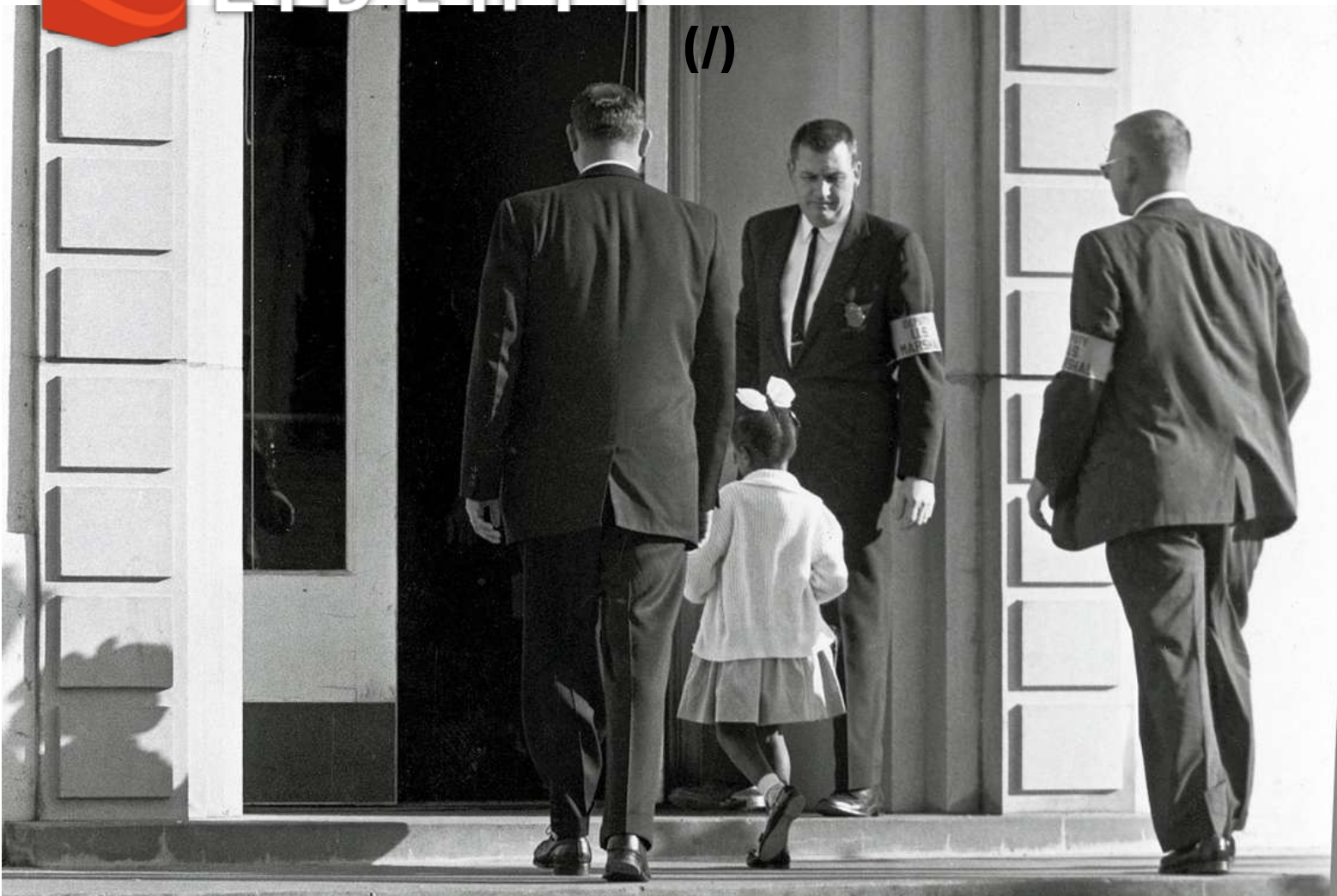




LIBERTY

(/)



May/June 2013



Civil and Religious Rights

(<http://www.libertymagazine.org/article/civil-and-religious-rights>)

This issue of liberty deals with the great heritage of civil and religious freedom. It didn't come easy—it was a "battle."



The Mighty Walk

(<http://www.libertymagazine.org/article/the-mighty-walk>)

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.



In the Lions' Den

(<http://www.libertymagazine.org/article/in-the-lions-den>)

However much, and often, it seems that darkness is winning, and that people of faith are persecuted, harassed, even killed, the book of Daniel reveals a view of the world and its

history that, going beyond the past and the present, points to the future.



Deformations of the Apocalypse

(<http://www.libertymagazine.org/article/deformations-of-the-apocalypse>)

Modern freedoms, be they religious, economic, political, or individual, were elaborated as a retort to the medieval church-state's authoritarianism; to its passion for unity that had all the intimations of modern totalitarianism.

First Freedom: The Fight for Religious Liberty - The Film

(<http://www.libertymagazine.org/article/first-freedom-the-fight-for-religious-liberty-the-film>)



The film represents a masterpiece of the blended, nuanced views on how our country's constitutional Founders separated the supervisory and regulatory power of the state from the church, and the manipulating and coercive power of the church from the state.



First Freedom: The Fight for Religious Liberty

(<http://www.libertymagazine.org/article/first-freedom-the-fight-for-religious-liberty>)

Review of the book by Randall Balmer (Covenant Communications, 2012)



The Ghost of Elections Past

(<http://www.libertymagazine.org/article/the-ghost-of-elections-past>)

Is this truly an open-and-shut, blatant case of theological compromise for the sake of political power?



Martin Luther King and Religious Freedom

(<http://www.libertymagazine.org/article/martin-luther-king-and-religious-freedom>)

It is a perfect time for schools to help students connect the dots between Martin Luther King's fight for civil rights and the freedom of religious expression in America.

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Civil and Religious Rights

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Editorial, by Lincoln E. Steed (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/lincoln-e.-steed>)

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It's cherry blossom time again in Washington, D.C., as I write these words. The groundhog shadow thing let us all down a bit this year, and the lingering winter chill threatened a bracing festival in the nation's capital.

Cherry blossom time in 1968 was of course far more fraught. On Thursday evening, April 4, Martin Luther King, Jr., was gunned down by an assassin in Memphis, Tennessee. The next day rioting began in Washington, and lasted for five tumultuous days. In fact, cities all over the United States spontaneously erupted in violent protest.

I can never forget Washington during those several days. It was not much more than a year since my family had relocated from Sydney, Australia, to Takoma Park, a suburb of Washington within sight line of the iconic downtown structures from any upper floor of a typical office complex. At least 10,000 troops were called in to patrol the city and close environs. Their jeeps and other vehicles gave an air of siege to the moment. Thousands of police in riot gear and with crosshatched, taped-over windows, joined the military in riot control. From a distance of many miles we could see the huge and high pall of smoke from a city on fire. The tension was as palpable as any war zone.

I cannot bring to mind any picture of the cherry blossoms that year. I am left only with images of burned-out storefronts, debris in the streets, and huge piles of antique brick from bulldozed buildings.

On the Monday afternoon I traveled to my after-school job as a bricklayers' laborer and took the time to talk with some of my African-American coworkers who lived downtown. I wish they had told noble stories connected with the landmark civil rights movement, but they seemed more interested in just participating in the meltdown of their world. As I remember, two of them were even taking orders for the electronics some of our crew wanted. The civil rights issue was central to the disruption of the time, but many were too immersed in the upheaval itself to make much sense of it. And as always, there were vested interests at work. We knew that for sure, when it became obvious that the liquor stores, the first buildings to be torched in the riots, would be the first to be rebuilt in neighborhoods that resented them.

It amazed me that the United States was still struggling with freedom issues. It was more than 100 years removed from the Civil War then, and a nation possessed of a fine Constitution that, while it specified the electoral value of slaves, also held out the high aim of securing “the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.” It amazes me now that the civil rights movement, which finally accomplished what the Emancipation Proclamation had once presumed, is so little remembered that it is equated with any number of real but not analogous special-interest movements.

Which again brings me to the present, which happens to be another of those waiting moments to see what the Supreme Court will bring forth—this time on the Prop. 8 initiative in California, which attempted to head off gay marriage by defining marriage by historic norms and moral models suggested by faith positions. Listening to the justices interact on this case, it would not be surprising if they strike down the federal Defense of Marriage Act as improper for the federal government, absent a direct constitutional charter, and leave it to the states to define this sort of thing severally.

I have written before and often spoken on this California initiative as not so much wrong as an ill-advised change in dynamic that might pass to the state the role of defining what is an acceptable religious model of—in this case—marriage. Often unthinking religionists have been in a rush to blockade a civil shift that runs against their religious viewpoint. I happen to share their general moral viewpoint, but so far as civil models go, it is worth remembering that the real engine of slavery and its post-Civil War carryover racial repression was an enabling theological model. The theology was suspect, of course, but its application real enough. And in the ideological positioning that accompanies the debate over gay marriage and other yet barely visible social shifts that faith finds offensive, we must be careful to keep to a true separation of church and state.

With no intention of dismissing very real arguments for marriage equality before civil law, I must say that to equate this with the civil rights movement of the 1960s, which freed a whole people from the most intense repression because of their racial heritage, is not only wrong but trivializes that time.

It is a false analogy to compare a racial state of being to a behavioral model—whether learned or inherited. It might also be a false analogy to compare the lack of gay lifestyle entitlements to the prejudice suffered by the mentally ill or the once mentally ill (again there is a state of being, compared to a moral or lifestyle model—something that societies have historically shown great concern to adjudicate apart from religious criteria.)

All of which is a rather long way of saying that we people of biblical or koranic faith, who have religious inhibitions about any number of social behaviors extant in civil society, had better be careful how we proceed in seeking restrictions on them.

There is a separation of church and state in the United States, and the principle of noncoercion in faith matters might mean we have to allow further variance between the body of faith and the marketplace. What we should insist upon is the right of people of faith to live their moral code and speak freely of it to the larger society. I think that the greatest religious liberty battle is ahead—a time in which faith views will be defined as hateful and against others' civil rights.

One aspect of the current debate over gay marriage does seem to have been shortchanged—perhaps because so many have tried to interject a blocking legal dynamic that is a proxy for their religious morality. I do not think the whole gay movement/gay marriage thing has been given appropriate analysis by society at large from civil logic. Reviewing recorded history, I can think of only two major sociological shifts that can compare in potential for massive structural change. The first was the effect of a die-off of as much as one third of the population of Europe and Asia because of the Black Death. The other (and not yet fully worked out) shift occurred with the Industrial Revolution and the change wrought on gender roles and family structure and nurture.

Years ago I wrote an editorial titled “Convergence,”—which pointed at how certain elements of Communist and totalitarian states were moderating, while the liberal democracies were drifting toward those very tendencies themselves. Would the two intersect at one point? I might be the wag and say, Well, that's globalism! But there is a dangerous irony in that the social blurring aimed at by the Communist-Marxists—where marriage was demoted to utilitarian arrangements and children the

clustered wards of the state—is actually beginning to look like our emerging social model. Not to mention the surveillance state that is descending upon a West that long howled at the Stasi, KGB, and mikes in potted plants.

This issue of liberty deals with the great heritage of civil and religious freedom. It didn't come easy—it was a "battle." Ronald Reagan was inclined to talk of "evil empires" and Armageddon. His religious imagery might have been mostly the evidence of his freedom of religious expression. However, as this issue points out, there are huge forces at play: civil and religious. The stakes are high.



