

LIGHT

Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention
November-December 1983



GAMBLING INDUSTRY EYES SOUTHERN STRATEGY

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Gambling Industry Eyes Southern Strategy

by Larry Braidfoot

While watching my seven-year-old son and my four-year-old daughter choose some candy at the convenience store, I noticed a poorly dressed man sitting on a stool playing a Draw 80 poker machine. These are the type of machines recently confiscated by the Tennessee Bureau of Investigation for their use in illegal gambling. On the stool next to him playing another poker machine was his son, who couldn't have been any older than my seven-year-old.

I received a bundle of material from a concerned Baptist in Jackson, Mississippi. It was an unsolicited advertisement for a lottery in Canada.

On Friday, October 7, I watched the ABC show "Lottery!" to get the names of the sponsors so I could complain about their sponsorship of the series. The executive producer of the series has stated that the series, if successful, would be a 60-minute commercial for state-run lotteries. This particular episode gave new meaning to the words "moral outrage." In this episode, a grandfather had bought a lottery ticket and given it to his grandson, who turned out to be the winner of a \$2 million prize in the lottery.

These personal experiences are, unfortunately, not unusual. These aren't "sob stories" which distort the pervasiveness of the gambling industry's attempt to greatly extend its base of operation. These are omens

of the future if the gambling industry has its way.

The Year Ahead

The gambling industry is going to make 1984 a time for perhaps its biggest push for expansion into new territory. And the industry has its eyes on the Southern states which are the homeland where Southern Baptists are found in greatest numbers.

Only four states—Hawaii, Indiana, Mississippi, and Utah—have no form of legalized gambling. Bingo is legal in 46 states.

The three main forms of gambling which are pressing for increased legalization are pari-mutuel gambling on horses, state-run lotteries, and casinos.

Pari-mutuel gambling on horse races is legal in 32 states. It made some inroad in 1982 by winning a statewide referendum in Oklahoma, although no track has yet been built. Proponents of pari-mutuel racing continue to be active in Tennessee, South Carolina, Mississippi, Texas, Missouri, Alabama, Kansas, and Georgia.

The horse-racing industry is being described frequently as a "graying industry." It is beset with a number of problems. Like boxing in earlier years, horse racing has been marred by corruption which has caused a

loss of confidence on the part of many would-be spectators. It has been unable to recruit younger bettors in the large numbers desired. Horse racing is losing in the competition battle with other forms of gambling.

The most obvious sign of the loss of financial strength in the horse-racing industry is the decline which has occurred in the amount generated for states. The "financial benefit" to state budgets has actually declined from a high of \$714.6 million in 1976 to only \$652.9 million in 1982. During that same period, the rate of inflation was 67.8 percent. The adjusted "financial benefit" to state budgets declined by 45.5 percent in six years!

The form of legalized gambling which is billing itself as the financial cure-all is the state-run lottery. At present, 18 states have them. Concerned citizens in North Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana, Missouri, New Mexico, Mississippi, Arkansas, Colorado, and Kansas have been confronted with the lottery challenge and will probably face it again in 1984.

A state-run lottery succeeds financially for the state only when the state regulatory commission engages in a major publicity campaign to encourage its citizens to wager their money in the lottery. Thus the state regulatory commission, which is sup-

posed to oversee the operation and protect its integrity, becomes a public relations firm which sustains and justifies its existence by hyping its product.

Lurking in the shadows, however, is the specter of the casino. The casino forces will push heavily in the near future for legalization in Miami Beach, Florida. They already have land options or own parcels of land in many resorts throughout the nation in anticipation of greater acceptance, particularly if the pari-mutuel and lottery forces can dilute public resistance and fears.

Professor George Sternlieb of Rutgers University has just completed a study of Atlantic City in the aftermath of the legalization of casinos. He tells a horror story of how life has been worsened by the invasion of an industry which generates an income of \$1.5 billion. Unemployment hasn't been reduced. Housing prices have skyrocketed. Crime is up. Prostitution is up. The only real beneficiaries are the banks and other financial interests which provide special services to the gambling industry.

The latest evidence of criminal activity there is the effort of organized crime to control the vendors who sell hot dogs in the streets!

Some Bad News and Some Good News

The present push for legalization of gambling is fueled by two factors. One factor is economic, the other is demographic.

The current lingering economic recession has pinched all state budgets to the point where they are looking, sometimes frantically, for new sources of income. The gambling industry is offering legalized gambling as a "painless" form of raising revenue which will meet budget shortfalls while allowing state legislators to brag about "no new taxes" being enacted. In essence, the states would be "farming out" the collection of taxes, with the legalized gambling ventures being the collectors which pass along to the states a meager

“Gambling is the vice of the savage. True civilization ought to outgrow it, as it has outgrown tattooing and cannibalism.”

Walter Rauschenbusch—1907

amount for the privilege of doing business.

The great migration of hundreds of thousands of people to the Sun Belt is a second factor which fuels the push for legalization of gambling in the South and the Southwest. Gambling has always been more acceptable to people in the North and the Northeast. Many of the people who have moved into the South and the Southwest are more familiar with gambling, more tolerant, and more likely to participate in it. The gambling industry hopes this will have the effect of diluting voter resistance to legalized gambling.

A recent Gallup poll gives some bad news and some good news for those who believe that legalized gambling is bad for public policy.

The bad news is that 82 percent of those surveyed indicated that they favored some form of legalized gambling. Seventy-four percent of those surveyed said that since people are going to gamble anyway, the state should derive income from the gambling. And 72 percent said they favored the establishment of state-run lotteries.

