

**THE
CHRISTIAN
AND
POLITICS**

Also by Robert L. Thoburn:

How to Establish and Operate a Successful Christian School
(A Comprehensive Manual), 1975

THE CHRISTIAN AND POLITICS

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**Thoburn Press
Tyler, Texas**

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First edition, January, 1984

Second edition, October, 1984

Published by
Thoburn Press
P.O. Box 6941
Tyler, Texas 75711

This book is dedicated to
Congressman Larry McDonald
Murdered on Korean Air Lines
Flight 007 by a government which
fears Christians in politics.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank God for enabling me to write this book. He created me and gave me whatever abilities I have. He regenerated me by His Holy Spirit at Word of Life Camp at beautiful Schroon Lake in 1950. He has given my life meaning and purpose. His Word has been a lamp unto my feet in the field of politics.

I also thank many of God's servants who helped me in various ways to make this book possible. The many books and lectures by Dr. R. J. Rushdoony have influenced me beyond measure. The prolific writing of Dr. Gary North has encouraged me to contribute something of my own.

My wife Rosemary has been supportive all the way. She skillfully managed our Christian school so I could draw aside to concentrate on this work.

Finally, I wish to thank my publisher, my oldest son David, who so expeditiously and carefully type-set and guided this book to completion.

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INTRODUCTION

As I write these words, seven Christian fathers are in jail in Cass County, Nebraska. Their wives and children have fled to another state to escape persecution.

What terrible crime have they committed? They dared to send their children to a Christian school that is not licensed by the state government.

Faith Baptist Church in Louisville, Nebraska, started a Christian school several years ago. The civil authorities claim they are above the church. **They** have a right to tell the church how to run one of its ministries.

The battle lines are being drawn. Throughout America there are thousands of court cases pending against Christians. One minister who visited Louisville this week said he felt as though he had just come from the Gulag.

It's nearly Christmas. President Ronald Reagan has just lit the national Christmas tree in Washington. Judge Ronald Reagan (yes, that's his name!) is turning out the lights on the Christians in Cass County. Christians **must not**, yes **dare not** sit back

complacently and say it can happen in Russia, but it can't happen here. It can happen here, and it is happening here.

I'm writing this book because I believe we as Christians should apply our faith to every area of life. I believe we not only can defend ourselves by the help of our sovereign God, but we can develop a Christian culture around us. That means a civil government that is under God and His law.

This can be accomplished. Christians must first be convinced it is their duty to be involved in politics. They need to know what the Christian approach to politics means. They need practical, down-to-earth advice on how to go about changing the political situation.

In this book I hope to accomplish just that. I want to share with you my experience as an educator, minister, and state legislator. I hope you will join with millions of other Christians in 1984 and the years ahead to reassert the crown rights of King Jesus.

Part I

***SHOULD A CHRISTIAN
BE INVOLVED IN POLITICS?***

1

RELIGION AND POLITICS DON'T MIX!

“Alcohol and gasoline don’t mix!” I remember so well those words from an elderly Christian lady in Harrisville, Ohio, where I grew up. Her car had been hit by a drunk driver and this was a forceful way to make her point. Don’t drive while drunk. Now that gasohol has been developed we can see that gasoline and alcohol do mix. The point is that it’s O.K. to mix them in the tiger in the tank but not in the stomach of the tiger behind the wheel.

“Religion and politics don’t mix!” How often I have heard that as a reason (or excuse) for Christians to stay out of politics. I don’t agree. And I’ll take the tiger by the tail and be so bold as to say that religion and politics are inseparable. Anyone who has read Gregg Singer’s *A Theological Interpretation of American History* knows there is a close relationship between religion and politics. Politics is based on religion. When I visited Athens with my three oldest sons I went to see the Parthenon, the famous Greek temple. It is located on the Acropolis, which is the

highest part of the city. That was the most easily defended part of the ancient city. The Athenians wanted to protect the temple because their political system was based on their religion.

I observed this when I served a term in the Virginia House of Delegates. The laws we made were a reflection of our religious views. As a Christian I consciously tried to influence the legislation in terms of my Christian faith. The issues ranged from abortion and the ERA to budget matters.

The religious views of the lawmakers ran the gamut from Bible-believing Christianity to secular humanism. And secular humanism is a religion. Every session of the legislature was opened with prayer. Often the visiting minister was the pastor of one of the legislators. It wasn't difficult to tell the conservative ministers from the liberal ones. They prayed differently.

I noticed that the liberal legislators attended the liberal churches and the conservative legislators attended conservative churches. This will not always be the case because people are inconsistent. I've been around politicians enough to know that their religious views and that of their supporters influence their political views.

I observed another interesting thing about the legislators. Not only did they have a minister in to pray before each session, but they were also very strict about taking God's Name in vain while speaking on the floor. One day a prominent leader of the majority party uttered a profane word. He quickly corrected himself and showed obvious embarrass-

ment over his slip of the tongue.

Using God's Name in vain was a no-no, the violation of a tradition rooted in the oldest legislative body in the Western Hemisphere. Committee meetings and private conversation were another matter. The words of these elected officials betrayed what was really in their hearts. Nor did God's Word make any difference when it came to legislation. The religion of secular humanism was everywhere evident. A legislator would argue passionately for the appropriation of tax money to kill innocent babies created in the image of God while being careful not to use God's Name in vain.

Politics has to do with civil government. Politicians get elected, make laws, tax, spend, regulate, and control. Every law passed and every spending decision is based on some moral system. All morality is based on a religion. So who says politics and religion don't mix!

The Bible says, "Thou shalt not steal." That is the basis of laws against theft. The Bible says, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." That is the basis of laws against libel and slander. Make no mistake about it. What we believe religiously will affect our political beliefs and practices.

An excellent example of this can be seen in the development of the Constitution of the United States. The United States has continued under the Constitution longer than any other country in the world today. Despite reinterpretation and misinterpretation, the Constitution is still our governing document because it was so well devised to begin with.

Biblical Christianity was the undergirding faith of our nation when the Constitution was adopted. That religious faith manifested itself in this remarkable document. The founding fathers wanted to bind the Federal government by the chains of the Constitution. They knew man is a sinner and when a lot of sinners get together in government they can accomplish much mischief. The Constitution limited the power of government in many ways. The Federal government was given only those powers delegated to it by the States. Within the Federal government power was divided among three branches—legislative, executive, and judicial.

The Constitution contains a system of checks and balances. The President can veto acts of Congress, but Congress can override the veto. The President appoints judges and other officials but only with the advice and consent of the Senate. The House of Representatives can impeach a President, but only the Senate can convict. The Supreme Court was designed to check the power of both the executive and legislative branches by interpreting the laws on the basis of the Constitution. The Constitution itself could be amended only by the approval of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

The genius of the Constitution was to provide for decentralization of political power. This was to guard against a powerful central government that could become tyrannical. For the Christian the family is the central governing institution. This is decentralized government because there are thousands or millions of families in a nation.

The Constitution was no accident of history. It is a reflection of the Biblical faith that existed in our nation in 1787. This is the key to understanding what has happened since. Major changes have come about in our government. More and more power has flowed to Washington. Local governments have lost much of their power. The income tax was enacted in this century to feed a growing Federal bureaucracy. The Federal Reserve Banking system was also set up in the Twentieth Century to centralize control over banking and the money supply. A multitude of laws and controls are coming out of the Federal government.

The reason we are witnessing this profound change in our government is that politics and religion do mix. A religious change has taken place in our country. On the one hand many churches and ministers have departed from Biblical faith. They have subscribed to a new faith called liberalism. Theological liberals deny the fundamentals of the Christian faith. They deny the infallibility of the Bible, the Deity of Christ, the Virgin Birth, and the bodily resurrection of Christ. The liberal believes that man can save himself by his good works.

In his classic work, *Christianity and Liberalism*, J. Gresham Machen shows that liberalism is not Christianity. It is another religion. Because it is another religion, it fosters a different political world and life view. The liberal in religion is likely to be a liberal in politics. Since he doesn't believe in the infallibility of the Bible, the liberal finds infallibility in man. So he ends up with the state as infallible. Just as the Christian appeals to God's Word as his final au-

thority, the liberal appeals to the state for the authoritative ruling.

Since the liberal denies that Jesus Christ is the incarnation of God, he finds a new god to worship. That god is man. Man in his most powerful form on earth is the state. So collective man, the state, becomes his god. Theological liberalism has been around for a long time, but its modern form was imported from Germany. A destructive view of the Bible known as Higher Criticism developed in Germany. With the undermining of the Bible came the weakening of Biblical Christianity.

Denying the doctrines of the Reformation which began in Germany in the Sixteenth Century, liberals such as Adolph Harnack stressed the universal Fatherhood of God and its correlary the universal Brotherhood of Man. Schleiermacher was to teach that religion is a "feeling of dependence." (Someone suggested that in that case a dog would have the best religion.) The German philosophers played their part also. Kant and Hegel were the principal ones.

Marx and Engels, authors of *The Communist Manifesto*, were influenced by Hegel as well as by the German theologians, Ludwig Feuerbach (who said that the essence of Christianity is love), David Strauss, and the Baur brothers. Hegel said that the state is God walking on earth. Marx came from a religious family. His male forbears on both sides of the family had been rabbis for generations. Marxism is the worship of the state as god. It is not surprising that the Bible may not be printed in the Soviet Union.