Author: Lincoln E. Steed
(<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/lincoln-e.-steed>)

Editor, *Liberty Magazine*

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The Mighty Walk

Published in the May/June 2013 (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/issue/may-june-2013>) Magazine

by Stephen T. Porter (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/stephen-t.-porter>)

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On January 14, 1963, newly elected Alabama governor George Wallace spoke his inaugural address in the front of the Alabama state capitol, and said:

“Today I have stood, where once Jefferson Davis stood, and took an oath to my people. It is very appropriate then that from this cradle of the Confederacy, this very heart of the great Anglo-Saxon Southland, that today we sound the drum for freedom as have our generations of forebears before us done. . . . In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny . . . and I say . . . segregation now . . . segregation tomorrow . . . segregation forever.”

On March 25, 1965, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke the following in front of that same Alabama state capitol, with the Confederate flag flying over top of the United States flag:

“Last Sunday, more than 8,000 of us started on a mighty walk from Selma, Alabama. . . . They told us we wouldn’t get here. And there were those who said that we would get here only over their dead bodies, but all the world today knows that we are here and we are standing before the forces of power in the state of Alabama saying, ‘We ain’t goin’ let nobody turn us around.’

“Yes, we are on the move, and no wave of racism can stop us. We are on the move now. The burning of our churches will not deter us. The bombing of our homes will not dissuade us. We are on the move now. The beating and killing of our clergymen and young people will not divert us. We are on the move now. The wanton release of their known murderers would not discourage us. We are on the move now. Like an idea whose time has come, not even the marching of mighty armies can halt us. We are moving to the land of freedom.”

Let us step back and give some historical perspective to all this: since early in 1963, Black residents of Selma and Marion, Alabama, had been trying to register to vote in an organized fashion, after decades of being refused. The Selma voting rights movement officially began in January 1965, when King addressed a mass meeting in Selma’s Brown Chapel. On February 18, 1965, Jimmie Lee Jackson, a 26-year-old deacon of a Black Baptist church, was shot by a state trooper after a civil rights demonstration in Marion; Jackson died eight days later.

On March 7, 1965, the first Selma-to-Montgomery march began and ended with the events of “Bloody Sunday,” when 600 civil rights marchers, asking for the right of Black Alabama residents to register to vote, were attacked by state and local police with billy clubs and tear gas just outside Selma, Alabama, at the Edmund Pettus Bridge. The march was led by James Bevel, John Lewis (now a congressman representing Georgia), and Hosea Williams.

On March 9, 1965, another march of about 2,500 marchers, including many who had come from other parts of the country, was led by Martin Luther King and others to the Edmund Pettus Bridge, where a court order prevented them from going all the way to Montgomery. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee chair John Lewis spoke that day:

“To those who have said, ‘Be patient and wait,’ we must say that ‘patience’ is a dirty and nasty word. We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually. We want our freedom, and we want it now... In the struggle, we must seek more than civil rights, we must work for the community of love, peace, and true brotherhood. Our minds, souls, and hearts cannot rest until freedom and justice exist for all people.”

After the marchers returned to Selma, James Reeb, a White minister from Boston, was beaten severely. He died on March 11, 1965. National attention was now focused on Selma. Finally, federal district court judge Frank Johnson, Jr., ruled that the march could proceed and, on March 21, 1965, the four-night march began in Selma. Protected by more than 4,000 federal troops and agents, 8,000 started the march but only 300 were allowed to make the entire 54-mile trek to Montgomery. More would have marched, but the judge limited the number for safety reasons. But thousands of others were allowed to join the last steps from outside Montgomery into the downtown, where the Alabama state capitol awaited them on March 25, 1965.

Among those who joined were six young African-American college students from Oakwood College, a Black Seventh-day Adventist school in Huntsville, Alabama, who had driven down to the capital to be a part of this event and show their support. They were Neal Arthur, Harvey Holland, Ben McAdoo, Maceo McGoodwin, Don Monroe, and Russ Nelson. Although threatened with expulsion from school if they participated (supposedly, and probably, for their own protection), these six made

the trip anyway to be a part of this historic moment. On their way south they had been stopped by state troopers and told not to go to Montgomery, a warning they did not heed.

Also in the crowd was a White college senior from Duke University who had driven a mixed group of marchers from Durham to Montgomery to be a part of this movement. On the drive over, this group was followed on Alabama highways but never stopped, and came into Montgomery early in the morning to see a city inhabited by federal troops at every corner, bayonets fixed.



A picture taken at the 1965 march shows six Oakwood students holding their school sign.

The march into the city was on streets lined by locals taunting and cursing with racial epithets, but the crowd of marchers dominated the city that day and made its presence felt not only to the local populace and state leaders but also to the nation as a whole. The national press decided to cover this whole event (some claimed it was

only because a White minister had been killed). More than 25,000 marchers heard the speakers ask for the right to vote for all citizens of Alabama. Best known of those speeches was certainly the one by Martin Luther King, sometimes referred to as the “How Long, Not Long” or the “Our God Is Marching On” speech. Among the highlights of that speech are these words:

“The Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave Negroes some part of their rightful dignity, but without the vote it was dignity without strength.”



A March 30, 1967, picture of the author introducing Dr. King to Philip Davidson, President of the University of Louisville.

“Let us therefore continue our triumphant march to the realization of the American dream. Let us march on segregated housing until Negroes and Whites live side by side in decent, safe, and sanitary housing.”

“Let us march on poverty until wrinkled stomachs in Mississippi are filled, and the idle industries of Appalachia are realized and revitalized, and broken lives in sweltering ghettos are mended and remolded. Let us march on ballot boxes until

race-baiters disappear from the political arena. Let us march on ballot boxes until the salient misdeeds of bloodthirsty mobs will be transformed into the calculated good deeds of orderly citizens.”

“Let us march on ballot boxes until brotherhood becomes more than a meaningless word in an opening prayer but the order of the day on every legislative agenda. Let us march on ballot boxes until all over Alabama God’s children will be able to walk the earth in decency and honor.”

“I know there is a cry today in Alabama, we see it in numerous editorials: ‘When will . . . these civil rights agitators . . . get out of our community and let Alabama return to normalcy?’ But I have a message that I would like to leave with Alabama this evening. . . . It was normalcy in Marion that led to the brutal murder of Jimmie Lee Jackson. It was normalcy in Birmingham that led to the murder on Sunday morning of four beautiful, unoffending, innocent girls. It was normalcy on Highway 80 that led state troopers to use tear gas and horses and billy clubs against unarmed human beings who were simply marching for justice. It was normalcy by a café in Selma, Alabama, that led to the brutal beating of Reverend James Reeb.”

“It is normalcy all over Alabama that prevents the Negro from becoming a registered voter. No, we will not allow Alabama to return to normalcy.”

“The only normalcy that we will settle for is the normalcy that allows judgment to run down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream. The only normalcy that we will settle for is the normalcy of brotherhood, the normalcy of true peace, the normalcy of justice.”





Warren K. Leffler, U.S. Library of Congress

“Our aim must never be to defeat or humiliate the White man, but to win his friendship and understanding. We must come to see that the end we seek is a society at peace with itself, a society that can live with its conscience. And that will be a day not of the White man, not of the Black man. That will be a day of man as man.”

After the march and the rally at the capitol steps, the six Oakwood students found their car and began the journey home. But on the way their car stalled and broke down. Two tried to get help in a streetside eatery but were told they couldn't even use the telephone and that the tow truck parked nearby was "broke down." In the corner were threatening White faces whom they would later see on the highway. After the two returned to their friends, Klan members drove by and warned them "to get outta here or you're dead."

Just as Klan members were exiting from trucks across the road—with weapons in hand—the six flagged down the Duke student who was traveling north to Kentucky, alone in his car, as his previous passengers were going in other directions. He had already been denied service at a local restaurant because he was easily recognized as an outsider. He stopped; the six climbed in and told him to "get out of here!" They didn't stop again until they reached the safety of Oakwood. Later they all learned of the murder of Viola Liuzzo, a White housewife from Michigan who was killed by the Klan while carrying marchers back to their colleges and homes.

That White Duke student spent the night in the dorm, integrated the shower room the next morning, had breakfast, and headed north to his home in Louisville, Kentucky. None of the seven thought to exchange full names, telephone numbers, or any means of contacting each other again. I know this story because I am that former Duke student who had the honor to attend the march and rally in Montgomery and to hear Martin Luther King Jr., as well as the good fortune to meet my six new friends on the highway. Fate brought us together that day.

As my first epilogue to this story, two years later, when I was a law student at the University of Louisville, Martin Luther King accepted our student invitation and addressed us at 11:00 a.m. on March 30, 1967, in the courtroom. It is important to remember, or to learn, what was going on in the civil rights movement, both nationally and in Louisville and what public opinion was about King.

Nationally, Martin Luther King and the movement were constantly subjected to FBI wiretapping, investigation, and infiltration. This had been true for years, largely because of the alleged Communist affiliation of King and his followers, but became even more intense as King entered the area of anti-Vietnam protesting. Let's just say J. Edgar Hoover and Martin Luther King were not on the same page. King was

coming under great criticism within the movement for supporting the peace movement and had marched on March 25 in Chicago with Dr. Benjamin Spock and spoken against the war. He and President Lyndon Johnson, who had pushed the voting rights act as a result of Selma, now had a very cool relationship. Other leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were worried that fund-raising would be hurt greatly for a movement that barely got by in normal circumstances. Hosea Williams and Stanley Levinson tried unsuccessfully to stop King from joining James Bevel in the antiwar movement. On the very day he spoke to us in this room, SCLC leaders were imploring him to refrain from active support. But on April 4, just five days after speaking at the University of Louisville, he gave his famous antiwar speech at Riverside church in New York. While he was in Louisville he met with Muhammad Ali about his decision to defy a draft order. At the same time, he was being maligned from the left by those such as the Black Panthers, who thought he was too nice, too easy on Whites, and too nonviolent. King and the Black Nation of Islam were never friendly and never agreed on tactics, or even goals.

Gallup polls showed a consistent decline in King's popularity from the time in 1963 around his "I Have a Dream" speech in Washington. In 1963 his unfavorable rating was 46 percent; in 1965, it was 51 percent; and in 1966 it was up to 68 percent. The striking figures showed that he was ranked at the very bottom of a 10-place system in those polls: 25 percent in 1963, 30 percent in 1965, and 41 percent in 1966 ranked him as someone they disliked very much. As King moved north with his demands and moved left on the war, his popularity declined even more. After his death, this all changed. By 1987 his favorable rating was 76 percent, and by 2011 it had risen to 94 percent. Support for a King national holiday found opposition from many. Arizona refused to recognize it and lost the 1993 Super Bowl for its resistance. While Congress passed the federal holiday in 1983, against the wishes of President Reagan, who signed the act reluctantly, it was not until 2000 that the last state, South Carolina, observed the day as a state holiday.

Back to March of 1967: in Louisville at this time, segregated housing was the issue of the day. Efforts to pass an open housing ordinance had been under way for some time, but were reaching a boiling point in March. Threats against the Kentucky Derby had been made. In fact, the Pegasus Parade and other Derby Festival events

were canceled that spring. Black demonstrators marched in White neighborhoods, and counterdemonstrations were frequent. Arrests and violence occurred on the steps of city hall. On the night of his speech here, King led a march and rally with more than 400 people participating. He, on another visit just before the derby, finally brokered a deal to allow the derby to proceed without interruption.

