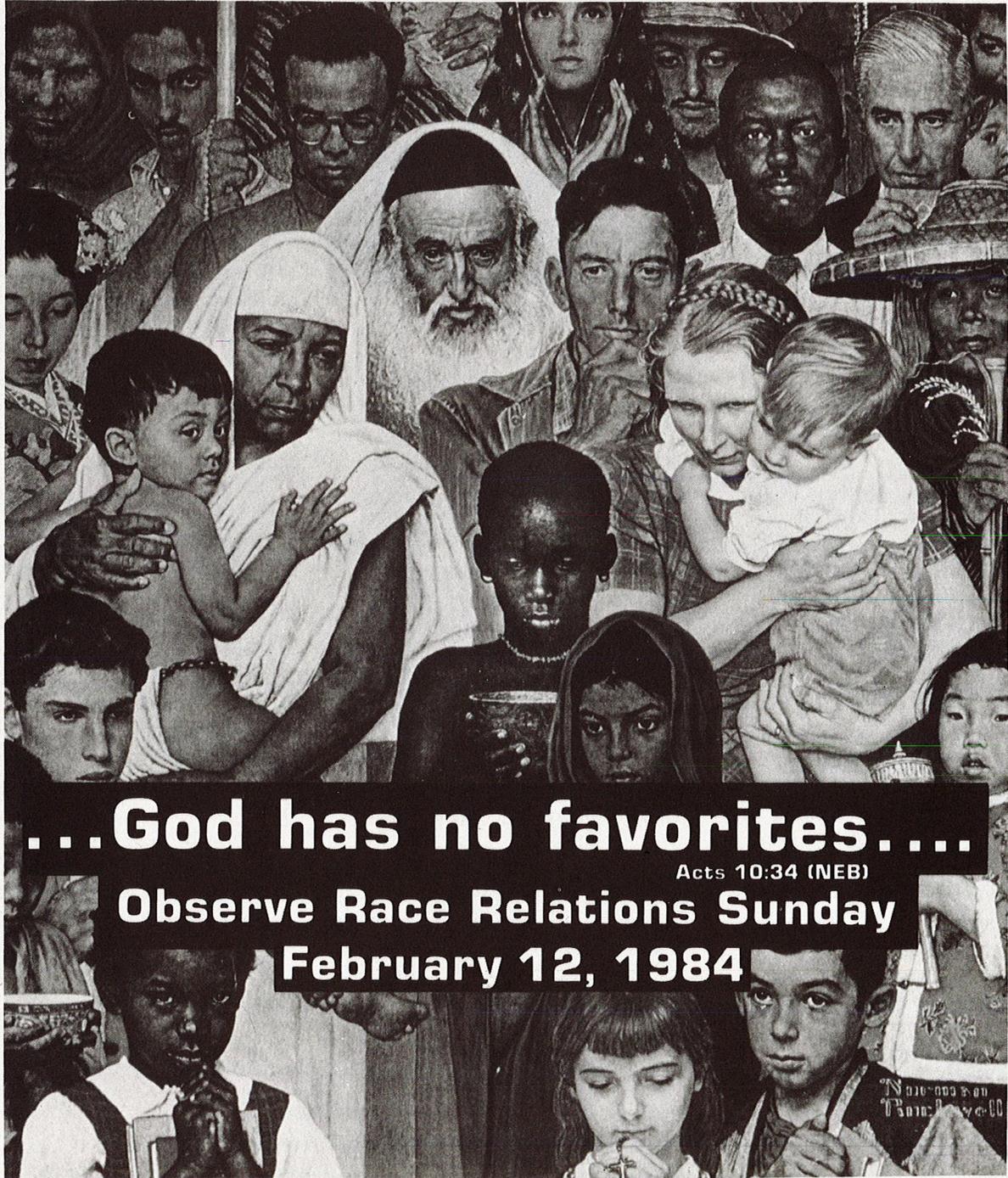


LIGHT

Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention
January 1984



...God has no favorites....

Acts 10:34 (NEB)

Observe Race Relations Sunday

February 12, 1984

Sponsored by the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention
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Ethical Issues: 1984 and Beyond

by William M. Tillman, Jr.

1984—

At the sight of this number, images of doublespeak, mind control, and Big Brother spring to the minds of even those who have never read George Orwell's classic novel.

Orwell's omnipresent "Big Brother" and his mind control operations represent the sinister directions in which society may move. The reader is left with, "How long will it be before we, too, are part of such a scenario?"

Two recent publications, Roger Shinn's *Forced Options* and the faddishly quoted *Megatrends* by John Naisbitt, leave one in a somewhat more optimistic state than does Orwell. Yet, they also project what may be if we do not capitalize on opportunities which are now upon us.

What is out there, though? What are the social issues? More importantly, where are they moving us? What are we to expect in 1984?

Male and Female Created He Them: Human Sexuality

The crisis in family life is as much a crisis over coming to terms with our human sexuality as anything.