Students from America went to Germany for

graduate work and came back to teach in the universities and seminaries. They had come under the spell of the liberalism there and proceeded to teach it to generations of students and ministers in the United States. The ministers passed it on to their congregations so that in a matter of decades the churches had been changed. Liberalism has captured most of the mainline Protestant denominations.

The liberals were in control of most of the seminaries and churches by the 1920's and 30's. The Presbyterians threw out Charles Augustus Briggs at the turn of the Twentieth Century because he did not believe the Bible. By the 1930's they were throwing out the best New Testament scholar they had, J. Gresham Machen, because he *did* believe the Bible. When the liberals were in the minority, they cried out, "Tolerate us." When they got control they were intolerant toward those who believed the very things the church was supposed to stand for. So much for liberal ethics.

Since the liberal churchmen didn't believe in a heaven or hell, they began to develop their idea of heaven on earth. They didn't worship the Triune God so their god became man. Since Jesus was only a great teacher and not divine, he could not save anyone. Man had to save himself by good works. The liberal denied original sin so man's problem was not his sin. It was his environment.

The liberal set about to change man's environment. That was to be done through the efforts of the state, man in his most powerful form. This is why the liberals preached the social gospel. Since the

liberals denied creation and espoused evolution, they looked upon man as an animal to be manipulated and controlled. Liberal theology leads to liberal politics. That is why we have so many more laws now. We have millions of laws which are constantly changing. If we followed the Ten Commandments and the other laws in the Bible, we wouldn't need all these laws.

I saw the influence of the liberal environmentalist approach when I served in the legislature. We had 2,000 bills and resolutions before the Virginia General Assembly to consider in a typical eight week session. The effectiveness of a legislator is judged by the number of bills he can introduce and get enacted into law. We were but mortal men but we were called upon to legislate in every conceivable area of life. When man starts to play god he must control everything. Ministers and cats are about all that are not licensed in Virginia now. The ministers put up too much fuss and the politicians haven't yet figured out how to regulate the cats.

The liberal penchant for building the kingdom of God on earth can be seen at the Federal level of government. Naturally the liberals like more central control in Washington. An example of liberal efforts to save man was the "war on poverty." The OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) was established to fight the war. So many liberal clergymen worked there that it was dubbed the Office of **Ecclesiastical** Opportunity. Liberal clergy found they could promote the same programs they had in their churches by means of the government, and do it a lot cheaper

(cheaper for them, not us).

Before I get off the subject of liberals, let me say something about the word "liberal." It comes from the Latin word that means freedom. The classic liberal was one who believed in freedom. The theological and political liberal believes in the opposite. He does not wish to leave man free to develop his calling under God. He wants to enslave man by means of big government, heavy taxes, and more regulation. The liberal religious leaders set up the National and World Councils of Churches because they wanted unity at the expense of truth. They wanted a one-world church and they have been at the fore in working for a one-world government. This is the Tower of Babel revisited.

One more thing I want to point out about "liberals" is that they are not generous. At least they are not generous with their own money. They like to be liberal with other people's money. I was attending a hearing before the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors several years ago when the subject of public housing for the poor was on the agenda. I witnessed a long parade of liberal ministers begging the county supervisors to appropriate money for the poor. These clergy were so concerned about the poor. They quoted verses from the Bible. When I got up to speak I reminded them of another person who pretended to be so concerned about the poor. His name was Judas Iscariot. I also shared my experience while living in one of those paradises on earth, a government housing project. I suggested that if they were so concerned about the poor, they ought to give

money from their Deacons' Fund. So much for liberal generosity.

The appropriation of the word "liberal" by those who opposed freedom ought to be a lesson to us. Words are powerful weapons. We need to use them in the Lord's battle. Now that so many Americans are wise to the real programs of the liberals and since these programs have been such obvious failures, the politicians don't style themselves "liberal" any longer. They prefer to be called "moderates" and some even call themselves "conservatives." Maybe that is because they want to conserve the liberal status quo.

Several pages back I stated that on the one hand many churches and ministers have departed from the faith. Now let's see what has happened on the other hand. Where have the Bible-believing Christians been all this time? After all there are still tens of millions in this land who have not bowed the knee to Baal. They have been asleep. During my second year in the General Assembly we succeeded in getting a bill through the House of Delegates to exempt church day care centers from state licensure and to return control over this area to the parents. The lobbyist for the liberal Virginia Council of Churches confided to me, "You caught us napping." Conservatives haven't just been napping all these years. They have been in a Rip van Winkle sleep for decades. Now they are waking up. This sleeping giant is being aroused and it is none too soon.

The conservative Christians have been busy preaching the gospel, sending out missionaries, and saving souls. This is commendable. They have been

concerned about the personal gospel. They have been preparing people for the next world. But we must not forget that this world, too, is man's abode. The Bible speaks to this life as well as to the next. The personal gospel has social implications. The liberals moved in so successfully because there was a vacuum. Religion does affect politics. If we want to live under a godly government on earth, then we must understand how Biblical faith applies to civil government. In succeeding chapters I shall try to do that.

2

“POLITICS IS DIRTY”

“Politics is dirty.” That is reason enough to stay away from politics. The Christian needs to keep himself unspotted from the world.

Candidates for political office are chosen in smoke-filled rooms. Conventions are brokered. It’s all controlled. This is no place for the born again Christian to be.

When I first ran for elected office (I thought I’d start near the top so I ran for Congress) I got a nice letter from a man in Kentucky. It was a nice letter because it contained a check for \$499 and money is the mother’s milk of politics. In his letter the gentleman told me he had a friend who was too honest to be a success selling cars and that I was too honest and too religious to be a politician.

I ran anyway and I lost, but not by much. I ran again the next year for the state legislature and I made it. I learned a lot of things in the process. I’ve attended more party conventions and meetings than most Christians. I’ve learned that a lot of things we’ve heard about politicians are true. Those on the

inside could add a lot more that isn't generally known.

Yes, I have met politicians whom I would hesitate to buy a used car from. But then I've met some used car salesmen whom I would not buy a used car from. And I've met some who could not sell me a **new** car for that matter. I would even hesitate to sell **them** a new car for fear I might get skinned. And, yes, I know some farmers who couldn't sell me a used horse, and some dentists who are never going to get an opportunity to pull my teeth. I even know some "Christians" whom I wouldn't trust with my dry cleaning, let alone my soul.

The point is that yes there is a sense in which politics is dirty. There is power there and the corrupt will seek power. There is money there and some will seek money. Campaigns can get rather nasty. A lot of mud gets thrown around. Politics can get dirty. Elections can be stolen. Dead people have been known to vote. One candidate said he was going to distribute his literature in the cemetery next time because he lost the election there before.

There is dirt everywhere, not just in politics. There is dirt because there is sin. There are dishonest businessmen, dishonest clergymen, and dishonest laymen. I don't think politicians are any better or worse than the general public. Sometimes we get better men than we deserve in public office. I know used car salesmen who are honest and I know elected officials who are conscientious and trustworthy.

The public has a low view of politicians and car salesmen. A poll was taken which showed that

ministers had the highest rate of confidence among the public and the politicians and car salesmen were at the bottom. I once ran against a man who was both a politician and a car salesman. With all that handicap he still won.

I have never heard a Christian suggest that because some churches are unfaithful to God that we should stay out of church work. On the contrary, that has led many Christians to work even harder to establish sound churches. The fact that many families live as heathens has not been used as an argument to down the family. So why should the fact that politics has not reflected a Biblical world and life view keep Christians away?

God has instituted civil government just as He has set up the church and the family. To say we want nothing to do with civil government is to say that God's institution is not important.

"You'll have to compromise your faith to be involved with politics." That is a common reason given by believers. I have not found this to be the case. I belong to a major political party and served in elective office. Never was I required to do anything that was contrary to my faith. More than once I was on the short end of a vote (sometimes 99-1) and my stay in elective office wasn't long, but I never had to compromise. "You usually have to make a choice between the lesser of two evils." That is given as a reason not to vote. Yes, it is true that we often have poor candidates on the ballot from a Christian perspective. Often it is a liberal Democrat running against a liberal Republican. This is the "two-party system."

Why not have two fine candidates running against each other? Then let the liberals take their pick. This is possible if Christians will fulfill their responsibility under God. In a later chapter I plan to show how this can be done.

Why have so many Bible-believing Christians left the field to the humanists? To find the answer we need to go back to ancient history. The Persians had a dualistic notion of the universe. They believed that light was opposed to darkness, good was opposed to evil, and spirit was opposed to matter. In their thinking light, good, and spirit were associated on the one hand, and darkness, evil, and matter were associated on the other. In other words they equated material things with evil.

Persian dualism was adopted by the Greeks. The Greeks were conquered by the Romans, but many of their ideas influenced their conquerors. The Christian church expanded throughout the Roman Empire. Persian dualism was brought into the church. The idea that material things were evil and spiritual things were good began to affect the life of the church. Men began to withdraw from the world to live in monasteries because the world was material. They wished to become more saintly or spiritual. One man spent 30 years on a pillar and was known as a "pillar saint."

The clergy did not marry because this involved a physical relationship and that was considered to be on a lower level of sanctification.

The idea that material things should be equated with evil has continued to influence the church in

our day. It shows up in the idea that **things** are evil. The Bible teaches that people are evil. The world has been affected by the fall of man into sin, but the root problem is not the world. It is man's sinful heart.

The Bible teaches us that God created the material universe. He created man as the crowning glory of His handiwork. Man was created with a **body** as well as a soul. Jesus took upon Himself a true human **body**. Jesus ministered to man's bodily needs as well as to the spiritual. He fed the multitudes and healed their bodies. It is the Resurrection of Jesus' **body** that we observe at Easter. Man's body is to be resurrected when our Lord returns.

