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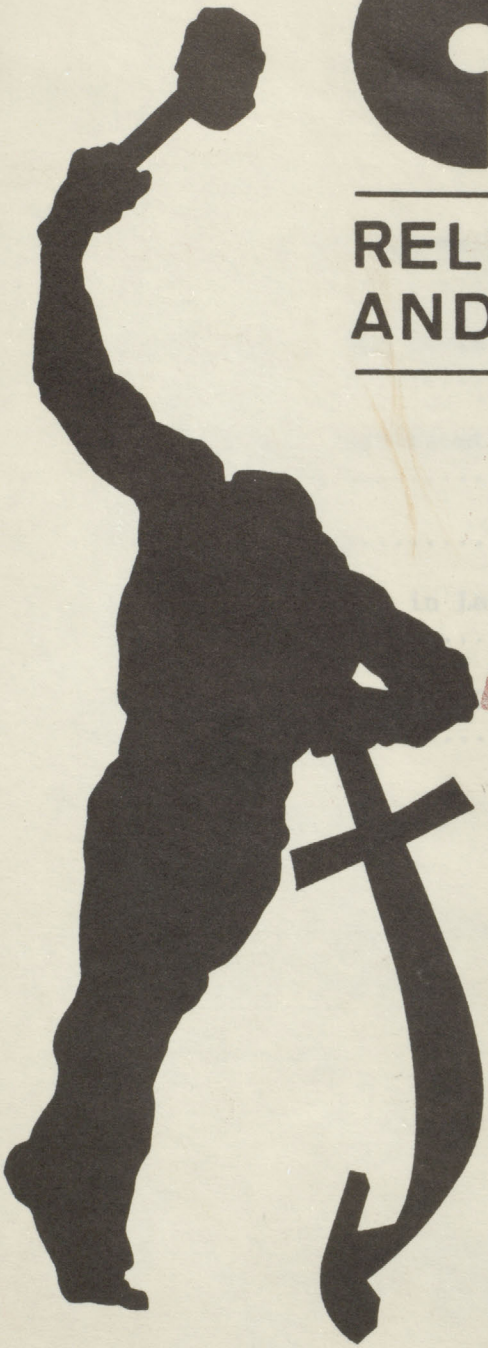
RELIGION AND VIOLENCE



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ARC is a publication of the theological community of the Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University, its affiliated Colleges (Anglican, Presbyterian and United Church) and the Montreal Institute for Ministry.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

Douglas John Hall

In this issue of ARC, the Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill welcomes contributions from members of the Department of Religion at Concordia University (Sir George Williams Campus).

Two years ago, Professor Charles Davis of Concordia asked me if I would be interested in co-operating with him in a research project devoted to the subject, "Religion and Violence." Of course I was. The theme seemed significant and timely enough to request, from the Government of Québec, sufficient financial backing to enable students of both universities to receive grants for their participation in the study as "research assistants." A substantial FCAC grant was in fact awarded to us by the provincial government--for which we are very grateful. It has enabled four Concordia and two McGill graduate students over the past three academic semesters to spend approximately twelve hours weekly in work related to the project, and this will continue through next semester as well.

Besides Professor Davis and myself, Professor Fred. Bird of Concordia has been a senior participant in the project.

During the initial year, our research has centred on the relation between violence and the *Christian* religion (we are now broadening our scope to include Islam, Hinduism, and Judaism). The articles in this issue reflect the Christian orientation to the subject. Each student research assistant has pursued his or her study of the theme by concentrating on a particular aspect and body of literature. Marsha Hewitt of Concordia is a student of liberation theology. The question of the relation between Christian faith and violence takes on special shadings when it is considered not from the vantage-point of "empire," but from that of the victims of the imperium. Christopher Levan, a doctoral student in Systematic Theology at McGill, has been especially concerned about the psycho-spiritual background of nuclearism, to which neo-apocalypticism contributes significantly. Donald Stoesz, a Mennonite and also a doctoral student in Theology,

brings to our symposium his background in one of the historic peace-churches. His essay in this issue is an interesting interpretation, from that perspective, of a Christian theologian who found World War II, at least, to be a "just war"--*viz.* Karl Barth.

I have been very glad of this regular opportunity to exchange scholarly work and dialogue with fellow-students, and in this way to participate in an academic endeavour which bridges the gap between institutions--a gap that is, I feel, far too wide! It is our hope, however, as members of a research team receiving public funding, that our work can be of value to a wider public. This is the first time that members of the project have published some of their work jointly. Concordia University has made a financial contribution to us for the present issue, which enables us to circulate it amongst a larger readership. We should be very grateful for your responses to what we have done here.

LEARNING TO SAY NO TO NUCLEAR WAR: FROM ARGUMENT TO TABOO

Charles Davis
Concordia University

"To say 'no' to nuclear war is both a necessary and a complex task" (National, n.132). It is not the least of the merits of the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter on War and Peace, from which that sentence is taken, that both in its preparation and final formulation, it fully recognizes the complexity of the moral issues raised by nuclear war.

War has never been a simple question for Christians. Christian history from its beginning to the First World War can be read as a gradual process of learning to say yes to war. At the outset there was a clear rejection of war by some and a passive standing aside from secular conflict by others. At most the military calling was tolerated. Then came the acceptance of war in a just cause, but with the assumption that such a war was always against a guilty party. War became increasingly acceptable as an instrument of justice against the guilty. It was put to use against the heathen and even against Christian heretics and schismatics. In the sixteenth century theologians began to permit war in the pursuit of just claims, even where there was no moral guilt and where both sides had legitimate interests to vindicate. The distinction between the guilty and the innocent became the distinction between combatants and non-combatants. With the advent of total war Christians supported universal conscription, and popes and bishops went so far as to reject conscientious objection.

The First World War was a turning-point. There was a revulsion from war, and pacifism came to the fore as an option. What, however, checked its spread was the conviction of many Christians, including those drawn to pacifism, that the murderous evil of Nazism had to be met with violent resistance. Even now with hindsight and despite the unjustifiable indiscriminate Allied bombing in the latter part of the war, it is hard to suppose that justice and peace would have been served by not meeting Hitler with armed resistance. Indeed, it can be plausibly argued that

the moral as well as the political failure of the thirties was the failure to meet the Nazi evil promptly and effectively with military force. Be that as it may, numbers of Christians because of Nazism came to accept the necessity and obligation of armed resistance to evil (Steinfels, 295-8). War, which had been dismissed as the mere pursuit of power or material gain, took on once more the guise of a crusade.

After the war, there were those who wanted to transfer the same crusading spirit against Communism, questioning whether the traditional teaching on war still applied against the "all-destructive evil and danger of Communism" (De La Bedoyere, 271). In some respects this was the resurgence of an earlier concern, because behind the appeasement of Hitler was the fear of Communism and the hope that Hitler would destroy it. But a renewed acceptance of war was pulled up short by the realization that the use of nuclear weapons cannot be brought within the concept of war as previously understood, let alone within the framework of the traditional teaching on a just war.

There was a transitional period of a decade and a half during which the radically new situation established itself. The first atom bomb was exploded in a test in July 1945. In August 1945 two atom bombs were dropped on Japan. In August 1949 the Soviet Union successfully exploded an atom bomb. The U.S. in November 1952 detonated a fusion or hydrogen bomb. By August 1953 the Soviet Union had done the same. Already by November 1958 the U.S. and Soviet Union between them had detonated more than one hundred times the explosive power as all the bombs dropped on Germany during the Second World War. By 1960 John Kennedy observed that the world's nuclear stockpile contained the equivalent of thirty billion tons of TNT, that is, about ten tons for every human being on this earth (Garrison, 75). From that point onwards the Superpowers have been poised to inflict complete destruction upon each other and probable annihilation upon the human race itself.

In response to that situation more and more Christians, though with continued resistance from fellow Christians, are urging that a rejection of any use, including a deterrent use, of nuclear weapons is the only defensible moral stance. Can we see

here a world-historical movement, reversing the previous direction of Christian history in relation to violence? Some writers suggest that. Francis Meehan speaks of a development of doctrine and argues that "the church is moving and I believe, must move to such a realistic evaluation of modern war that for practical purposes it will become a Church of nonviolence" (Meehan, 91). Walter Stein sees the Catholic Church on the verge of perceiving that not only nuclear war, but nuclear deterrence must be condemned. "Slowly - some feel, apallingly slowly - the Church has moved, step by step, in the direction of 'nuclear pacifism'... (Stein, 1115). However, because not all Christians agree with that response to the nuclear threat, it must be analysed in detail by distinguishing the various steps in learning to say no to nuclear war.

The first no is found in the 1950 Christmas message of Pius XII. It is a no to all wars that are not in self-defence. Because of its immeasurably increased violence, war is now excluded as a proportionate means for the resolution of international conflict, even for the redress of just grievances. The Pope thus introduced a new limitation into the traditional teaching on the just war. Only a war indispensable for self-defence is now admissible. At the same time Pius XII explicitly allowed that a defensive war might be fought with atomic weapons (Murray, 45-50).

Does the exclusion of aggressive wars, even in a just cause, entail the exclusion of first strike in the use of nuclear weapons? John Courtney Murray did not think so (Murray, 45 n.10). The difference between aggression and defence is not for him a question of who shot first. Nevertheless, the U.S. Bishops do exclude a nuclear first strike. "We do not perceive any situation in which the deliberate initiation of nuclear warfare, on however restricted a scale, can be morally justified" (National, n.150).

The third no rejects the use of nuclear weapons to destroy centres of population, that is, counter-population or counter-value warfare. This follows at once from the traditional ethic of war, which forbids any direct attack upon non-combatants and insists that any indirect slaughter of civilians should be

proportionate to the directly intended military effects. One cannot wipe out a city of millions as a "side-effect" of destroying a military installation. Yet, although the no to counter-population warfare is an obvious implication of traditional teaching, there has been some hesitation in accepting it. Why? Well, it clearly condemns the first use of nclear bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Again, as I have said, the fear of Communism made some Christians question whether the traditional teaching still applied. Finally, some distort the traditional teaching by shifting the proportionality required from the relationship between the direct and indirect effects of military action to the relationship between the ultimate war aim and the destruction caused by war. That shift allows some version of the better-dead-than-red argument to be used, so that no amount or kind of slaughter or destruction is allowed to outweigh the evil of being subject to Communism. Happily, the U.S. Bishops did not countenance any such jettisoning of all moral restraint in waging war. Following the teaching of Pius XII and of the Second Vatican Council, they condemn all counter-population warfare, excluding it even by way of retaliation for such an attack by an enemy (National, nn.147-9).

When we come to the fourth no, the refusal of even a limited use of nuclear weapons, we find even more hesitation among Christians. The U.S. Bishops, while recognizing that the chances of keeping any nuclear exchange limited are remote, nevertheless stopped short of condemning all actual use of nuclear weapons as immoral. On this point, a spokesman, J. Bryan Hehir, remarked that "only a centimeter of doubt" prevented the Bishops from supporting an all-out ban on nuclear weapons (O'Brien, 59 n.2).

Rather more than a centimetre of doubt led John Courtney Murray in an influential and much reprinted article to argue that for the traditional teaching the problem is limited war and that must be understood as a moral imperative. "In other words, since nuclear war may be a necessity, it must be made a possibility. Its possibility must be created" (Murray, 58). More recently, William O'Brien argues in the same way. The "Christian realist," he says, sees a perennial need for armed coercion. Since nuclear weapons cannot be uninvented, armed coercion will inevitably include nuclear coercion. "That being the case, the Christian

realist sees the problem of nuclear war as one of mitigation and control, not elimination" (O'Brien, 59).

The decisive no comes here, I think, not with the question of deterrence. To accept deterrence while rejecting all actual use of nuclear weapons is a balancing act that cannot last under the increasing pressure of the military, social and political implications of the reality of deterrence. But for the moment let me distinguish a fifth no -- the refusal of deterrence.