So his visit here was in the midst of national and local turmoil, of questioning of his leadership and popularity, and of a possible turning point in the whole civil rights movement. I was fortunate enough to be able to spend about 20 minutes with him and our small committee before his speech. We talked about my experience in Montgomery, but what I remember most about him, besides his obvious intelligence and brilliant oratory, was that he spent the whole time asking us about ourselves and our futures. To a packed house, with students hanging from the windows outside, he spoke his message of peace, of brotherhood, and the necessary perseverance to ensure justice for all. In the midst of what must have been a tumultuous time for him, he was calm, together, peaceful and loving, but forceful and determined.

As a second epilogue, 44 years after the Montgomery march, with help from President Delbert Baker of now Oakwood University, I was able to reconnect with my friends from Oakwood. The alumni office found everyone, and a reunion was held on April 9 and 10, 2009, at Oakwood, culminating in front of hundreds at an annual meeting of the United Negro College Fund. After I spoke to that group recounting our experience, a very distinguished, elderly, White gentleman came up to me and thanked me for coming to Alabama. I thought he meant that night at that dinner, but he quickly said:

“Oh no, I don’t mean coming here tonight. I mean thank you for coming to Alabama in 1965. You see, I was a young lawyer back then. I hated you and all your comrades for coming to Montgomery that week. I would never have engaged in violence against you, but I didn’t criticize or stop those who would. I thought it was our way of life, our heritage, our right as White folk. We wanted our normalcy. I hated that you embarrassed us and threatened our way of life. I hated all of you probably because you exposed us to the world. But years later I realized that we in Alabama needed you to come and tell us what is right, what is constitutional, what is

American, and what is the word and desire of my Lord. We still have a long way to go, but we will get there, and get there together, thanks to being taught what love and justice are all about.”

Now, finally, let us return to March 25, 1965, and hear some of Martin Luther King’s final words that day:

“I know you are asking today, ‘How long will it take?’ . . . I come to say to you this afternoon, however difficult the moment, however frustrating the hour, it will not be long, because ‘truth crushed to earth will rise again.’ How long? Not long, because ‘no lie can live forever.’ . . . How long? Not long, because the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.”

Author: Stephen T. Porter (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/stephen-t-porter>)

Stephen T. Porter writes from Louisville, Kentucky.

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About Liberty



In the Lions' Den

Published in the May/June 2013 (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/issue/may-june-2013>) Magazine

by Clifford R. Goldstein (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/clifford-r.-goldstein>)

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Twenty some years ago I took my family (wife, toddler, and infant) to the National Gallery of Art, in Washington, D.C. At one point I found myself alone, and I suddenly questioned my assumption that the toddler, my son, was with my wife, who also had the infant. As I stood in a gallery looking around for them, I saw a security guard framed in the door of an adjacent room. He was at first (as guards often are) as staid and unmoving as the statuary he was protecting. Suddenly he flinched, gasped, and pointed agitatedly, horror smearing across his face.

Suspecting the worst, I ran into the room and saw my son, who wasn't with my wife, swinging on the frame of a huge painting.

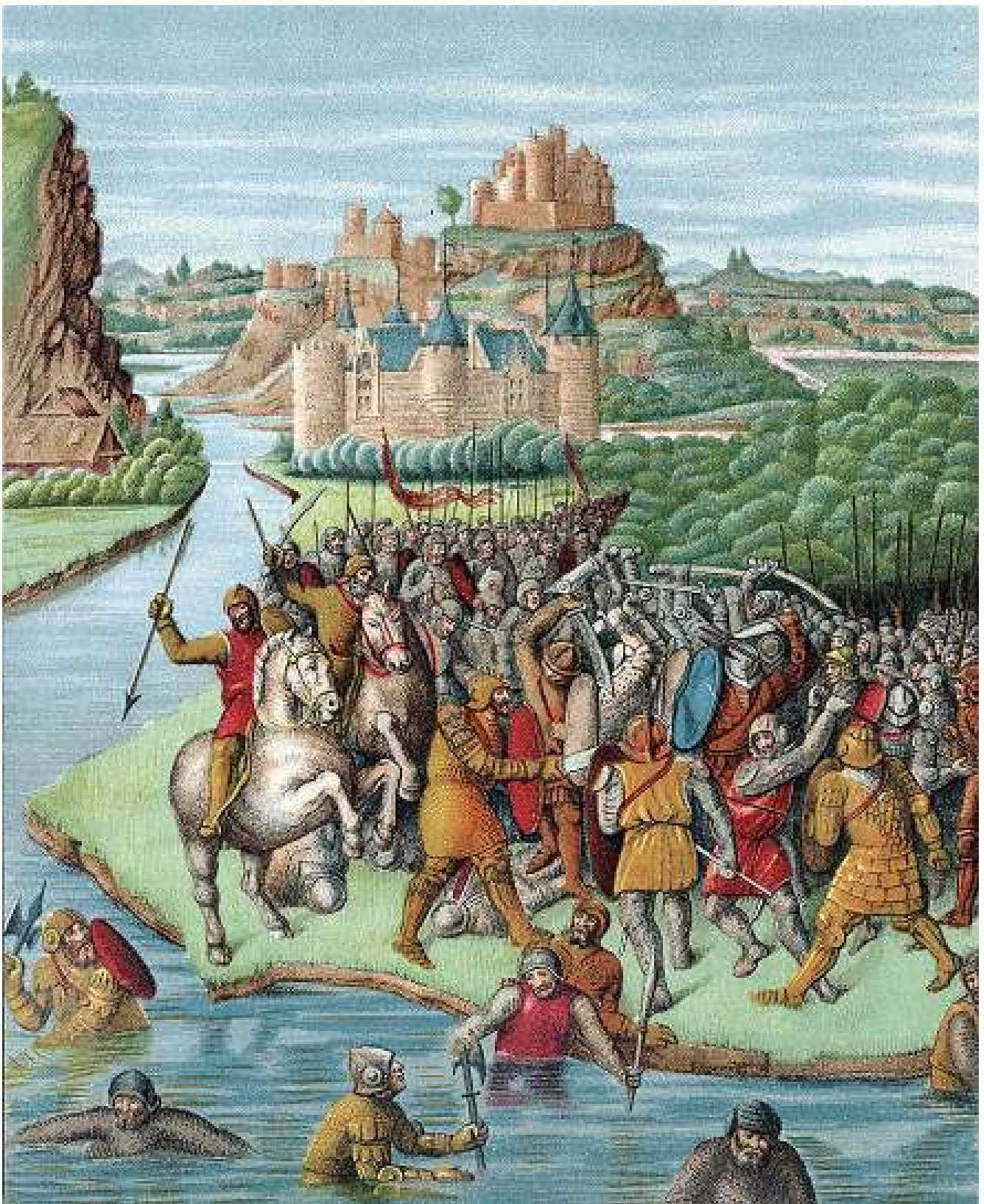
I grabbed him, and, as the guard castigated me ("Keep your children with you at all times, please!"), we fled.

The painting that I had almost become the proud owner of was Peter Paul Rubens' Daniel in the Lions' Den. It depicts the Old Testament story of Daniel, a Hebrew captive in a foreign land, who was thrown to the lions because of his refusal to abide by the edict that no one was to pray to any "god or human" (Daniel 6:7, NIV)¹ except the king.

Though some scholars have deemed this account and others in Daniel as nothing but "court tales," the events in Daniel, together with the visions and dreams depicted in the book, contain a relevant message regarding the question of religious freedom clashing with regnant political and religious authorities. More important, Daniel gives powerful evidence for the sovereignty of God over and above a world immersed in political and religious turmoil.

The King's Dream

Though the book of Daniel dates itself to the sixth century B.C., liberal scholarship—for reasons that are more and more dubious—puts it in the second century B.C., framing it in the context of the Maccabean struggle against a Seleucid ruler, King Antiochus Epiphanes IV. Recent studies, however, as well as the appearance of Daniel in the Dead Sea scrolls, have proved this later dating problematic, as does a careful reading of the texts themselves, which make the Antiochus interpretation, however firmly entrenched, highly suspect.



A scene from the Jewish Maccabean revolt which lasted from 167 to 160 B.C.

Whatever the dating issues, the book of Daniel unfolds against a background of war, empire, and political and religious intrigue. The opening verses of the first chapter set the stage: “In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah,

Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came to Jerusalem and besieged it” (Daniel 1:1, NIV). The small nation of Judah, caught between warring powers (think of, perhaps, Poland in the twentieth century), was besieged in 606 B.C. by the Babylonians, who, in various waves, brought captives from Judah to Babylon.

Among them were four young Hebrews, worshippers of the Lord, men who were swept up by geopolitical forces much greater than themselves and yet who, before long, found themselves as officials in the royal court. Through the stories of Daniel and his companions, the book that bears his name reveals a crucial theme: despite the interplay of nations and powers and leaders, which at times looks bad for the Lord’s faithful—human hubris will be humbled and God’s sovereignty revealed. In other words, no matter how bad things get (whether in sixth century B.C. or the twenty-first century today), God will triumph, and His kingdom will endure forever.

This theme is first expressed in Daniel 2. King Nebuchadnezzar has a dream that he not only doesn’t understand but also can’t remember. He demands that the wise men of his court tell him the dream, and then interpret it. “Then the Chaldeans spoke to the king in Aramaic, ‘O king, live forever! Tell your servants the dream, and we will give the interpretation’”(verse 4, NKJV).² Nebuchadnezzar wasn’t an idiot; if they could tell him a dream that he himself didn’t remember, he could trust their interpretation. Otherwise, these charlatans could tell him anything and pass it off as inspired. Seeing their attempt to bamboozle him, he ordered all the wise men of Babylon killed—including Daniel and his three companions.

That night God revealed to Daniel not only the dream but also its interpretation (thus saving the “wise” men’s lives and his own as well). The king had seen a giant statue made of various metals, which symbolized successive world empires, starting with Babylon and ending (after Media-Persia, Greece, and Rome) with the nations of modern Europe. About 2,600 years ago, after predicting the breakup of the Roman Empire, out of which came the nations of Europe—Daniel described the European continent like this: “But while some parts of it will be as strong as iron, other parts will be as weak as clay. This mixture of iron and clay also shows that these kingdoms will try to strengthen themselves by forming alliances with each other through intermarriage. But they will not hold together, just as iron and clay do not mix” (verses 42, 43, NLT).³

If that isn't a description of Europe, what is? Some nations strong (England, Germany, France), some nations weak (Luxembourg, Switzerland, Belgium)! And, despite all the talk about European unity, these countries don't even use the same electrical sockets! Then, even with all their political and economic alliances, as well as intermarriage among European ruling houses—how many times have the Americans gone over in the past century to keep these people from killing each other?

Remember that a mere two years before the massive collapse of the Soviet Union the United States' intelligence agencies had no inkling of weakness. It underscores Daniel's perfect description of modern Europe as nothing short of stunning.

The chapter then mentions one final kingdom: "And in the days of these kings the God of heaven will set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people; it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever" (verse 44, NKJV). Because we, from our perspective today (as opposed to someone living in Daniel's Babylon), can see how right the Bible was on the first four empires, how foolish not to trust him on the final kingdom, the one that lasts forever?

