization. Western businesses have been reluctant to invest in Eastern Europe precisely because the legal environment is an obstacle. Tax codes and laws governing the economy will have to be rewritten before major reforms can be effective.

Yet it would be a mistake to judge the potential success of the new East European experiments solely on the basis of political and economic conditions. More important may be the character of the people and the capacity of national communities to reform. Success will hinge on developing strong, trustworthy institutions -- a just legal system, representative federal and local governments, an educational system untainted by ideological bias. These are necessary for the preservation of fairness and equity consistent with a truly democratic way of life. Such institutions must foster a unity around common human concerns, acknowledging but transcending distinctives such as religious and ethnic traditions that, if left unchecked, could

easily lead to damaging disintegration or political stalemate. The Church must show its capacity to be one of those institutions.

#### The Role of the Church

The Church has played a pivotal role in bringing about the revolutions of 1989. From the Catholic Church in Poland with its strong ties to the Solidarity movement, to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in East Germany, which served as a haven for the dissident community in this communist stronghold, the Church has proven itself credible and deserving of respect. It has the

Reconstructing a viable moral-cultural foundation is indispensable for the survivablility of these emerging democracies

potential now to build upon the trust, generated over the years for its opposition to communist rule.

The removal of communist political ideology from the classroom has been a major goal for Christian educators. Discussion forums have taken place in churches which seek to formulate new directions for educational institutions. Now educational reform, which may include religious education, has a major part in building these societies.

In Eastern Europe as a whole, the fact that opportunities for civic participation are now available to believers who were formerly prohibited from holding such positions of responsibility will go a long way in securing lasting reform in Eastern Europe. The Church is perfectly positioned to encourage lay involvement in civic affairs. Some lay groups are calling for the participation of all Christians in elections and civil service in order to advance democracy, and are urging clergy to promote ethical principles which would benefit

the construction of a social system based on Christian values.

Believers should be motivated to work towards ensuring religious liber in their countries. It is crucial that the religious community's concerns be heard when constitutions are rewritten. Provisions must be included which codify into law the inalienable rights which believers have been denied. This should encompass the right of churches to minister to physical as well as spiritual needs.

Furthermore, the Church's commitment to religious liberty must be borne out in actions which work towards establishing legal protections for believers. The Muslim populations in Albania and Bulgaria must not be forgotten. The Church should also do what it can to mediate ethnic tension, since in Eastern Europe certain religious denominations are often associated with a particular nationality.

Finally, the Church must build unity within its own sphere -- tension between Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant communities is endemic. Reconciliation must also include the healing of relationships between the laity and the hierarchy within individual denominations. Some churches will not have the moral authority they need to move ahead as a progressive force until compromised leaders step down or are removed from office.

Thus, the task of rebuilding Eastern Europe politically and economically is daunting. However, the advances each country experiences in these two areas will not be the only measures of their success: the reconstruction of a viable moral-cultural foundation in Eastern Europe is indispensable for the long-term survivability of these emerging democracies. And here is where the Church's influence will be the greatest, particularly as it carries out its primary objective, which is to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ.

This article is based on the Economic Studies Program's forthcoming briefing paper, "The Church and Democracy in Eastern Europe."



#### Another Death Taints Glasnost

By Kent R. Hill

On September 9, Father Alexander Men, a spiritual giant of the Russian Orthodox Church, was killed with an axe at 6 o'clock in the morning in the woods between his home and the Zagorsk train station. He was on his way to his church. Shock waves reverberated throughout Soviet society when news of the slaying spread. Father Men was well known as a powerful preacher, a persuasive apologist for Christianity among the intellectuals, and friend of other Orthodox dissidents like Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Gleb Yakunin. He was beloved by simple people who warmed to his compassion and

courage.

According to *Izvestiia*, Father Men "was the pastor to many human-rights champions, prisoners of conscience, those who were persecuted by the authorities." But the newspaper went on to note that "his work in providing spiritual support to many intellectuals in disgrace brought him true friends, but also real foes."

And who were these enèmies who could have plotted his death? His friend Gleb Yakunin is convinced that the killing is "connected with the growing wave of anti-Semitism in Russia." Indeed, Men was Jewish by birth. Through his nearly 30 years as an Orthodox priest, he strongly condemned both anti-Semitism and excessive Russian nationalism. He has also sharply

criticized the KGB. In short, anti-Semites, Russian chauvinists, and the KGB all had reason to consider Men their enemy. It may be significant that Men was killed with an axe — in ancient Russia, the mode of murder used for retribution.