Neither the present Pope nor the U.S. Bishops were prepared to go that far. Both explicitly declare nuclear deterrence to be morally acceptable, though subject to the condition of serving as a step on the way to disarmament. The U.S. Bishops also exclude from deterrence any quest for nuclear superiority (National, nn. 162-99). But, although the U.S. Bishops surround their acceptance of nuclear deterrence with qualifications, they do not, nor does the Pope, show how they would justify that acceptance morally in the light of the objections made against it.

The basic question raised is whether deterrence implies the intention to inflict indiscriminate destruction, if deterrence fails to deter. In which case it would be immoral in virtue of the intention alone. There have been some finely spun arguments about an intention to use in order not to use or about threatening to do what one has no intention of ever doing, about a possible distinction between mere possession (with the intent to avoid war) and an intention to use. Conceptual clarification has its place, but the moral (as distinct from the logical) inadequacy of such arguemnts is that they deal with words and concepts, not with the factual situation, and moral judgements must relate to the facts. In concrete fact the policy of deterrence is the elaborate preparation for nuclear war, with thousands of people working under conditions of strict secrecy to achieve a hair-trigger readiness to launch nuclear weapons. The whole set-up is inconceivable without a willingness, externalized into routines of trained action, to engage in a nuclear exchange. Without such an active preparation to move into action, "mere possession" would be meaningless and would not deter. Nor does a mere hope that nuclear war will never happen or even a conviction that deterrence will continue to prevent it alter the fact that

nuclear deterrence carries with it the acceptance of nuclear war, at least the saying yes to a limited nuclear exchange.

It is instructive that the U.S. Bishops could not bring themselves to exclude clearly on moral grounds all use of nuclear weapons. There was that centimetre of doubt, and it was that which provided the narrow entry for their qualified approval of deterrence. There is a link between deterrence and use. Make what distinctions one will, there is a felt contradiction between saying no to any use of nuclear weapons and giving even a qualified approval to the policy of deterrence.

If we turn now from analysis to synthesis, we can state that the no to nuclear war is in its full amplitude nuclear pacifism, namely the rejection of both nuclear war and nuclear deterrence. To utter that no is not to claim to have the answer to the problem of extricating the human race from its present impasse, but it is to have a moral basis from which to begin a detailed reassessment of present opportunities and policies. But if it is to be a moral basis for effective social and political action nuclear pacifism must be more than a complex moral judgement. It must become a faith and create a taboo. To say to nuclear war in a manner that measures up to the present situation is to do more than make a series of factual and moral judgements, essential though those judgements are. It is to make a social, not just an individual commitment. It is to engage oneself imaginatively, emotionally and actively, not just intellectually. It is to seek shared images and practices of commitment. It is through the social expression of a faith in ritual and symbolic action to erect the barrier of a taboo against what would destroy any human order.

As O'Brien truly remarks, nuclear weapons cannot be uninvented. We have therefore to learn to live with their availability. This confronts us with a choice between two courses of action. The first is to accept the necessity of limited nuclear war and work to achieve nuclear control and make it possible. That alternative is, however, based on a failure to grasp the reality of nuclear power. The second choice is to give an unambiguous no to all forms of nuclear coercion, including deterrence and to work to create a permanent inhibition against nuclear

violence that would have the strength of a taboo. We need to learn with the help of anthropologists such as Mary Douglas how to use shared images and ritualized actions to form a taboo, which would serve as a barrier against policies or actions attempting to cross the nuclear threshold.

The U.S. Bishops speak of the "fragile barrier -- political, psychological, and moral -- which has been constructed since 1945" against nuclear war (National, n.153). They "seek to reinforce the barrier against any use of nuclear weapons" (National, n.153). Unfortunately, their ambiguous attitude to limited nuclear war, together with their acceptance of nuclear deterrence left their trumpet sounding an uncertain note, so tht they did not effectively summon the Church to reverse its attitude to war. They failed to meet the imperative that they themselves laid down in saying, "our 'no' to nuclear war must, in the end, be definitive and decisive" (National, n.138). Hence it is not surprising that Gordon Zahn has cause to deplore the failure of the Bishops to follow up the Pastoral Letter by action in their own dioceses as the Letter itself suggests (Zahn, 141-3). The Letter is intellectually nuanced, but too indecisive at the key points to release the springs of action, particularly the kind of innovative action the situation demands. John Swomley in *The Churchman* quotes "a well-known Catholic nun, active in ecumenical circles" as saying: "It was a very important statement to the Catholic community when it first came out. Its flaws and equivocation about war will make it less and less useful to those who seriously work for peace" (Swomley, 8).

The no to nuclear war must be loud and clear, deep and strong, if it is to penetrate the deafness into which people have retreated.

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LATENT NUCLEAR VIOLENCE: THE INVISIBLE THREAT

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Introduction

From the time I was six years old I have known about the violence of nuclear war. I knew the next war, if it ever took place, would unleash violence on a scale never before experienced. I knew that I would die and this terrified me. No amount of supercilious instruction from my teacher about putting newspapers over my head as protection against radioactive fallout could mask the violence that I knew would visit my community when a bomb dropped. Not only my life, but the lives of my friends and family would be snuffed out. What's more I knew a sinking desperation when I realized that there would be no survivors to build again. Many of my cherished customs such as the mysterious joy of trick-or-treating on Hallowe'en night or the shivers of anticipation over presents under the shimmering Christmas tree would fall into oblivion in the flash of a nuclear blast. Yes, my generation and everyone after it has known about the all-embracing physical violence of nuclear war. But this paper is not about the violence of nuclear explosions. The purpose of this paper is to investigate a *prior* violence of nuclear war. I call this violence the "latent violence" of the nuclear threat.

The very threat of physical nuclear violence results in a non-physical or latent violence which operates prior to the actual explosion of an atomic device. This essay investigates how it affects certain aspects of human living. I don't wish to avoid the physical dangers of the arms race, but this latent violence is, in the final analysis, an attack on all believers and belief systems. It is therefore properly the subject of a journal of religious studies. General Douglas MacArthur underlined this point while speaking at the Japanese surrender on September 2nd, 1945. He said:

> We have had our last chance. If we do not now devise some greater and more equitable system Armageddon will be at our door. The problem is basically theological ... It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh. (Agee 276)

In the light of such statements, people of faith have an obligation to explore and expose this invisible yet deadly form of violence. There are no final solutions to the questions raised by latent nuclear violence but I trust that exposing it will be one step on the road to freedom from all nuclear nightmares.

Latent Nuclear Violence

The simplest way to explain latent nuclear violence is by using the imagery of a building. The exterior walls and interior load-bearing partitions represent the fundamental pillars of human existence, i.e. reason, psyche, spirit. The roof represents the weight of anxiety. In pre-Hiroshima times the weight of anxiety was great but the human being's support-systems were able to carry the load. In the nuclear age the weight of anxiety over the threat of an atomic holocaust is too much for the walls to carry and the various pillars of human existence are beginning to twist and buckle under the load. The roof hasn't fallen in yet. This lack of obvious tangible decay along with the subtleness of the transformations in the pillars of the human condition are such that latent nuclear violence is not easily perceived. Nevertheless, everything under the roof, all human actions, ambitions and dreams are put under pressure by the weight of the nuclear threat. They become prone to explosive or erratic behaviour. Under the nuclear weight and by means of latent nuclear violence ideas become rapidly ideologized. Ambition is transformed into obsession. Fear becomes paranoia. Sadness turns to despair. Joy ends up as hysteria and faith becomes fanaticism.

One can define latent nuclear violence as unnaturally inflicted injury brought about by the threat of nuclear war. It is unnatural inasmuch as it stems from a technological human invention and is not biologically inherent in nature. All violence is an agent, intentionally used by someone. In the case of latent nuclear violence it is employed by eastern and western

political and military leaders as they attempt to subdue each other by threatening annihilation. *Detente* could be called the breeding ground for latent nuclear violence but the whole human community is the injured victim. What follows is an explanation of the injury to the human reason, to the human psyche and spirit which is inflicted by latent nuclear violence.

Latent Nuclear Violence and Human Rationality

I use the imagery of a house to explain the nature of latent nuclear violence because I want to point out that its uniqueness is not that it uses some devilish new method to inflict its injury. Its uniqueness is found in the unbelievable weight it gives to the tried and true methods that human beings have always used to injure one another and themselves. In terms of human rationality this becomes clear when one recognizes that the mental ruptures caused by the weight of latent nuclear violence are commonplace, i.e. illogic, narrowmindedness, mental short-circuits, lying, etc. To take illogic as an example, the difference between ordinary illogic and nuclear-induced illogic is that the latter type has an edge of desperation to it, an obsession almost paranoiac in colour. It is illogical to think that if two men are standing waist deep in gasoline and one man has three matches and the other four that the man with four matches is somehow more secure. In the nuclear game this illogical thinking is carried to a dangerous extreme. The man with four matches begins to think if he only had five or six matches and lit them all at once he would survive while the "enemy" would perish.

This is exactly the sort of thinking that is normative in higher echelons of the Reagan administration. For instance, Louis O. Guifrida, Reagan's head of The Federal Emergency Management Agency said: "Nuke war ... it would be a terrible mess but it wouldn't be unmanageable" (Scheer 3). Deputy Defence secretary Frank Carlucci continued this illogic about the possibility of winning nuclear when he committed the U.S. to a "nuclear war-fighting capability" (Scheer 5). The longer these illogical ideas prevail in decision-making circles the less obvious does the error appear. The idea that Moscow could blackmail the U.S. by a pre-emptive strike to which the president could not respond for fear of retaliation was once called nonsense. Presently this

is the standard rationalization for the U.S. arms build-up. The concept that America could fight a "nuke" war and therefore would need a defensive strategy whose goal was prevailing in a nuclear war, limited or otherwise, used to be rejected as the raving of a lunatic. Now it is public policy. Former Defence Secretary McNamara calls this illogic "too incredible to warrant serious debate" (Scheer 74). *The New York Times* called this thinking "not merely irresponsible, it is mad" (Scheer 108). But this is the precise thinking of such people as T.K. Jones, who is the Deputy Secretary of Defence for Strategic and Theatre Nuclear Weapons. He is actively planning for a limited nuclear war from which "everybody's going to make it" if we all have a shovel handy. Jones proposes that in the event of a nuclear attack, civilians can protect themselves by digging a hole, covering it with a few doors and piling dirt on top. "It's the dirt that does it," affirms this leading Reagan official. Is there a better example of the violence done to human rationality by the nuclear threat than such tragically laughable illogic?

How is it that such powerful political leaders can be so illogical and beyond the pale of reasonable thought? Do they not see that the very destruction they propose to inflict on the enemy will be used on us in return? Can they not catch the irony of their own confidence in the U.S.'s capacity to destroy Russia? In the arms race any weapon we use to destroy those "monsters" (Reagan's word for Russians) will wreak the same destruction on this continent. Apparently many strategists and even the President himself, do not see the *non-sequiturs* in their reasoning. Such is the power of latent nuclear violence. Belden Lane, in a recent article in *The Christian Century*, explains that these world leaders and defence planners are trapped by their "vertical thinking" or what I call nuclear narrowmindedness (Lane 323). Lane, who quotes Edward de Bono, argues that many high officials who face the nuclear dilemma are caught by a growing inability to think logically. Using the metaphor of digging post holes to lay a straight fence, he says:

> ...logic is the tool that is used to dig holes deeper and bigger, to make them altogether better holes. But if the hole is in the wrong place, then no amount of improvement is going

> to put it in the right place. No matter how obvious this may seem to every digger, it is still easier to go on digging in the same hole than to start all over again in a new place. Vertical thinking is digging the same hole deeper.

Many "Nuclear Use Theorists" (NUTS for short) suffer from this kind of thinking. The weight of the nuclear threat pushes aside alternative thinking and drives leaders to dig in the wrong hole. The more evident becomes the wrongness of the hole we are in, the more fervently they shovel, hoping by some miracle (Reagan calls the miracle "Star Wars") that if they go deep enough they will come to the surface again.

There are other mental weaknesses which are aggravated by latent nuclear violence. Certainly collective self-deception is one such weakness. Hyperbolic and euphemistic vocabulary are two more. Space does not permit the elaboration of these nuclear-induced sicknesses but they suffer from the same basic sympton of accelerating exaggeration.