Worshipping the Image

In Daniel 3 God's sovereignty appears again, though contrasted (again) against a background of the powers that oppressed and dominated His people. King Nebuchadnezzar, perhaps in response to the dream of Daniel 2, which showed the temporality of his kingdom, created a giant statue, an image of gold that he wanted people to worship. "As soon as you hear the sound of the horn, flute, zither, lyre, harp, pipes and all kinds of music, you must fall down and worship the image of gold that King Nebuchadnezzar has set up. Whoever does not fall down and worship will immediately be thrown into a blazing furnace" (Daniel 3:5, 6, NIV).

Three of Daniel's Hebrew companions, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego—refusing to worship according to the state religion—were cast into the furnace, only to be miraculously delivered, a deliverance that caused the pagan king to praise their Lord as "the Most High God" (verse 26, NIV). This was a startling admission for a ruler who had vanquished the nation that professed to worship and serve that God. Centuries later the book of Revelation lifts language from this chapter in Daniel to

foretell about a time that religious persecution will arise over the issue of worship. “The second beast was given power to give breath to the image of the first beast, so that the image could speak and cause all who refused to worship the image to be killed” (Revelation 13:15, NIV). This language, “worship the image,” is straight from Daniel 3, when obeying God’s law meant violating human law—a theme that Revelation picks up when, in contrast to those who do worship the image, God’s faithful people are described as those who “keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus” (Revelation 14:12, NKJV).

Nevertheless, despite the religious persecution, both Daniel and Revelation depict the ultimate victory of God and His people at the end. “But the court will sit, and his power will be taken away and completely destroyed forever. Then the sovereignty, power and greatness of all the kingdoms under heaven will be handed over to the holy people of the Most High. His kingdom will be an everlasting kingdom, and all rulers will worship and obey him” (Daniel 7:26, 27, NIV). And Revelation continues the theme: “And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven like a bride beautifully dressed for her husband. I heard a loud shout from the throne, saying, ‘Look, God’s home is now among his people! He will live with them, and they will be his people. God himself will be with them. He will wipe every tear from their eyes, and there will be no more death or sorrow or crying or pain. All these things are gone forever’” (Revelation 21:2-4, NLT).

In the Lions’ Den

Daniel 6, as well, picks up the theme of religious persecution. Under the reign of Darius the Mede, who overthrew Babylon, Daniel faced the threat of death for reasons not unlike what his three companions had faced under Nebuchadnezzar: refusal to worship anyone or anything other than the true God.

In this account, seeking a way to rid themselves of Daniel, who had high status in Darius’ government, some Median “administrators and the satraps” (verse 4, NIV) could find nothing against him unless, they said, “it has something to do with the law of his God” (verse 5, NIV). Playing on the king’s ego, they persuaded Darius to enact a decree (“in accordance with the law of the Medes and Persians, which cannot be

repealed” [verse 8, NIV]) that anyone “who prays to any god or human being during the next thirty days, except to you, Your Majesty, shall be thrown into the lions’ den” (verse 7, NIV).

Daniel, when he heard about the decree, then “went home to his upstairs room where the windows opened toward Jerusalem. Three times a day he got down on his knees and prayed, giving thanks to his God, just as he had done before” (verse 10, NIV). His actions have, over the centuries, challenged scholars: though the law of his God forbade the worship of anything other than the Lord, it said nothing about having to pray toward Him three times a day in an open window toward Jerusalem. Why didn’t Daniel, for 30 days, play it cool? Instead, in an overt in-your-face act of defiance, he kept doing what he had been doing all along, and for his trouble was thrown into the lions’ den.

As most students of the Bible know, the creatures left him alone—restrained by God’s power. In the morning King Darius, after finding him alive and well, had Daniel pulled from the den and—in a repetition of a theme that pervades the book—the king declared: “I issue a decree that in every part of my kingdom people must fear and reverence the God of Daniel. For he is the living God and he endures forever; his kingdom will not be destroyed, his dominion will never end” (verse 26, NIV). Thus, another pagan king is moved to acknowledge the power and sovereignty of Daniel’s God.

Tale of Two Cities

Numerous themes and leitmotifs run through the book of Daniel, including the connection between supernatural powers and the powers of this world. Though earthly sovereigns can overthrow nations militarily, deport and enslave captives, decide on life or death for their subjects, and enforce a state religion—the only real sovereign is the Lord God. Babylon and then Media-Persia dominated the ancient world, but rulers from both empires were forced to acknowledge the power and everlasting dominion of Daniel’s God—even though these men dominated the land of Daniel’s people.

The immediate context of this book is battle between the Lord and these pagan “gods” and customs and powers. Yet it can be read as a microcosm of a cosmic conflict, a precursor to, Augustine’s *The City of God* versus *The City of Man*—

symbolic embodiments of the struggle between light and darkness, truth and error, even Christ and Satan. However much, and often, it seems that darkness is winning, and that people of faith are persecuted, harassed, even killed, the book of Daniel reveals a view of the world and its history that, going beyond the past and the present, points to the future. It points to the supernatural denouement at the end of time when these bitter battles end, when evil is vanquished, and when God's eternal kingdom is established: "His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom the one which shall not be destroyed" (Daniel 7:14, NKJV).

Peter Paul Rubens' Daniel in the Lions' Den (which my son came close to modifying as only a toddler could) depicts a helpless Daniel looking up, hands clasped in prayer, seeking help from above, his only hope against eight large and mean-looking lions. His situation, in short, is so human: surrounded by earthly forces greater than himself, and before whom he was helpless, Daniel pleads for the intervention of the only God whose might is greater than anything earthly power could throw his way.

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LIBERTY



Deformations of the Apocalypse

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When Communism collapsed in 1989, capitalism was the alternative. If capitalism collapses, what is the alternative today? This question deserves serious consideration. The dearth of policy solutions to the current economic crisis, compounded by sharp partisan policy disagreements in the United States and political indecisiveness in Europe and Japan, puts the virtual collapse of capitalism within the realm of plausibility.

Besides the protracted economic recession, a concatenation of intractable challenges—unsustainable budget deficits driven by irrepressible health-care costs and escalating expenditures on retiring baby boomers; surging corporate profits against stagnating wages, reinforcing growth of inequality and poverty; insufficient consumer demand because of excessive household debt and high unemployment; an unbridled global economy that localizes benefits to corporate chieftains but globalizes risks—threatens the very foundations of free market capitalism.

The current economic slump is the deepest since the Great Depression. And what is really sobering—as Paul Krugman, a Nobel laureate, has repeatedly emphasized—is that only the massive public spending during World War II ended the Depression. But then we must realize that the huge public spending advocated by Krugman and the Keynesians is constrained by ballooning budget deficits and fiercely opposed by deficit hawks and Tea Party activists. Incidentally and of first importance, the accruing national debts are rooted in unsustainable promises of the modern welfare state. These promises were made in the wake of the Great Depression and World War II as a defensive response to the horrors of Nazism and the specter of Communism. The European Union and the American-shaped international organizations (NATO, U.N., and IMF) were also designed as barriers to the totalitarian menace.

“Thanks to half a century of prosperity and safety,” wrote Tony Judt, the Pulitzer-winning historian, in *Reappraisals: Reflections on the Forgotten Twentieth Century*, “we in the West have forgotten the political and social traumas of mass insecurity. And thus we have forgotten why we inherited those welfare states and what brought them about.”¹ This amnesia is indeed dangerous. It recalls the blithe claims by leading economists, Ben Bernanke among them, before the 2008 financial debacle that severe business cycles had been tamed and were a relic of the past. If the severity

of the 2008 financial crisis exposed the naïveté of those claims, it should disabuse us of the smug belief that the primal spiritual forces—forces that have always trailed social and economic catastrophes—have been tamed. The demonic mythical powers, as Ernst Cassirer warned in the wake of Nazism, have not been really vanquished and subjugated. They are always there, lurking in the dark, and waiting for their hour and opportunity.²

To be sure, the motley of resentments, hatreds, paranoia, millenarian fantasies, and demonological conspiracies that the Nazis forged into a virulent totalitarian ideology are still with us, gushing in the sewers of the Internet. As the rise of right-wing populists in Europe portentously reveals, they are now seeping through the widening cracks of the free market edifice. Yet in appraising the epithets “neo-Nazi,” “neo-Fascist,” “irrational,” “right-wing extremists,” and others used to describe these forces and passions, our understanding of this netherworld is feeble and foolhardy. Far from being a fantasy of the economically thwarted or academic quacks, this netherworld is primitive and demonic. And the survival of the primitive-conspiratorial-magical realism through the centuries and its eerie ability to assume concrete ideological form and messianic dimensions in times of severe social crisis should alert us to the forces that we are dealing with.

Against these demonic-magical forces human reason or agency is easily rendered helpless. It is worth remembering that Greek rationalism was smothered by the popular magical-mystical cults, which later swamped the Greco-Roman civilization. These cults did not simply smother Greek rationalism—they absorbed and converted it, to produce the various streams that make up the Western occult tradition: Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, Kabbalah, and Hermeticism.

Significantly, in both the Greek and Roman cases, the ascendancy of the occult was against the background of social and economic crisis. Similarly, the collapse of the medieval universe was attended by a revival of Hermetic magic and the occult during the Renaissance. Again, when from the late eighteenth century the European agrarian order was shattered by the emergence of industrial capitalism and urbanization, the occult enjoyed a strong revival, especially in Germany, where it deeply influenced German Romanticism, idealism, and Volkish-nationalist ideology.

Largely unperceived at the time, the threat posed by these occult forces became all too salient with the rise of Nazism. Immediately after Hitler's first electoral victory in 1930, Thomas Mann warned against the "spiritual sources of support" that Nazism could draw from.³ Indeed, in *Mein Kampf* Hitler himself asserted that "any violence which does not spring from a firm spiritual base will be wavering and uncertain."⁴ And his speeches were saturated with religious allusions and metaphors of national rebirth and redemption, reconciliation and unity, and entreaties to the Almighty. To be sure, his self-confidence was rooted in his egomaniac conviction that Providence had chosen him to redeem Germany. Mussolini evinced the same spiritualism. As Mussolini put in *The Doctrine of Fascism*: "Fascism is a religious conception of life . . . which transcends any individual and raises him to the status of an initiated member of a spiritual society."⁵

Again, Mussolini's and Hitler's political or secular spirituality was not original. Although Fascism and Nazism were products of World War I, the constituent ingredients had been in the making at least since the French Revolution. Nationalism and mass democracy had long been sacralized, suffused with religious rituals, festivals, myths, and symbols.⁶ The messianic notion of the coming führer of the Germans had been molded long before it was fitted to Hitler.⁷ The widespread, visceral polemic against the divisions and tensions engendered by liberal parliamentary democracy and industrial capitalism, including its anti-Semitic undertow, also predated Hitler. Also long in the making and permeating all these historical antecedents was a deep yearning for a mystical-national unity, for a radically new harmonious society.