The good news for those who hope to prevent the gambling industry from scoring landslide advances is that a sizable percent of citizens continue to perceive the link between gambling and criminal activity. Forty-four percent of those surveyed said they "strongly agree" with the contention that legalized gambling probably would attract organized crime into the state. And even *Gaming Business* magazine recognizes the bad news for the gambling industry when 63 percent of the respondents believe that legalizing gambling encourages some people to gamble who would not do so otherwise.

Facing the Challenge

What does all of this mean for

Baptists and other concerned citizens?

- It means that legalized gambling will be a major issue for concerned Christians in 1984. Those concerned about the morality of public policy and about economic justice will have to face the serious challenge of an industry which is going to spend millions of dollars in lobbying and public relations to advance its predatory activity.

- It means that we must recognize that gambling is not simply a matter of personal morality, to be decided by individuals apart from public policy concerns. An industry which wrecks lives, leads to an increased crime rate, fails to deliver what it promises in financial rewards, breaks homes, leaves families in financial stress, and preys upon the poor is not an industry which is a matter of personal morality. When the consequences of an industry's activity are so great, the issue is one which demands consideration of its impact upon the general welfare and the common good.

- It means that we must be active and aggressive in our citizenship. Register to vote. Be informed on the issue. Get information from the Christian Life Commission, state ethics agencies, and other sources and use it. Write legislators and other elected officials. Go to public hearings. Write letters to the editors of newspapers and magazines. Be willing to argue with lobbyists and pro-gambling legislators. Testify before public hearings. Work with other concerned citizens.

Larry Braidfoot is general counsel and director of research for the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission with a major assignment for programs related to citizenship and economics.

World Hunger

Hunger's Face and Hunger's Faces

by Foy Valentine

We need to look carefully at hunger, at hunger's face and at hunger's faces, for if with regard to so grave a moral issue as this we can first know where we are and whither we are tending, we can better know what to do and how to do it.

When Moses was being dealt with by the Almighty, he never saw His face, only His "back parts" (Exodus 33:23), since the fullness of the Divine presence would have been infinitely more than his merely human eyes and heart muscle and nerve system could tolerate.

Most of us now are aware of the "back parts" of hunger; we know about the fringes of hunger's dreadful ways; we have seen its sinister shadow thrown briefly across the screen of our consciousness; we have read about it in our four-color slick-paper magazines; but if we are to deal effectively with its challenge, we must take a closer and more careful look at the visage of this ancient and awful enemy of humanity.

The Face of Hunger

If I am faithful to my calling here, I must do more than enable you to catch a whiff of doom with regard to hunger. I must show you the plight of the poor. I must enable you to hear the pitiful wails of the hungry babies. I must lead you to look sorrowfully but intently into the hollow eyes of the starving children. I

must walk with you through an assessment of the appalling, irreversible, preventable brain damage of all those individual human beings who, because they were too hungry too young too long, are doomed to nourish a blind life within their brains and to function always with such low voltage mentally and physically as to compel them to a fate in some respects worse than death. I must help you to understand that because their severe early malnutrition which did not quite quench the fire of life for them nevertheless dampened the fire so that what is left is dull and listless, and chronically depressed, barely smoldering instead of brightly burning. And, above all, I must help you to see that most of hunger's incredible suffering and waste and systemic violence could be prevented if we had the will to prevent it.

Revelation 6:1-8 records John's dreadful, even grisly, vision of the four horsemen.

The white horse may well be the symbol not only of conquest but also of elitism, colonialism, aristocratic conservatism, exploitation, polite but nevertheless raw power, manipulation of the underprivileged by the privileged, the calloused conquest of the weak by the strong, the haughty spirit of snobbery which politely but ruthlessly pushes away from the trough the common herd lest they get their feet in the trough and bring unpleasantness or disruption — "Let

them eat cake" the elite say when told that the poor have no bread. The white horse is running full speed in our world, still going forth "conquering, and to conquer."

The red horse is the symbol of war and violence, of wanton killing of one another, of senseless slaughter, of pillage, of burning, of bombing, of ruin and want and hell. He is running not only in Honduras, El Salvador, Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq, and in Lebanon but also in the Kremlin and in the Pentagon.

The black horse stands for what was once called famine which we have now named HUNGER; and the balances in the figure are reminders of how precious to the poor is a grain of rice, a kernel of wheat, a crust of bread, a morsel of root. Ezekiel spoke of such trying times when Jerusalem "shall eat bread by weight, and with care" (4:9). There are few places on earth where his thundering hoofbeats cannot be heard.

The pale horse stands for "Death, and Hell followed with him. And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth." Death has many servants to do his will and works with many weapons. This pale horse of death stares balefully over us all.

There is not one of the four horsemen of the Apocalypse who does not speak of hunger, who does not scream of injustice, and whose gross snorting does not signal distress for the weak and needy.

Facts and Figures

The National Academy of Sciences published a study eight years ago

“There is not one of the four horsemen of the Apocalypse who does not speak of hunger, who does not scream of injustice . . .”

which still appears to be generally valid, saying that "750 million people in the poorest nations live in extreme poverty with annual incomes of less than \$75" and that "hundreds of millions more in developing countries . . . subsist at poverty level incomes."

[Cf. *Cry Justice*, p. 6 for documentation.] "At least 462 million are actually starving"; many more have enough calories to survive but lack the necessary protein required to produce the energy and stamina required for human life to function normally [Ibid].