Latent Nuclear Violence and the Human Psyche

Most of my evidence for the effects of latent nuclear violence on the human psyche comes from the material of Robert J. Lifton, a psychologist who has done a good deal of work with the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In his book *Indefensible Weapons*, he outlines the effects of latent nuclear violence on the psychic ecology. Beginning with the assertion that the healthy human psyche needs "an appropriate symbolization of our biological and historical connectedness" (Lifton 64), Lifton builds the argument that the very threat of nuclear weapons has grave psychological consequences. The prospect of human extinction embodied in nuclear war is so psychologically powerful that it breaks the symbolic and psychic "chain of being" (Lifton 66) or a person's sense of connectedness. This sense of connectedness, of being a part of a meaningful whole, is essential for wholesome human growth since it lends structure to the individual life. It offers hope beyond personal death and a means to understanding the life-death cycle.

Lifton argues that there are five fundamental ways of appreciating one's place in the chain of being. He calls them "modes" by which this sense of immortality can be expressed. He goes on to explain that in his work with survivors from Hiroshima none of these modes was equal to the challenge of the nuclear threat of "radical futurelessness" (Lifton 67). Space does not allow for an explanation of the psychological damage done when all these modes of immortality are disrupted but I shall outline the effects of latent nuclear violence on the first mode of immortality, i.e. the understanding of life beyond death through biological immortality of offspring.

As Lifton points out, the possibility of "biological severence" has implications for many, if not all, human relationships. He says:

> If we lose our future, we question our past. That questioning may take the form of exaggerated, even desperate, hunger for roots ... The fact is that we do not yet know how to evaluate the psychological consequences of this extraordinary image of biological extinction. But we must assume that every relationship along the great chain of being is in some degree affected. (Lifton 68)

The nuclear threat disrupts human relationships so that people are no longer able to sense security and contentment in other human beings. The mother/father - son/daughter relationship can no longer be based upon the security of home and a sense of intra-generational connectedness. Parents have difficulty imagining how to raise children for a future that seems doubtful. The lack of a future towards which to build lasting relationships exacerbates many psychic disorders. Dissatisfaction and distrust, rejection of responsibility and commitment all take on a new edge as psychological by-products of latent nuclear violence. When nothing, not even the future existence of the planet, is assured then the permanence and significance of any human relationship, including marriage is undercut. Furthermore all the natural ambiguity of life is exaggerated by the weight of the nuclear threat. Under the nuclear umbrella normal youthful

irresponsibility lingers into adulthood. Dissatisfaction with self grows into an inordinate concentration on personal problems. Disillusionment with others becomes endemic cynicism about all things. In this regard Lifton points out that the nuclear age is experienceing more variant and desperate attempts to flee from or ignore the natural psychological conflicts that have always plagued the human condition.

Latent Nuclear Violence and the Human Spirit

The prospect of total human extinction puts a great deal of pressure upon the human spirit and organized spiritualities. The spiritual evidence of the workings of latent nuclear violence is the seeming callousness of the late twentieth century human soul. The very contemplation of mass murder undermines the nobility and creativity of the human spirit by miring it in images of horrific destruction. To survive under the threat of mass death the human spirit begins to expect less, believe less, remember and hope less. Dorothee Sölle explains this decay of the human spirit in a book called *The Arms Race Kills: Even Without War.* She says that the possibility of human extinction is so traumatic that the soul lies to itslef, becomes numb, silent, forgets and begins to decay. Latent nuclear violence dissolves the resolve of the human spirit and makes belief more and more difficult. Meaning is harder to come by and personal security overrides any higher truth. Sölle points to this death of the soul when speaking about resisting the preparation of nuclear war. "If you keep silent and allow youself to be used, you are already dead. You have armed yourself to death" (Sölle 81). "The preparation for nuclear war and mass destruction becomes a law by which we live" (Sölle 3), by which our souls die before our bodies.

Lifton explains the damage to the human soul by speaking about the theological mode by which the human spirit understands immortality. In his research with survivors of Hiroshima he discovered that none of the major religious motifs were adequate to the magnitude of destruction that people witnessed. He argues that any spirituality which imagines life after death seems absurd if not contradictory when people imagine a world devoid of human life. What is the point of believing in anything, even in the after-life, if all earthly life is snuffed out? Such

questions shake the foundations of most Christian doctrines of salvation. What does it mean to say "Jesus died to save the world God so loved," if this very same world has designs on blowing itself up? Lifton goes on to argue that under the nuclear threat the search for religious imagery to explain human extinction becomes more intensified and less satisfied as the years pass. He explains that Christian fundamentalists have given to fundamentalism a nuclear induced "all or nothing" system of religious belief. Through latent nuclear violence apocalypticism takes on an ideological flavour as spiritualists or Evangelists like Hal Lindsey try to explain nuclear war as the judgement of God. For Lindsey the very threat of total annihilation becomes a welcome sign of God's presence in the world. Such upside-down apocalypticism is the spiritual fallout from bombs yet unexploded.

Lifton sums up the point I have wanted to make in this paper when he concludes, "...once more the weapons tarnish and taint; spiritually they destroy and kill, *even without being used*" (Lifton 71). Nuclear weapons have a *violent* effect even before they are employed. Even if they never explode again, society will have to care for the victims violated by a latent nuclear beast.

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KARL BARTH'S THEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION OF WORLD WAR II

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Introduction

The hypothesis of this paper is that a historical consideration of the legitimation of violence by religion in World War II will elucidate the problem of "justifiable violence" today.

This clarification of the relation of religion to violence is possible for two reasons. On the one hand, today's complex political situation offers no clear-cut answer to the problem of violence. The self-destructive nature of the arms race on the international level negates the possibility of its justification. The intra-national struggle of the black people in South Africa and the liberation movements in South America indicate, however, that a condoning of violent resistance is possible. Opposite responses to the question of violence can therefore be elicited today, depending on the particular situation about which one is speaking.

On the other hand, circumstances would seem to have been more transparent by comparison fifty years ago. In response to the rise of fascism in Germany, some leading Christians endorsed the Allied cause against the aggression, injustice, and anti-Semitism of Hitler and his war machine. For them, violence had to be met with violence. There was no other way.

World War II will therefore serve as the basis of this paper's explication of the relation of religion to violence, and this paper will clarify this relationship by examining one prominent Christian thinker's writings on the war, those of Karl Barth. Barth insisted not only that the Nazis had to be resisted by force, but that the war against the Third Reich had a theological rationale. Karl Barth's theological justification of the struggle against Nazism will be briefly outlined, with the hope that this historical investigation will be useful to those who must struggle with the question of religion and violence in our own period.

I. *The Relation of the Church to the World*

To begin with, it is necessary to recognize that Karl Barth spoke within a specific historical context, namely what he himself called "The German Church struggle" of the 1930's. In reaction to the development of a movement calling itself the "Faith Movement of 'German Christians,'" which endorsed the policies of *der Führer* (including his race policies), Barth and others formed what was known as the "Confessional Synod of the German Evangelical Church." Last year, Christians all over the world observed the fiftieth anniversary of the most famous "stand" taken by this Confessing Church: *The Barmen Declaration* (1934).

> Jesus Christ, as he is attested for us in Holy Scripture is the one Word of God which we have to hear and which we have to trust and obey in life and death--

declared the little body at Barmen-Wupertal (Cochrane 239); and therefore:

> We reject the false doctrine, as though the Church could and would have to acknowledge as a source of its proclamation, apart from and besides this one Word of God, still other events and powers, figures and truths, as God's revelation (239).

Barth was the chief author of the document. True to his general point-of-departure, the statement took its stand on "Scripture and the Confessions of the Reformation" (Cochrane 238). This basis, the Declaration insisted, "has been continually ... thwarted and rendered ineffective by alien principles, on the part of ... the 'German Christians' as well as ... the Church administration" (238). Thus, one of the first concerns of Barth, along with the other "Confessing" Christians, was that the church should be allowed to be the church.

> The guarantee of the State by the Church is finally accomplished when the Church claims for itself the guarantee of the State, i.e.,

> the guarantee of freedom to proclaim her message, (namely) ... divine justification. (Barth 1960a, 147)

II. *A Concept of an Unjust State*

A second theme of Barth's writings during this time (1933-38) was that the church had not only to maintain its freedom to preach the gospel, but that it was also to resist the National Socialist state as such. There were four reasons for this resistance. First of all, the German state itself had become a religion demanding an oath from all of its citizens (Barth 1939, 41ff). This represented a conflict with Barth's allegiance to Jesus Christ, and so he refused to take it. For him, loyalty to the state was only possible in the light of one's prior commitment to God, not the other way around.

Secondly, the state had become increasingly anti-Semitic and had begun to persecute the Jews. This was of special concern to Barth, who wrote that National Socialism should be judged as fundamentally hostile to Christianity on the question of anti-Semitism alone. "He who rejects and persecutes the Jews rejects and persecutes Him who died for the sins of the Jews" and so is "a radical enemy of Jesus Christ" (Barth 1939, 51).

Thirdly, Barth regarded Nazi Germany as having invalidated itself as a state on the basis of his definition of a *just* state. Barth arrived at this conclusion through an exegetical study of Romans 13:1-7, where it is said that everyone was to be subject to the higher authorities, who were there as ministers of God to protect the innocent and punish the wicked. Barth proposed that "being subject" did not necessarily mean being blindly obedient to the state, but that one could still be loyal by resisting improper authorities (for example, by going to jail peacefully after having protested the injustice of a state's actions) (Barth 1960a, 136ff).

Further this "submission" to the authorities was only applicable if the state acted as a "minister of God", namely by protecting the innocent and punishing the wicked. Since Nazi Germany was, however, doing the opposite, it could not really be

called a legitimate state, and so the Christian's task was to "intercede" on behalf of the people and to "restore" the corrupt state to its rightful function (Barth 1960a, 138-40).

Lastly, resistance to a political order was possible on the basis of Barth's interpretation of the Scottish Confession of 1526. Lecturing in 1937-38 at the University of Aberdeen, Barth declared that the injunction in Article 14 of the Confession to "save the lives of innocents, to represse tyrannie, (and) to defend the oppressed" meant that resistance to Germany was not only "allowed, but enjoined by God" (Barth 1938, 124, 229). Barth still hoped at this point (1938) tht Christians would be spared this "ultimate ratio of forcible resistance," but given the situation in Germany, "it may be that the repressing of tyranny and prevention of the shedding of innocent blood can be carried out in no other way" (Barth 1938, 229, 231). His words proved to be only too prophetic.

III. *War as a Righteous Cause*

Barth turned his attention in 1938 from the Christian resistance movement within Germany to the responsibility of other nations. Writing letters to Christians in Czechoslovakia, Holland, France, Britain, and America between the years 1938 and 1942, he summoned them to take up the fight against Germany. The other nations were now considered by Barth to be more "just" than Germany, and so it was their obligation to "restore" a true state within Germany.

Two general themes can be discerned in these letters, of which the dominant one is Barth's interpretation of the Allied Nations' war against the Axis powers as a righteous cause. This theme was already hinted at in 1933, when Barth declared that "because the word of God *has* triumphed already, once for all, over us and on our behalf, and over all its other opponents, ... it *will* triumph over us and all other opponents" (Barth 1933, 12). The resurrection of Jesus Christ and his victory over the "principalities and powers" not only had ontological significance but was pertinent to the present political situation. Consequently, this motif is in evidence in Barth's letters to the French Christians (1939, 40), becomes full-blown in his letter to

the British Christians (1941), and is further interpreted in his American letter (1942).

The first striking feature of the French letter is its negative content. Having already stated that the issue at stake was the "conflict between the proclamation of Jesus Christ and the adversary," and not *primarily* "human suffering or not-suffering" (Barth 1939, 63), Barth chastized the French for their "eschatological defeatism," which dwelt on "the truth that 'the whole world lieth in the evil one'" (Barth 1941, 35). In the second letter, Barth accused the French Christians of using the preaching of "Christ crucified" as a way to "cooperate today" with the armistice that had been reached between France and Germany (Barth 1941, 48). For Barth, God's judgement did not mean "that we shall grow weary and allow ourselves to become confused about what we previously recognized to be God's commandment" (Barth 1941, 50), but that the church should continue to fight a spiritual war against Hitler.