These historical antecedents notwithstanding, the German catastrophe was not inevitable. But in the wake of World War I and the Great Depression, under extreme social and economic crisis that produced a deep longing for salvation, these antecedents entered into new ideological combinations and assumed intensely enchanting forms, at once political and spiritual. Astigmatism to the deeply spiritual dimension of the German crisis, in particular to the "spiritual sources of support" the Nazis were drawing from, doomed Germany. Unable to distinguish between the divine and the demonic, good and evil spirits, the true Messiah and the false messiah, Germans were seduced by "Hitler's claim to be the providential savior." As

Fritz Stern observed: “His religious invocations suited a society which for generations had seen the intertwining of the divine and the secular.”⁸ Stern also observed how the “silent secularization,” especially of Protestant Germany, abetted the sacralization of the nation, the state, and politics, and left an unacknowledged vacuum in which pseudo-religions could flourish.⁹

The past is always present. A similar vacuum exists in the West today. A progressively liberal and regressing Protestant Christianity has left a spiritual vacuum that has been filled by pseudo gospels, religious charlatans, magical spirituality, Internet-organized superstitions, and conspiratorial cults of unreason. On the other hand, while Catholicism has steadfastly resisted the secular tide, as a church-state instrumental in the birth of Western civilization, it is congenitally and historically implicated in the con-fusion of the divine and the secular, the political and the religious: the con-fusion that is at the heart of spiritual deformations or secular religions such as Fascism and Communism. Indeed, modern freedoms, be they religious, economic, political, or individual, were elaborated as a retort to the medieval church-state’s authoritarianism; to its passion for unity that had all the intimations of modern totalitarianism.

This point is of first importance because Catholicism has played an influential and commendable role in the global debate about social and economic justice. Indeed, in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis it presented its ethical teachings as an antidote to unbridled capitalism. And in the encyclical *Caritas in Veritate* (2009) Pope Benedict XVI excoriated the evils of global capitalism and called for the establishment of a “true world political authority” to check unbridled capitalism. Addressing the impersonality and moral vacuity of globalization, the pope also called for a “process of worldwide integration that is open to transcendence.” Incidentally, in *Making Globalization Good: The Moral Challenges of Global Capitalism*, edited by John H. Dunning, the distinguished international business scholar, prominent economists (e.g., Joseph Stiglitz and Jonathan Sacks), policymakers, and business executives, echo the Catholic moral critique of global capitalism. They not only call for a new “moral ecology” that is more responsible and inclusive; they also argue that the collective force of world religions can be harnessed to achieve an integrated, balanced global ethic.

Since moral criticism of global capitalism has also been a staple of leftists, anarchists, Islamists, and most of the developing world, it is universal. This renders capitalism very vulnerable. After all, it has never developed a language to legitimize itself. It has survived its ideological opponents primarily because it has been successful. Absent that success or after the shattering of a global economic crisis, anticapitalism can easily provide a fulcrum for the convergence of interests, mobilization of passions, and creation of the “true world political authority” proposed by the pope. We must remember that the Protestant Reformation’s critique of religious absolutism, the pluralism of the free market, and liberal democracy are in a sense spiritual retorts to the primal human propensity to play God, to contravene the limits of our knowledge and power.

Indeed, the collapse of Communism and of the global financial system in 2008 should teach us the limits of our knowledge. We just do not have the acumen to run things too big. Absolute projects and ultimate solutions belong to the eschaton, to the coming Messiah. As Paul succinctly put it, “we know in part and we prophesy in part, but when completeness comes, what is in part disappears” (1 Corinthians 13:9, 10).¹⁰ Simply put, in line with our human finitude all social, political, and economic projects must be partial and provisional, “to be kept flexible and perpetually subject to revision and renewal in the light of political experience seen in an eschatological perspective.”¹¹ This perspective is most animated by the apocalyptic insight of “that ancient serpent called the devil, or Satan, who leads the whole world astray” (Revelation 12:9), by aping God or “masquerading... as an angel of light” (2 Corinthians 11:14). Historically, this satanic mendacity is palpable in the so-called irrational forces, in their pungent spirituality, conspiratorial-magical realism, and most of all in their eerie ability to assume concrete ideological form and messianic dimensions in times of acute social and economic crisis.

Again, satanic mendacity is the clue to the demonic essence that made Communism, Fascism, and Nazism so seductive, so destructive and transcendently evil. As Eric Voegelin, one of the twentieth century’s foremost political scientists and an escapee from the Nazis, pointed out: “When considering National Socialism from a religious standpoint, one should be able to proceed on the assumption that there is evil in the world and, moreover, that evil is not only a

deficient mode of being, a negative element, but also a real substance and force that is effective in the world. Resistance against a satanical substance that is not only morally but also religiously evil can only be derived from an equally strong, religiously good force. One cannot fight a satanical force with morality and humanity alone.”¹²

Leszek Kolakowski, an ex-Marxist Catholic philosopher who was exiled from his native Poland and author of the magisterial *Main Currents of Marxism*, made the same point, “The devil is part of our experience. Our generation has seen enough of it [evil] for the message to be taken extremely seriously. Evil, I contend, is not contingent, it is not the absence, or deformation, or the subversion of virtue (or whatever else we may think of as its opposite), but a stubborn and unredeemable fact.”¹³

Of course, the secular intelligentsia never invokes God or the devil in any diagnostic capacity. Yet Hobbes and Locke—founders of the liberal tradition—used apocalyptic imagery, and invoked God and the devil to unmask the spiritual pride and egomaniacal passions behind the political theologies of their day. Actually, this keen apocalyptic insight into the irrepressible, self-deifying propensity of pride played a constitutive role in the development of ideas about liberty and political pluralism at the heart of the Anglo-American liberal tradition.

If the gist of the separation of powers was to check the primal egomaniacal passions, the separation of church and state was to deny them the divine sanction or spiritual cover they masqueraded under. Also, as Albert O. Hirschman showed, the birth and growth of capitalism entailed the domestication of pride, the aristocratic passion for military honor and glory.¹⁴ Apparently, in both politics and economics, the pluralism of the Anglo-American liberal tradition was informed by a moral and psychological insight into the problem of the passions, pride above all, which was traced to the devil. Regrettably, this rich and complex Protestant-apocalyptic context has been overlooked or underappreciated. This leaves the Anglo-American liberal tradition at a serious disadvantage against moralizing and religious ideological opponents.

The 2008 financial crisis put Anglo-American capitalism on trial; and the jury is still out. However, the moral critiques of global capitalism evince a deeply unsettling historical amnesia and spiritual astigmatism. Forgotten here is that when they were still in the future, before Fascism and Nazism were dishonored by their diabolical crimes and Communism by its dystopian failure, their inclusive and communitarian visions were viewed as moral antidotes to the evils of capitalism and liberal democracy. In other words, are we not just as deluded in our visions of a global moral order? The apocalyptic warning that “Satan himself masquerades as an angel of light” (2 Corinthians 11:14), should alert us to the ever-present danger of satanic mendacity. Indeed, the diabolical results of past moral efforts to solve the contradictions of capitalism, should disabuse us of global moral solutions. The evils of capitalism can be alleviated but never eliminated. For the final solution, let’s wait for the divine Redeemer and not presume to play global god ourselves.

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9 *Ibid*, p. 11.

10 Texts in this article are from the Holy Bible, New International Version.

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12 Cited in Michael Burleigh, *Earthly Powers: The Clash of Religion and Politics in Europe From the French Revolution to the Great War* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2007), p. 5.

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About Liberty



First Freedom: The Fight for Religious Liberty - The Film

Published in the May/June 2013 (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/issue/may-june-2013>) Magazine

by Gregory W. Hamilton (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/gregory-w.-hamilton>)

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What is the truth when it comes to understanding the constitutional principles of the separation of church and state, and the free exercise of religion? In today's passionate melee over the Health and Human Services' "contraception mandate," and on other issues such as gay marriage, school prayer, the placement of Ten Commandment monuments in public buildings, or the direct funding of private and religious schools by federal and state governmental entities, factions on both the religious and political Left and Right are co-opting and invoking the nation's constitutional Founders. Many summon them ignorantly and incredulously.

In an effort to bring clarity to the public view, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) entered the national discussion in December last year by airing *First Freedom: The Fight for Religious Liberty*. The production represents a masterpiece of the blended, nuanced views of center-, center-Left-, and center-Right-leaning scholars in a unified presentation on how our country's constitutional Founders separated the supervisory and regulatory power of the state from the church, and the manipulating and coercive power of the church from the state. The Founders recognized that a truly successful democratic republic could never survive without making both the church and the state independent and free. This distinction is worth noting because PBS, and the cast of scholars it chose, have made very clear the stark differences between America's puritan and constitutional founding periods. The Great Awakening is presented as necessary to make sense of the theological, cultural, and political seeds of the American Revolution and the gradual transition between these two main periods of American history.

"A City Upon a Hill"

America's nascent journey toward religious freedom sprang from both religion and politics. It began with the English Pilgrim Separatists who settled Plymouth Colony upon their arrival on the *Mayflower* in 1620. They were Puritans who broke away from the monarchical Church of England because they felt they had not completed the work of the Protestant Reformation. This, they believed, was because of the church-state unity that corrupted both the state and the church's "separate but holy" duties. The Congregationalist Puritans were given a royal charter to settle what would become the Massachusetts Bay Colony centered in Plymouth, and later in

Boston. These Puritans accepted some of the customs and rights of the Church of England and defined church-state collaborations for their own holy and utopian societal purposes.

But the seeds of their own unraveling came through their lack of tolerance for dissension, usually resulting when anyone expressed a differing point of view. This led to the martyrdom of evangelical pioneer Mary Dyer, the banishment of Anne Hutchinson, the Salem witch trials, in which 20 women and girls were put to death, and the subsequent persecution and exile of Roger Williams. He was the inspiration for future Baptist pastors such as Isaac Backus and John Leland, who would go on to nurture Williams' heretical doctrine of church-state separation in the minds and hearts of America's Revolutionary Founders, particularly Thomas Jefferson and James Madison.

The Great Awakening and the Road to Revolution

The PBS special moves gradually from the Puritan colonial years to the First Great Awakening, in which evangelicalism began to sweep all the colonies—north, middle, and south. According to Colonial period scholar Jon Butler from Yale University, this period was particularly significant because the Congregational Puritan Church gradually became the stepchild of the government, and no longer the master. Clergy came under fire for increasingly boring sermons as the Dutch and English field preachers, inspired through the charismatic and winsome ministry of the great revivalist George Whitefield, spread the emancipating message of universal salvation through Christ. Whitefield's sermon tracts, as well as his preaching throughout all the colonies, gave birth to America's First Great Awakening.¹

What remained constant in both the Puritan and First Great Awakening periods was the idea that America was the new Israel in a new Promised Land. What changed was the insertion of a revolutionary cause whose message was universal salvation and freedom through Christ alone, and not by way of a king, a specific denominational polity, or government. Religious pluralism, largely a Protestant phenomenon, germinated the spirit of democracy and antiestablishmentarianism.²

The Quebec Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1774, inflamed many in the colonies. It replaced the previous oath of allegiance with one that no longer made reference to the Protestant faith. It guaranteed Catholics the freedom to worship and

practice their faith. It restored the Catholic Church's right to impose tithes. American Protestants saw this act as a sign that they were becoming increasingly hemmed in and surrounded by Catholics to the north in Canada, Catholic Spaniards to the south in Florida, and Catholic Francophiles in Louisiana. It had the effect of augmenting the growing revolutionary fervor in America against Britain.