Male and female roles at home and in the marketplace will continue to be debated. What is increasingly perceived as a white male system in American society will draw more attention and increasing reaction. The idea of an Equal Rights Amendment knocked out once, by highly



Tillman

emotional appeals, is gaining new adherents.

Divorce rates slowed for 1982 and 1983, a reflection, perhaps, of economic factors which have forced many marriages to remain together. However, divorce rates will probably rise again. Some estimate by 1990 that more than 50 percent of all children will have experienced the divorce of their parents.¹

A decline in sexual promiscuity has set in, a trend possibly attributed to the fear of such diseases as AIDS or more virulent strains of venereal disease. It is possible that a conservation trend in sexual values is also having impact.

More women will continue to enter the job market in 1984, either out of necessity or for the sake of pursuing a career. But, along with heightened economic clout for women, intra-family conflict will increase.

The average age for women marrying will continue to rise as more seek career fulfillment. Simultaneously, the desire for children and the ability to care for them will decline. Birthrates in the U.S. will begin to drop below the replacement rate so that we will not only have zero population growth but a decline.

Render to Caesar . . . Render to God: Political Responsibility

American politics is becoming more tribalistic. The "true believer," who is not always right but never uncertain, exhibits low tolerance for political differences. In any system of government other than democracy, the ground would be prepared to reap a harvest of fascism.

We must continue to affirm that we live in a democracy where there is room for nurturing the widest possible debate and constant reexamination of our political presuppositions.

With this in mind, we will be seeing what can happen when big money wedded to single issues runs head-on into the meshing of conviction and numbers. Women, Hispanics, and Blacks are coming to the fore and claiming their right to be heard.

Although these and more such groups will have the capability to halt legislation, their ability to garner enough support for constructive legislation is questionable. Paralysis of Congressional action on critical issues is perilously close.²

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It will be increasingly difficult to judge average citizen response. At least two reasons form the bases for this judgment. A trend away from centralized to decentralized government is underway. Correlating with this is burgeoning regionalism.

The gender-gap will continue to widen as women perceive how present politicians are dealing with the ERA, economic discrimination of women, and war and peace issues. Jesse Jackson's bid for the Presidency symbolizes the point to which Blacks have come in knowing how to build political power. Hispanics are showing strength in all areas across the country as the national Hispanic Voter Registration Campaign is making an effort to register one million new Hispanic voters.

Church-state issues will draw more attention in citizenship concerns for the rest of this century and beyond. Tuition tax credits may well become reality. Unfortunately, it will take this development for some citizens to realize we are moving away from America's democratic ideals toward an educational system based on classes.

We are already losing the battle for literacy. Illiteracy is rearing its ignorant head. It is appalling that we have in this country an estimated 23 million adults who cannot read or write well enough to write a check, fill out a job application, or follow directions. Another 50 million are marginal readers.³ The effects of this deficiency are extraordinarily serious and long-term in a democratic system of government where the process depends on a literate, informed constituency.

Prayer in schools will not be resolved satisfactorily. Even if a prayer amendment were to be approved, it would almost immediately be contested and probably overturned by the courts or by public pressure as people finally realize its negative ramifications.

U.S. citizens will have to voice their concern for more consistent foreign policy, one which does not depend on saber rattling for its diplomatic relations.

Seek Ye First the Kingdom: Economic Concerns

One of the most striking economic phenomena is the "feminization of poverty"—the growing number of single women, for whatever cause, left with children for whom to provide. It is a problem of such serious proportions that female-headed households will almost totally compose the poverty population by 2000.⁴

Those who have come to be described as "the new poor" are some of the most disadvantaged. Laid off from defunct or bankrupt industries, these are people who could be described as once being part of the middle class; and they usually do not know where to begin to look for economic help.

High-tech industries, lauded as the salvation of the unemployed, provide only a partial solution. Those who lose their jobs in more industrialized careers have so far not adapted well to preparation for an information society. Approximately one million jobs lost will never be replaced. A national level jobs program is desperately needed. There are many things to do. For instance, the infrastructure of the United States is in sad need of repair and replacement.

At this point no repercussions such as the riots of the 1960s have occurred. There is still a possibility for such backlashes. In the meantime the effects of poverty are seen in spreading illiteracy, higher crime rates, rising incidents of spouse and child abuse, and an increase in illegitimate births.⁵

The economic policies pursued by the present administration have been labeled as "a budget for the wealthy and the warriors." Tax cuts which have been envisioned as carrying much of the weight of economic recovery operate off the trickle down theory of economics. Military spending is locked into a progressively upward-spiraling pattern.⁶

The cottage industry with home computers is flagging. We are apparently still another generation away

from those who have a more natural affinity for computers.

New ethical and legal guidelines need to be developed to relate to computer break-ins. Computer crime insurance will soon rise from \$20 million to \$100 million.⁷

Robotics will continue to be talked about and to a limited degree, experienced. Some estimate that by 1990 we will be producing 17,000 robots per year. All of this electronic wizardry means a growing need for skilled technicians who can maintain such systems, perhaps even more than those who design the systems.