The import of the resurrection of Jesus Christ for the war is also mentioned for the first time in the second letter. Speaking about a Christian repudiation of defeat and a new approach to resistance, Barth commended the crucified Christ to be preached as the risen Christ -- "as the King, whose Kingdom has no boundaries" and who "has overcome the world" (Barth 1941, 51).

Barth's letter to the British Christians (April 1941) represents an elaboration of this motif, beginning with the thesis that the ultimate reason to resist Hitler was the resurrection of Jesus Christ (Barth 1941, 15). The reason for this emphasis was twofold. On the one hand, God could be regarded as having defeated the principalities and powers by Christ's death and resurrection. Understood theologically, God's overwhelming "Yes" to humanity meant that there was no evil *as such*, i.e. no ontological evil (Barth 1956, 283-357). Evil was only the shadow or negative side of the positive relation of God to humanity, and so could be called "nothingness" (Barth 1960b, 289-368). Therefore, although Nazi Germany was to be seen as a real evil and one which inflicted untold cruelty on the world, Barth contended that it could not have any *lasting* existence. God had been bound to humanity in such a way, as Gordon Kaufman has so aptly described

Barth's theology, that God would never allow the human creature's self-destruction (Kaufman 7).

Secondly, God worked through the just state as well as through the church in proclaiming the "kingly rule of Christ." In particular, Britain, as a just state, was to fight against Germany and to restore the government to its proper function. Britain represented for Barth the true "higher power," through which God "bears with, protects and upholds the world until the day when He shall make all things new" (Barth 1941, 12). Thus, "when the British Government declared war on Adolf Hitler's Germany in the autumn of 1939, it acted as the Government of a righteous State according to Christian standards" (Barth 1941, 14).

A further interpretation of what this righteous cause entailed is included in Barth's letter to the Americans (1942). Replying to the American statement that "war is abhorrent, but its outcome is dependent on Christian principles," Barth stated that Christian principles did not suggest that one "does evil in violation of conscience, in order that good may result," but that war itself was "a beneficent, a merciful thing, which is in the truest interest of even those most directly affected thereby" (Barth 1944, 30, 27). Only if it were understood that "the war *against* them is in fact also being waged *for* them" was it possible for America to have a "good conscience in this hard and terrible business" (27).

Barth adduced two reasons for these statements. First, they were based on an interpretation of Romans 12-13, where it is stated that a Christian is not to repay evil for evil (12:17), but to do good (13:3), to overcome evil with good (12:21), and to do so for conscience's sake (13:5). In relation to the war, these passages indicated to Barth that a justification of the Allied cause was only possible if it were seen as a positive good. The Christian could never consciously will evil, for this would be a violation of Paul's exhortation. This was also true on a theological level, in the sense that God's "Yes" to humanity was determinative for history itself. Thus, it was "practically" impossible for a Christian consciously to do evil; evil remained "real" only in the sense that it was a shadow of the good.

The second reason had to do with the good that the Christian intended *for the neighbour*. Romans 13:10 stated that love was the fulfilling of the law, and that love did no wrong to the neighbour. Concretely, this indicated that the "corrective" action of the war was a sign of God's graciousness to the Germans, and not a sign of God's retributive nature. The "wrath (of God) on the wrongdoer" (13:4) was to be understood as part of the love of God in that the war was a disciplinary action, being fought in the Germans' "best interest" and for "their own good." In this way, the "retributive justice system" and the gracious act of love and forgiveness of God in Jesus Christ were not separated into two realms, but were related in such a way that the love of God remained primary (Barth 1944, 32; Cf. 1960a, 71-100).

IV. *War as a Judgement of God*

While Barth's interpretation of the war as a righteous cause remained the most persistent of his "war writings," he did modify this theme in a number of ways. For example, after having pronounced in 1938 that every Czech soldier was fighting for the church of Jesus Christ (Barth 1945, 58), Barth stated a year later that the church could not wield a sword, and that the war was not a *causa Dei* (Barth 1939, 77; 1941, 33). Christ had also died on the cross for Hitler and for the rest of Germany, and so the church's task was to continue to "deliver *her own* message about forgiveness of sins and eternal life in the name of her Lord" (Barth 1941, 34; 1938, 226). The church's function thus remained separate from that of the state, and divine justification could not be *directly* linked with human justice.

Secondly, all nations had to share the blame for causing the war. Barth pointed, for example, to the Versailles treaty, saying that it "gave National Socialism its justification," and through its harsh conditions and lack of enforcement, was unable to teach Germans "to know and to prize the power and blessing of justice, of freedom and responsibility" (Barth 1939, 69-70). Thus, the word "liberal" became in Germany "a carping and abusive word for every kind of arbitrariness, helplessness, and powerlessness" (70).

The Munich treaty also revealed the extent to which Europe was prepared to go in making its peace with Hitler. This proved the last straw for Barth, and prompted his series of letters to Christians in other countries. All nations had to claim responsibility for the war, for they had failed to prevent Hitler's aggression. Thus, while it could be said that Germany was guilty of starting the war, the other nations were guilty of *avoiding* the war (Barth 1944, 21). God's judgement rested, therefore, not only upon Germany but on all nations.

In writing about the war Barth also acknowledged the amount of suffering that was involved. Speaking in 1939 about the persistent resistance of the Christians within Germany, Barth affirmed suffering as an integral part of one's confession of Jesus Christ, and went so far as to say that the persecution of the church was a "good" in the sense that the "glory" of suffering was being withheld from the persecutors (Barth 1939, 62; 1960a, 131). This did not mean, however, that suffering was a good "in and of itself." Rather, it was possible to fight if one realized the number of sacrifices and the amount of suffering that resistance required; suffering was an inextricable part of one's resistance.

Finally, Barth made it clear that the war being fought by the Allies was not to be identified with the vengeance of God. Quoting Romans 12:19, "vengeance is mine, saith the Lord," Barth considered an endorsement of the war as "the dreadful ultimate instrument for the restoration of the public order, broken and destroyed by mutual guilt" (Barth 1944, 26). While the Allied cause was to be understood as a righteous cause, it was not to be seen straightforwardly as God's cause. God's judgement remained in effect upon all the protaganists of the war, even though the Allies were more justified in their actions than were the Germans.

Conclusion

There are a number of ways that Barth has thrown light on the issue of violence. For one, he named evil for what it was, to quote Luther. The ideological nature of Nazism was exposed; the evil of anti-Semitism was proclaimed as real; tyranny was not

to be tolerated; and the "slaughter of innocents" was to be stopped.

Further, violent resistance was advocated on the basis of a higher authority, namely Jesus Christ as attested to in the Scriptures and in the Confessions of the Reformation. Romans 13 defined the true ministry of the state, while the Scottish Confession of 1526 commended the repression of tyranny as a "gude wark befoir God."

Finally, the intention of God was for the well-being of all humanity. The *telos* of God's faithfulness was not directed in a vindictive way to humanity's guilt, but pointed toward humanity's vindication. Analogously, a Christian's actions reflected the steadfast love of God for the world and was governed by the good which God had intended for the earth. Only in this way was it possible to understand how one's resistance to Hitler could be a "godly" action.

The immediate implications for these "theological guide-lines" are obvious. The injustice of apartheid, the burden of tyrannical rule, and the self-annihilating qualities of the build-up of arms are all declared to be contrary to the "good of humanity."

Further, this evaluation of injustice is based on a higher norm, namely that of Jesus Christ and the church tradition. The equality of humanity, the proper "submission" of Christians to Christ, and the "self-worth" of creation are commended as an alternative to these injustices.

Thirdly, the love that is intended for the neighbour has to be for "the good of all," even the enemy. Thus, the good of the neighbour is "done and is seen to be done" when one's actions are orientated to the liberation and redemption of all people, and not only to "one's own neighbour."

There are, however, several criticisms which can be made of this identification of the good with the redemption of God. Reinhold Niebuhr stated the problem succinctly when he said that Barth's emphasis on "the 'Yes' of divine mercy has completely

canceled out the 'No' of divine judgement against all human pride and pretension" (Niebuhr 171).

> The real weakness of this unvarying emphasis ... is that it tempts the Christian to share the victory and the glory of the risen Lord, without participating in the crucifixion of the self, which is the Scriptural presupposition of a new life, for the individual, the church and the nation (170).

Other Christian thinkers were also dissatisfied with Barth's relatively unequivocal comparison of the Allied struggle with a "righteous cause." Wilhelm Pauck declared that the war "can only be the expression of the wrath of God who judges the sins of men against one another in a bitter fight of mutual destruction" (Barth 1943, 467). Further, the war could not be fought on the basis of a good conscience, commented C.C. Morrison; it was to be fought "*without the benefit of conscience for the fighting*," or rather, "with a bad and tortured conscience for the sins that have brought us to the tragic necessity of fighting" (Barth 1943, 464). "The judgement of God" was thus considered by Niebuhr, Pauck, Morrison, together with others (cf. H.R. Niehuhr 1942, 43), to provide a profounder interpretation of the war than "the righteousness of God."

To Barth's credit, it must be remembered that he was reacting specifically to the *lack* of resistance to Germany that was so much in evidence in Europe during the 1930's. For Barth, preaching "Christ crucified" meant reinforcing the fatalism and passivity already present in Europe as the result of Hitler's increasing political and military power. Barth's task was not to buttress the evil that Hitler's armies represented, but to exhort European Christians to oppose this evil with the knowledge that their resistance could and had to be understood as a right and "godly" action.

The judgement of God does nevertheless relativize and qualify many of the "righteous" actions against injustice that are to be considered today. The equality of humanity is rendered intelligible to others only if it can be demonstrated to be true

in one's own country. In this sense, the righteous judgement of God is as applicable to one's own lack of justice as it is to that of a neighbour's.

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ELOQUENT LIGHT

Reflections on Christology

humanity to meet divinity in meta-praxis
duelling with abstractions while going to die:
poor Christ an iron in the parlour fire
of dons,
re-hashed over marsala,
while being pierced with the sword.

meanwhile the world assumes new poses of agony:
for the Soweto martyr and the Guatamalan mother
passion is undifferentiated,
blood runs red like blood,
the echo of the policeman's step does not evoke
the similitude of the Great Ur-Act in Eden's garden.

and so it is a miracle and an ecstasy
that one christian voice
is heard
which leaves blood red,
and admits the hollow ring of the perennial jackboot:
which is never far from tears,
or the ancient, unendurable ennui of
those who only wait,
nursing the eloquent light of hope and peace.

Andrew Taylor

VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICAN LIBERATION THEOLOGY

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My specific role in the Concordia-McGill research group is to examine the meaning and function of violence in revolutionary movements for social change in Latin America. My work then is to study how violence is understood in Latin American theology of liberation. The relationship between violence and struggle for social change is becoming increasingly a key issue for Christians, particularly North American Christians, for whom violence is especially problematic, because it contradicts the idea of Christian love. There are large numbers of Catholics, both lay and religious, in Latin America who are actively participating in a common project whose goal is the transformation of Latin American society into a more just social order. Some of these Christians have participated in various forms of armed struggle and continue to do so or support those who do. A new Christian theological reflection has emerged out of this revolutionary project whose goal is the liberation of the majority of Latin American people from the extreme misery and oppression which is the norm in most Latin American countries, and of which most North Americans really have absolutely no understanding.

Before any discussion of how the liberation theologians themselves view the inevitable violence of armed struggle can proceed, it is important to contextualize violence within a larger analysis of the relationship between religion and politics. To focus on violence as an isolated, overriding problem results in its reification, which then distorts the complexities and specific context and conditions of the Latin American reality.

It must be understood that these remarks on the relationship between religion and politics represent a Catholic liberationist perspective as specifically formulated in the theology of liberation, but not necessarily unique to it.

What is Theology of Liberation?