Politics deals with civil government in a material world. The material and spiritual are not opposed to each other as the Persians taught. They are together just as man's body and soul are together. A correct approach to politics involves both the material and spiritual.

To shun politics because it has to do with material things is to treat God's creation as unimportant. Much of politics deals with economic matters. The economic questions are usually the most important ones in political campaigns. Economics has to do with making a living. It deals with man's work, his calling under God. The Christian ought to be extremely interested in politics because the political issues and decisions affect him at the very core of his activity on earth.

Christians are to be the salt of the earth. We have no right to say that politics is dirty, that politicians are crooks, and that we never have a decent choice when we have done nothing to influence politics.

God promised Abraham that He would spare Sodom if 10 righteous persons could be found in the city. A handful of Christians can have a wholesome effect on politics. To withdraw and retreat from any area of God's world is to say that God is not sovereign over that area.

Political decisions don't need to be made in smoke-filled rooms. In 1980 a half dozen persons met in my office. We decided who would be the delegates and the alternates from the Eighth Congressional District of Virginia to the Republican National Convention where the next President of the United States was to be nominated. Every one of our candidates was elected at the Eighth District Convention of the Party. We knew who was going to be elected. How could we be so sure? We knew because we had done our homework. We had organized our people and got them out to the mass meetings where they were selected to go to the convention. We provided the leadership they needed and wanted.

Consider that a Congressional district contains about a half million people. I got involved in politics only four years previously. But we were successful because we cared and we went about doing the things that had to be done to insure success. I can insure you that was no smoke-filled room. No one smokes in my office or my home.

Politics doesn't have to be dirty or bad. Christians can and will make the difference. Later in this book I shall show how Christians can organize effectively to do the job. Right now I want to convince you that you as a Christian ought to be involved.

3

“IT’S A MATTER OF SURVIVAL”

In 1966 I journeyed to the North Shore area of Chicago to help start a Christian school. I was asked to speak to a group of concerned parents at a home in the neighborhood. One of the “parents” who showed up was an eligible young bachelor. “What are you doing here, Spencer?” asked a curious parent. “You don’t have any children!” “It’s a matter of survival,” explained the young man.

He knew what was happening to the country and how important it was for the future to build Christian schools. The new school was to be established in Winnetka Township where Carleton Washburne had started “progressive” education many years before. The “progressive” (another fine word misused by the liberals) educators had held forth there for years. Now the place was ripe for a Christian school to try to repair the damage.

Need a good reason to get involved in politics? How about survival? Has your pastor been in jail lately? Do you and your fellow Christians find yourself engaged more frequently in America’s

favorite indoor sport—going to court? It's no fun when you lose this game and Christians have been losing, at least until recently.

We know the Romans fed the Christians to the lions. We're familiar with Stephen, Paul, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, and Bunyan. We recall the accounts of those who were burned at the stake for the faith. And we know persecution takes place in other countries. The slaying of missionaries in South America by the savage Auca Indians was graphically portrayed in *Life* magazine and elsewhere. We all know the Soviet Union persecutes Christians.

What we need to realize is that there is plenty of persecution going on right now in the good old U.S.A. and if we don't move to protect ourselves it will get worse. We like to think we have religious freedom because we have the First Amendment to the Constitution. You might be surprised to learn that freedom of religion is guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR also. You can believe anything you want to in the Soviet Union. Just don't try to act in terms of your belief.

The United States Constitution says that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion nor prohibiting the free exercise thereof. Increasingly this is being interpreted to mean what religious freedom does in Russia. Our founding fathers realized that one must be able to **exercise** his religion in order to have freedom of religion. Remember that liberals not only like to play with nice words. They like to subvert nice documents. They didn't come out for abolishing the Bible. They

just "reinterpret" it. They didn't change the historical creeds much. They just reinterpreted them and added to them and ignored them. Now that is what liberals are doing with the Constitution.

So we can't just hide behind the skirts of the First Amendment if we are going to survive. The enemy is serious. He is engaged in total war on a variety of fronts. We need knowledge and action to defend ourselves.

THE ATTACK ON THE CHURCHES Pastor Sileven in Nebraska has been tossed in the slammer for a serious crime. He started a Christian school. The state wants to control it. The school is part of the church. The church and its ministry is not supposed to exist by permission of civil government. The powers that be in Nebraska don't see it that way.

The churches in America are under attack in a variety of ways. Churches are exempt from income taxes. Some churches are getting letters from the Internal Revenue Service demanding that the church turn over all kinds of records to them. They want minutes of the meetings, membership rolls, etc. I have seen some of these letters. Otherwise even I would have difficulty believing the IRS really asked for them. If the Federal government can decide what is a legitimate church, then they are well on their way to complete control over the churches.

In California churches are being taxed on their property. If they refuse to pay the taxes, the state moves against them. The liberal clergy have been advocating that the churches be taxed for some time.

The power to tax is the power to destroy. An idea that is being promoted is that the churches should pay taxes because they are getting benefits from the government such as police and fire protection. This argument is fallacious. The benefits to the community from the churches far exceeds any benefits from police and fire protection. Were it not for the churches crime costs would be much higher. Welfare costs would soar.

The attack upon churches by way of taxation has taken another interesting twist. Some are suggesting that only the worship portion of the church should be tax-exempt. Any kind of educational activity, youth work, etc. would be considered outside the scope of the church. Thus the church would be so narrowly defined as to leave nothing except the pulpit and the communion table exempt from taxes. Churches are being attacked in their hiring policies. A congregation of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in San Francisco fired a church organist because the man was an avowed homosexual. The church found itself in court and though successful had to bear the costs of defending itself. In the Bob Jones University case the Supreme Court has held that the university may not be tax-exempt because it goes against public policy by forbidding interracial dating. If this line of reasoning continues, churches that oppose abortion could lose their tax exemption because they are taking positions contrary to "public policy."

Some churches have had to fight off the National Labor Relations Board. The churches were threatened with having to deal with unionization of church

employees.

Now the Federal government plans to require churches to pay social security taxes. They will not be required to pay on the minister (who will continue to pay that tax on his own unless he has been exempted from it), but the churches will have to pay the employer share for other employees of the church. For the first time the government will be directly taxing the churches.

Churches are being attacked by zoning laws. When I moved to Fairfax County, Virginia, 24 years ago there were no laws relating to the location of churches. For centuries churches had purchased land and built houses of worship. Suddenly this all changed. An ordinance was passed requiring that churches obtain a special use permit in order to build. They even went so far as to ban prayer meetings and Bible studies in a private home without the permission of the civil authorities. An aged priest, Father Gedra, was fined for conducting worship in his home. A lady who had conducted Bible studies in her home for years was forced to go to the Board of Zoning Appeals for a permit.

She got her permit, but that is not the point. The Board could just as well have turned her down. They, not she, were deciding whether she could have a Bible study in her home. When her case came before the Board, the room was packed with Christians. When the ordinance was passed, there were about a half dozen of us there to speak against it. Had all those Christians turned out at the hearing on the ordinance I doubt that it would have been passed.

THE ATTACK ON THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS It is within the Christian school movement that the major attack is being mounted against Christians. I think there is a reason for this. The Christian school movement represents a major defeat for the humanists. The public schools (or government schools, as I prefer to call them) are the chief purveyors of humanism in America. Secular humanism is the new established religion in America, supported by confiscating the wealth of the citizens by taxation. The government schools are the new church where the priests and priestesses of this new religion work to indoctrinate the children.

Until the Christian school movement, the humanists in civil government knew they could tolerate the churches, at least for the time being. With the children forced into the humanistic government schools and the people forced to pay for them, the humanists felt secure about the outcome. When you can teach a child six or eight hours a day, five days a week for nearly the whole year, why worry if they get an hour or two on Sunday in some church, especially if the church isn't relating the faith to the child's world anyway. The humanists knew they would win if they were just patient. Everything was going their way.

Then came the Christian school movement. Government school enrollments began to decline. There were many reasons. The humanists had been promoting abortion and the myth that the world was being overpopulated. So there just weren't as many children around to attend the schools. With the

Christians pulling their children out of the government schools right and left, the humanists really got frightened. The teacher unions could count noses (even if some of their students couldn't add and subtract anymore) and all they could see were declining enrollments. Declining enrollments mean closing schools and losing jobs. The teachers began to worry about job security. Having alternative Christian schools around was a problem for the humanists in other ways. Parents now had a choice as to whether they would patronize the government schools or send their children to a Christian school. The Christian schools meant an opportunity for parents to compare the quality and the cost. With Christian schools operating at costs far below that of the government schools and producing superior results academically and otherwise, the humanists began to panic. The Christian school movement had to be stopped.

I started Fairfax Christian School 22 years ago and I could write a book just about the problems we encountered with the county. I don't think they were trying to give us a hard time. It was all part of the bureaucratic maze that has grown up at every level of government. At one point I even had to write a letter to myself in order to get a site plan approved prior to obtaining a building permit. I owned a piece of land on which I built in 1964. The following year I purchased an adjoining parcel on which to build again. I needed to drain water from the second site onto the first piece of land I owned. The county informed me that I had to have permission from the owner of the

land to do that. I pointed out that I was the owner and that fact was clearly stated on the site plan which had been prepared and signed by a certified engineer as required by the county. "That doesn't make any difference," was the man's rejoinder. "You must have **written** permission from the owner."