Inexplicably, we still have no consistent national energy policy. It is difficult to maintain a mind-set of the moral equivalent of war in the midst of an energy glut. That mind-set might change if the Mideast crises accelerate. The affluence we maintain, compared to the rest of the world, will diminish because of our energy expenditures.

The United States is no longer dominating the world economy. Diversification has set in. Japan is even showing signs of fading in its productivity. Many industries commonly thought to be part of developed countries are now in developing countries. Check your clothes labels, for instance, to see point of origin.⁸

Two divergent trends are evolving for the United States in light of the world economy. On one hand, we are showing a tendency toward isolationism which can be critically injurious. On the other hand, we are recognizing that a major key to world peace is the growing economic interdependence because of world trade and world banking.

Who Is My Neighbor?— Human Relations

Issues in this category will continue to be primarily political and economic in nature. We are stratifying our society and world along color lines.

Hispanics are rapidly overtaking Blacks as the principal ethnic group in the U.S. in terms of population. Birthrates and immigration have

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...1984

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increased the Hispanic population to roughly 14 to 20 million. Some observers have critiqued the Hispanic movement and concluded by the 1990s they may be the largest single ethnic group in the United States. They call it the "Latinization of the U.S."⁹

Immigration reform related particularly to Hispanics will have to be studied until a more suitable program is developed and legislated. Otherwise, we will perpetuate the system as it is, exploiting illegal workers, breaking up families as some illegal immigrants are deported, and leaving border control and its attendant ills in a nightmarish condition.¹⁰

It is estimated that 30 percent of the Hispanics in this country live below the poverty line.¹¹ Unemployment among Hispanics is at a rate of 12.9 percent compared to less than 10 percent national unemployment. In rural areas, the Hispanics have a 40 percent rate of unemployment.¹² Consideration must be given to whether we are developing two permanent welfare groups with Blacks and Hispanics.¹³

The disparities between Blacks and whites on measures of income, poverty, and unemployment have remained virtually unchanged—perhaps even worsened—since 1960.

Unlike some whites who may move in and out of poverty levels, Blacks are more persistently in the poverty category. This is especially true with regard to women. Almost half of Black families with children are headed by women. (A little over a fifth of Hispanic families are headed by women.)

Both Hispanic and Black leaders are urging their respective constituencies not to accommodate to poverty, not to depend on the system but rather to vote and to get involved in political action.

Recent Presidential action to curtail independent study and investigation by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is indicative of a growing

reluctance to deal with racism and a willingness to assign it a low priority in domestic planning.¹⁴

International human relations cry out to be addressed as human rights abuses grow in numbers. Africa and Latin America are particularly noticeable as political killings, kidnappings, and torture become more widespread.¹⁵ The Mideast and Far East will also gain increasing notoriety in human rights abuses.

Behold, a Pale Horse: Issues of Life and Death

Sanctity of life and quality of life—these are not new to our ethical consciousness.

What may be new and different, however, is the overwhelming nature some of these issues will begin to acquire as they force their way into being part and parcel of the areas already considered.

Biotechnology is the frontier; gene splicing exemplifies the potential. Cancer and all manner of other diseases are potentially curable before their genetic misinformation begins its work. Synthesized materials which can replace coal, oil, and other raw materials are coming within economic reach. Another agricultural evolution raises hopes of dealing successfully with world hunger.¹⁶

orientation, may forge active alliances.¹⁸

The sound of militarism has come so often now as to callous our tired ears—but we must be about the business of peacemaking. In spite of European protest—their home may still be the battlefield—we are deploying missiles there aimed at the Soviet Union. So far, the "balance of terror" philosophy has staved off nuclear war.

"Overkill" is a ludicrously understated way to describe the situation. Deterrence may be working, but what about accidental triggering of vast arsenals? The scenarios of Jonathan Schell's *Fate of the Earth* or Carl Sagan's "The Nuclear Winter" cause one to gasp at the awful consequences.

With the arms race we are involved in a worldwide game with everyone potentially the loser. To quote the heroic computer addressing its director in the recent film *War Games*: "What a strange game, Dr. Falken. The only way to win is not to play."

Another major crisis of the latter part of this century will center around the shrinking supplies and poor distribution of water. Without extensive repair of aging systems, expansion of reservoirs, attention to

“With the arms race we are involved in a worldwide game with everyone potentially the loser.”

A national center for organ transplantation will likely be established. Coordination with the private sector will be necessary, however, to provide proper checks and balances for equitable access and allocation of organs.¹⁷

Terrorism will escalate even more. Terrorists have not accomplished any long-range goals; yet, they are capable of gaining publicity, causing alarm, creating a crisis, or making an occasional tactical victory. Nuclear terrorism cannot be dismissed. Various terrorist groups on different continents, though typically nationalist in

zoning, broad antipollution measures—to mention only a few factors—booming urban centers such as Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Houston will stop growing. The massive population shift from the North to the South may grind to a halt.¹⁹

And, hunger—the ever present malevolence—will take its toll. Natural disasters, climate changes, political philosophies, poor food distribution, and a number of other causes will still be actively perpetuating hunger.