Especially in North America, liberation theology can be understood in very different forms, by both those who support and condemn it. Some think of it as a "strange and bastard mixture of theology and sociology, with a generous sprinkling of politics" (Gutierrez 100). There are those who see a variety of *theologies* of liberation that are nothing more than cheap apologetics for revolution and violence with a Christian overcoating. But according to Leonardo Boff, a Brazilian Franciscan priest recently silenced by the Vatican, "there is one, and only, theology of liberation." There is one "point of departure - the reality of social misery - and one goal - the liberation of the oppressed" (Boff 24).

A theology which begins with the material and the historical, and which adopts an advocacy stance on the part of a particular segment of society, is a deeply political theology. Can theology in fact avoid being political and partisan, and indeed can it afford not to be? Historically, Catholicism in Latin America (and everywhere else) has always been politically partisan in practice, while vigorously disclaiming this fact. Liberation theology has taken great pains to point this out, through what David Tracy calls the application of a "hermeneutics of suspicion" (Mahan and Richesin 2). Liberation theology has developed a critical self-understanding which has exposed the way in which the apolitical and strictly spiritual claims of the Christian tradition have functioned to conceal some of its more oppressive and destructive elements.

Liberation theology explicitly recognizes the necessarily political character of theology and attempts to reflect critically on this fact through an emancipatory praxis that attempts to change the material conditions of society. The value of praxis can only be measured by the concrete effects it has on the people's lives; theological reflection emerges as a second-stage reflection on changes in the social order. Politics is integral to liberation theology, but before continuing further, I will clarify what I mean by politics and how the liberation theologians understand it.

Liberation Theology and Politics

There is one other brief but crucial point that must be made as well: while liberation theology owes a great deal to Marxist analysis, it is *not* a Marxist Christianity or a Christian Marxism. Such a body of ideas *exists*, but it is not liberation theology. Marxism has provided liberation theology with a tool of social and economic analysis whereby the problems of Latin America could be more accurately assessed; for example, through an appropriation of Marxist categories and economic theory, the concept of underdevelopment and poor industrialization as an explanation for the poverty of Latin America gave way to the theory of dependency and exploitation. This analytical shift emerged in the early sixties as the inevitable failure of Kennedy's Alliance for Progress became all too apparent. Increasing foreign investment and development of the infrastructures of the Latin American countries under the conditions of economic dependency only plunged them deeper into poverty. The failure of the "developmentalist approach" helped give birth to liberation theolgy.

Liberation theology is critical of both liberal capitalism and state totalitarianism of the Leninist-Stalinist type. When it speaks of the need for a socialist system this is not to be understood as the imposition of a totalitarian state or the dictatorship of any class or group. In fact, the brand of socialism that liberation theology seems closest to is anarchism, or libertarian socialism, a fact acknowledged by Gutierrez himself, as well as others. Certainly the kind of social structures being developed in the base communities (*CEBs*) manifest strong anarchist features. I am making this point in order to show that the commitment of liberation theology is to a popular, non-centralized form of social organization, the relationships of which are lateral and as non-hierarchical as possible. Most of the liberation theologians make it quite clear that they do not believe that social justice can be established through a centralized state authority. This is important because the most common criticism levelled against revolution as a means for social change refers to the outcome of the Russian Revolution. This is why one must clearly say that liberation theologians are well aware of the futility of a change in political system and nothing

else. In fact, liberation theology and practice has much in common, for example, with the populist movements in nineteenth century Russia.

To return then to the original question: what do we mean by politics? For the liberation theologians, *a desirable politics is that practical, social activity in which human beings engage for the common good.* As such, it is based on a system of practical values and the means by which to effect those values in the *human community.* Politics also appears as an instrumental manipulation, or "techne." Charles Davis elaborates these distinctions between praxis and techne:

> "Making", for Aristotle is an action with a tangible product, such as a ship or a table. "Praxis" refers to those actions, such as moral or social conduct, which have their meaning and end in themselves. "Practical philosophy" is thus a philosophy of human affairs, dealing with moral and political action, that is with action considered normatively as concerned with the good and just life. Hence praxis ... is distinct from techne ... and the technical mastery such production presupposes. (Davis 21)

In modern times, our concept of politics has developed into "techne," or instrumental reason. Politics is no longer understood or expressed as praxis. Politics has increasingly degenerated into technique, "the rational adaptation of means" to predetermined ends. "The experts become technocrats, ruling with an authority that cannot be challenged, except by other experts on technical grounds. Modernity is thus leading to the unfreedom of a society unable to question the expertise of bureaucrats and technocrats. The empirical past is proving as narrow a prison as the dogmatic past" (Davis 30). Thus politics becomes instrumental manipulation, a tactical manoeuvring the aim of which is to seek, increase and maintain power for its own sake.

Gustavo Gutierrez believes that a creative, humane relationship between politics and religion is not only desirable, but entirely possible because:

> Human reason has become political reason ... (Politics) is the sphere for the exercise of a critical freedom which is won through history. It is the universal determinant and the collective arena for human fulfillment ... Nothing lies outside the political sphere understood this way. Everything has a political colour ... Personal relationships themselves acquire an ever-increasing political dimension. (Gutierrez 47)

Seen in this way, politics and religion are inextricably linked too, even though they are separate and distinct as well. From the liberationist theological perspective, God's salvific plan for humanity is embedded in the political realm.

Liberation theology marks a radical shift in theological method. Unlike traditional or "academic" theology, liberation theology insists that theology is "second stage" reflection, a critical consciousness of Christian social practice. It explicitly rejects theology as a scholastic reflection upon existent, permanent, absolute doctrines, or an orthodoxy. "Since the identity and truth of a tradition cannot be established theoretically, the religious structure we refer to as orthodoxy is rendered impossible. Orthodoxy treats doctrine, not practice, as the final norm: it therefore presupposes a contemplative concept of truth, which disengages itself from practice" (Davis 9). Orthodoxy must give way to orthopraxis, which means that praxis is primary, and must precede theoretical reflection. It is based on a theory-practice dialectic, in which there is "no purely theoretical center of reference for the truth and continuing identity of tradition." The appropriateness of a social theory can only be evaluated within the social practice to which it is related. A biblical expression of orthopraxis can be found in I John 3:17ff:

> But if a man has enough to live on, and yet when he sees his brother in need, shuts up his heart against him, how can it be said that the

> divine love dwells in him? My children, love must not be a matter of words or talk: it must be genuine and show itself in action. This is how we may know that we belong to the realm of truth ...

The self-conscious and explicit political and critical character of liberation theology then derives from its methodology which begins with human experience in concrete, historical conditions. Its commitment to the "preferential option for the poor" is a political and critical commitment, but it is deeply religious as well. One encounters God in the poor, historically, and one must struggle for the liberation of the poor if one is to participate in God's salvific plan. Knowledge of God means love of God, which means "doing justice"; this point is crucial to liberation theology and rests squarely on the prophets:

> It not this what I require of you as a fast:
> to loose the fetters of injustice,
> to untie the knots of the yoke...
> and to set free those who have been crushed?
> Is it not sharing your food with the hungry
> taking the homeless poor into your house,
> clothing the naked when you meet them
> and never evading a duty to your kinsfolk?
> Then shall your light break forth like the dawn
> and soon you will grow healthy like a wound
> newly healed;
> your own righteousness shall be your vanguard
> and the glory of the Lord your rearguard.
> Then, if you call, the Lord will answer;
> if you cry to him, he will say, "Here I am."
> (Isaiah 58:6-9)

The struggle for justice is not only a sign of the coming of the Kingdom: the struggle for social justice *is* the struggle for the Kingdom. This is a theology that rejects a Nature/Supernature split where God's eschatological promise will be realized post-historically. Liberation theology understands salvation and liberation as part of one historical process. Liberation and salvation are interlinked because with the

Incarnation the Kingdom is already in history, but not yet complete. According to Gutierrez, liberation works on three distinct but interconnected levels: political liberation, the liberation of humanity throughout history, and the liberation from sin and communion with God. These interacting levels of liberation form one single salvific process: sin is both an obstacle to the Kingdom and the root of injustice and human suffering. Thus the removal of sin is the precondition for both the Kingdom and a just social order: "the historical political liberating event is the growth of the Kingdom and is a salvific event: but it is not the coming of the Kingdom, not all of salvation. It is the historical realization of the kingdom, and, therefore it also proclaims its fullness" (Gutierrez 177).

It is thus the interconnection between liberation and salvation which gives human history its "profound unity." Gutierez is quite explicit that salvation cannot be reduced to the spiritual or strictly religious realm because this undermines the radical and total nature of the salvific process. Salvation would then lose its dynamic character and become distorted if it is severed from the economic and social order. Furthermore, the concrete connecting link between salvation and liberation is an ethical one. When we speak of ethics we must inevitably speak of politics if salvation and liberation are to be worked out in concrete human experience.

If knowing God is doing justice, then theology and ethics are indissolubly linked. The "preferential option for the poor" which is the methodological core of liberation theology is both political and religious. Political because it chooses to promote the interests of a particular social class, and in the Latin American context, this involves a radical transformation of social and institutional structures. It is also a religious option because it believes that God wants the liberation of the poor from injustice. As Jesus tells his disciples: "I tell you this: anything you did for one of my brothers, here, however humble, you did for me" (Matthew 25:31-45).

The conditions in Latin America being as they are, demand the construction of a new social order. A Christian faith which is based upon a commitment to the poor further demands that faith

become effective through concrete actions that attempt to alleviate poverty and oppression. The New Testament James was completely aware of the need for an effective faith:

> My brothers, what use is it for a man to say he has faith when he does nothing to show it? Can that faith save him? Suppose a brother or a sister is in rags with not enough food for the day, and one of you says, "Good luck to you, keep yourselves warm, and have plenty to eat" but does nothing to supply their bodily needs, what is the good of that? So with faith: if it does not lead to action, it is in itself a lifeless thing. (James 2:14-18)

It is only when we have some insight into the way in which liberation theology approaches the question of religion and its relationship to politics that we can turn to the very complex issue of violence and actions which are directed to the transformation of the social order.

Here we must be careful to clarify our definition of violence, and that has been an ongoing topic of some discussion in the seminar group. For the major representatives of liberation theology, such as Gutierrez and Juan Luis Segundo, the most brutal and insidious violence is what they call "institutionalized violence," that violence which is a constitutive factor in the very structure of the capitalist system. Institutional, systemic violence is primary in the sense that it generates all other social violence. For Segundo institutionalized violence is worse than insurrectionary violence, which is a response to the given and prevailing injustice of the social and political order. In Latin America, revolutionary activity which seeks to overthrow a structurally violent social order is met with the more brutal violence of state and military repression, and so a spiral of violence is created. In Latin America, there can be no peace without justice. According to the Medellin document on peace:

> As the Christian believes in the productiveness of peace in order to achieve justice, he

> also believes that justice is a prerequisite for peace. He recognizes that in many instances Latin America finds itself faced with a situation of injustice that can be called institutionalized violence ... We should not be surprised, therefore, that the "temptation to violence" is surfacing in Latin America. One should not abuse the patience of a people that for years has borne a situation that would not be acceptable to anyone with any degree of awareness of human rights. (Segundo 283)

Segundo asserts that those who denounce liberation theology on the grounds that it does not condemn violence in armed social struggle, are often blind to the existence of the pervasive, daily violence that permeates Latin American society. It is precisely those critics of violence in revolution, who are usually members of more privileged groups in comparison to the larger population and who are keenly aware of their human rights which they possess because of their privileged status, who implicitly support violence to protect their own self-interest over and against those less privileged:

> Obviously then, those who possess a solid awareness of their human rights employ violence by *proxy* or *power of attorney*. Though they may not bear and use weapons, they organize and pay armed and "violent" corps to serve their supposed rights. In line with the Medellin text, then, we can say that no one should be surprised or scandalized to see a "volunteer" armed corps in the service of justice arise when the paid violence is actually in the service ofthe evil doers, when it is the institutionalized violence mentioned earlier in the ... Medellin document. (Segundo 283)

Segundo argues that a violent, unjust social order must be changed to a more just order, *even if* violence is necessary, and

that insurrectionary violence is legitimate when there is no other recourse. He points out that the most recent papal statements condemning violence as unchristian are a new development in the history of Catholic theology, since it has traditionally accepted the concept and practice of just war, even canonizing warrior saints and inquisitors. Certainly Thomas Aquinas did not rule out the possibility of revolution as a means for a more just social order. Pope Paul VI (who condemned violence at Medellin) in *Populorum Progressio* refers to the existence of causes "that might justify violence in specific political situations" (Segundo 284).