Probably about a billion persons alive this minute are either actually starving or are badly undernourished.

If all of the world's truly hungry people were lined up 36 inches apart outside our front door here, the line would stretch out until it had encircled the globe some 25 times.

About 40 thousand human beings die every day after an agonizing period of slow and painful starvation.

Of these, about half have been estimated to be children.

Translated into annual figures, about 15 million to 20 million persons are now starving to death every year, and perhaps as many as 10 million of these are children.

One out of three children born in the world this year is expected to die of malnutrition before reaching the age of five.

More people starve to death in three days than were killed at Hiroshima.

Starvation has killed more people in the last five years than all the wars, revolutions, and murders of the last hundred years.

Hunger, sadly, is alive and well.

History, Geography, and Sociology

Since prehistoric times when wandering nomads fled from the scourge of drought and sought refuge from the fearful fingers of famine, hunger has stalked the human race. As early as in Genesis 12:10, we are told that "there was a famine in the land: and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there; for

“Hunger’s faces, however, are more fearsome still. Each of them bears the imprint of the image of the Lord God Almighty . . .”

the famine was grievous in the land.” Arid and semiarid countries are famine-prone, for occasional periods of comparatively heavy rainfall can turn such lands into highly productive agricultural oases which draw people to them with a promise of plenty; and then when the rains cease the inevitable hunger comes.

It is the very poor, the very young, the very weak, and the very old who have always suffered most when famine comes. The rich and the strong have been able to move “down into Egypt” to avail themselves of food while the poor and the weak have been left behind to suffer, to weep, and to starve. Traditionally, rural people have tended to gravitate from the abject poverty of the country to the still very real poverty of the cities where prospects for work and relief have been generally perceived as less severe. This phenomenon can be seen today in Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Cairo, and Delhi. The misery quotient of these new urbanites may be great but it is seldom great enough to motivate them to move back to the country. They stay in the urban slums where the cancer of hunger slowly but surely metastasizes until it finishes its awful course.

Among the more populous nations classified by the United Nations as “most seriously affected” by hunger and malnutrition are, in Asia, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Cambodia, India, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Sri Lanka; and, in Africa, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Empire, Chad, Ethiopia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Mauritania, Niger, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and Upper Volta. Also included in this classification are such Middle Eastern nations as Egypt, Yemen Arab Republic, and

Democratic Yemen as well as such Central American and Caribbean countries as El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, and Honduras.

A number of factors are involved in bringing the people in these countries to their present condition: conquest, colonialism, slavery, economic exploitation, drought and other national disasters, overpopulation, inadequate transportation systems, faulty agricultural methods, tribal and racial and national animosities, misplaced national priorities, depression, runaway inflation, militarism, sickness, and ignorance.

Most of these countries are north of the equator and south of the twentieth parallel (which runs near Mexico City, through the heart of the Sahara desert, and slightly south of Honolulu). Almost all of them are extremely dry. Hardly a single one has escaped the heavy hand of conquest, colonialism, and economic exploitation. Most are very densely populated.

Hunger’s face is fearsome; and to look longer into it might paralyze us into inactivity.

The Faces of Hunger

Hunger’s faces, however, are more fearsome still. Each of them bears the imprint of the image of the Lord God Almighty, though it is a besmirched, distorted, badly blurred image. Each of them is a brother or sister to each of us for as Malachi has said, “Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us?” (2:10). And each of them was born capable of love, liberty, tenderness, caring, achievement, happiness, joy, laughter, productivity, and usefulness in the service of God and humankind.

(continued on page 6)

. . . Hunger

(continued from page 5)

To look at these faces too long, of course, or too intently could not only paralyze us but could leave us in some hopelessly catatonic condition from which we could not move to remedy these awful wrongs, feeling with Jean-Paul Sartre that the only freedom we really have is whether or not to commit suicide. But look at them we must.

Among the faces of hunger we see first those of the children. It is painful to look into their eyes, pitifully dulled by the lack of protein. Because we ourselves have studied and know at least something about nutrition, we know that behind their tortured faces are brains forever deprived of their potential, tongues that can never speak brilliantly for God's glory and humanity's good, throats that will never sing in joy either for themselves or for the enrichment of the lives of others. Their stomachs are bloated. Their limbs are spindly. Their hair is thin. There is no energy or life to brush away the flies around their eyes. We weep for the hungry children.

Next we see the faces of the women. The men are possessed of a measure of brute strength with which they tend to fend for themselves and with longer legs with which they tend to walk away. But the women will not leave their children. Like the cow who when deprived of her calf walks the fence and lows, these poor, sad, lonely, frightened, frail, sick women who are hungry themselves wring their hands and weep. Their tears are the vocabulary of their tortured souls; and they are suffering infinitely more because their children too are hungry. I know of no more mournful sound on earth than the deep and anguished lowing of a cow whose calf has been taken away; but infinitely more mournful is the sight of the faces of these hungry women against whom the ill winds of male chauvinism, poverty, exploitation,

unemployment, sickness, and hunger are relentlessly, mercilessly beating.