So I got busy and wrote myself a letter. I began, "Dear Mr. Thoburn, You have requested permission to drain water onto a piece of land I own. Having known you all my life and being convinced you have always had my best interests at heart, I hereby give you permission." I closed the letter with the hope that our fine mutual relationship would continue as long as we both lived and signed my name. The man in public works accepted it without batting an eyelash.

Back in 1964 the Fairfax County Health Department advertised an ordinance that would have required private schools to keep all their land free of insects. They decided they couldn't enforce it so they did not pass it. I can imagine trying to keep 34 acres free of insects.

My battles with government officials to open and operate a school have been easy compared with what has taken place in other parts of the country. The Christian schools have had more problems with zoning than the churches. A church in Alexandria, Virginia, has several hundred in its Sunday School and worship services, but the city fathers would approve only a small number for their Christian school. They would allow no high school students. Other expensive and restrictive regulations were

placed upon them.

A few years ago the Christian schools were threatened by Revenue Procedures proposed by the Internal Revenue Service. The bottom line was that the Christian schools were going to be considered guilty of racial discrimination unless they could prove themselves innocent. The IRS would have forced quotas of all kinds on the schools along with arbitrary enforcement of vague regulations. Providentially the proposals were defeated, but not without a fight. Again it was the threat of removing tax-exemption which constituted the stick in the government's hand.

When the Christian schools have to start paying social security taxes, it will mean a payroll increase of over 14% the first year and more increases on top of that. Since parents are already taxed heavily to support the government schools, all this means an added burden for the Christian schools. It is a matter of survival. That is why the Christian needs to get involved in politics.

Teacher certification, accreditation, curriculum control, and licensing of schools has been a major avenue of attack upon the Christian schools. In Virginia the state code does not even define what a school is, but other states haven't been so fortunate. The Christian schools and parents have had to do battle in Ohio, North Carolina, Kentucky, and numerous other states to maintain the freedom to operate without governmental control.

While the Christian schools have been the focus of the attack from the humanists, they have also

been a source of hope for the future. The operation of Christian schools has made the churches and parents conscious of the issues. Many Christians will take a lot from secular humanists. They will pay high taxes, endure regulations, and put up with all kinds of things. But when it comes to what is near and dear to them on this earth, their own children, plenty of Christians are ready to fight.

Another important point is that with the establishment of Christian schools, Christians are being forced to think about the material world. They are rethinking economics, history, geography, reading, math, and all the other subjects in light of the Scriptures. Christians are beginning to realize that education in a Christian school is different. It is not a matter simply of opening the day with a prayer or even just adding a Bible course to the curriculum. It is a matter of developing each subject area from a Christian perspective. And that means looking at civil government from a Biblical perspective. In line with this the Christian community is producing new textbooks. When I began a Christian school 22 years ago there was hardly anything available in the way of textbooks written from a Biblical point of view. Now we have a healthy competitive market with numerous materials to choose from. The situation should markedly improve in the years ahead.

If the Christian schools are to thrive and flourish, it is necessary that Christians become active politically. If you want to control the education of your child, you must become active.

THE ATTACK UPON THE FAMILY *"Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh"* (Genesis 2:24). "As goes the home, so goes the nation." And so goes the church. And the Christian school. And so goes a civilization. The family is our most basic social institution. It is more important than the church or civil government. God established it as one of His creation ordinances.

So important is the family that God says a man who takes a wife may not serve in the military for the first year of marriage. He must remain at home with his wife so that his family will be established.

The care and feeding of children is the function of the family, not the state. Education, welfare, and government, too, begins in the home. It is through the family that God wants man to have dominion over the earth. God provides property for the family in order to carry out its responsibility. God protects the family by His commandments which forbid adultery and theft.

That the humanists are attacking the family should not surprise us. They realize the traditional Christian family is a roadblock to the fulfillment of their goals. Karl Marx, the founder of Communism, attacked the family. Marx wanted to destroy Christianity. In order to do so, he realized he must destroy the family. To undermine the family he knew that private property must be destroyed.

Karl Marx knew that the family, property, and liberty were bound together. In *The Communist Manifesto* Marx advocated compulsory education in tax-supported schools. He called for centralized

banking, a graduated income tax, and inheritance taxes. Marx was consistent in his worship of the state. That is a major reason for the appeal of Marxism.

One does not need to be very bright to see that practically all of the ideas of Karl Marx have been adopted in America. Under the humanist, Horace Mann, compulsory education in government schools became a reality. John Dewey, a professing atheist and socialist, was to move the schools further into humanism. Dewey said that it up to the public school system to recapture "our threatened religious heritage." For Dewey that heritage was not Biblical Christianity but that which was common to society. His philosophy of education merged well with the liberal theology of the churches. The liberal clergy had no trouble supporting the government school system.

With the development of government schools, the humanists succeeded in accomplishing several things. They undermined the Biblical faith of the children. When I was in the seventh and eighth grades in a government school, I had a teacher who said that man was just an animal. He believed that when you die that is the end of you.

The government schools have been gradually secularized. The Bible may no longer be read as God's Word. It may be treated only as literature. In Fairfax County, Virginia, the students put a prayer on a plaque and hung it on the wall. The school board made them take it down. Bible reading and prayer are out. Everything else seems to be in. A friend of mine saw a picture of Lenin hanging on the wall of a Fairfax County high school recently.

Ministers and parents find it very difficult to counteract the humanism the children are getting in the government schools. In the early days of Fairfax Christian School, a family complained to me because their son was learning economics from a Biblical perspective. "You are putting ideas into his head faster than we can get them out," they informed me. As parents they were not required to send their son to study under me. The problem with the government schools is that parents are **forced** to send their children to schools that they do not agree with. The curriculum is forced upon the children.

It is true that parents may send their children to a private school. This is based on several assumptions, however. The local authorities must permit the school. The right **not** to send a child to a government school had to be established in court many years ago. The other assumptions are that the private school is not so controlled by the state that it is nothing more than a public school supported with private funds, and, secondly that the parents can afford a Christian or private school. They have to keep paying for the government school whether or not they choose to use it.

This brings us to another point of attack on the family by the humanists. Marx knew that he must put an economic squeeze on the family to destroy it. He advocated central banking so that the value of money could be manipulated by the state. The Federal Reserve System established in the early part of this century has been the engine of inflation in this country. Inflation has eroded savings and weakened

the family.

Marx advocated the graduated income tax. This was adopted by the United States at the same time as the Federal Reserve System was set up. The graduated income tax was sold to the American people as a soak the rich proposal. Only a handful were initially affected by the tax. It was proposed at the time that a five percent limit be placed on the income tax. This was not done because there was fear that this would be a reason for raising it that high! The rates **start** at 14% now.

The top rate of taxation is now **only** 50%. It was once over 90%. What was started as a scheme to soak the rich has come back to haunt the middle class and the poor. Practically everyone pays income taxes. The middle class bears the burden. Along with property taxes, employment taxes (including Social Security), sales taxes, and a host of other taxes, the income tax is taking nearly half the wealth of the average family each year. This makes it more difficult for the father to provide for his family. The family becomes ever more dependent on the state.

The inheritance tax was also advocated by Karl Marx and duly adopted by humanists and unthinking Christians in the United States. The inheritance tax is based on the idea that the state should inherit the wealth of the family. Many family businesses had to be liquidated because inheritance taxes had to be paid.

The Israelites in the time of Samuel wanted a king so they could be like the other nations. They wanted a strong centralized government instead of

submitting to the government of God. God told them through Samuel that He would give them a king. Because they wanted a king for the wrong reason, God said their king would draft their sons and daughters. The king would exact a tithe of their fields and cattle. That was considered tyrannical. Governments at all levels take far more in the United States and we call it freedom.

Christians need to be involved in civil government to insure the survival of the family in the face of confiscatory taxes. The attack upon the family comes in other ways, too. Radical feminists have been working to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. This admendment would break down distinctions between men and women and would centralize more power in Washington. Section 2 of the proposed amendment is seldom quoted and is unfamiliar to most people. It provides that Congress will have the power to enforce the ERA. This takes legislative matters dealing with the family away from local and state governments and places them with the Congress.

By requiring that men and women be treated in the same manner, the ERA would require that women be drafted when men are drafted. They would be forced into combat on the same basis as men. The ERA forbids discrimination on the basis of sex. The courts would decide the meaning of "sex." The term "sexual preference" is used to refer to homosexuality as well as heterosexuality. If the ERA were added to the Constitution, the courts could forbid discrimination in hiring. Schools could not turn down practicing homosexuals. Churches and Chris-

tian schools could be hauled into court for refusing to hire homosexuals and threatened with loss of their tax-exempt status. Churches could be told they must not discriminate against women in the pulpit.

The radical feminists include abortion as a right to be secured by the ERA. This is a blatant attack on the family at its very inception. Already the Supreme Court allows abortion. In effect the unborn child is treated as a nonperson and denied the protection of the Constitution. The role of the father as head of the family is undermined by the ERA in various ways. On the matter of abortion, the father of the child is given no choice. The feminists claim they have a right to do whatever they wish "with their own bodies." A minor child may get an abortion without the knowledge or consent of the parents. This is a frontal attack upon the family.

Central to man's life is his work. God gave Adam work to do in the Garden of Eden. Adam was to dress the garden and to keep it. Work was required before man fell into sin as well as after the fall. Man is to work by the sweat of his face. The father is required to work in order to support his family. His wife is to be at his side supporting him and working together with him to have dominion over the earth.