In this context I will look at another Uruguayan Jesuit and professor of philosophy, Juan Carlos Zaffaroni, who was educated in the universities of Paris and Louvain. Unlike Segundo, Zaffaroni left the Jesuit order to become a worker-priest, and then a revolutionary priest, in the tradition of Camilo Torres. Zaffaroni lived and worked among the poorest Uruguayans, who were the northern sugar-cane cutters. In 1968, he led a march of sugar-cane cutters across Uruguay to Montevideo, where they set up camp outside the city. He used a television interview as an opportunity to call the people to rebellion. He fled, and established a revolutionary "underground church."

Zaffaroni believed that in Uruguay, an armed struggle was the only solution to the misery of the Uruguayan people; he did not invoke revolution or violence as universal principles. He made it clear that he was speaking from his own social context. This is an important modification in any discussion of violence and social change, since the social context and specific material conditions determine whether violence is a necessary and hopefully short-term means. Zaffaroni insisted that popular armed revolt was the only means to challenge the unjust social order of Uruguay since any other non-violent form of protest, i.e. demonstrations or workers' strikes are always met with savage repression by the military. He said: "Every Christian, every priest, must identify with the poor and the dispossessed ready to give his life for it" (Gheerbrandt 297).

In the documents, statements and general theological writings known as liberation theology, there is a shared under-

standing of violent actions as social, strategic and circumstantially necessary and inevitable. Violence is not glorified or romanticized for its own sake, nor is it used in the fashion of some terrorist groups which hope to provoke violent repression from the state in the hope that the masses will rise up when they see the true nature of the powers that control society suddenly revealed. Rather, violence is understood as an unfortuante but necessary factor in collective efforts to transform existing structurally violent, unjust and repressive social orders. Moreover, violence is not necessarily a pure destructive force; it can be an expression of the creative social forces of resistance, depending on the particular context and material conditions within which they occur. According to Rubem Alves, when the oppressed fight back, it is an effort to "negate the negation" which manifests itself as "defuturization" which undermines their capacity as active historical subjects.

Revolution can be understood as an act based on hope and love; this was certainly the view of Ché Guevara and Camilo Torres, for example. As such, revolution expresses hope for the future, a repudiation of the harmful past and a break with those dehumanizing structures of a social order which is established on authoritarian lines of power reinforced by "legitimate" use of violence.

If people find themselves in a society organized along rigid lines of stratification and characterized by exploitative social relations, sometimes they are forced to resort to violence through insurrectionary struggle to establish justice, the prerequisite for peace. According to Alfredo Fierro: "Violence is shared by all movements of liberation, revolution, or protest. It gives them concrete form, fleshing them out in the real world. Without violence they lose themselves in abstraction, unreality and ineffectiveness ... Conflict and a clash between powers - in a word, violence - is inherent in any serious social change" (Fierro 201-2). Thus violence is a rational action "to the extent that it is effective in reaching the end that must justify it," according to Hannah Arendt (Arendt 79). In her view, it remains rational only as long as it pursues short-term goals, and is sometimes the only means by which necessary social reforms can be achieved.

None of this is to say that violent actions are desirable, or ends in themselves, although in certain social situations, violence may be the *only* way of achieving even moderate reforms. We must be careful with a critique of violence that dislocates it from its material context, that mystifies it as a kind of demonic force. We must be especially careful not to forget that insurrectionary violence arises often as a desperate response to the institutionalized violence embedded as a permanent structural element in the very social and political order, especially in third world countries. Finally, we must be most especially careful, in whatever critique we develop of revolutionary movements, that we do not unwittingly play into the interests of repressive authority.

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THE THEOLOGY OF THE CROSS AND THE QUEST FOR WORLD PEACE

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> "... annihilating power is in nervous and passionate hands. The stuff is really there to incinerate the earth--and the certainty that it will not be used is not there."
>
> Joseph Sitler

Christianity and Empire

Christians in the last quarter of a century that was supposed to have been "The Christian Century" are caught between a tradition of almost unrelieved doctrinal and ecclesiastical triumphalism and a nuclear world in which every type of ideological triumph is rendered both incredible and dangerous. Simplistic forms of the Christian religion, which in North America are both quantitatively prevalent and qualitatively dominant, seek to preserve Christendom by alligning themselves with imperialistic political structures favourable to its continuance. The political structures, being themselves conspicuously insecure, are more than willing to accept cultic support from an old ally whose powers seemed spent. It is not the first that Empire has been able to discover in the Christian religion a friend in need! It is the first time, however, that such an alliance has posed a threat to the very future of earth. A political regime as powerful and as "nervous" as the present administration of the United States of America, encouraged by its supporting cultus to believe both in the righteousness of its cause and its world "responsibility," would be a threat to human tranquillity under any circumstance. Under the conditions of nuclearism, it is a threat to human survival.

Thus as Christians we confront what may prove the critical moment in our planet's history knowing that *our religion* is functioning as the primary spiritual substructure of an imperium which, to preserve itself, may introduce oblivion.

This is not to imply that the prospect of nuclear holocaust comes only from the imperial centre which owns the Christian religion as its (official unofficial!) cultus. The threat comes, of course, from the other "superpower" too--an empire which is itself not without Christian connections! It is also a "nervous and passionate" power. But we should be naive if we imagined that other empire to be the only source of danger--the only "evil" empire." The question of "evil" aside, it is possible that the Russian superpower is less *dangerous* than ours. (I say ours because, although as a Canadian I cannot and do not wish to claim "American" identity, neither--precisely as a Canadian!--can I claim neutrality. I serve that empire, and I belong to a people which serves that empire). At very least, we must awaken to the fact that there has been a shift of world opinion in this regard. Not only in predictable spheres, but in nations basically friendly to the U.S.A. such as those of Western Europe and the Caribbean, there has dawned the awareness that the United States may prove the *instigator* of global conflagration. This, I think, does not represent a transition in friendship or in fundamental esteem for the American people. It represents rather a new consciousness of the fact that a people with much to lose and little spiritual fortitude for the contemplation of *less* could, under certain circumstances, resort to desperate acts.

The fact that Christianity is indelibly linked with the First World's imperial centre and is therefore acting in the role of chaplain to superpower does not, of course, disturb significant numbers on this Continent who claim (very noisily!) the name Christian. Many of these indeed appear to believe that the demise of the planet would not be too high a price to pay for the maintenance of their "faith"; others can with equanimity assume that "it all has to end sometime anyway"; still others see the incineration of earth as postlude to "the Rapture," when the elect will be gathered up into heaven by the returning Christ. Dwellers in the halls of Academe, I have discovered, are not likely to be aware of it, but the best-selling religious author of our era is a Christian "evangelist" who regularly demonstrates that God is the real inventor of the Bomb. One of his works alone, *The Late Great Planet Earth*[1], has sold well over 15 millions of copies. (No wonder that unlike the earlier harbingers of the End who hurried to their closets to pray or

their rooftops to await the descending Lord of Glory, the spiritual instincts of Mr. Hal Lindsey have led him unerringly back to his Word Processor to dash off more best-sellers--all of them variations on the theme.) Such "neo-apocalypticism"[2] is the *reductio ad absurdum* of Christian triumphalism. But its "absurdity" should not blind us to its immense power in creating, in our midst, a climate of opinion that is favourable to the arms race as well as economic and other designs of empire. As Jim Wallis pointed out in an article entitled, "The President's Pulpit," President Reagan in his speeches has frequently referred to Armageddon.[3] And in his profound and alarming study, *The Fate of the Earth*,[4] Jonathan Schell was compelled by the very prominence of the End-consciousness amongst Christians to refute--from their own Scriptures!--those believers who find it to be God's will that the earth be destroyed. Is it not a travesty of faith when, against the True Believers who pant with anticipation over Armageddon, a secular journalist must remind Christians that their Saviour came not to destroy but to save and to give life in abundance?

It is altogether too easy, however, for those of us who represent what we like to believe are more sophisticated froms of Christianity to escape the implications for our faith and our theologies present in this situation. The crises of our times, spearheaded (though not exhausted) by the nuclear threat, have evoked from large numbers of people in our society primitive instincts of fear and survival. In Christian circles, these instincts articulate themselves in militant and victorious forms which mirror, on the religious plane, the "Rambomania" of unreflective secularity. Persons "who combine unusual insecurity with naiveté"[5] are attracted to that within the Christian religion which accentuates the positive, minimizes the negative (largely by locating its source in an external "enemy"), upholds the values they have been taught to cherish, ensures the righteousness of their corporate cause, and in general gives them the impression of being "winners!" But the point is, the possibility of using Christianity in this way is not accidental. Historic forms of the Christian religion have more than prepared the way for such interpretations. All of us, therefore, who still confess belief in Jesus as the Christ are called upon by the spirit of our times to examine our belief for its potential

to beget and sanction global violence.

What is being called in question by historical providence is the triumphalistic character of empirical Christianity, not merely its more simplistic and bizarre expressions. It is not surprising, given fifteen centuries of Constantinian arrangements between church and society, that there should exist on this Continent today such a close connection between imperial political structures and militant forms of the Christian religion. Our long history of cohabitation with Empire ought to have taught us something about the logic of this relationship.

For triumphalistic religion has always been driven into the arms of Empire. The political alliance is intuitively perceived by this type of belief to be mandatory because the ideological-spiritual triumph by itself has never been externally convincing. Empire can lend to religious triumphalism the outward appearance of victory that, without the trappings of imperial splendour, it lacks. For its part, Empire receives the cult gladly; for it needs the dimension of the eternal to mask its obvious temporality. A bargain is struck, in effect: the Imperium will impart earthly majesty to the cult if the cult will provide cohesion, reverence, and the weight of permanency to the structures and infrastructures of the society so constitutued. Something must be forfeited on each side too: Empire must relinquish the image (which it always covets!) of being *immediately* divine; it must give the appearance, at least, of receiving its divine mandate from the priestly segment. (There is not one jot or tittle of difference in this respect, so far as the basics of the thing are concerned, between imperial Rome and imperial Washington.) As for the cult, it must forfeit (a) the right to profound judgement of the State and (b) whatever elements inhere in its account of reality which, explicitly or implicitly, may undermine the ambitions of Empire. For instance, a Christianity at whose centre there stood a symbol of earthly suffering and defeat could not function as the religion of the Roman Empire. Naturally enough! Who could accept a criminal condemned by Rome as the primary cultic symbol of the glory of Rome! The disappearance of the crucified Christ from the centre; his replacement by *Christus Rex*, by the risen and glorious Ruler of All (*Pantokrator*)--this was a feat of doctrinal engineering

made absolutely necessary by the marriage of the Christian religion with "the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them" (Matthew 4:8 !). The logic of this relationship between the official cult and the official culture is entirely clear--and it has not been altered by the centuries.

But what has been altered--what has at least been *clarified* about this relationship in our time, is the threat to life that it contains. For there is no more deadly combination than "nervous" power and a religion which can transform neurotic energy into righteous self-affirmation. As Shakespeare in *Julius Caesar* and other plays wonderfully illustrated, empires normally contain critical minorities which prevent them from espousing their most disastrous ambitions. It is perhaps a matter of "common grace." But a modern empire armed with the ultimate weapon and assured by its cultus of its own rectitude as well as the absolute evil of its "enemy" ... ? The world has not yet witnessed what could come of that!

The Cross: God's Abiding Commitment to the World

I believe that the only way in which Christians may responsibly confront this dilemma is by seeking, overagainst and behind their own dominant doctrinal and ecclesial traditions, to recover a gospel which critically dissociates its hearers from the quest for world *power* and, on the positive side, opens them to the radical possibility of world *affirmation*. The two requirements of such a gospel are inseparable aspects of a single necessity.