There are, of course, enormous improvements regarding religious freedom in the Soviet Union today. Still, continued violence against some Christian activists is deeply disturbing because it deprives the church and the larger society of the spiritual leadership so needed in this time of transition and unrest. And it leaves still unanswered the question of whether stability or chaos will win out ultimately in the turbulent times of glasnost and perestroika.

## **Gulf,** from page 2 matter indeed.)

Concerning human rights, what we may prayerfully seek is the opportunity within this crisis both to show respect for the cultures of our hosts in the Persian Gulf, while also finding ways to encourage tolerance for political and religious minorities.

#### Churches & American Resolve

As church leaders continue to monitor the unfolding crisis in the Persian Gulf, they shoulder a responsibility regarding public opinion.

Much of the secular commentary on the Gulf crisis is focused on the question of American will. Do the American people have the patience and determination to stick to a long-term commitment? Are Americans willing to sacrifice? Already interviews with U.S. military personnel disclose anxiety about long term support on the homefront, support which is influenced by our church leaders.

Pessimists say Americans always want a quick fix at real cost. Such a bleak picture of our national will may be exaggerated. One can point to the U.S. commitment of troops for decades in Europe and South Korea as evidence of our resolve. Still, there are

nagging questions about our stamina for the long haul.

What then is the impact of church statements that minimize the role of the military or that imply that diplomacy by itself will necessarily achieve a just peace? Might such statements unintentionally reinforce the simplistic thinking that expects a quick or cost-free fix?

What if our church leaders, on the other hand, spoke more realistically about America's responsibilities in the post-Cold War era, and faced more squarely the costs of fulfilling those responsibilities? This is not an argument for church leaders simply to baptize any policy direction taken by our government. It is a suggestion that there is a role for the church in encouraging citizens to endure in the pursuit of justice.

With a certain naivete, we Americans often underestimate the intractability of conflicts rooted in ancient animosities. At heart, we underestimate human evil. Through determined effort and by God's grace, some of the effects of evil can be alleviated. It is certainly our responsibility to try — all the while remembering that the ultimate solution is far beyond the efforts of diplomats or soldiers.



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Tax-deductible contributions in any amount are welcome.

#### Correction

The Rev. Zdravko Bezlov, a Methodist pastor, is pictured in the August/September newsletter addressing a Methodist church in Sofia, Bulgaria.

## PDRF Teams Up with IRD

Presbyterians for Democracy and Religious Freedom (PDRF), a reform group addressing foreign policy issues in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), officially joined IRD in September.

PDRF President John Boone said that coordinated efforts with the IRD and its other denominational committees would strengthen PDRF. "We see no reason to continue independently when we have this great opportunity to work even more closely together. As a matter of fact, the church Book of Order calls Presbyterians to work with ecumenical agencies on common missions," said Boone. "We are following those guidelines, with the goal of fostering Presbyterian commitment to democracy and religious freedom, and sound thinking about the vita! international issues of the day."

The two organizations have often cooperated since PDRF was founded in 1985. Executive Director Kent Hill said that IRD has benefited greatly from the relationship, and that the merger "will enhance our ability to work on achieving our common objectives."

PDRF has become an affiliated committee of the IRD, with the same status as the Episcopal Committee on Religion and Freedom (ECRF), which has been part of IRD since 1985. PDRF staff will work out of the IRD office and participate in all IRD activities.

The former PDRF Board of Directors now serves as the Steering Committee for PDRF/IRD. PDRF's quarterly newsletter *Mainstream* will be published by IRD, and will be edited by PDRF's director. Alan Wisdom of IRD will serve as acting director until a permanent director is appointed.

#### Search for PDRF Director

A nationwide search is now underway for a new PDRF director. IRD is looking for a man or woman with extensive knowledge of the Presbyterian Church and the ecumenical world, with experience or deep interest in international affairs. and a firm commitment to religious freedom and to developing sound approaches to the international arena. A commitment to renewal in the Presbyterian and other oldline churches is a must. Interested candidates should contact Larry Adams at IRD.

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