Now, see also the faces of the very old. They are wrinkled, sallow, tired, miserable. Their eyes are sunken. Their sight is dim. Their cheekbones are protruding. Their teeth are gone because in their poverty there was no knowledge of dental hygiene when they were younger. Their hair is thin and badly matted. Their olfactory nerves are deadened so that they do not smell their own stench. Their auditory nerves are deteriorated so that they can hardly hear their own groaning and moaning. And most of all they are hungry. They are hungry because they are poor. By some inscrutable turn of the wheel of fate, they have managed to grow old; and now they have fallen on such hard times that they can only hope for some sudden visitation of pneumonia or contagious and fatal disease which can provide them with quick release from their misery. See the faces of the hungry old people.

Faces, faces, faces, faces.

Causes and Cures

There is enough food in the world, of course, for everybody. There is enough arable soil to grow all the food the people of the earth can be imagined to need or want. What is lacking is a distribution system which can overcome the barriers of geography, language, culture, politics, greed, class, caste, creed, and color.

A few years ago it was popular to speak of overpopulation, weather, and shortages as the causes of hunger; and these are unquestionably factors that contribute to the hunger problem.

Hunger's basic cause, however, is poverty; there is no money for food.

Contributing causes are, moreover, numerous and complex. Among them are naturally inhospitable climates such as prevail in Afghanistan, Yemen, and the sub-Saharan desert called the Sahel which fundamental conditions are sometimes exacerbated by devastating floods, droughts, monsoons, earthquakes, or

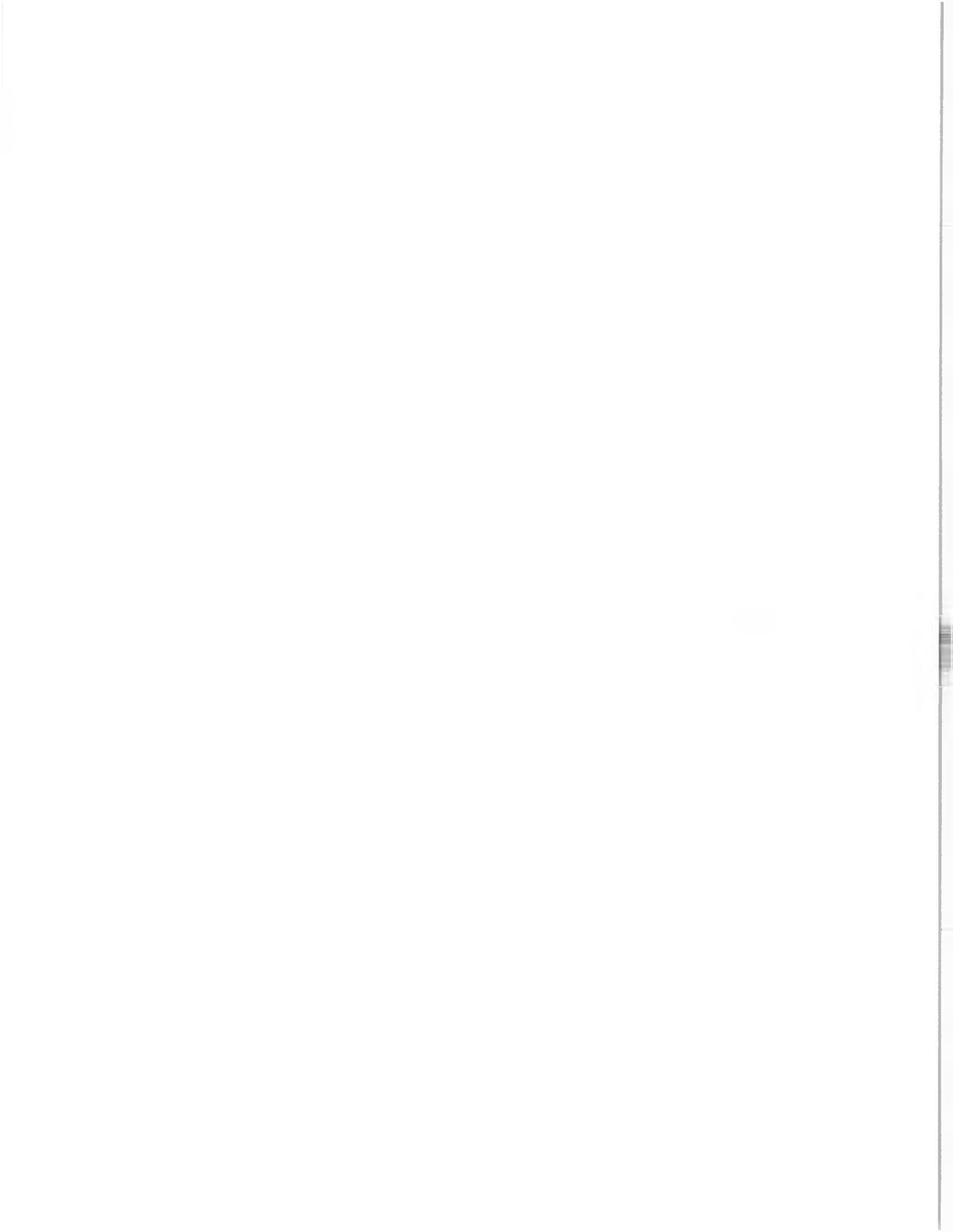
unseasonably cold or hot weather.

Then there is colonialism which in certain sophisticated ways is still very much alive and well. With bipartisan support and at the passionate urging of President Reagan, Congress today is preparing to vote \$8.5 billion for a bail-out of the greedy international banks. Colonialism's evil legacy has been slavery, resource abuse, enforced peonage, economic exploitation, denial of human rights, wastage of human resources, destruction of familial systems, promotion of such frivolous and sometimes harmful things as coffee and tobacco, and now inflation and/or debt — with a vengeance.