A myth we ought to overcome is that there are no hungry people right

around us. If present trends hold, by 1985, New York City will have to provide 250,000 meals per day. Churches and charities will not be able to absorb the slack. Local, state, and federal governments will have to address the depth of distress as well.²⁰

This survey of life and death issues should bring home the realization—if none of the other issue sections has—that never in the history of mankind has it been so clear that this generation is the custodian of the future of whatever generations follow.²¹

Capitulation or Courage in the Face of Uncertainty?

It is still people, not things or techniques, who make decisions regarding ethical matters.

Yet, the temptation is to depend on our developing techno-fix mentality.²² Part of the problem, however, is to know where to start. Christians are silent if they do not know the facts, or if the facts are new.²³ Because we are an information society, the pace of change accelerates exponentially. The crisis, as John Naisbitt correctly asserts, is, "We are drowning in information but starved for knowledge."²⁴ That does not relieve us from the responsibility to know. To be able to gather facts and selectively sort and synthesize them is a Christian responsibility. We can gain competence. Where we lack expertise we can learn to ask the right questions of valuation and ideology of the experts.²⁵

For many of the issues barreling out of the future, there is little ethical theory or method to deal with them. A traumatic realization is that as we are forced to derive method while we are deciding, the issues may well have moved beyond the point where ethical decision makes any difference. The course is set.²⁶

Orwell's chief character, Winston Smith, finally gave in to adoration of Big Brother. We are faced with mind-boggling issues and trends. Our first sensation is one of hopelessness and

capitulation to oblivion. Fatalistic capitulation is not a part of the living out of the Christian faith; though, neither is a lackadaisical, "que sera sera" approach.

Is there any ray of hope, any possibility of sanity in what seems to be the madness of society?

Perhaps the identification of living with a sense of hope, even in the face of hopelessness, is a good beginning place. Is it too idealistic, too Pollyannish, to think otherwise when one considers the claims of the resurrected Christ?

Is it too much to sound the call of the ancient Amos to "those who are at ease in Zion" for the justice of God to roll down like the roaring Jordan in floodtime?

Or, is it too naive to call for a new dedication to what Lewis Smedes defines in his *Mere Morality* as a covenant-keeping life-style rather than a self-maximizing one?

What, also, of acting out mercy, righteousness, love, holiness, gratitude, freedom, and responsibility in the myriad of internal and external expectations, circumstances, tensions, and relationships out of which we live?

The answer to all of these is, "No, it is not too much." Nor can the response be, "These things are outside the call and vocation of being Christian." A test of our faith? Indeed, the issues of 1984 and beyond will be that. But, as informed Christian decision makers we can face them in hope and deal with them in courage.

Footnotes

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²"Derailment of Alien Bill Proof of Hispanic Clout," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, 10 October 1983, p. 4A.

³Edward Wakin, "Why Jonathan Can Read," *American Way*, October 1983, p. 63.

⁴"Working Moms: The New Face of Poverty," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, 25 September 1983, p. 1C.

⁵"Poverty Trap—No Way Out?" *U.S. News and World Report*, 16

August 1982, p. 34.

⁶"A Budget for the Wealthy and the Warriors," *Washington Memo*, March-April 1983, p. 1.

⁷"High-Tech Crime," *USA Today*, 4 November 1983, p. 1B.

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¹⁷"Who'll Play God?" *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, 30 October 1983, p. 14AA.

¹⁸"Terrorism: An Escalation of Bloody Acts," *Fort Worth Star Telegram*, 28 October 1983, pp. 1A-2A.

¹⁹"War Over Water—Crisis of the '80s," *U.S. News and World Report*, 31 October 1981, pp. 57ff.

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²¹Roger Lincoln Shinn, *Forced Options* (NY: Harper & Row, 1982), pp. 5-8.

²²*Megatrends*, p. 52.

²³*Forced Options*, pp. 227ff.

²⁴*Megatrends*, p. 24.

²⁵*Forced Options*.

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A Theology of Grace and Divorced Pastors

—by Chevis F. Horne—

Until I was a young man in my twenties I did not know the reality of divorce. I could have defined the term but I had never met a divorced person. There had never been a divorce in my family nor one in my community. Then in 1938, while a theological student, I sold Bibles in southern South Carolina and northern Georgia. My first assignment was in a small textile town in South Carolina where I spent a week in a hotel. There I met two men who had been divorced and for the first time I sensed the tragedy of it. From then on I saw divorce become more frequent, being greatly accelerated after World War II. But in the midst of crumbling marriages stood the pastor's like an impregnable fortress. About 10 years ago, however, we observed that pastors' marriages were failing. Today the incidence of divorce among ministers is one of the highest of any professional group. In the light of this trend, we have an increasing number of divorced pastors, and we find a rather large number of students in our seminaries who have been divorced. How do you respond to a pastor who has been divorced? That is one of the most serious questions facing Southern Baptists. I am sure there is no Christian answer to that question apart from a theology of grace. This I would like to explore in this brief article.