The humanists have attacked the Biblical concept of work. In many states a person is forced to join a labor union in order to hold a job. Other states have passed "Right to Work" laws. Under the right to work concept a person can not be forced to join a labor union in order to hold a job. Liberals would like to repeal the Right to Work provisions.

Another attack upon work comes from minimum wage laws which require employers to pay a minimum wage in order to employ someone. The effect of such laws is to deny employment to those whose labor is not worth the minimum wage. These laws are especially detrimental to young people, especially the minority youth. Some of them never get to break into the labor force and become permanently unemployed.

This in turn leads to the welfare state which is another attack on the family. Government regulations of one kind or another make it difficult for families to provide for themselves. They then become dependent on government and are manipulated by politicians who buy their vote with welfare handouts. This is degrading to persons made in the image of God.

Christians should not sit idly by while the humanists work to destroy the churches, the Christian schools, and the family. God has promised to protect His people. We are to pray daily for His protection. There will always be a people on earth to worship Him. That does not mean that we can fold our hands and do nothing. We are called to serve Him. We can survive and will survive if we are faithful.

4

IT'S ALSO A MATTER OF VICTORY

"But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

(I Corinthians 15:15)

"There's no use polishing brass on a sinking ship." A preacher said that. As far as he was concerned the earth had seen better days. Like the Titanic, it was going down. No use swabbing the decks. Man the lifeboats fast.

This attitude is widespread in the church of our time. Perhaps I convinced you in the last chapter that we must defend ourselves from the enemy if we are even to get to the lifeboats. Maybe at least we can maintain the status quo for a while. Then we can preach the gospel for a few more years, win souls, send out missionaries, and teach our children.

I think it is high time that we Christians rethink this "eat, meet, and retreat" theology. And I do mean to say theology. I don't think it's just a matter of strategy. Strategy is important. We need a game

plan. I believe in playing to win. I believe God wants us to win. I like "Onward, Christian Soldiers" better than "Backward, Christian Soldiers."

Where did we ever get this idea of defeat anyway? Did Jesus die in vain? Did the devil overcome Him in the wilderness? Is He still in the grave? Is Jesus Christ Lord over history or isn't He? Is He sovereign or is man sovereign? If God isn't in charge of this world, then maybe we all ought to give up.

"But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." Yes, the Bible teaches that Christians are to be victorious. There will be the final victory when the world comes to an end and our Lord returns. But there is also to be a steady advance and increasing victory on this earth in the days and years ahead before the Second Coming.

Two of the parables of Jesus deal with the growth and development of His kingdom. In the Parable of the Mustard Seed Jesus says His kingdom is like a tiny grain of mustard seed. It will grow so much that it will become a tree where the birds may lodge in the branches.

A companion parable is called the Parable of the Leaven. Jesus said His kingdom is like leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened. Leaven is like yeast. My mother used to make bread on the farm. There is nothing to be compared with homemade bread and homemade apple butter. She would mix yeast in with the dough, put the dough in pans, and wait. Before long the yeast began to affect the dough. The dough would rise. Then it was put into the oven to bake.

God's kingdom is like that. Christians are the leaven in the world. Leaven works quietly. It works by contagion, affecting that which is next to it. That becomes leaven and in turn affects the meal further. Eventually the whole is leavened. As Christians work in the world they influence the world. God promises growth in His kingdom. There is no suggestion that there will be defeat or merely maintaining things as they are.

Jesus said to His disciples, "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid." In the same context Jesus said that Christians are to be the salt of the earth. We are to be seen by the world and we are to influence the world.

THE EARTH BELONGS TO GOD The earth does not belong to the devil. The devil is a usurper. "The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein."

The German philosopher Kant wanted to leave God out of the universe. He taught that God, freedom, and immortality were part of the noumenal world. Kant believed that man lived in the phenomenal world. God had nothing to do with the phenomenal world. Kant wanted to make God unimportant and out of touch with the world.

The non-believing world, following Kant, wants to keep Christians and Christianity confined to a small and what they consider to be, an unimportant role on the earth. They think Christians should be put in their place. The Christian is looked upon as a second-class citizen. The Christian is to be allowed

to have worship and devotions (and even these are under sharp attack), but he is not to expand his influence into the world—into government, politics, education, art, economics, etc.

This is God's world. God created the heavens and the earth. That means God made everything. It belongs to Him. The cattle on a thousand hills belong to the Lord. The silver and the gold are His. The humanist wants to shove God out of the schools, out of government, out of everything. He doesn't want God in the church either because there is no place in a humanistic church for God.

Because the earth is the Lord's, He has called man to have dominion over it. After God created the earth and man, He said, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." (Genesis 1:28) This is man's basic calling.

Adam and Eve were placed in the Garden of Eden to exercise this calling. They were to dress the garden and keep it. They were to occupy that part of the creation assigned them by the Lord. They were to multiply and fill up the earth. This meant scattering throughout the earth and developing it to God's glory.

When the descendants of Adam rebelled against God's dominion mandate and stayed together in one place at Babel, God confused their languages and forced them to scatter. God cursed Cain for his murder of Abel by making Cain a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth. Man is not to live a nomadic

life, but to settle down and subdue the earth.

In the New Testament Jesus gave the Great Commission to His disciples. Jesus commanded them to go into **all** the world to preach the gospel. He also commanded them to teach **all** things He had commanded. God's Word speaks to every area of life and applies to the whole of God's creation:

OCCUPY TILL I COME No matter what view we may take of the last things, all will agree that the Christian is to occupy until Christ returns. Jesus told His followers to do this. To occupy means to have dominion. When we occupy a house we take over that house. When we occupy a field, we cultivate the field. An occupied country is one that has been taken over by foreign troops. Our occupation is our calling, our work.

God sent the Israelites into the land of Canaan to occupy it. They were to take over the land gradually until they possessed it all. God wants us to occupy the world. Each of us is to exercise dominion in whatever area God has called us to labor in. This is true geographically and in terms of our profession.

The Christian is saved by God's grace. God's grace comes to us through faith. As one theologian put it, "Faith alone saves, but faith that saves is never alone. It is always accompanied by good works." The Christian produces good works as an evidence of saving faith. They are the fruit of God's grace in the life of the Christian.

These good works are set forth by God in His Word. Jesus said that if we love Him, we are to keep

His commandments. In keeping God's commandments we are occupying and exercising dominion over the earth. *Why not victory?*

General Douglas MacArthur stated that in war there is no substitute for victory. The Christian is to put on the whole armor of God. That armor did not include any provision for the back. The Christian is not to retreat but to go forward. Jesus said He would build His church (Matthew 16) and the gates of hell would not prevail against it. The Greek word for "prevail" means that the church is on the offensive, not the defensive. The church will go forward victoriously and the gates of hell will not be able to withstand that offensive.

For all too long Christians have had an attitude of defeat. A conspiracy of evil men does not control the world. God is in complete control and has assured us of victory. It is time to put the other side on the defensive. We need to frame the issues in positive, Biblical terms, not just react to what the secular humanists are doing.

In the area of politics victory is both desirable and necessary. Humanism has no valid answers to man's problems. Humanism is part of the problem. The problems of the economy, crime, war, the environment, education, drug-addiction, and others have only worsened under the stewardship of the humanists. Christians have the answers in the application of God's Word. In the succeeding chapters of this book, I want to set forth a Christian approach to politics. In the final chapters I shall show how the Christian can get involved. Jesus said He would build His church (Matthew 16) and the gates of hell would not prevail against it.

Part II

***THE CHRISTIAN
APPROACH TO POLITICS***

"This Bible is for the government of the people, by the people, and for the people."—Wyclif in the introduction to the English Bible (Quoted from R. J. Rushdoony's *The Institutes of Biblical Law.*)

5

THE ROLE OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT

When I was running for Congress, I was invited to speak to a group of men at a prayer breakfast. I decided to set forth what the Bible teaches on civil government and economics. I was assured by a college professor that the Bible had nothing to say on those subjects. By the time I finished he had changed his mind and followed me 12 miles to my office to purchase several books dealing with the subject.

The Bible is inspired by God and provides the basic principles to direct us in every endeavor. Jesus said that man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God. Nothing in the Bible about government and economics? Dr. Gary North has already written two volumes of his economic commentary on the Bible and he's just through the Book of Exodus.

In this chapter I want to deal with the role of civil government. When men refer to "government" nowadays, they usually think exclusively of county, city, state, or the Federal government. This ought

not to be. There are many kinds of government including self-government, family government, church government, and government connected with schools and our places of work. Only because we increasingly worship the state as god have we come to think of government as synonymous with civil government.

ORDAINED OF GOD "The powers that be are ordained of God." So writes the Apostle Paul in Romans 13. The state is not god as the humanists teach. It is ordained of God. The civil government is not divine, but it is divinely sanctioned. The Christian realizes immediately that civil government as such is not the enemy. Civil governments have been established by God. As such they are an important part of God's plan for the governing of His creatures and the advancement of His kingdom.

Three times in Romans 13 Paul refers to civil rulers as ministers of God. When the term "minister" is used, Christians immediately think of the pastor of a church. It is a common name for a clergyman. The word refers to service. Jesus said that He came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many. In countries such as Great Britain the term minister is regularly used. The top cabinet leaders are called ministers. The head of the civil government is the Prime Minister. This retains a good Biblical word even if the content has been lost.

A minister is to be a servant. That is still used of persons in civil government in the United States.

They are called "public servants" though someone has suggested that the last thing they want to do is to serve the public. All too often those in office either as elected officials or as part of the Civil Service take advantage of their positions to lord it over those whom they are supposed to serve. But then we can find ministers who lord it over the flock instead of serving.