Declaration of Independence Coincides With Virginia's Declaration of Rights

When Parliament replaced the Toleration Act of 1689 with the Coercive, or Intolerable, Acts of 1774, it represented a frontal assault and rejection of John Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*,³ which had been published in London in 1689. Locke's central premise was that individual rights, equal rights, were inalienable and came from God and not kings. The educated elite in the American colonies took immediate note of this significance. Therefore it is not surprising that the very language of Thomas Jefferson's authorship of the Declaration of Independence had John Locke written all over it in philosophy, message, and tone, serving as a corresponding assault on King George III and the so-called divine right of kings:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”⁴

In this mix of heady revolutionary talk was Virginia's Declaration of Rights, drafted by George Mason in May of 1776, with a special section emphasizing religious freedom authored by James Madison. Unanimously adopted on June 12, 1776, by Virginia's Convention of Delegates, it too had John Locke's name written all over it. The Virginia Declaration of Rights influenced the Declaration of Independence (drafted in June and ratified on July 4, 1776), the United States Bill of Rights, and the French Revolution's Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789).

Section XVI of the Virginia Declaration declared: “That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator and the manner of discharging it, can be directed by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other.”⁵

Then, on June 12, 1788, James Madison, the unsung hero and little known father of the United States Constitution, made this brilliant observation to the delegates at Virginia's ratifying convention regarding how freedom of religion was to be achieved and how it was the central basis for the hope of any successful experiment with a constituted democratic republic: "Is a bill of rights a security for religion? . . . If there were a majority of one sect, a bill of rights would be a poor protection for liberty. Happily for the states, they enjoy the utmost freedom of religion." "This freedom," Madison argued, "arises from that multiplicity of sects, which pervades America, and which is the best and only security for religious liberty in any society. For where there is such a variety of sects, there cannot be a majority of any one sect to oppress and persecute the rest."⁶

In the fall of 1788 Madison, in his extensive correspondence with Thomas Jefferson, said that he was "in favor of a bill of rights" if it was "so framed as not to imply powers not meant to be included in the enumeration."⁷ In other words, it was assumed that since Congress possessed no power to interfere with basic rights, the Constitution alone would be enough. The problem remained, Jefferson argued, that such basic rights had yet to be spelled out in a formal guarantee. But Madison persisted in reasoning that certain essential rights, particularly the rights of conscience, could never be fully guaranteed by law.⁸

James Madison—Getting It Right

At the first session of Congress in 1789, the House of Representatives and the Senate wrote separate draft language for what they thought should be the wording of the establishment and free exercise clauses of the First Amendment.

On the House side, James Madison led the way, bringing to the table his vast experience in drafting the religious freedom section in Virginia's Declaration of Rights, Section XVI, and from his long fight with Thomas Jefferson to pass Virginia's Statute for Religious Freedom. Madison had also defeated Patrick Henry's "Bill Establishing a Provision for Teachers of the Christian Religion." Madison's leadership produced drafts that avoided language that would open the door to nonpreferential or so-called nondiscriminatory types of funding for churches and private religious schools, or for constitutional amendment language stating that the nation was a "Christian nation."

The religion clauses of the U.S. Constitution continue to produce the same divide between those who seek to keep church and state as separate as possible and those who seek to have government both sponsor and fund faith-based charities, institutions, and schools. In the PBS special, Professor Robert George of Princeton University subtly but clearly argues that the religion clauses were meant by the constitutional Founders to foster “the right to bring faith into the public square.”⁹

“How far, how little?” are the obvious questions that remain with us today. Does this mean government sponsorship of prayer in public schools, or government funding of religious ones? Professor Robert Alley of the University of Virginia, Jefferson’s creation, makes this extreme statement: “To whatever degree a form of [religious] establishment, no matter how mild, enters the Constitution through the amending process, free exercise of religion is dust.”¹⁰ Really? The truth—as former Associate Justice Sandra Day O’Connor continually revealed in her balanced opinions and rulings on the Supreme Court—continues to lie somewhere in between.

The Founders did get it right, as did the rest of the United States of America. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina introduced the “no religious test clause” for public office holding and oath taking in Article VI of the Constitution,¹¹ which directly influenced the outcome of the presidential election of 1800 and the emergence of Thomas Jefferson as president. The constitutional Founders sought an Enlightenment-influenced separation from Puritan and medieval standards of church domination of the state. The religion clauses of the First Amendment set in motion an America that became even more enthusiastically religious, pluralistic, powerful, and free. They empowered the Second Great Awakening.¹² As Jon Meacham observed in the PBS special, America emerged in a way like no other country in history—a country in which its citizens could privately and publicly honor its civil-religious traditions without government endorsement or support, financially or otherwise.¹³

When it comes to government funding, today’s reality may seem to defy the intent of the Founders, but Jefferson’s and Madison’s proverbial “wall of separation” continues to hold back today’s zealous tide of state-sponsored puritanism, while the

free exercise of religion continues to hold back the forces of extremism in the form of state-sponsored godlessness.

Ultimately, America's constitutional Founders believed in freedom of religion, not freedom from religion or freedom to enforce religion on others based on their beliefs, or anyone's beliefs, particularly acts of worship. This meant upholding both the establishment and free exercise clauses of the First Amendment to a high constitutional standard against powerful forces. Using this standard, government neutrality means that religion and religious institutions must be allowed to thrive freely, but without official endorsement.

The First Amendment, in part, states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Today, some seek to reinterpret the no establishment provision separating church and state in ways that would require government to financially support their institutions and enforce their dogmas so as to solve the moral ills of the nation.

Others seek to marginalize the free exercise of religion in favor of placing a higher level of protection on lifestyles destructive to universal moral principles sustaining all societies. Both are harmful to our constitutional health. The nation's Founders anticipated this tension. That is why they created an internal check and balance within the very wording of the First Amendment in order to prevent the country from being overrun by either extreme in the great church-state debate (a puritanical versus godless society). They believed that if this balancing safeguard were somehow removed by overzealous politicians or the fickle masses, our nation's constitutional guarantees would be lost, and with it our civil and religious freedoms. As former Associate Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor put it in a speech at the University of Ireland: "The religious zealot and the theocrat frighten us in part because we understand only too well their basic impulse. No less frightening is the totalitarian atheist who aspires to a society in which the exercise of religion has no place."¹⁴

PBS is to be applauded for its special production of *First Freedom: The Fight for Religious Liberty*. It will help to restore our country's understanding of its first freedom.

1 See Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990). See also Richard L. Bushman, ed., *The Great Awakening: Documents on the Revival of Religion, 1740-1745* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); and Joseph A. Conforti, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition, and American Culture* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

2 See Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *Major Problems in American Colonial History: Documents and Essays* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1993).

3 See John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

4 Thomas Jefferson, *Writings* (New York: The Library of America, 1984), pp. 19-24, final draft version of “A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled.”

5 James Madison, *Writings* (New York: The Library of America, 1999), p. 10.

6 Saul K. Padover, ed., *The Complete Madison: His Basic Writings* (Norwalk, Conn.: The Easton Press, 1953), p. 306.

7 Pauline Maier, *Ratification: The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010), p. 444.

8 Letter to Thomas Jefferson, Oct. 17, 1788; in Padover, *The Complete Madison*, p. 253.

9 *First Freedom: The Fight for Religious Liberty* (Public Broadcasting System, 2012).

10 Robert S. Alley, *Without a Prayer: Religious Expression in Public Schools* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1996), p. 56.

11 Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, eds., *The Founders' Constitution*, vol. 4, p. 638. “Mr. Pinckney moved to add to the art:—‘but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the authority of the U. States.’”

12 See Greg Hamilton, “The Revolution of 1800: Jefferson and the Puritan Assault on the Constitution,” *Liberty*, March-April 2001, pp. 2-5.

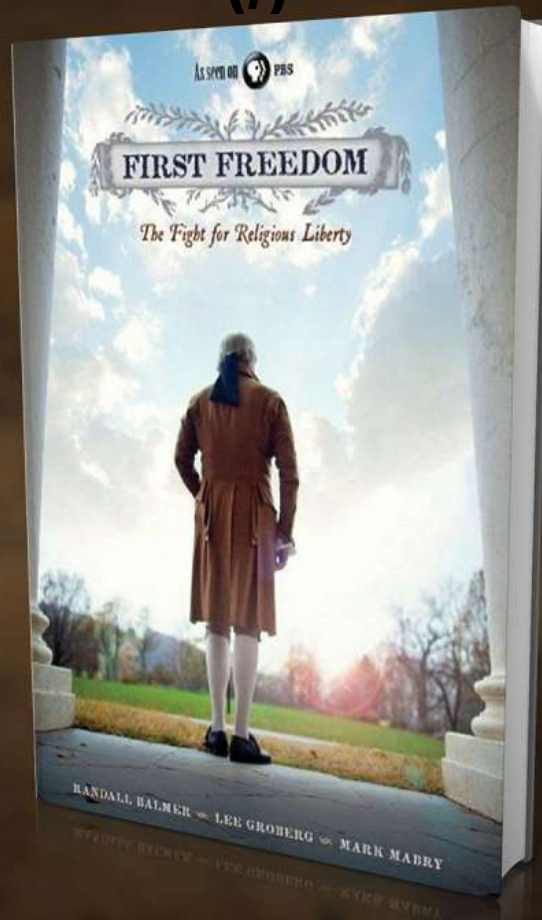
13 See Jon Meacham, *American Gospel: God, the Founding Fathers, and the Making of a Nation* (New York: Random House, 2006).

14 Sandra Day O'Connor, "Religious Freedom: America's Quest for Principles,"
Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly 48 (1997): 1.



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Gregory W. Hamilton is President of the Northwest Religious Liberty Association (NRLA). Established in 1906, the Northwest Religious Liberty Association is a non-partisan government relations and legal mediation services program that champions religious freedom and human rights for all people and institutions of faith in the legislative, civic, academic, interfaith and corporate arenas in the states of Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Oregon and Washington. Mr. Hamilton wrote the seminal work, "Sandra Day O'Connor's Judicial Philosophy on the Role of Religion in Public Life," published in 1998 by Baylor University. From time to time, Greg publishes Liberty Express, a journal dedicated to special printed issues of interest on America's constitutional founding, church history and its developmental impact on today's church-state debates, and current constitutional and foreign policy trends. He is available to speak in North America and internationally about these subjects and related issues. To become familiar with the Northwest Religious Liberty Association, please visit www.nrla.com.



First Freedom: The Fight for Religious Liberty

Published in the May/June 2013 (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/issue/may-june-2013>) Magazine

Book Review, by Edd Doerr (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/edd-doerr>)

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On December 18, 2012, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) presented a 90-minute documentary titled *First Freedom: The Fight for Religious Liberty*. An excellent introduction to this all-important subject, it traced the development of religious freedom in America from early colonial times to shortly after 1800, coming down firmly on the side of church-state separation. It used a great many period visuals and featured short interviews with many religious liberty scholars. George Washington, John and Samuel Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Benjamin Franklin, and others come off well, though John Winthrop and the Puritans come off as, well, narrow and unfriendly to religious freedom and diversity. A DVD of the program is available.

First Freedom: The Fight for Religious Liberty, by eminent historian Randall Balmer, is the companion book to the television program. A handsome, lavishly illustrated 9" x 12" coffee-table volume, it is suitable for either the general reader or as a supplemental reading for high school or college history classes. It is comfortably priced at \$26.99. An Episcopal priest, author Randall Balmer has had a distinguished career as a professor of religious history at Columbia and Dartmouth, and has also been a visiting professor at Princeton, Yale, Northwestern, and Emory universities. He is the author of more than a dozen books, including *God in the White House: How Faith Shaped the Presidency From John F. Kennedy to George W. Bush*. His second book, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey Into the Evangelical Subculture in America*, was made into a three-part award-winning PBS documentary.