The Seriousness of Divorce

In the light of the Christian concept of marriage, we cannot take divorce lightly, we dare not be casual about it.

In thinking about Christian mar-



Horne

riage we begin by recognizing that God ordained the home and sanctioned marriage. Christian marriage is monogamous where one man loves his wife in a way he will never love any other woman and promises a fidelity to her until death, where a woman loves her husband in a way she will never love another man and pledges a faithfulness to him as long as they shall live. The Christian marriage is under the authority of Christ and the couple makes the most ancient of all Christian confessions—Jesus Christ is Lord!

Sin, therefore, is involved in divorce as in every other human tragedy where freedom has been abused, faithfulness denied, or power misused. One of God's laws has been violated and people have been injured. No one ever comes out of a divorce unscarred, and where children are involved they are especially hurt. Parents can greatly sin against a child in a divorce, and a broader injury occurs as the social structure is weakened. There is another tear in the social fabric which is already

dangerously torn. We cannot take divorce lightly.

What can be done? We have to do what we do in every other human tragedy where the ideal has been violated. We fall back on the grace of God in Christ that forgives, heals, gives another chance and offers new life.

I am to be pure of heart. But what if I am not? I am to be a peacemaker. But what if I am caught in conflict, a part of the problem rather than the answer? I am to love God with all the powers of my life. What do I do when I fail? I have to accept the grace of Christ and find strength in his gracious acceptance which will enable me to get a fresh start and have a new life.

A Theology of Grace

Christian theology is many faceted, but its bottom line is grace. Our God is a God whose love cannot be merited. He has acted graciously, especially in Jesus Christ, and continues to act that way. His ways of grace can be traced throughout the Bible.

God is a giver of law. He has built his moral laws, rock-ribbed in strength, into the structure of his universe, and he has given laws that can be codified, such as the Ten Commandments. But to whom was God under obligation to create and give laws? Nobody. Therefore, even back of his laws is grace.

God sustains a relation of grace with his world. John tells us that God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son. But did the world deserve such love? No. It was an angry, hostile, rebellious, sinful, and alienated world. Yet, God loved it anyway.

God's relation with Israel was one

of grace. The thing that puzzled Israel more than anything else was why God should have chosen her as his special people. She was the smallest of all nations, and she was often rebellious, morally stupid, and spiritually blind. Why her? The answer was finally given—"it is because the Lord loves you" (Deut. 7:8, RSV). Israel was chosen in grace.

The grace of God is supremely seen in Jesus Christ. You see it in the way he related to people and in his teaching. You remember Jesus and the woman caught in the act of adultery. He was so gentle, kind, and accepting of her. There is enough legalism in most of us to make us feel that he should have been more severe with her, and it is true that he warned her that she should not do it again. He asked her: "Woman, where are they? Has no one condemned you?" "No one Lord," came the reply. "Neither do I condemn you; go, and do not sin again" (John 8:10-11, RSV). What grace!

We cannot forget Jesus' story of the Prodigal Son. The rebellious boy finally came home barefooted and in rags, stripped of all honor and decency. The best he could expect was to be a servant in his father's household, and he was prepared to ask for nothing better. Yet, when he returned he was surprised by grace. His father could have said to him, "I will put you on probation and after six months I will review your case. In the meantime you will live with the servants." But he didn't. Instead he had a banquet quickly prepared, and who was the guest of honor? That rascally boy. About the banquet table were friends and neighbors, and the father was saying to the guests: "This is Jacob. He has been away a long time and I thought he was dead, but he came home yesterday, safe and sound. Rejoice with me and let us make merry." It was all of grace.

We are saved by grace. "For by grace you have been saved through faith," wrote Paul, "and this is not your own doing, it is the gift of God" (Eph. 2:8, RSV).

Our theology is a theology of grace. Yet, that grace is not a tearful

“We should not forget that tragedy is redeemable when touched by grace, that a new sensitivity and caring can be born of its pain.”

sentimental reality. While our salvation is free to us, it has been costly to God. The hands that touch our life with grace have been wounded. There is severity in God's grace as sharp as a surgeon's knife. But that severity, like a surgeon's knife, is for our healing.

The Divorced Pastor

Many of our churches have not learned to deal redemptively with divorce. Often we are too legalistic to handle it. Frequently a church will sear the stigma into the life of a divorcee. For example, he or she may not be allowed to serve as a deacon. The church will not let him or her forget the anguish and trauma of the experience.