The civil ruler is called a minister of **God**. As such his responsibility is to God. He may or may not be elected by man. That does not affect the fact that he is to be God's minister and to govern in a way that is pleasing to the Lord. As a minister of God, the civil ruler must answer to God just as a minister in the church must answer to God. A church minister is not to please his congregation at the expense of God's Word. A government minister is not to take a poll of his constituents to find out what positions are popular in order to stay in office. He is to do what God has ordained him to do.

So much has been written about the separation of church and state in this country that most persons think Christianity should have no relationship to civil government. The church and state have two different roles. The family has yet a different role. The church is not to replace the family nor is the family to be a substitute for the church. Each is a separate institution in the sight of God. Yet we do not speak of the separation of church and family. We realize both are related to each other. Both are under God and have direct responsibilities to God.

Likewise the church and the state are separate

institutions. Both are under God. In the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag we acknowledge that we are one nation **under God**. God is sovereign over the nations. The government is on the shoulders of Jesus, the Messiah (Isaiah 9:5-6). God raises up nations and God brings nations down. The king's heart is in the hands of the Lord. The rulers of the earth may take counsel against the Lord and against His Anointed One, but all in vain. God will only laugh at them. He shall break them with a rod of iron (Psalm 2). Only God is sovereign. For decades the debate has been carried on in our country—which is sovereign, the Federal government or the states? The word “sovereignty” was never attributed to governments, local or otherwise, by our founding fathers. They realized that only God is sovereign. Our sovereign God has ordained men on earth to be civil rulers. **The state is under God**, not God under the state.

A MINISTRY OF JUSTICE What then is the difference between the role of the church and that of civil government? The church is to be a ministry of grace. The function of the church is to preach the gospel, to evangelize, to teach God's Word in all its power and fullness. The church is the body of Christ. It gathers to worship Him. As a ministry of grace, the church deals with the sin of man by declaring the wrath of God poured out against sinners. The church sets forth the sacrificial death of Christ on the cross as the only answer for man's sin and calls sinners to repent of their sins and accept Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord.

While the church is a **ministry of grace**, the state is to be a **ministry of justice**. As a ministry of justice it carries out a different function under God. Paul says in Romans 13 that the civil ruler has the power of the sword. He is a minister of God to execute God's wrath upon evildoers. The sword is an instrument of death. It is associated with power.

The church works by moral persuasion. The ultimate power of the church is to excommunicate the unrepentant, thus pronouncing God's sentence of death upon them. The church has the keys to the kingdom—the key of doctrine and the key of discipline. The church opens the kingdom to men by declaring that salvation is by the blood of Christ. The church closes the door by declaring that unbelievers are lost without Christ. Thus the power of the church is very real.

The power of the civil government involves physical force. The sword was not a toy. Capital punishment is the right and duty of civil government. Civil rulers are to maintain justice. When civil rulers pervert justice, God brings judgment. Isaiah called rulers to repentance in his day with these words: "How is the faithful city become an harlot! it was full of judgment; righteousness lodged in it; but now murderers." (Isaiah 1:21)

The state is to be a ministry of justice. But what is justice? The state is to punish evildoers. How do we determine who is an evildoer? These questions are important because liberals love to talk about "justice." Especially are they fond of the term "social justice." It has become one of their buzzwords. They

can wax eloquent about how the prophets cried out in the Old Testament for social justice.

We must look to God's Word to learn what justice is. Justice must be delineated in terms of the Bible. Otherwise justice becomes nothing but humanism and the civil ruler becomes an agent of humanism. The Bible gives us specific help in this area. All that we need to know is revealed for us by God. The Scriptures are sufficient not only for doctrine, but also for Christian living. In succeeding chapters I shall deal in detail with Biblical laws and principles that will be helpful in understanding a Christian approach to political matters. For a thorough understanding of Biblical law the reader is referred to R. J. Rushdoony's two massive volumes on *The Institutes of Biblical Law* (available from Fairfax Christian Bookstore, P.O. Box 6941, Tyler, Texas 75711).

LIMITING GOVERNMENT Many conservatives say that the less government we have the better. Libertarians would practically eliminate government altogether. What are we to say to this? It has a certain appeal because the state has become so large and powerful as to seem to engulf us. In political circles I've heard it said a thousand times that a candidate favors "limited government and the free enterprise system."

The very persons who keep saying it vote for more government involvement and more restrictions on free enterprise. Whenever someone says to me that we need to limit government, I always want to know in what way the person would limit the gov-

ernment. It seems with the current political parties it is just a matter of degree. Limitations on government need to be carried out according to Biblical law. Otherwise government never gets limited. The other problem is that in some areas the government is not doing enough. It is too limited. For example, courts have placed restrictions on prosecutors to the point where it is difficult to punish criminals. Along this line it is fashionable to quote Lord Acton's famous dictum, "Power corrupts, but absolute power corrupts absolutely." The difficulty with this statement is that it is a half-truth and half-truths can be dangerous. God has absolute power, but He is not absolutely corrupted. He is not corrupted at all. God gives man power. A father has power to rule over his wife and children. That power does not corrupt in and of itself. It is corrupt only if wrongfully used. God gives the church officers power. It can be used in a proper way or an evil way.

God gives civil rulers power. That power can be used to punish evildoers or it can be used to oppress the godly. We need the godly exercise of power in the family, the church, and the state. It is not power as such that we fear, but ungodly power. George Washington observed that government is like fire. When properly contained it can be a faithful servant. When not contained it becomes a fearful master. Civil government has become a fearful master not because government is in and of itself bad, but because we have moved away from the Biblical world-and-life view in regards to it.

One of our national political leaders of an earlier

era stated that either men will be governed by the Bible or by tyrants. We need to restore the Biblical foundations. Before we can teach them to others we must learn them ourselves.

TOTALITARIANISM AND ANARCHY In our era we have seen the rise of totalitarian states. Dictators rule in many countries of the world. In the United States we have moved toward centralized control of the people in Washington. One-world government advocates push for the United Nations as a solution to world problems.

On the other hand, there are those who decry big government and advocate little or no government at all. The statist want a powerful central government with total control. The anarchist says we should have no government at all. For the statist the group is all that is important. For the anarchist only the individual counts and he should be allowed to do anything he wishes "as long as he does not harm anyone else."

Both of these ideas are at work in our society. Both are wrong. Man does not live in isolation. The individual is important, but so is the group. The individual is important, but so is the family as a unit. The citizens of a state are not more important than the state nor is the state more important than its citizens. The Christian believes in the Trinity. God is one God. Yet God exists in three Persons, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. All three Persons in the Godhead are equally God. In the Trinity we find there is ultimate unity and there

is ultimate diversity. God is One. God is Three. The One is not more important than the Many and the Many is not more important than the One.

Because the Christian believes in the Triune God, he can develop a consistently Biblical approach to civil government and to society. Unitarians do not believe in the Trinity. They think oneness or unity is ultimate. Oneness is important. This is why Unitarian theology results in totalitarian politics. The Unitarians sacrifice the individual to the group. That is why Unitarians are so liberal in politics. The Christian believes in the Trinity. He believes in the Deity of Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is God with us. He, not the state, is God walking on earth. He is the incarnation of God. The Christian worships and serves God. He does not worship the state. With this in mind, he develops from the Bible the correct idea of civil government.

6

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man."

Genesis 9:6

This is generally known as the law and order issue in politics. Politicians like to talk about how they are tough on criminals. Crime is a serious problem in America. Year after year the statistics paint a grim picture. Some drop in crime has been experienced in the past year or so. I think this is due to several factors.

Citizens are beginning to realize that they should not depend on the government to do everything for them. They are turning away from institutional help and relying more on themselves. In the crime area they are setting up Neighborhood Watch programs and these are helping to reduce crime. There is a gradual return to restitution and capital punishment. This reflects the influence in our society of those who understand where our penal system went astray in the first place. Hopefully this trend will

continue, but it won't occur automatically. As Christians we need to understand God's plan and to further it.

Another factor bringing about some drop in the crime rates is that much crime is committed by the young and there aren't as many youth proportionately as there were.

RELIGION AND CRIME The close relationship between religion and politics can be seen when we look at the penal system in America. When America was established the penal system was based on capital punishment and restitution. This was a reflection of the Biblical theology which was dominant in the thinking of the people.

Around the beginning of the Nineteenth Century a new penal system began to replace the old. It was based on the penitentiary as a substitute for capital punishment and restitution. The first penitentiary in America was started in 1796 in Philadelphia. The penitentiary system was extended to other states and eventually to foreign countries.

Penitentiaries are sometimes called "correctional institutions" or "reformatories." What is the significance of these names? The names accurately describe their purpose. The penitentiary is a place where the person guilty of a crime is supposed to become penitent.

Originally in Pennsylvania the prisoner would be put into solitary confinement in a cell. There he was to pray, read the Bible, and meditate on his sins to become penitent. A correctional institution is sup-

posed to correct the criminal. In a reformatory his character is to be reformed. That is the theory behind the penitentiary system.

This penitentiary system doesn't work. Even the secular humanists have to admit that it is a miserable failure. Instead of the prisoners becoming penitent, they usually are more hardened in crime. Most crime is committed by those who have been in prison and then were released. They became worse, not better as a result of their incarceration.