In the third world where hunger is most rampant, militarism has taken over as colonialism has moved into its new phases. Like the person who fled from a bear only to have a lion meet him, the third world, non-industrialized countries have gradually extricated themselves from the worst webs of early colonialism only to find themselves caught immediately in the clutches of a left-wing military dictator like Castro in Cuba or a right-wing dictator like Marcos in the Philippines.

Moreover, militarism in the developed, industrialized countries also contributes to the world hunger crisis as it cultivates a universal commitment to arms purchases of extremely costly modern weapons. Consider Indira Gandhi's development of the nuclear bomb. Huge portions of almost all nations' national wealth are poured into military hardware. The nations of the world, including the very poor nations where hunger has most persistently reared its ugly head, are now spending many hundreds of billions of dollars annually for weapons of war. Militarism contributes to hunger.

The hunger problem, however, is fundamentally a moral problem. The world can be expected to persist in pursuing things at the expense of helping persons. Apart from God's grace, it can be expected to keep on beating its plowshares into swords, molding its bread into bombs, and



**CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION
SEMINAR**



March 26-28

Twin Bridges Marriott

Washington, D.C.

Your Invitation —

We invite you to join us next March 26-28 in Washington, D. C., the nation's capital, for this exciting seminar which offers special information and challenge during the election year. Christian commitment means involvement in, not withdrawal from, all the great issues of life. Citizenship is one of the great issues demanding our involvement in today's world. The world of citizenship is the world of government and multinational corporations, the world of taxes and debt, the world of war and peace, the world of liberty and justice and the world of poverty and human rights.

Your Opportunity —

HEAR AND DIALOGUE WITH THESE OUTSTANDING SPEAKERS

This exceptional seminar will feature these noted speakers and other well-known personalities who will be announced soon:

- **Helen Caldicott**, President Emeritus of Physicians for Social Responsibility and Founder of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament.
- **Harvey Cox**, Author, Lecturer, and Professor of Theology, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- **Pablo Deiros**, Professor of Church History, International Baptist Theological Seminary, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- **James Flanning**, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia.
- **George Gallup, Jr.**, President, The Gallup Organization, Princeton, New Jersey.
- **Mark Hatfield**, United States Senator from Oregon.
- **Bill Hendricks**, Professor of Theology and Philosophy of Religion, Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, Mill Valley, California.
- **Randall Lolley**, President, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina.
- **Gardner Taylor**, Pastor, The Concord Baptist Church of Christ, Brooklyn, New York.

Meeting Accommodations —

The meetings will take place at the Twin Bridges Marriott where special rates have been secured: \$50 single and \$55 for double, triple, or quadruple. The registration fee for this conference is \$35 (\$17.50 for spouses of registrants and \$17.50 for students). When you send the Commission your registration fee, we will send you the official form on which to make reservations with the hotel. **Because of space limitations in the meeting room, registration must be limited to 825 persons. Please register early.**

To register please send your check to the Christian Life Commission with a copy of the form below or with the information requested on the form. Join us for this exciting seminar on "Christian Citizenship," March 26-28, in Washington, D. C.

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- Enclosed is my registration check:
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trading its life-giving protein for death-dealing neutrons.

But of the people of God we can expect more, much more.

Charity God requires. We have not yet touched the hem of the garment of respectable, unembarrassing, even passably decent, charity. Charity is an essential, concrete, physical act without which faith will inevitably languish and without which love will inevitably die.

Justice also God requires, righteousness in public affairs, righteousness in national affairs, righteousness in international affairs, justice in economic systems, justice in political systems, justice in social systems, justice in production systems, justice in distribution systems. Justice is at the heart of God, at the heart of revealed religion, and at the heart of a solution to the hunger problem.

We are beginning to see just how massive, how pervasive, how tragic hunger is. It is easy to get frustrated. What can Christians do? What difference can one single person possibly make? As we know, however, our actions both individually and together can and do make a genuine difference, sometimes even a profound difference. They are the difference between life and death for many, many human beings created in God's image, after His likeness.

How can we help the hungry? Here are some specific things we can do. The first and most important

thing we can do is pray. Prayer does change things. Prayer helps us to see the hungry poor with the compassion of Jesus Christ; and prayer helps us to order our lives as our Lord who "went about doing good" ordered his.

A second thing we can do is to give. If every Southern Baptist gave just \$1 a year through our local churches to help the hungry, we could double our annual world hunger relief gifts through our Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board and our Home Mission Board. We are now doing some good but we can do much, much better.

A third thing we can do is to maintain disciplined life-styles representing truly responsible Christian stewardship. Such discipline enables us both to give more for the hungry and to maintain a truly believable, genuinely authentic Christian witness.

Fourth, we can reach out to the poor and hungry in our own neighborhoods. Through our local churches, our Baptist associational outreach ministries, and the extended Christian social ministries of our own Home Mission Board, we can help the hungry at home.

Fifth, we can exercise responsible citizenship on behalf of the hungry. For every dollar American Christians give for hunger relief abroad our government, the strongest and most compassionate government in the world, provides about \$8 to \$10 for hunger relief; and that figure could be readily doubled by our elected

representatives merely through a more careful distribution of already allocated public funds. Responsible Christian citizenship should communicate this need to our elected representatives.