We are more legalistic in dealing with divorce than anything else, and that not without some reason: Jesus did, as a matter of fact, seem to be more of a lawgiver regarding divorce than any other human problem. It seems strange, almost out of character. We are tempted to bring a maximum of law and a minimum of grace to divorce.

While we are often very awkward in dealing with divorced people in general, we are especially clumsy in dealing with divorced pastors. Many a pastor whose marriage has failed finds his ministry failing. He may have been relieved of his pulpit and another church will not call him. Theological students who have been divorced often suffer from acute anxiety. They are not sure a church will want them.

Frequently, it doesn't matter how fine a divorced pastor is, how thoroughly his life has been changed by the gospel, how strongly he feels the call of God to preach, or how effective he is as a preacher, the door is closed in his face. The pulpit is off limits to him. So often a first-rate person is turned down because

he has been divorced while a second-rate person is called because he has been able to keep his marriage intact, however tenuously.

There is an attitude among us that says, "The law was given by Moses, and the law was also given by Jesus Christ." But that is not what John says. "The law was given through Moses," he declares, but "grace and truth came through Jesus Christ" (John 1:17, RSV).

Ironically enough, a person who has been a criminal may be widely accepted as a preacher while a man whose ill-conceived teenage marriage that ended in divorce is rejected. The first person is seen as a living example of how powerful the grace of God is in radically changing a life. The perception is clear and right.

But why the rejection of the second person? If God can forgive the crime of a criminal, who may even turn his imprisonment into a pulpit advantage, can he not forgive the sin of a divorced man or woman?

We should not forget that tragedy is redeemable when touched by grace, that a new sensitivity and caring can be born of its pain. That is true of the divorced pastor. Because of his own pain and anguish he can be more sensitive to and minister more effectively to divorced people of whom there are many.

The plain truth is that we can never deal redemptively with divorce either in the life of a layperson or a pastor until we acknowledge Jesus Christ as a person of grace and ourselves as a people of grace. Then we can.

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I Have A Dream

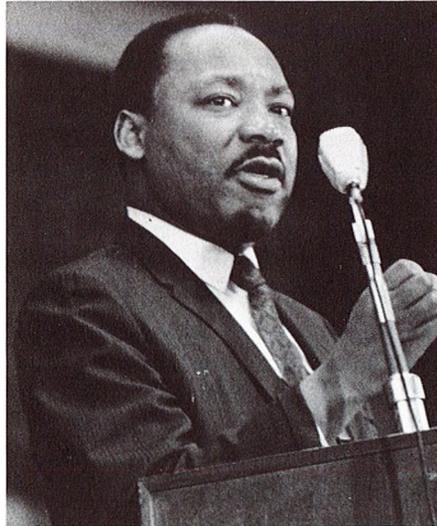
Martin Luther King's Historic Address
Delivered in Washington on
August 28, 1963

Five score years ago a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon of light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But 100 years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination.

One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes,



King

given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash—to cash this check—a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of *now*. This is no

time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment and to underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigoration autumn of freedom and equality. 1963 is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual.

There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the place of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds.

Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny and they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. This

“There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights.”

black men as well as white men, would be granted the unalienable rights of life, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has

time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. *Now* is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. *Now* is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. *Now* is the

“So I say to you, my friends, that even though we must face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream.”

offense we share mounted to storm the battlements of injustice must be carried forth by a biracial army.

We cannot walk alone. As we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, “When will you be satisfied?” We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro’s basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one.

We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating “for whites only.” We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, we are not satisfied and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like water and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of excessive trials and tribulation. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi; go back to Alabama; go back to South Carolina; go back to Georgia; go back to Louisiana; go back to the slums and ghettos of the Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can,

and will, be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

So I say to you, my friends, that even though we must face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed—we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day, even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, that one day, right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today!

“With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.”

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places shall be made plain, and the crooked places shall be made straight and the glory of the Lord will be revealed and all flesh

shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith we will be able to hear out of the mountain of despair a refrain of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.

With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. This will be the day when all of God’s children will be able to sing with new meaning—“My country ’tis of thee; sweet land of liberty; of thee I sing; land where my fathers died; land of the pilgrim’s pride; from every mountainside, let freedom ring”—and if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania. Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado. Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

But not only that. Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia. Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain, Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and hamlet, from every state and city, we will be able to speed up

that day when all of God’s children—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants—will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, “Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last.”

Peace with Justice

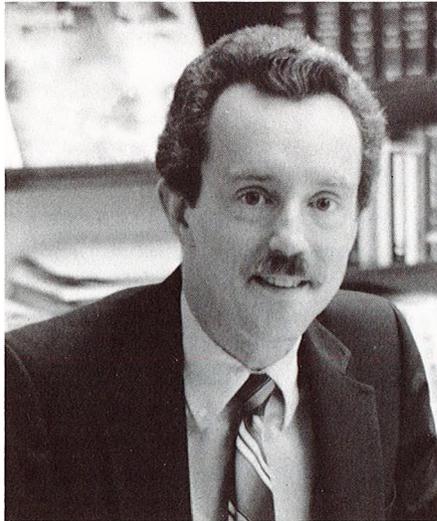
Peace with Justice - Agenda 1984

by Ronald D. Sisk

When through fiery trials thy
pathway shall lie,
My grace, all-sufficient, shall be thy
supply;
The flame shall not hurt thee; I only
design
Thy dross to consume, and thy gold
to refine.