Several years ago I heard Eldridge Cleaver, the former Information Minister for the Black Panthers, speak. He told of his prison experience as a school of crime. He and another convict had started out together in the local jail. They gradually moved up until they were at the top. That was San Quentin, a maximum security prison. In prison young offenders come into contact with hardened criminals. They learn more about crime and how not to get caught. The prisons of America are dangerous places. Prisoners are assaulted in vicious ways, riots are common, and overcrowded conditions exist.

The politicians' answer to prison overcrowding is to build more prisons. Lock 'em up and throw the key away. When I was in the legislature the governor told us they needed to increase prison capacity about fourfold over the next few years. In one county in Virginia there were more people inside than outside because of the presence of state prisons.

The prison system is costly. It is far less expensive to send a son or a daughter to a Christian college for a year than to provide for a prisoner for the same

length of time.

Why has the system failed? Because the religious ideas behind the prison system are false. "Penitentiary" is a religious term. It is amusing that humanists want to keep religion out of the schools, but they have it in the penal system. Even the word "cell" comes from religion. The penitentiary system was introduced by the Quakers in Pennsylvania. They believed in salvation by the inner light. Their idea was that lawbreakers should be put in a cell where they could meditate on their evil deeds and become penitent.

The penitentiary system confuses the role of the church and the state. The church is to be a ministry of grace. Through the proclamation of the gospel man is led to repentance. Character is corrected or reformed through regeneration by the Holy Spirit and adherence to the law of God. The state is to be a ministry of justice, to punish evildoers, not to reform them. As we shall see, a Biblical approach to penology establishes the basis for reform.

Liberal theology has influenced the current system of penology in another way. Liberals hold that the state is god. They believe in the universal fatherhood of God. So the relationship between man and the state changes. Man is no longer a citizen of the state, but a child of the state. Paternalism develops. Since the offender is considered a child of the state, punishment becomes remedial instead of retributive. An excellent discussion of this concept is found in Robert Webb's *Reformed Doctrine of Adoption*, a book written about a century ago.

ENVIRONMENTALISM "Society is sick." Those were the words on many lips after President Kennedy was assassinated. The environmentalist says that man's problem is not his sinful heart, but his surroundings. The individual is not held responsible for his actions.

This has led to a tendency to excuse the individual person for crimes. Poverty, discrimination, insanity, or something else is given as a reason for his behavior. Often it is said after a vicious crime is committed that the person who committed it must have been very sick. It is as though the person had the chicken pox or something and was not at fault in any way. Poverty is frequently cited as a cause for crime. If this were the case we should expect that the crime rate would drop as the standard of living improves. That is not the case. Crime is caused by sin, not poverty.

The gun control issue illustrates the environmentalist approach. We are told that gun registration will cut down on crime. The gun is seen as the culprit rather than the person misusing the gun. The pro-gun people have countered with the bumper sticker, "Guns don't kill people. People kill people."

It is absurd to think that registering guns will stop crime. Washington, D.C., has some of the strictest gun control laws in the country. It also has a high crime rate. People get killed by registered guns every day. They also get killed by fire, butcher knives, and automobiles. Registering matches does not stop fires and registering water does not prevent floods.

Recently I heard that an unlicensed driver in an

unregistered automobile had run into a crowd of persons. The emphasis was on **unlicensed** and **unregistered**. The problem was with the driver's acting in an irresponsible way. Licensed drivers in registered vehicles are guilty of reckless driving, too.

Liberals think that if they pass a law to require gun registration, everyone will comply. It is wishful dreaming to think that the criminals are going to register their guns. The liberals fail to reckon with the innate depravity of the human heart. Gun registration is inevitably followed by gun confiscation. Then the citizen is helpless to defend himself. He may as well put a sign on his door inviting the criminal to come in because there are no guns in the house. "When guns are outlawed, only outlaws will have guns."

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT The Bible teaches capital punishment for certain crimes such as first degree murder. Genesis 9:6 tells us that the death penalty must be exacted when man's blood is shed. The reason given is that man is made in the image of God. An assault upon man is an assault upon man's Creator.

God's Word teaches that human life is sacred. The basic principle of penology in the Bible is that the punishment must fit the crime. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth means that the punishment should be proportionate to the crime committed. A man is not to be executed for stealing a loaf of bread. Nor is a murderer to escape with a \$10 fine. Some Christians may argue that the Ten Commandments forbid capital punishment because we are not to kill.

The Sixth Commandment refers to murder. "Thou shalt do no murder." God ordered the Israelites into battle to defend themselves. God not only permits, but **requires** the death penalty in capital crimes. The very next chapter (Exodus 21) after the one containing the Ten Commandments has a long list of crimes requiring the death penalty. For example, Exodus 21:12 reads, "He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall be surely put to death."

If we take the Bible seriously, we must believe in capital punishment. The civil ruler is said to have the power of the sword in Romans 13. The sword was used for capital punishment.

At the very heart of the gospel is the cross of Jesus Christ. Christ died on the cross to pay the penalty for the sins of His people. We deserve death because of our sins. Christ was put to death in our place. He was punished for us. His punishment was capital punishment. It is difficult to understand the opposition to capital punishment in Christian circles. Perhaps we have been influenced by non-Christian thought more than we realize.

Capital punishment is not a deterrence to crime, we are often told. I can assure you of one thing. You will not have a problem with repeaters. The deterrence argument misses the point. A person should be executed for a capital crime because this is what he deserves, not because it is an example for someone else. God requires it. It is also hard to prove capital punishment deters crime when the death penalty is seldom carried out. The likelihood of being executed in the United States for first degree murder is remote

at present. I remember as a child that we were taught respect for the law. We were told if we ever went to jail we would have to live on "bread and water." The electric chair was the punishment for murder.

An excellent little book, *Essays on the Death Penalty*, edited by T. Robert Ingram, appeared several years ago. I especially recommend the essay by C. S. Lewis entitled "The Humanitarian Theory of Punishment."

RESTITUTION The principle that undergirds the Biblical approach to crime and punishment is the concept of restitution. Under restitution the criminal repays his victim for the crime.

Restitution is basic to God's order for the universe. Man sinned against God. God's justice required restitution. Sin deserves death. Only Christ could make restitution to God for sinful man. There can be **no** forgiveness without restitution. A just God forgives sinful man because Christ made restitution.

Justice on earth is to follow the same pattern. If a man commits a capital crime, he pays with his life. Lesser crimes require that a payment be made to the victim. Under the humanistic approach we are told to feel sorry for the criminal because he is the victim of his environment. Under the Biblical system the focus is on the victim who has been wronged.

The current penal system refers to the debt a criminal has to society. The criminal's debt is to the victim under Biblical law. When the criminal pays a debt to society, he stills feels guilty because he is guilty. He has not made restitution to his victim. Restitution must be made before he can be forgiven.

The debt is not paid until the victim has been compensated.

This is why the penitentiary system does not result in the reform or correction of the criminal. He pays a debt to society, but his debt to his victim remains unpaid.

As Christians we need to work to change the system of punishment so that it conforms to God's law. The specifics are given in the Bible. Case law is found in the Bible. This provides the basis for making decisions that are Biblical. For examples of laws on restitution, let us look at Exodus 22. If a man stole a sheep he had to restore fourfold to his victim. If he stole an ox he had to restore fivefold.

If our laws required restitution, several benefits would be forthcoming. We could eliminate penitentiaries at great savings to the taxpayers. The victim would be compensated for his losses. The offender would learn that crime does not pay. (Currently it all too often does as far as this world is concerned.) The offender would be forgiven and restored because he would have made restitution.

BIBLICAL SAFEGUARDS Some worry about capital punishment because a mistake might be made and an innocent person be put to death. Man is fallible and a mistake could be made. But this can be used against any kind of punishment. Innocent persons have been put into prison.

While human justice will not be perfect, the Bible provides safeguards. Cities of refuge were established in Biblical times. Persons who acciden-

tally killed someone could flee there for protection.

The law of God provided severe penalties for lying at trials. Perjury was punishable by death in a trial on a capital crime. At least two witnesses were needed to convict someone of a crime.

GOVERNMENT CAUSED CRIME The humanist state has helped to breed crime. Respect for the law has lessened because the law is often arbitrary. The position is taken that "ignorance of the law is no excuse." With tens of thousands of laws, many of them contradictory, it is impossible to know what the law is. The laws are changed at will by legislators and subject to constant reinterpretation by the courts.

Criminals are released on technicalities. Some lawyers are more concerned with earning a fee than furthering justice.

Another factor in the growth of crime is the secularization of the schools. Biblical morality has been removed from the teaching of the children. A law in Kentucky providing for the posting of the Ten Commandments in the public schools (at private expense) was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. When government schools were established it was actually argued that they would be cheaper because they would virtually eliminate crime!

Biblical solutions have worked in the past and they will work again in the future.

7

THE BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES

“Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.”

Ephesians 4:28

In practically every political campaign the so-called bread and butter issues are the most important. These issues have to do with the economy.

The state of the economy is generally a main issue for two reasons. One reason is that the voter is immediately touched by matters affecting his pocketbook, or at least that he thinks affect his pocketbook. Foreign problems often seem distant to him. What happens that affects his job, his taxes, his wealth interests him considerably.

The second reason that economic issues predominate is that government has gotten itself very much involved in economic matters. If things appear to be going well, those in power want to take credit. Those who want to unseat incumbents want

to place the blame on those in office.

In this chapter I want to set forth the Christian approach to economics. The word "economics" is derived from two Greek words which mean the "law of the household." Economic principles are found in the Bible because God governs the world by law. Biblical economics will succeed because it operates according to God's law.