Sixth, and finally, we can get more information and ideas for dealing with the challenge of hunger and for such specific things as observing World Hunger Day from applied Christianity organizations both nationally and in the state Baptist conventions, and from numerous other concerned groups and organizations which are focusing on this grave moral issue.

Having *heard*, we are obligated to *do* for, "To him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin." Jesus' words are inescapable, "Inasmuch as you have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren you have done it unto me" and "Inasmuch as you have not done it unto one of the least of these my brethren you have not done it unto me."

Our world is fat and starving.

Christians can do something about it.

Foy Valentine is executive director of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention.

This is the keynote address which was delivered at the Louisiana Baptist Convocation on World Hunger, September 30, 1983.

Helping Changed People Change the World . . .

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Peace with Justice

The Crisis in Europe and the Witness of the Church

by Glen Stassen

Editor's Note: The following article is based on an address delivered in August during the annual Christian Life Conference at Ridgecrest Conference Center in North Carolina.

The Europeans are quite distressed over the new nuclear weapons that are being deployed in Europe. At the same time, they are doing some constructive things in the churches which break the mold of stereotypes of what peacemaking was or what the churches might be doing. They are doing some very interesting things which relate to a Baptist ethic of peacemaking.

A New Crisis

For three decades the United States and the Soviet Union have raced to build more and more nuclear weapons. Both sides say they need these bombs to deter an attack by the other side. Twenty years ago there were already enough bombs to assure mutual destruction. But the arms race has continued. Now while the United States and Soviet nuclear forces are roughly equal, the opportunity exists for our leaders to stop this mad race, to pull back from this brink, to freeze the arsenals on both sides, and start to reduce them.

Instead, however, there are plans which advocate the possibility of fighting a nuclear war. Both the United States and the Soviet Union are building a new generation of

weapons which changes the nature of the arms race in a frightening way.

The United States military calls this strategy counterforce. Under this doctrine, made into official policy by President Carter, weapons are to be targeted against the Soviet weapons, not against their cities. On the surface this sounds more humane. But in reality, most of the 50,000 nuclear weapons already possessed by both superpowers will remain on civilian targets. The counterforce weapons will be added to the existing stockpiles.

These new weapons pose a new danger. Missiles that are aimed at missiles are only useful if they are launched first and catch the other side's missiles in their silos. Hence, another name for counterforce weapons is first-strike weapons.

The first of the new counterforce weapons are the ground-launched cruise missile and the Pershing II missile which are to be deployed in Europe beginning this December, a Christmas present for the end of 1983. These missiles, by far the most accurate nuclear weapons ever devised, will signal a dangerous escalation of the nuclear arms race.

The cruise missile is designed to fly at almost the speed of sound; that is, about 500 or 550 miles per hour—the speed of a commercial jet plane. As missiles go, it's slow. It flies at low altitudes, nestling among the ground contours and thereby

escaping radar detection. It will use a sophisticated ground reading tracking system which will correct for flight errors and help the missile dodge enemy weapons and obstacles. This system will enable the cruise to land within 100 feet of its target after flights of up to 1,500 miles.

Deployment of cruise missiles by either side would damage prospects for a mutually verifiable freeze. The cruise can easily be hidden and thus verification of any arms control agreement would be much more difficult than at present.

Also to be deployed within a few months is the Pershing II intermediate range ballistic missile. One hundred eight of these Pershing IIs are scheduled to replace the Pershing I missiles at several U.S. bases in West Germany over the next three years.

Pershing II will have a much greater range and accuracy than the Pershing I. It is designed to fly up to 1,100 miles and land within approximately 120 feet of its target. This unprecedented accuracy makes the Pershing II a potential first-strike weapon. Such pinpoint targeting within 120 feet of its target is not needed to attack a city, but only to attack a command and control center from which the Soviet Union gives the orders to fire their missiles or to attack a missile silo or another hard defended military installation.

Pershing II deployment will mark the first time in 20 years that the U.S. has missiles on the ground in Europe capable of striking the Soviet heartland. Ever since the Cuban missile crisis, we have agreed not to put missiles so close to the Soviet

“Deployment of cruise missiles by either side would damage prospects for a mutually verifiable freeze.”

“In polls West Germans say they want American protection. They favor NATO but not if it means nuclear war.”

Union and they have agreed not to do it to us, putting missiles in Cuba.

Pershing II will be capable of reaching Soviet targets in six to eight minutes. This means that the Soviet Union will have only a few minutes to decide whether an attack warning on their radar and computer system is true or just a computer error. Soviet leaders have said they will put their response system on hair-trigger alert if Pershing IIs are deployed. Soviet computers programmed to launch on warning might decide the fate of the earth.

Deployment of Pershing IIs will constitute a Cuban missile crisis in reverse. The idea of Pershing IIs in West Germany is just as threatening to Soviet leaders as Soviet missiles in Cuba were for the U.S. In fact, it's from West Germany that the Soviet Union has been invaded repeatedly, so there is a great emotional feeling about our putting them in West Germany.¹

The Spread of Concern

As the date for cruise and Pershing II deployment approaches, Europeans feel caught in the middle of an increasingly bitter stalemate between the two superpowers. Many Europeans refuse to take sides in this debate. They see the possibility of either superpower setting off a nuclear holocaust by accident or by design. Over half of the 6,000 tactical U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe are currently stationed in West Germany. It is by far the most densely occupied nuclear-armed real estate in the world.

New protests against the missiles are planned for this fall. They will be even larger than the demonstrations which brought millions of people to the streets of every major Western European capitol in 1981 and 1982.