The theme song from "The Day After" offered a note of hope in the midst of a portrait of nuclear devastation. Christians concerned about peace with justice in 1984 have an opportunity to bring that same hope to bear in the realities of the world situation. A peace with justice agenda for Southern Baptists in 1984 can and should include at least the following elements:

1. We should work to increase both the level and the quality of personal participation in the arms control debate. Public events, such as the showing of the ABC nuclear war film "The Day After," provide an unprecedented number of Americans with a fairly realistic picture of what nuclear war would mean to our society. Political decisions, such as the stationing of American Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe, give all Americans the chance to gauge the effectiveness of American policy. As Christian citizens, we have the opportunity in this election year to require politicians to tell us what they will and will not do to bring the arms race under control. Arms control can happen. It must happen, but the only way it will happen is if Christians first commit themselves to make a genuine commitment to arms control on the part of politicians a criterion for our votes.



Sisk

A second aspect of our increased involvement should include cultivating our ability to distinguish the truth. Everyone involved in the current arms control debate is using essentially the same numbers. What is lacking is an objective way of determining what those numbers mean. The argument, for example, that we had to have matching missiles to offset the Soviet buildup in Eastern Europe breaks down when you realize that we already had bombers and Poseidon submarines in the area which perform essentially the same function as the new missiles. Concerned Christian citizens need to become familiar enough with the basic nuclear balance to understand which arguments are genuine, and which are sham. Only as policymakers and would-be policymakers are held to truthful arguments will the potential for arms control increase.

Thirdly, Christians should steep themselves in biblical perspectives on peace and justice. Morality concerning nuclear weapons is not beyond

the biblical ken. The Bible is neither naive nor unsophisticated on the subject of human sin. What is needed is Christian realism which recognizes that evil must be opposed but refuses to do so by raising the spectre of even greater evil. Instead, we should daily commit ourselves to work and to pray for justice for all so that all may experience peace.

Praying for peace with justice is no little matter. Prayer both clarifies vision and provides the energy for work. As a consequence, all Southern Baptists should commit themselves to participating in the new Southern Baptist Day of Prayer for World Peace on August 5, 1984.

2. We should work to decrease the forces fueling tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Perhaps the most invidious such force is the tendency to see ourselves as all good and the Soviets as all evil. President Kennedy observed in his American University address in 1963 that it is not necessary to approve of communism in order to respect the Russian people. Baptists, who have over half a million co-religionists in the USSR, have a special reason to heed Kennedy's advice. Peace is made by emphasizing those things which enemies have in common rather than those which separate them. Christian citizens can help reduce the climate of confrontation with the Soviet Union which poisons prospects for agreement. We can do so by emphasizing the human links which bind us to the Soviet people.

The second psychological force fueling international tension involves changing our national concept of

what it takes to win. Our dominant national viewpoint is still that we must have more and more nuclear weapons to stay safe in our contest with the Soviet Union. Yet the facts are that less than 10 percent of what we have now will be more than enough to completely destroy the USSR, just as less than 10 percent would be more than enough to destroy us. Christians concerned with peace with justice in 1984 should work to turn the debate from numbers to security. The question is no longer exclusively what they have as against what we have. The question is, "What is a secure, reliable deterrent force in a situation where massive overkill capacity is a given?" We don't have to stay ahead anymore. Building more weapons in order not to use them has become a bankrupt argument. What we must do is reduce the likelihood that neither side will feel so threatened as to push the button.

Complicating psychological tension in 1984 are some genuine technological dangers related to nuclear hardware. The deployment of the cruise missile, for example, enormously complicates efforts at arms control in two ways. First, the relatively small size of the cruise missile makes it much easier to hide than earlier missiles were. Once cruise missiles become common, it will be almost impossible to verify how many either side has. Limitation agreements would be virtually impossible.

The second characteristic of cruise missiles which heightens tension is their potential for surprise attack. Cruise missiles fly low, following the

terrain. They are virtually undetectable by radar. As a result, they are considered first-strike weapons. They reduce available Soviet reaction time and increase the likelihood of a policy of "launch on warning." Once the Soviets deploy cruise missiles of their own, we will be as nervous about them as they are now. Having crossed the cruise deployment threshold, we find ourselves in a more dangerous situation than ever. Without becoming atomic scientists, each of us should keep ourselves informed of the effects which increased technological proficiency has on prospects for arms control.