Balmer touches all the bases—the Puritans of New England, the Anglican south, the more diverse middle colonies/states; the development of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights; Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, and Mary Dyer; the Virginia struggles that led to adoption of the church-state separation principle; Madison's Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments, Washington's 1790 letter to the Jewish congregation in Newport, Rhode Island (actor Ed Asner and I were featured speakers at the 1990 bicentennial celebration at the Touro Synagogue there), and Jefferson's famous 1802 "wall of separation" letter to the Danbury Baptists, the influence of religious dissenters, and the deism of founders such as Jefferson and Franklin.

Although the book is wonderfully comprehensive, there are items that I wish had been included. He could have included mention of the 1797 treaty with Tripoli, negotiated under Washington, ratified by the Senate, and signed ostentatiously by John Adams, which stated that “the government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion.” Sadly missed, too, is Benjamin Franklin’s earlier dictum: “When a religion is good, I conceive it will support itself; and when it does not support itself, and God does not take care to support it so that its professors [adherents] are obliged to call for the help of the civil power [government], ’tis a sign, I apprehend, of its being a bad one.”

In the book’s prologue Balmer shows that the men who gathered in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 to draft the Constitution were well aware of the history of church-state relations, or entanglements, from the establishment of Christianity as the state religion of the Roman Empire in the fourth century, through the Middle Ages, the Reformation, and wars of religion in Europe, to the settlement of our New World after 1607 by Puritans in the north, Anglicans in the south, and a mixing bowl in the colonies in between.

Puritan New England was as close to a theocracy as you could get. Church and state were united. Almost as a direct result of this, Anne Hutchinson and her family were forced out of Massachusetts for her heterodoxy. Quakers were executed on Boston Common. Roger Williams was so uncomfortable with Puritan theocracy that he founded Rhode Island as a haven for dissenters and became the first great champion of religious liberty, ultimately inspiring Thomas Jefferson. (I was thrilled when I was the speaker years ago at the Roger Williams Baptist Church in Providence, and I wish *First Freedom* had included photos of the statues of Anne Hutchinson and Quaker martyr Mary Dyer—very visible on the lawn of the Massachusetts state capitol in Boston.)

As our country moved in the direction of independence during the eighteenth century, religious diversity grew by leaps and bounds. Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Lutherans, Dutch Reformed, Unitarians, Moravians, Schwenkfelders, Catholics, Jews, and unorganized deists competed with the established Congregationalists in the north and Anglicans in the south. “Dissenting” Baptist preacher Isaac Backus in Massachusetts preached a sermon in 1773 titled

“An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty, Against the Oppressions of the Present Day” calling for separation of church and state, while in Virginia Baptist preachers were thrown into jail.

A year after the American Revolution began in the spring of 1775, a committee of five, including Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin, got together to draft the Declaration of Independence. Aware of our religious diversity, they attributed our inalienable rights to a generic “Creator”—nicely counterpoising the “divine” rights of the people against the European tradition of “divine right of kings.” With the war for independence over and our first constitution, the Articles of Confederation, proving unworkable, the representatives of the people met in Philadelphia in 1787 to draft what was to be the Constitution of the United States of America.

The original constitution was virtually silent on the matter of religion, no mention of a Creator but only a brief prohibition in Article VI of religious tests for public office and a statement that all federal and state legislative, executive, and judicial officers “shall be bound by oath or affirmation.”

Early in the war, in 1776, Virginia adopted a Declaration of Rights that asserted that “religion . . . can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience.” Freedom, Madison declared at the time, is superior to toleration. But there remained a way to go. Still to be dealt with was the question of government compelling citizens to contribute to the support of an established church or even to support all churches. Jefferson put it this way: “To compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors, is sinful and tyrannical,” and, “even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern.”

During the war, popular Virginia politician Patrick Henry favored establishing the Anglican (Episcopal) Church, something Jefferson, Madison, and the dissenting churches opposed. As matters came to a head in 1785, Madison wrote his brilliant

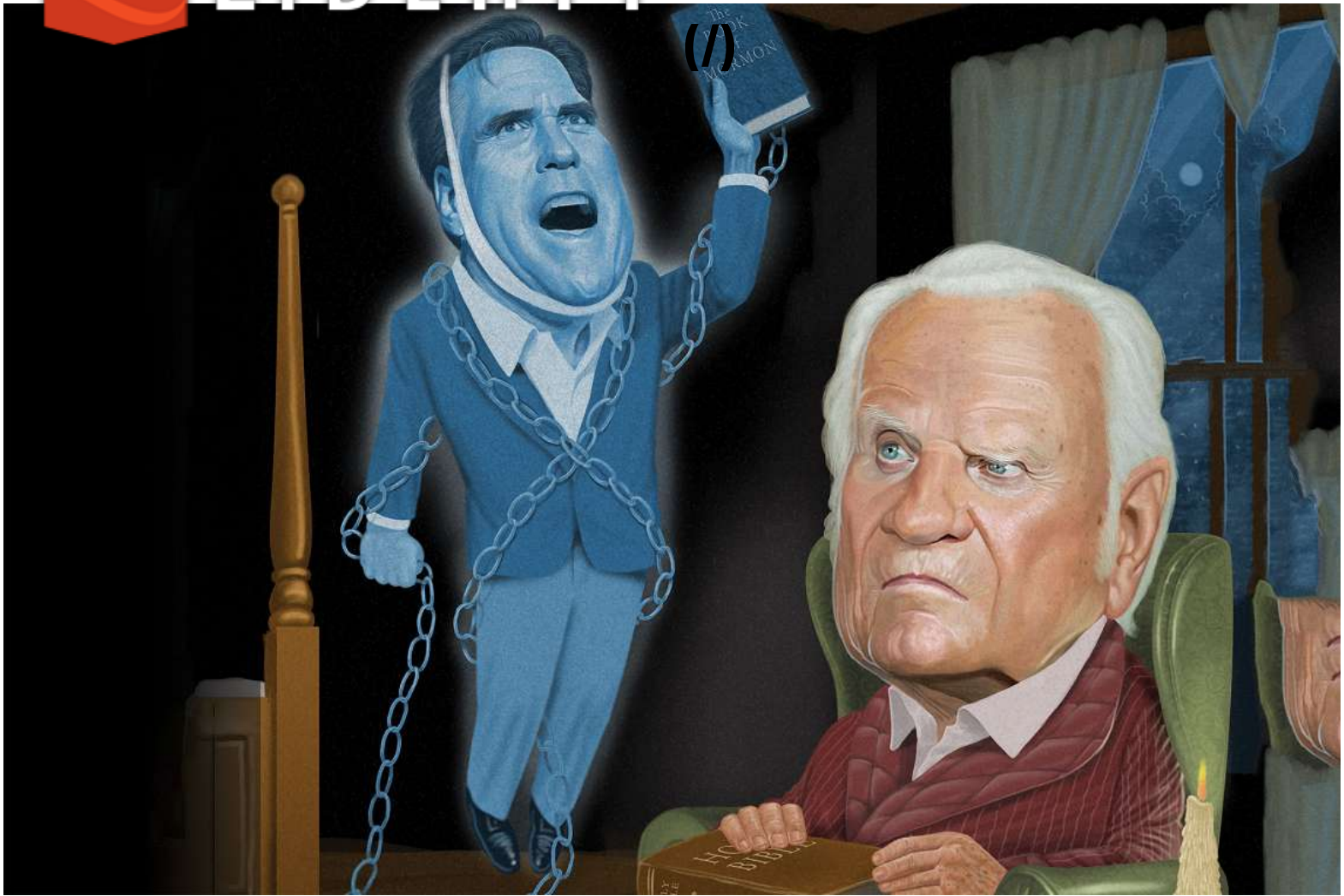
Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments to counter Henry. It worked, and in 1786 Virginia adopted Jefferson's landmark Statute for Religious Freedom, one of his three accomplishments that he wanted to be remembered for.

The new Constitution still had to be ratified by the states. Jefferson, our envoy to France, and Madison were disappointed that the document lacked a bill of rights. Ratification then was contingent on the promise that a bill of rights would be added as soon as possible. After several revisions Congress arrived at what is now the First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Despite the wishes of Madison and others, the Bill of Rights applied only to the federal government. Making it applicable to state and local government had to wait until passage of the Fourteenth Amendment after the Civil War and then for decades more, until the Supreme Court got around to confirming the fact. The several states included similar provisions in their constitutions.

Beyond the scope of *First Freedom* and the PBS documentary are the current and ongoing often bitter battles over religious freedom, tax support for religious institutions, and freedom of conscience in Congress, in state legislatures, in the media, in academia, and elsewhere. But the American experience with religious liberty stands as a beacon to the whole world. And Randall Balmer's great book and the PBS documentary are outstanding contributions in the never-ending struggle for freedom.

Author: Edd Doerr (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/edd-doerr>)

Edd Doerr, president of Americans for Religious Liberty. Doerr, a former history teacher, is the compiler, with Albert J. Menendez, of the 2002 book *Great Quotations on Religious Freedom*.



The Ghost of Elections Past

Published in the May/June 2013 (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/issue/may-june-2013>) Magazine

Opinion, by Kevin D. Paulson (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/kevin-d.-paulson>)

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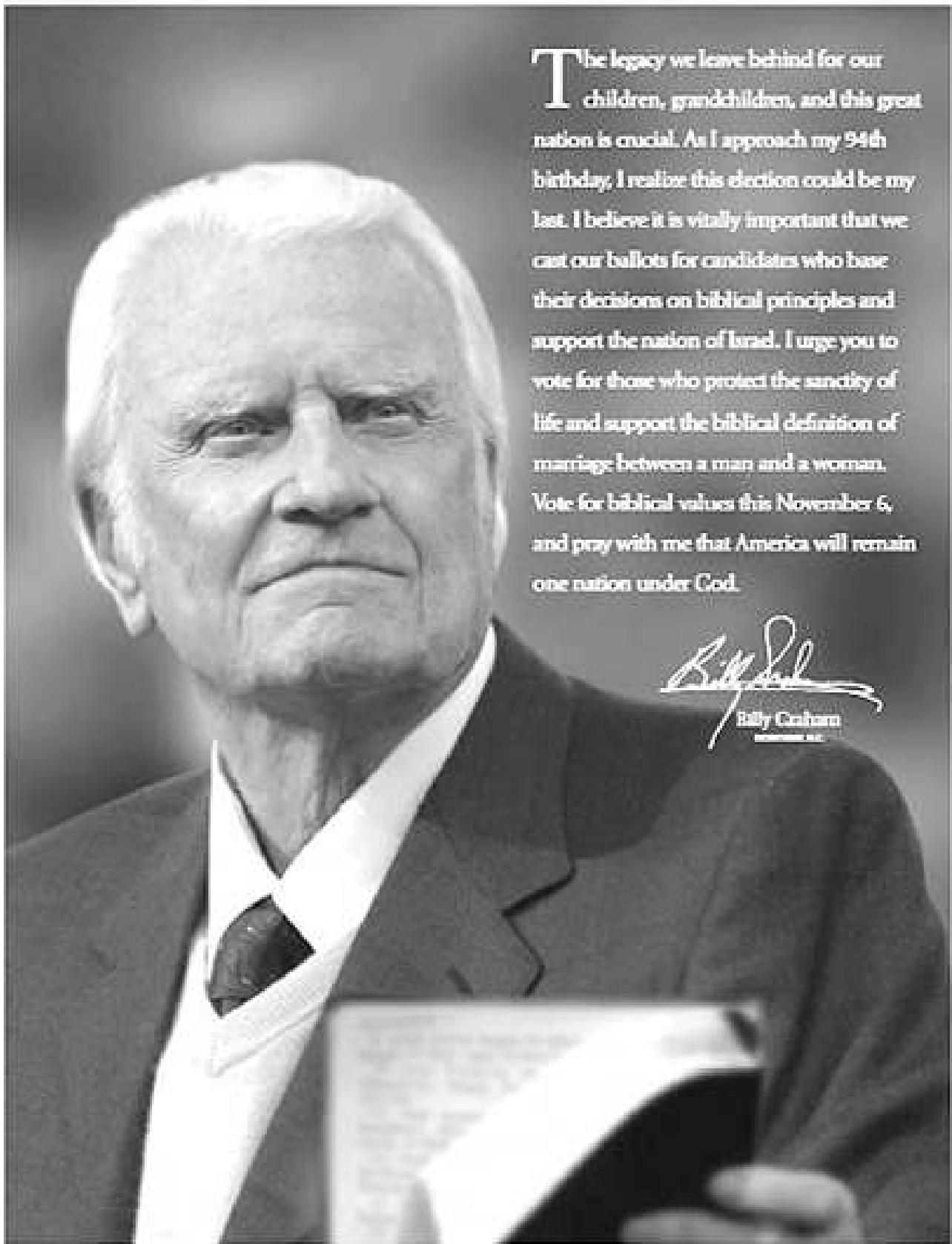
Recent actions by prominent evangelical Christians give evidence of compromise for the sake of political advantage, including what might be called one of the most striking theological sellouts in the history of the Christian church.