The peace movement in Europe is

not anti-American. In polls West Germans say they want American protection. They favor NATO but not if it means nuclear war. In England the campaign for nuclear disarmament has the support of the Labor Party for its stance against deployment of cruise missiles and new Trident submarines in Great Britain. Hundreds of places in Britain have declared themselves nuclear free zones, including all of London and the entire country of Wales. The idea has spread to the Continent where many towns have signs posted that tell visitors: "Nuclear Weapon Free."

In Eastern Europe there is also a growing peace movement. Thousands of Germans on both sides of the border have signed the Berlin Appeal which calls for complete disarmament in Europe. Many East German churches support this cause. Half of Sicily's adult population has signed petitions opposing the cruise, and demonstrations at the site are underway. The main focus of resistance is at Greenham Common, England where the first cruises are scheduled to be installed this Decem-

“... places where the strongest protests are happening against the weapons and where alternatives are being sought are the places where Protestant churches are the strongest.”

ber. The peace camp at Greenham Common has been duplicated across Europe. The camps are a sign that many Europeans are committed to direct action to block the new weapons.

The strong majority in West Germany and most other European nations supports NATO and supports the presence of U.S. troops in West Germany. They are not

saying "We should not defend ourselves" or "We should be neutralists" or "We should be pacifists," but they are opposed to these weapons.

When all of this came to the attention of our country, spokespersons in our own government characterized what was happening in the European churches as neutralism. It's not neutralism. They want to live in the West, not in the East. They want the freedom. They're clear they want NATO. They're clear they want the American troops there. The majorities show that in the polls. But the majorities are opposed to the weapons.

Then it was labeled pacifism. But the majority of Europeans and the majority of Germans are not pacifists. They would fight in a just war. So it's not pacifism.

Then there was an attempt to smear them as Communists, but the percentage of people in Europe who are Communists is quite small, especially in West Germany. And yet the majority are opposed to the weapons. You can't explain that by the little Communist contingent.

Then finally Richard Perl in the Defense Department characterized what the churches were doing as "Protestant anxiety." He said that the Protestant churches were aware that they had been too silent as Hitler was coming to power. They felt some guilt about that and they are trying to speak out because they

feel guilty about not having spoken out before.

The places where the strongest protests are happening against the weapons and where alternatives are being sought are the places where Protestant churches are the strongest. There is a correlation between Protestant churches and the opposition to these weapons.

(continued on page 10)

... Crisis

(continued from page 9)

And it is true the churches think it was wrong not to speak out against Hitler and his evils and that they see a great evil happening here and they want to speak out. I'm not sure whether that's bad, though. I think they should speak out if they see a great evil. So there is some truth to the Protestant anxiety idea, although many Catholics and many non-Christians are also speaking out. Almost every German town every year celebrates Peace Week and the Protestant and Catholic churches are the leaders of that. The churches have Peace Week all over West Germany.

Transforming Initiative

The movement to stop these nuclear weapons is not to be seen in terms of the ethic of pacifism. Rather something new is happening. There is a group of Protestants and Catholics in West Germany which says that the majority of the people are not willing to give up the strength of having a deterrence force. They are not going to advocate a peacemaking strategy that gives up the ability to deter aggression. They're not advocating unilateral disarmament or anything like that.

On the other hand, the majority also sees as highly dangerous the buildup of these new weapons so close to the Soviet Union, eight minutes away, so that the Soviet Union has to make this hair-trigger response. This can lead to death and general nuclear war. The church in West Germany had long debates in the 1950s about whether to say "yes" or "no" to nuclear weapons and many said "no" and many said "yes."

“These steps do not get rid of deterrent power, but they do decrease the threat and they are steps toward progress.”

And they agreed to affirm each other and respect each other and keep the dialogue going and not to say a final "no" to the nuclear weapons so long as the governments sought to get the weapons under control and to move toward reductions.

But now what the church is saying is that 20 years have passed and the governments have not used the time to get the weapons under control or to reduce the weapons. They have used the time to build more and more weapons and clearly there is a greater threat now than 20 years ago. We see that too in this country. The Russians see it too. We're all much worse off.

The European Christians want an alternative. What is that alternative? Well, it's finding steps toward disarmament, initiatives that they can take. They propose, first of all, that one step to take is to say "no" to the installation of the Pershing II and the ground-launched cruise missile in Germany because that will make things so much more dangerous. They don't want this additional escalation.

Second, they propose that Germany spend its money for military weapons to do what the German army is designed to do: defend Germany in case of attack. They want to make it clear that an aggressor who comes in will get chewed up by a very strong army. They don't want to spend money on weapons which could be used to make a mobilized attack through East Germany and into the Soviet Union.

If the Soviet Union and the

Warsaw Pact is to move toward peace, their security needs must be taken seriously so they too will feel secure while they move toward some reductions. Money shouldn't be spent on the kind of weapons that would be used to attack them. Money should be put into a very strong defensive army. That's a step. It's not a step of unilateral disarmament, but it's a step that indicates to the Soviet Union an interest in moving toward mutual security.

A related third step is to refuse to export weapons to third world countries or other countries outside NATO. This exporting causes third world countries to spend the money that they need for food on weapons. None of these steps will make Germany weak. Germany already has thousands and thousands of nuclear weapons on its soil and 300,000 American troops and many other nations' troops there but it will be steps toward disarmament.