3. We should work to reduce the side effects of the super-power arms race on world society. The United States and the Soviet Union are the major suppliers for the arms race around the world. Together, we provide 58 percent of the arms moving in international trade and control 96 percent of the world's nuclear weapons. In 1982 the United States alone sold \$21.5 billion worth of arms to other countries, the largest amount in our history. Fifteen billion dollars of that amount went to Third-World countries, and U. S. sales to the Third World for 1977-80 exceeded Soviet sales by three billion dollars.¹

In effect, the arms race is big business. It is a business which contributes to the process of Third-World destabilization in two very specific ways. First, it spreads the means of modern war making to nation after nation. Second, it siphons money from the already impoverished economies of Third-World nations, delay-

ing development and deepening poverty.

Beyond its effects on the Third World, however, the arms business also does some very real damage in our own society. Since military spending is inherently inflationary, the arms race hinders American economic recovery. Since arms industries are capital intensive rather than labor intensive, fewer jobs are created for American workers by arms production than by virtually any other kind of business activity.

All these indistinguishable effects mean that the arms race itself, even if the weapons are never used, is a serious detriment to peace with justice in our world. As a matter of conviction, Christians should work in 1984 to support reduction of American arms sales abroad. In addition, wherever possible in our own nation, we should encourage business and government leaders to move toward more peaceful (and profitable!) enterprises. The conditions which cause wars and injustice never arise overnight. They are created step by step. Peace with justice can also be created step by step as Christians inform themselves and influence policymakers in 1984 and beyond.

¹Mark Hatfield, "Foreign Arms Sales Selling America Short," October 1983.

Ronald D. Sisk is director of program development for the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission with a major assignment for programs related to peace with justice.

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Book Review

George Sternlieb and James W. Hughes. *The Atlantic City Gamble* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1983).

"The results (of legalized gambling) have rarely measured up to the expectations—the only thing painless about lotteries and betting shops is the way in which they have parted their clients from their money and the only real benefits have been to the relatively few individuals who have hit large jackpots and the politicians who have found a new and rich source of patronage."

If you guessed that the preceding paragraph was from the sermon of a Baptist preacher concerned about legalized gambling, you guessed wrong. It is not even from the newsletter of an anti-gambling crusader in some Southern state.

The best case against legalized casino gambling which I have seen has been made by two urban policy specialists from Rutgers University in New Jersey. George Sternlieb and James W. Hughes are authors of *The Atlantic City Gamble*, a Twentieth Century Fund Report.

The gambling saga of Atlantic City casinos began officially with a 1976 referendum. Casinos were expected to rejuvenate a dying Atlantic City. Tourism would pour outside funds

into the city. Employment would soar. Welfare rolls would diminish. The tax base of the city would broaden and the state taxes would be used for state-sponsored programs for the elderly. What a marvelous future was in store for Atlantic City!

The mass media has portrayed the glitter of the casinos, the construction of new casinos, and the "renovation" of the city for all who will believe. Sternlieb and Hughes have written a well-documented, thorough study which deals with the reality of the broken promises and the elusive fantasies.

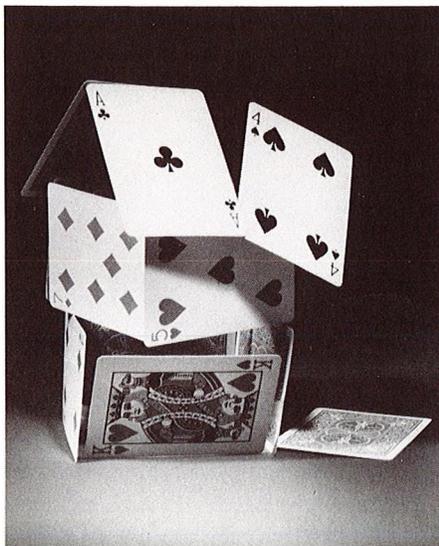
How can an "industry" which is now grossing close to \$2 billion per year be bad for a state? Since the state is dependent on the casinos for over \$100 million of its revenue, the state is vulnerable to the decisions of those who control the casinos.

How can an industry that creates about 30,000 new jobs be questioned? Few of the jobs, on a permanent basis, go to the disadvantaged and hard-core unemployed who regarded the casinos as their deliverer.

How can an industry which enhances the tax base dramatically be challenged for its impact upon rejuvenation of the city? Tax rates on residential and small business property have soared and forced many former residents and businesses to abandon the inner city.

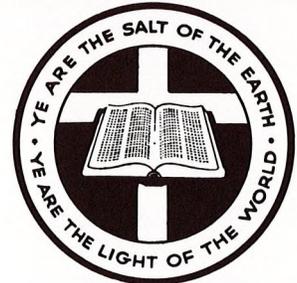
Can the casino industry *really* dominate the politics of a state? It can when all important law firms are on retainer, when all major insurance companies underwrite policies for the casinos, and when the major banks are benefitting from the millions of dollars deposited by each casino.

Get the picture? Seldom does a work become, at date of publication, the classic treatment of a subject. *The Atlantic City Gamble* is the definitive work on casino gambling.



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