The closing days of the 2012 U.S. presidential campaign witnessed a remarkable, almost unbelievable reversal on the part of the world's most iconic and conspicuous evangelical leader, regarding the identification of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—commonly called the Mormon Church—as a theological cult.

Just in time for the second debate between President Barack Obama and challenger Mitt Romney, evangelist Billy Graham and his son Franklin met with Romney at Billy Graham's North Carolina home. One political observer chronicles the subsequent story in a few short words:

“On Thursday, when they met, Mormonism was a cult on Graham's Web site. On Tuesday, the offending passage was gone. Like Moses on Sinai, Billy Graham on his mountaintop in Montreat, N.C., changed the religious landscape with a snap of his fingers.”¹

In evangelical and fundamentalist Christian circles, this cult identification has often been attached to such groups as Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, Scientologists, the Unification Church, and others.² The Web site of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, like similar groups within the evangelical orbit, identifies a cult as “any group which teaches doctrines or beliefs that deviate from the biblical message of the Christian faith.”³ While they have the right to make this designation, it functions as an act of extreme religious prejudice.



The legacy we leave behind for our children, grandchildren, and this great nation is crucial. As I approach my 94th birthday, I realize this election could be my last. I believe it is vitally important that we cast our ballots for candidates who base their decisions on biblical principles and support the nation of Israel. I urge you to vote for those who protect the sanctity of life and support the biblical definition of marriage between a man and a woman. Vote for biblical values this November 6, and pray with me that America will remain one nation under God.

Billy Graham
Billy Graham
Evangelist

Full-page ads placed by Billy Graham in major U.S. newspapers just days prior to the 2012 election were widely perceived as an endorsement of Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney.

Following this abrogation of Mormon cult status, Franklin Graham declared that the 2012 election was “America’s last call” for avoiding wrathful judgment from God.⁴ Noting the devastation wrought in the Northeast by Hurricane Sandy, Graham clearly implied that unless the country elected Mitt Romney as president, far worse calamities would likely befall our land. Apart from an attempt at political blackmail, such a prediction of future troubles would seem to match a truism with political intent.

Exegesis or Expediency?

One cannot speak of one who doubtless has been the world’s most prominent Christian evangelist for the past half-century or more, without a large measure of respect. Especially in light of the fact that Billy Graham and his family, unlike so many others in similar lines of labor in recent decades, have kept their ministry and personal conduct almost entirely scandal-free.

What is more, Billy Graham has for many decades distinguished himself as “America’s pastor”—the confidant and spiritual counselor to individuals from many walks of life, including presidents of both political parties. Now, it would seem, he is not immune to the drift toward crass partisanship.

But considering their posture and reputation in evangelical circles, it is truly impossible not to see this seismic shift on the Grahams’ part as one of the most jaw-dropping events in recent Christian history. Such a change of position is no less dramatic than if the late Jerry Falwell had decided abortion and homosexual marriage are in fact acceptable Christian practices, or if the pope were to decide to endorse artificial birth control.

The inescapable conclusion for the honest observer is that this reversal by the Grahams regarding Mormonism’s cult status was an act, borne not of biblical exegesis, but of political expediency. One is frankly appalled by what one reporter was constrained to call “the embrace of the moral relativism the church has always claimed to oppose”⁵ in the following statement by Graham spokesman A. Larry Ross:

“Through an inclusive evangelistic ministry spanning more than 60 years, Mr. Graham was called to preach the transformative message of the gospel to the whole world, regardless of one’s religious background, affiliation or none. As such, he

never proselytized, targeted, or labeled specific people, groups, faiths, or denominations.

“Neither did Mr. Graham attempt to divide his audience before he had opportunity to preach to them. He has a genuine love for all people, and faithfully proclaimed the love of God to everyone, providing opportunity for them to respond by making a faith commitment.

“Mr. Graham’s calling is not to pass judgment, but to proclaim the biblical truth that Jesus is the only way to heaven, allowing every individual and group to fall along that plumb line.”⁶

Ross further stressed that “salvation is the work of God . . . and that only He knows what is in each human heart.”⁷

But if in fact the Grahams have “never proselytized [or] targeted specific . . . groups, faiths, or denominations,” why were the Mormons listed for so long as a cult on the Grahams’ Web site? And why does their site still in fact list other groups as such? The inconsistency here is nothing short of breathtaking.

Most important of all, why have the Mormons been removed from their status as a cult on the Graham’s Web site? Have the Mormons changed their theology recently? Have they renounced those areas of doctrine to which conservative Christians have hitherto raised objection? Or is this truly an open-and-shut, blatant case of theological compromise for the sake of political power?

Equally ironic is that many of the same evangelicals who insisted they couldn’t vote for President Obama because they doubted he was a “real” Christian chose to vote for one who—according to their own long-held religious tenets—is not a Christian at all. Of course they could have, all along, paid tribute to the constitutional requirement that there is “no religious test” for public office, but that has not been the case.

Leaving Faith Further Behind

In the November/December 2011 issue of this magazine, my article “Leaving Faith Behind”⁸ noted a similar compromise on the part of Minnesota congresswoman Michele Bachmann, on the eve of her announcement of presidential candidacy in June 2011. After 10 years of membership in the Salem Lutheran Church of Stillwater, Minnesota, the Bachmanns left this church just before Michele

entered the presidential race, citing as a reason their former denomination's belief (stated on its Web site), that the Roman Catholic Church is the antichrist of Bible prophecy. They had every right to leave or change their minds, but one is obviously led to wonder why it took the Bachmanns 10 years to decide this belief was unacceptable to them. Did they suddenly find biblical or other problems with this particular tenet of Lutheran theology? Or did it have more to do with the large number of Catholics living in such states as Iowa and New Hampshire?

With this declaration by the Grahams regarding Mormonism, we confront a far more conspicuous sacrifice of biblical absolutism and theological integrity on the altar of political gain. To the present writer's knowledge, the Mormon Church and its leaders have made no movement in their teachings toward a more orthodox Christian stance. The only change that has occurred is that a member of that denomination just happened to acquire his party's presidential nomination, and was thus poised to challenge and perhaps unseat an incumbent administration despised by the Christian Right. Rather than risking division in evangelical ranks at the polls, or seeing large numbers of their flock just stay home in despair at the choice confronting them, those who have so often rebuked the moral and theological compromise in today's world chose to craft an unbelievable compromise of their own.

Like the pursuit of material wealth, the quest for temporal power is a dangerous thing. Once large numbers of conservative Christians decided politics was a convenient venue for furthering their goals, the political imperative of winning at all cost began to supersede the sanctity of sound doctrine. The effective surrender of Protestant principles as a means of cementing an alliance between evangelicals and Roman Catholics was one major step in this process.⁹ Now the ecumenical hand is stretched across the gulf to clasp the hand of a religious movement long recognized for its opposition to key principles of classic Christianity. Sober reflection constrains the thoughtful observer to ask, If conservative evangelicals are prepared to ignore biblical conflict with Mormon theology for the sake of present political convenience, how many other biblical teachings might they sacrifice in the future, should expediency so demand?

Following the Grahams' announcement, one headline read "Franklin and Billy Graham Sell Their Souls for a Mess of Republican Pottage."¹⁰ It is difficult if not impossible to argue with this assessment. Like the Esau story of old, there is surely a consequence of these concessions.

1 Hrafnkell Haraldsson, "Billy Graham's Debate Day Present to Romney—You're Not a Cultist," at www.politicususa.com/billy-graham-present-romney-cultist.html (<http://%20www.politicususa.com/billy-graham-present-romney-cultist.html>).

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 Hrafnkell Haraldsson, "Franklin Graham Says Election Day 2012 Is America's Last Call," at www.politicususa.com/franklin-graham-election-day-2012-americas-call.html (<http://%20www.politicususa.com/franklin-graham-election-day-2012-americas-call.html>).

5 Haraldsson, "Billy Graham's Debate Day Present to Romney—You're Not a Cultist."

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

8 Kevin D. Paulson, "Leaving Faith Behind," *Liberty*, November/December 2011, pp. 4-7.

9 See "Evangelicals and Catholics Together: The Christian Mission in the Third Millennium," *First Things*, May 1994.

10 <http://twenty-twelve.net/franklin-and-billy-graham-sell-their-souls-for-a-mess-of-republican-pottage/> (<http://twenty-twelve.net/franklin-and-billy-graham-sell-their-souls-for-a-mess-of-republican-pottage/>)

Author: Kevin D. Paulson (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/kevin-d.-paulson>)

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Martin Luther King and Religious Freedom

Published in the May/June 2013 (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/issue/may-june-2013>) Magazine

Quote, by Chuck Colson (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/chuck-colson>)

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“It is a perfect time for schools to help students connect the dots between Martin Luther King’s fight for civil rights and the freedom of religious expression in America. Dr. King’s call for justice was guided by his religious convictions and the liberty to act on those convictions.

You’ve heard me say often on BreakPoint that religious freedom is coming under increasing assault in this country. It’s one reason I and others drafted and signed the Manhattan Declaration, which has been signed by half a million people. The Declaration specifically cites Dr. King’s magnificent ‘Letter From a Birmingham Jail,’ in which he taught that ‘a just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God.’ An unjust law, however, ‘is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law,’ and therefore has no binding power over human conscience.”

From BreakPoint with Chuck Colson, a radio ministry of Prison Fellowship Ministries January 15, 2012. Colson, a central figure in the Watergate scandal, turned his life around and became an evangelical Christian leader and national figure. He died April 21, 2012.

Author: Chuck Colson (<http://www.libertymagazine.org/author/chuck-colson>)

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