Let me address the negative aspect first. We require, I claim, a gospel which critically dissociates its hearers from the quest for world power. Under the conditions of Constantinian Christianity--which is to say during the greater share of its history--the Christian church allowed its message to undergird, cultically, the political bravado of successive empires. The church sought to achieve its mission by aligning itself with power. It would have power through proximity to power.

What this has meant in practice is that *the church has had to sanction war*. For empire only sustains itself finally through

military might, i.e. through its ability to deter or defeat every internal and external challenge to its ultimacy. Thus the concept of the "just war" has not been incidental to the theology of Christendom, as is sometimes thought; it is an integral aspect of the whole posture of Christendom *vis-à-vis* worldly power. The just war follows from Christian triumphalism as naturally as heat results from fire. When the triumph of the Christ is tied to the triumph of this or that imperium, then the triumph of the Christ is also tied to the logic of war, economic sacrifice, the drain of human inventiveness, the creation of enemy-images (*Feindbilder*), propaganda and exaggerated versions of achievements and glory of one's own people, the education of the young in the rhetoric of nation and race, etc. The actual wars that have been blessed by the Christian church are therefore in some measure consequences of the theological decision that Christ's triumph can, in some tangible way, be linked with the triumph of empire. Thus we have the spectacle of a religion which insists upon the universal and non-partisan love of God aligning itself with nation against nation, race against race, class against class, sex against sex, and so betraying at the level of its praxis its claim to all-embracing *human* liberation and the breaking-down of dividing walls of hostility.

The historic peace-churches (Mennonites, Quakers and Brethren) have been so deeply chagrined by this long-standing irony that they have had to dissociate themselves from mainline Christianity. The nuclear crisis has created amongst important segments in all the churches a sentiment open to the suggestion that peacemaking belongs to the Christian confession. But this sentiment is too seldom accompanied by the willingness to follow the course that the peace-churches have had to follow, i.e. *to adopt a whole new posture in relation to power.* The gospel by which we must seek to be re-formed is one which not only disengages its hearers from ultimate loyalty to particular centres of imperial pomp, but which calls in question the whole *modus operandi* of power. Particularly in the First World, serious Christians must be taught to be critically vigilant in relation to established powers. Unlike Christians in *both* of the other two "worlds," First World Christians are still exceptionally willing to trust the powers-that-be. Only a minority is consistently able to view our global situation from the perspective of

the *victims* of collective power. An even smaller percentage of us, I suspect, is ready to apply to the life of the Christian community itself the search for a radical alternative to the quest for power. As long as this is the case, the majority of First World Christians will be less than serious in their efforts for peace.

But it is not enough to submit ourselves to a gospel which performs for us the critical task of dissociating us from the worldly and religious thirst for world power. This is only the prerequisite to the positive task of faith. We cannot begin to act responsibly in the world until we have thoroughly disabused ourselves of the habit of power. But the aim is not to become power*less*. The aim is to become *responsible, faithful*! Therefore extricating ourselves from the kind of theological triumphalism which in the past has permitted and encouraged Christianity's marriage with Empire--this negative task--must be accompanied by a positive one: namely the attempt to hear the gospel of the cross as a message and way by which we are opened to the radical possibility of world *affirmation. World* affirmation!

World affirmation means two things that are immediately pertinent to our situation. First it means that Christians are required at long last to cease being ambiguous about this world. World-negation and ambiguity permeate our whole history. It is our particular heritage from Hellenism. While affirming empires, we have manifested a singular uncertainty whether this world as such could be a matter for our ultimate concern! "Nothing," wrote Hannah Arendt in her *Men in Dark Times*,[6] "Nothing in our time is more dubious ... than our attitude toward the world." (Her biography is called, significantly, *For Love of the World*). Christian *other*worldliness, combined with fatalistic conceptions of this world, has contributed heavily to this situation. Today the means are at hand for dispensing with a "world" for which sufficient *raison d'être* cannot be found. It puts to Christians in the most dramatic (and final) way the question that our whole history has *begged*: "But what do you Christians think about God's *world*?"

Secondly, world affirmation means *world* affirmation--not the

one-sided affirmation of *part* of the world! Not the affirmation of the First World overagainst the Second, overagainst the Third! Not the affirmation of *Empire*, but the affirmation of the World, of *Creation*! The quest for world *peace* becomes an earnest quest only at the point where human beings cease thinking about this planet as if the boundaries and "walls" that human societies have erected were "natural"! The only boundary that is visible from outer-space is the Great Wall of China--a matter of purely *historical* interest! God did not create the earth with partitions. And if partitions have indeed been created by *Homo sapiens* (sapiens?), and must be taken seriously as such, Christians are required to take *still more seriously* the eschatological breaking down of these partitions! The *critical* theological task of dissociating the gospel of God from Empire requires as its concommitant the *constructive* theological task of associating that gospel with the whole earth, all peoples, all *creatures*. This is not merely a sentimental dictum today but a mandate which, if we do not rise to it, will certainly return to haunt us, perhaps to destroy us.

Does it mean, if we follow this mandate, that as Christians we shall have to struggle for the abolition of the nation-state, as Jonathan Schell says? Perhaps--especially sovereign states with imperial ambitions, though love of "one's own" does not, I think, *necessarily* end in chauvinism and the predatory instinct. Does it mean that Christians shall have to abandon loyalty to First World concerns, including the arming of the First World and the protection of First World interests? Probably! The translation of this gospel into concrete directives for social and personal ethics is a never-ending task of faith. But we must begin with the realization that the change that is required in our churches and our selves is a foundational one, a *metanoia* at the level of our basic mode of reflection: namely, we are called by divine providence, speaking through the characteristic internal and external events of our time, to dispense with a theological triumphalism which invariably aligns itself with power, with empire, and to orientate ourselves towards a *Logos* which incorporates the whole created order ... and is prepared to suffer for its healing.

For a long time now, I have tried to understand the meaning

of Martin Luther's key distinction, *theologia crucis/theologia gloriae.* It is an evocative distinction--a doctrinal symbol whose meaning words cannot exhaust. But I think that I have by now been sufficiently marked by the crises and temptations of our epoch to understand what this distinction must mean *for us.* It means that over against a "theology of glory" which is inherently attracted to empire, like to like, the "theology of the cross," being translated, is always about God's abiding commitment to the world.

Footnotes

1. With C.C. Carlson (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970).

2. See J. Christiaan Beker, *Paul's Apocalyptic Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982).

3. *Sojourners*, Vol. 13, No. 8, September, 1984.

4. (New York: Avon Boods, 1982); cf. pp. 133 ff.

5. George A. Lindbeck, *The Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a Postliberal Age* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1984), p. 21.

6. (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Janovich, 1955), p.4.

7. By Elisabeth Young-Bruehl (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1982).

DEAN'S DESK...

Robert C. Culley

Well, at least it's the Acting Dean's desk. As you probably know Professor J.C. McLelland retired as Dean last June. Not exactly. Since no successor had been appointed, he continued to mind the shop until early in August when I took over as Acting Dean. An appointment of his successor should be made soon.

Meanwhile Professor McLelland is on a sabbatical leave, although we have already been after him to tell us what courses he will be teaching next year. This is something of a special year for him since he was elected Moderator of the 111th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada which met last June in Guelph, Ontario. During this year, then, Professor McLelland will be making some trips in Canada and abroad. In July he travelled to Guyana to take part in special celebrations for the Centennial of the Guyana Presbyterian Church, and in October made a trip to the Maritimes.

We have had a busy year so far. The Birks Lecutres for this year (September 30th and October 1st) were given by Professor E.P. Sanders of Oxford and McMaster. His three lectures on "Major Conflicts in the Origins of Christianity" were well received and the auditorium of Presbyterian College was crowded on each occasion. A Bach Symposium, "J.S. Bach: The Audition of God," (October 29th to November 1st) was sponsored jointly by our Faculty and the Faculty of Music. The idea came from Richard Cooper, managing editor of ARC and doctoral candidate, who was also responsible for much of the organization. Participants and visitors enjoyed a fine blend of papers and recitals. Other visitors have been: Professors Ludolphy of Erlangen, James Barr of Oxford, and Dorothee Sölle of Union Seminary, New York.

The next big event will be the Montreal Calvin Symposium sponsored jointly by the Faculty and The Presbyterian College to commemorate the publication 450 years ago ofthe first edition of the *Institutio*. This event is planned for next September 29th to October 3rd. The first day will feature the Birks Lectures for 1986, and the speakers will be announced soon.

News about two of our graduates. The Rev. David N. Oliver (B.Th. '73, M.A. '81) has become secretary of the Canadian Bible Society's Montreal District. He came to Montreal after a three-year appointment as Dean of Students and Lecturer in Theological Ethics and Pastoral Psychology at Queen's College, St. John's, Newfoundland. Dr. Patricia Kirkpatrick was persuaded to stay on for another year to assist in the Old Testament area while I play the role of Acting Dean. She was awarded her doctorate from Oxford in June and ordained as deacon in Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, in October.

1985-86 WINNERS OF

AWARDS & FELLOWSHIPS

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Edith Humphrey
Tazim Kassam
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Brian Walsh (Renewal)

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Tazim Kassam
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Leslie Orr (Renewal)
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Norman Cornett
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Joao Borges
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CONGRATULATIONS TO ALL THESE STUDENTS

MONTREAL DIOCESAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

Anthony Capon

I am grateful once again for the opportunity to greet alumni through these pages, and to give some news of the College.

In the spring we were pleased to graduate Geraldine Bissell-Thompson, Paul Charbonneau, Patrick Jackson, Kenneth Lee, Gordon McKibbin and Charles Morris, while Basil Tynes completed his S.T.M. degree and returned to Nassau. This December we shall say goodbye to Ciakudia Kaseya Ciakalou, who arrived at Diocesan College a couple of months after I did in 1978 to begin a B.Th., and is now putting the final touches to his Ph.D. at the Université de Montréal!

At Convocation in May we also awarded an honorary D.D. to our alumnus James MacLean, recently consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Montreal, just *before* the Faculty of Religious Studies awarded him his retroactive B.Th.! Also honoured with a D.D. was the retiring Dean of Divinity of Trinity College, Toronto, Dr. Eugene Fairweather; Dr. Fairweather delivered the Convocation Address.

The ranks of alumni have been thinned this past year throught the death of the following: Canon G.N. (Duke) Standish, Rev. David Luck (associate), Rev. John Thatcher, Rev. Winter LeCras, Rev. David Rogers, Rev. Alfred Smith, Canon Mark Beaufoy (hon. D.D. and former Warden) and Rev. David Russell. We thank God for the prospect of a reunion yet to come.

This academic year began with an excellent retreat led by Rt. Rev. Allan Read, Bishop of Ontario. Bishop Read made a profound impression on our community as he demonstrated the meaning of a "servant ministry." We have 34 students in theology (about the same as last year), and at the same time between 50 and 60 students are working their way through the Reading and Tutorial Course.

Two developments dominate our special news this year. The first is the renovation of our College buildings. Fire safety

has been a major concern in Phase 1. Stairways are enclosed with fire walls and all residence rooms have been fitted with fire-resistant doors; we have a new alarm system, new fire escape, smoke and heat detectors, and a second exit for Chapel. In addition, the College facilities have been upgraded in many ways, and we hope that alumni will come and see the changes. We hope to complete Phase 2 next year.

The second development is the re-structuring of the final year programme for our students, known as the "In-Ministry Year." Because of the difficulty in appointing an Executive Director for the Montreal Institute for Ministry who would be acceptable to all the Colleges, it has been decided for the time being that each College will be responsible for its own In-Ministry Year, negotiating cooperation in course work with the other Colleges on a case-by-case basis. This has placed a new and heavy load on our Director of Studies, Canon John McNab, but all indications are that, at least for our College,the experience of this year is going to be a very good one for all concerned. Among other advantages, many untapped resources in our Diocese are being used in the training programme.

We welcome Davena Davis as Administrator of the Reading and Tutorial Course for this year.

MONTREAL INSTITUTE FOR MINISTRY

Anthony Capon

I am writing this as Chairman of the Academic Council of the Joint Board, a responsibility which includes that of Executive Officer of the Montreal Institute for Ministry.