The theory is one that is developed by a psychologist named Osgood in his book called *An Alternative to War or Surrender*. When you have a situation of distrust between enemies who are threatened by each other, you figure out steps you can take that the other side will clearly observe. They're big steps so they'll see them happen. You announce a date when those steps are going to happen. There are several dates, several different steps, and you proceed as announced. And you tell the other side, "See, we're doing it."

These steps do not get rid of deterrent power, but they do decrease the threat and they are steps toward progress. You have to keep the steps happening so as not to have them be distrustful. Then you tell them, "If you make steps like this, we'll keep these steps going. If you don't make steps like this, then

“But now what the church is saying is that 20 years have passed and the governments have not used the time to get the weapons under control . . .”

we may take some tiny steps but they won't amount to much, to see if you respond."

President Eisenhower announced in 1958 that we would not test any more nuclear bombs in the atmosphere for one year. We still had plenty of nuclear weapons; it didn't make us weak, but it was a step. He said that if the Soviet Union reciprocated, then we wouldn't test them for another year and see what happened. The Soviet Union did reciprocate, so we had no more radiation in the atmosphere for several years since neither of us was

testing nuclear bombs in the atmosphere.

When John Kennedy became President, nuclear testing started again. The Soviets started first, and then we started. There were big protests and then we negotiated the Atmospheric Test Ban Treaty so that for 20 years now we've had no more nuclear bombs in the atmosphere and no more radiation from that.

This process takes initiatives. It takes transforming initiatives. We've got to take the interest of the other side seriously as well as our own interests.

I really think what's beginning to develop is another strategy, a third kind of Christian ethic for peacemaking which is taking initiatives to make peace happen.

¹Based upon material produced by the Detroit Area Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

Glen Stassen is professor of Christian ethics at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky.

Peace with Justice Awareness/Action Guide

The Christian Life Commission has just published *Peace with Justice Awareness/Action Guide* which is designed for use by groups or by individuals in exploring basic questions Christians face concerning peace.

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Ethics Resources

Henlee H. Barnette. *Exploring Medical Ethics*, Mercer University Press, 1982. Barnette has written a treatment on medical ethics which combines the concerns of ethical decision making, the ethical issues of the medical sciences, and the perspective of pastoral care into an integrated, usable treatment of a subject which frequently becomes too abstract and too esoteric for the nonspecialist. A volume on medical ethics which includes a chapter on humor as a therapeutic tool is a rare book.

Before beginning his treatment of the major issues of medical ethics, Barnette provides a framework with which to view the field of medical ethics and a model for making moral decisions. This helps the reader engage issues such as loneliness, *in vitro* fertilization, genetic engineering, and death with confidence and a concern for the values of the Christian faith.

T. B. Maston. *The Bible and Family Relations*, with William M. Tillman, Jr., Broadman Press, 1983.

"The family in the contemporary period is in serious trouble," Maston says in the preface. The book is not only a thorough survey of the teachings of the Bible on family relations, but also a sensitive attempt to deal with the issues of biblical interpretation which are so important in ascertaining the Bible's teachings regarding the family and family relations.

The book is divided into three sections. Part I provides a foundation with its treatment of the Bible and the family as a unit. Part II is a treatment of "Family Members" which focuses on women, children, single adults, and older adults. Part III, "Family Relationships," treats the relationships between husbands and wives and between parents and children. It also examines pressing issues such as sexual relations, divorce and remarriage.

The book was written for pastors,

teachers, counselors and church and community workers. Its thoroughness and readable style will make it a very helpful resource for those concerned about family relations.

C. W. Scudder. *Timely Tapes*, Scudder Communications Associates, Inc., P. O. Box 28305, Kansas City, Missouri 64118.

C. W. Scudder has launched a cassette tape series which will be of special interest to those concerned with Christian ethics. Focusing on a variety of issues from the prophetic perspective, outstanding Southern Baptist ethicists, theologians, and pastors each month provide material that is outstanding for its excellence. In a field which has more than its share of froth, here is substantive and practical help.

Contributors to the series include John Howell, Sarah Frances Anders, Leon McBeth, Welton Gaddy, Wayne Ward, Bill Hendricks, Richard Jackson, Calvin Miller, and T. B. Maston.

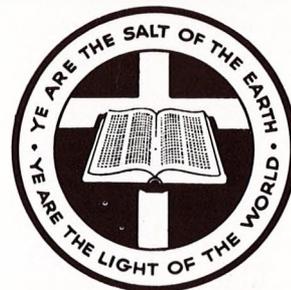
Paul D. Simmons. *Birth and Death: Bioethical Decision-Making*, The Westminster Press, 1983. In the Foreword to this work, Howard Clark Kee says, ". . . the author puts in sharp perspective the issues which our generation can avoid only at peril of extinction . . ."

The issues of medical ethics often seem remote from the world of Bible times. Yet for Christians to deal constructively with the dilemmas presented by modern medicine, biblical insights must inform our responsibility as we make these decisions.

Simmons chose to address the matter of making decisions and the use of the Bible as a neglected, though vitally important, factor in the process. He therefore chose to deal with fewer specific issues, such as abortion, euthanasia, biotechnical parenting, and genetics, and to treat more extensively the manner in which the Bible speaks to modern man about these crucial issues.

LIGHT, a monthly bulletin for pastors, state and national denominational workers, and other persons who have a special interest in applied Christianity, is published by the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 460 James Robertson Parkway, Nashville, Tenn. 37219.

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Of The Southern Baptist Convention

460 James Robertson Parkway,
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