Efforts continued to find an Executive Director for the Institute, and it appeared at one stage that these efforts had been successful. However, serious differences of opinion between representatives of the three Colleges on what were appropriate procedures for the Search Committee led to the adoption of irreconcilable positions and the abandonment of the task.

The Joint Board decided that for the academic year 1985-86 each College should take responsibility for developing its own In-Ministry Year programme. The overall programme for each College, together with course descriptions, were submitted to the Academic Council and were approved with certain amendments. Authorization of the award of degrees and diplomas remains with the Academic Council.

Certain courses are being taught on a cooperative basis, notably Preaching, Counselling in Ministry, and to some extent Mission and Christian Education.

It remains to be seen whether the present arrangement will continue in future years. It is the hope of many that it will be possible to return to a more closely integrated programme before too long.

I should like to conclude by repeating John McNab's closing comment at this same point last year: "We attempt great things for God, we expect great things from God; pray for us!"

UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

Pierre Goldberger and Bonnie Burnett

This has been a year of transition and change for the United Theological College. It has been a good year in terms of the quality, maturity and dedication of the students, the College community and programmes, and the trials and excitement of planning for and moving into the future. The relationship of spirituality and justice, theology and the practice of ministry, the francophone and anglophone milieus and the local and global concerns of the Church's mission are kept in dynamic tension as we prepare candidates for ministry in the Church for the world.

During the year, the Rev. Ron Coughlin and Sue Nordberg have ably shared the responsibilities of interim Director of Studies and Community Resource person. A new page of our College's history began with the appointment of the Rev. Bonnie Burnett as

our Director of Studies. Bonnie brings, among her many gifts, a sensitivity to students, a solid and rich theological training, a deep concern for congregational ministry and church life, a strong commitment to the common ministry of both lay and ordained, and a fresh look at the training for ministry from women's theological and pastoral perspectives. Our new secretary, Heather Hall, brings competence, enthusiasm and warmth to our community.

Hardly unpacked, Bonnie plunged, with energy and enthusiasm, into helping design a new programme for our College's final year in Ministry. Our Board had agreed, with some reluctance and regret, to accept the Joint Board resolution, originating with a sister College, to seek greater independence for the three Colleges in creating their own programmes. We have developed a final year programme with a continuing strong field-based component and a greater interconnectedness between courses and the congregational practice of ministry. We added field trip components focusing on rural, urban, sub-urban and third world contexts. We are experimenting with the inclusion of lay and ordained people in various components of the programme. Our new programme was presented to and discussed at the fall C.E.T.E.M. (Committee of Theology and Education Ministry, M.P.&E.) meeting and we received helpful and very supportive comments and encouragement.

As well, the College has been working with the Montreal and Ottawa Conference to develop an Institute for Lay Ministry. We are considering a decentralized model using existing lay and ordained resources within the M. & O. Conference which would respond to congregational and special ministries' needs. Further thinking has gone into the pursuit of the development of an M.Div. programme within the next couple of years. We expect substantial progress on these two projects during this year.

Our student enrolment has increased significantly this year, and we thank friends and alumni who support U.T.C./McGill as a relevant place to train for Ministry for the future. Our Faculty has been extremely busy and dedicated in the pursuit of both Church and academic commitments, accomplishments of which we are proud and for which we are very grateful.

Our gratitude extends in other directions as well: to the members of our Board of Governors who represent the Churches and communities of the four Presbyteries of our Conference, to the members of teaching congregations who provide the locus for learning about ministry and reflections upon theology and praxis, to the presbyteries, the Division of M. & E., and to our Alumni whose critical and encouraging support is priceless. We still need your prayers, your financial support and your friendly visits at U.T.C.

THE PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE

William Klempa

A year ago, Acting Principal Fred Wisse concluded his report from Presbyterian College with the plea, "Bill Klempa, won't you please come home!" There were many days at the beginning of this term - had I had a choice in the matter - that I would have preferred to have been back in Edinburgh with my face almost buried in a seventeenth century theological work trying to make sense out of the difficult Latin constructions. Post-sabbatical re-entry is always difficult but in this case it was doubly difficult. But as the weeks and months have gone by one has gotten back into the swing of things and even felt good about being back. One only hopes that others feel the same way.

Following what is now a well-established pattern, the Presbyterian College community went on its annual retreat from Friday to Sunday during the first week of September. The retreat was held at Centre Marial Montfortain with twenty-seven students and their wives plus four faculty members in attendance. Of the student participants, six were new students, five of whom entered the first year of the theological programme and one the final, or Montreal-Institute-for-Ministry year. (Total student enrolment at the College now stands at twenty-nine.) The college retreat was led by two parish ministers, the Rev. Alison Stewart-Patterson of Eglise St. Luc, Montréal and the Rev. Larry Paul of St. Andrew's Church, Perth, Ontario. They gave three stimulating presentations on "The Pastoral Ministry Today" which prompted lively discussion. The retreat got the year off to a good start.

An important event took place on Thursday evening, October 17th when the newly-renovated College Chapel was dedicated as the Rev. C. Ritchie Bell Memorial Chapel. The lovely new chapel designed by Mr. Murray Ross, an architect from Toronto, and supervised by architect Mr. Micheal G. Ellwood of Montreal with construction under the direction of Mr. Robert Cross, was filled to capacity with extra chairs brought in to accommodate the hundred and more who were in attendance. Participating in the service of dedication were the very Rev. Professor J.C. McLelland, Moderator of the 111th General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, who gave the address and led in the act of dedication, the Rev. Dr. D.G. Neil, Moderator of the Presbytery of Montreal, the Rev. Carrie Doehring, Vice-President of the Alumni/ae Association, and Miss Wendy Snook, President of the Students' Society, and the Principal.

The Chapel was dedicated to the glory of God and in memory of Dr. C. Ritchie Bell, B.A., B.D., D.C.L., D.D., 1905-1982, who was Professor of Pastoral Theology in the college from 1951-1973. Dr. Bell had been co-chairman, along with Mr. Alex Duff, of the Presbyterian College Building Fund which had helped to finance the new college building which was erected in 1963. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1948, served for many years as Clerk of the Presbytery of Montreal and also as President of the Montreal District of the Canadian Bible Society. Dr. Bell is survived by his wife Margaret, who lives in Lachute, and by a son and daughter. Following the Dedication Service a reception was held in the college dining hall that was catered to by the women of the Milton Park congregation. The Milton Park Community Church, whose minister is the Rev. George Harper, worships each Sunday in the chapel. The chapel is also used by a Chinese congregation on Sundays. Our College community worships in the chapel on several mornings each week and on Wednesday at noon. We are grateful to the Rev. C. Ritchie Bell Memorial Fund, the Janet and Etta MacLeod Estates and First Presbyterian Church, Montreal, which made the renovations possible and we are thankful to the Renovation Committee: Mr. George Pridmore, Chairman, Mr. John Thom, Prof. Fredrik Wisse, Mr. Robert Calhoun, Mr. W. Kenneth Hall, and the student representative, Mr. Andrew Johnston, for their excellent work.

This report concludes with news about the faculty. Dr. Geoffrey D. Johnston was appointed by General Assembly last June to a three year term as Director of Studies. Dr. Johnston and his wife, Mary Lou, and their family have now moved to Montreal. We are justly proud that a member of our college faculty and the retiring Dean of the Faculty of Religious, Professor Joseph C. McLelland was elected Moderator of the 111th General Assembly which met in Guelph, Ontario last June. Dr. McLelland has been busy during the past few months fulfilling his duties as moderator and we wish him and his wife Audrey, good health and an enjoyable moderatorial year. Professor Robert C. Culley is serving as acting dean while the search for a new dean of the Faculty of Religious Studies continues. The Rev. Daniel Shute, our college librarian and member of our faculty, got married last May. He and his wife, Elaine, spent three months this summer at the Baptist Seminary in Managua, Nicaragua where Mr. Shute helped to organize the theological library. The College has a new Administrative Secretary, Ms. Eleanor Paul, a B.A. graduate of McMaster and a M.A. graduate of Université de Montréal with post-graduate studies in Geneva and Paris.

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FREEDOM AND DEATH

Jim n. Bardis

How can we find freedom? and freedom from what? Is it not freedom from choice that we are seeking? The return to the primordial unity. But we cannot become a child again, that unity is lost forever, we must seek another unity at the other end of the fragmentation. The fragmentary state of consciousness is not unalterable.

We are seeking something new, something fresh and alive. It will not be found in a book, as it is not likely that it will take the form of an idea. It will not be found in entertainment, as these forms of stimulation are momentary and do not satisfy (in most cases) the whole being. Will it be found in relationship? Or is the path to the ultimate ex-stasis a solitary one? It is probably solitary. And thus alone we must face the schism of consciousness ... torn between opposing choices, we watch from a distance the conflictual chaos ... where will we find repose?

We cannot look to the past, as that is an entirely conditioned construct and as such it impedes its own investigation--a contradictory proposal. And we cannot appeal to psychoanalysis, as that operates on the level of the fragments and thereby reinforces the conditioning. And at all costs we must avoid the charlatans that make a business of selling spirituality and enlightenment--vultures of the soul who know nothing about inner alchemy ... so we put aside the past, all forms of analysis and therapy, and all the gurus, psychologists, and authorities, and in the freedom of the void we have created, the transmutation blossoms, we transmute the temporal body into the body eternal--the Diamond-Body, the body whose law is its action, the body that lives its own death and has merged with eternity. What guru will teach you this? Those scavengers of the soul feed the ego, identify it with the absolute, and make a mockery of the sacred; we are including the evangelists in this group.

So, put them all aside, ecstasy is not mediated through another person ... the relationship is vertical. And it is not a relationship with Christ or Buddha or whomever, a symbol cannot save us, it is the height of infantile idiocy to prostrate oneself before a symbol, or a lunatic, and maybe even before a Bodhisattva.

STATISTICS AND PRIZE WINNERS 1984-85

B.Th. 18 graduates in 1984-85 (1 of these was a retroactive B.Th. Degree)

Birks Award - Christopher Trott
McGill Alumnae Prize - Salwa Melhem
University Scholar - Christopher Trott
Great Distinction - Gregory Frazer
Paul Geraghty
Christopher Trott
Distinction - Andrew Johnston
Distinction (Honours) - Andrew Sandilands
Neil Stewart Prize in Hebrew - Sandra Goodis
Greek Prize - Nathalie Polzer
Faculty Scholars - Elizabeth Bryce
Timothy Smart
James McGill Award - Timothy Smart

B.A. 5 graduates in 1984-85
First Class Honours - Katie Dueck
Ann Erskine
Barbara Helms
Birks Award - Katie Dueck
Sanskrit Prize - Kalpana Gupta

Graduate 2 STM graduates
5 MA graduates
2 Ph.D. graduates

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

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Pierre Goldberger is Principal of the United Theological College.

D.J. Hall is Professor of Christian Theology at the Faculty of Religious Studies.

Marsha Hewitt is a doctoral student at Concordia University and a Research Assistant on the *Religion and Violence* project.

William Klempa is Principal of The Presbyterian College.

Christopher Levan is a doctoral student in the Faculty of Religious Studies and a Research Assistant on the *Religion and Violence* project.

Thomas Seniw is a special student in the graduate programme of the Faculty of Religious Studies.

Donald Stoesz is a doctoral student in the Faculty of Religious Studies and a Research Assistant on the *Religion and Violence* project.

Andrew Taylor is a doctoral student in the Faculty of Religious Studies.

The cover design by Thomas Seniw is a tribute to the swords-into-ploughshares sculpture, on the United Nations site, New York City, by the Soviet artist Vuchetich. It expresses the message of Isaiah 2:4: "They shall beat their swords into plough-shares..."

ARC is an attempt to provide a means of maintaining the ties that exist between the academic community and its Alumni/Alumnae. To aid in this continuing theological education, we are publishing two issues per year which are distributed to almost 1000 graduates and friends of the Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University, its affiliated Colleges (Anglican, Presbyterian and United Church) and the Montreal Institute for Ministry. We are asking for an annual contribution of $5.00 per person in order to offset costs of printing and distribution.

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