In Deuteronomy 28 God promises to bless the Israelites in economic matters if they observe His commandments. If they disobey, they will be cursed. God promises that His people will eat the good of the land if they are willing and obedient.

CREATION God created the material universe. The Christian believes that. The humanist doesn't. The Christian believes that because God created the universe, it operates under His law. The humanist says man is god. The humanist operates on the basis of man-made law.

Economic activity deals with natural resources and with man as he relates to the universe. The doctrine of creation teaches us that the material world is limited. Only God is without limit.

We live in a world of limited resources. As a result there is scarcity. We can not have everything we want. There must be a way to allocate scarce economic resources.

Man was created in the image of God. He is to subdue the earth and to rule over it. Man's calling is to have dominion. Since God created the world, He also provides for it. Not a sparrow falls to the ground

without His knowledge. We do not live in a chance universe, but one under the complete control of God.

WORK God placed man on earth to work. He is to work six days and rest on the seventh. Work was instituted in the Garden of Eden before the fall. It continued after the fall except that now it was under the curse.

A Christian approach to work means that productive labor is to be encouraged. One way to get more work done is by the use of tools. I am writing this book on an IBM personal computer. It is being typeset by a computerized machine. It will be printed on a large expensive press that can turn out thousands of books in a couple of hours.

Tools enable man to get much more work done. Tools cost money. They are part of what economists call capital. In order to be productive we need capital. Capital requires savings. When men do not consume all that they produce the surplus represents savings. Through savings we develop and purchase tools to improve our standard of living. Governments that penalize productivity and reward indolence are going against the Bible. Heavy taxation reduces the savings of the people and leads to poverty. In a later chapter we shall set forth Biblical ideas on taxes.

Restrictions on work such as requiring a person to join a labor union are not Biblical. The National Right to Work Committee, headed by a Christian, Reed Larsen, has been effective in protecting workers from restrictive laws.

Minimum wage laws are practically taken for

granted in this country. They are another example of government interference with the right to work. The person who is not worth the minimum wage gets no work at all.

Wage and price controls are another way of interfering with work. Governments have no business setting floors on wages and prices nor putting ceilings on them. The inevitable result of such controls is to create artificial shortages and to divert capital into less productive areas of the economy.

THE SABBATH AND GRACE Man is to work six days. He is to rest one day each week. This reminds him that he does not save himself by his labor. He is saved only by God's grace.

Laws that protect man's Sabbath rest are good. The Sabbath has other implications for economics as well. Every seventh year all debts were cancelled. Slaves were set free. After seven sevens (49 years) the Jubilee was held.

The words on the Liberty Bell, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land. . . ." are from Leviticus 25 and deal with the Jubilee. The Jubilee was proclaimed on the Day of Atonement. The Day of Atonement was the appointed day for the lamb to be sacrificed and the blood sprinkled in the Holy of Holies. This typified the death of Jesus Christ to free man from his sin.

God did not want His people to live in slavery. Debts were cancelled in the seventh year because debt is a form of slavery. A person went into debt only in case of an emergency. He was not to be

perpetually in debt.

Governments today are deeply in debt. Many nations are unable even to pay the interest on their debts. They are in effect bankrupt. The United States Government has a staggering national debt. The deficits are rapidly increasing even under the stewardship of a more conservative administration. No one seems to care.

These debts will likely never be paid. They will certainly not be paid in dollars that have the same value they did when borrowed. The debt, if paid at all, will be paid in virtually worthless paper. Germany paid its entire World War I debts in worthless marks. Well, not quite worthless. They were the equivalent of one American penny.

The Christian should live within his means and insist that government live within its income.

DIVISION OF LABOR One of the important ideas in the Bible that is not well understood by Christians is the principle of the division of labor.

God has made each one of us as a unique individual. We have different skills and abilities. Cain and Abel illustrate the division of labor. Abel kept sheep. Cain was a tiller of the ground. In Genesis 4 we read of persons who handled the harp and organ and of those who worked with brass and iron.

God has given us diverse gifts. There are among us musicians, farmers, plumbers, electricians, teachers, doctors, etc. The more division of labor we have, the more potential there is for multiplying our labors and improving our standard of living. If we

were all farmers we could not have dominion over the earth to the extent that we do.

There is also geographical division of labor. It is better to grow oranges in Florida and potatoes in Maine. Some products can be cheaper in one part of the country than another. And some products can be produced more efficiently in some parts of the world than in other parts.

When tariffs or other restrictions on trade are sanctioned by government, we have a repudiation of the division of labor principle. Trading does not benefit one party at the expense of another. People trade with each other because the other person has something which is considered more valuable to the person wanting it. Both parties benefit by trading. Otherwise they wouldn't do it.

The Constitution provided that there would be no trade barriers among the states. This has helped bring material prosperity to America. By the same token, elimination of trade barriers among nations would improve the standard of living for everyone. This does not mean we should sell materials to countries that intend to destroy us. I would not sell a man a gun if I thought he was going to shoot me.

TANSTAAFL Perhaps you thought this heading was a misprint. It isn't. TANSTAAFL means "There ain't no such thing as a free lunch." That is a lesson in economics in nine words.

The Bible teaches that we should not expect to get something for nothing. Humanists would like us to believe that we can get free education, free

medical care, free parks, and free lunches from government. Everything has a price. Even our salvation cost something. It is free to us, but Jesus paid the price.

A good place to begin is with "free" education. The public (government) schools are supposed to be free. There is nothing free about them. They are very expensive. Add up the capital costs of land and buildings, the operating costs, the social costs, and a host of hidden costs (such as tax-exempt interest on the bonds for buildings) and you will have a tidy sum.

Politicians always like to talk about the benefits they obtain for their constituents. They rarely if ever talk about the cost. Everything is always free, free, free. The Christian in politics must not bear false witness against his neighbor. TANSTAAFL!

INFLATION What is inflation? The average person would say the answer to that is easy. Inflation is rising prices. Not so. Inflation is an increase in the supply of purchasing medium. We generally refer to that purchasing medium as money.

Who inflates? If one says that inflation is rising prices, then the answer would probably be "the big bad businessman." Or the laborer who asks for higher wages. If inflation is properly seen as an increase in the money supply, then the answer will be different. The government controls the money supply so it is responsible for inflation.

Governments like us to believe that they are fighting inflation. Governments that want to expand and control the people benefit from inflation. So why

should they fight it? They don't. The chief engine of inflation is the Federal Reserve System which controls the money supply. In recent years we have developed a lot of Fed watchers. More people are catching on to what is happening.

At issue is private property. A Christian approach to economics is based on private property. Money is used as a medium of exchange so men can exchange one property for another or labor for property, or whatever. Money also serves as a store of value.

When governments tamper with the money supply, they tamper with our wealth, our property. With a Biblical approach men would use whatever they wished for money. Certain things would be more efficient as money than others. For example, gold has historic value as a medium of exchange and store of value.

The reason gold has such value is that it is scarce, divisible, portable, and durable. It has value for industrial uses as well. It is rather difficult to increase the amount of gold in circulation. It is expensive to extract from the earth. The prophet Isaiah long ago warned about inflation. "Thy silver has become dross," he cried out to God's people. Base metals were being used with the silver so that it lost most of its value. By using a cheap metal that looks like silver the supply can be increased. This is inflation. Under President Lyndon Johnson, the United States stopped minting silver coins and came out with clad coins. These coins do not have the value of silver. That is why the silver coins were rapidly removed from circulation.

Modern inflating is done mostly through the Federal Reserve System. The money supply is steadily increased. This money is called "fiat" money. "Fiat" is the Latin word which means "let there be." Just as God created by saying "Let there be light," so the money creators say, "Let there be money." In other words, they are playing god.

Man can not create wealth by fiat. Increasing the money supply results in a corresponding decrease in the value of all money. This is why the dollar has steadily lost its value. Inflation is a form of silent burglar. It steals from its victims. Its victims are those on fixed incomes. Its victims, as often as not, are the poor and elderly.

The Bible requires honest weights and measures. The Constitution of the United States is a hard money document. Congress was given the power to coin money, not to print it. John Witherspoon, a Presbyterian clergyman who became president of Princeton and who was one of the signers of The Declaration of Independence, wrote an *Essay on Money* which called for a sound Biblically based money. Witherspoon taught many of the early leaders of our country.

The reader who wants to learn more about Christian economics is urged to read the various books of Dr. Gary North. North is writing a monumental economic commentary on the Bible. The first volume is based on Genesis and is called *The Dominion Covenant*.

Taxes are an important aspect of economics. That will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

8

EDUCATION

"The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge."

Proverbs 1:7

*"Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord:
And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine
heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.
And these words, which I command thee this day, shall
be in thine heart: And thou shalt teach them diligently
unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sit-
test in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way,
and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up."*

Deuteronomy 6:4-7

The Christian child is to receive a God-centered education. The Christian parent is responsible for that education. In Christ are hid the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

The government schools are found wanting on both counts. They are not God-centered. Nor are they controlled by the parents. They are humanistic and they are controlled by the state.

THE MYTH OF NEUTRALITY The government schools consider themselves neutral when it comes to religion. They do not favor one religion over another, they claim.

This is not true. There is no neutral position when it comes to Christ. He said that either we are for Him or against Him.

No area of life is a neutral zone. All truth is God's truth. If we try to interpret the world apart from God, we will be in error.

A school that teaches all day with no mention of God is in effect teaching the child that God is irrelevant. The teacher is saying that God is not important. He has nothing to do with history, geography, government, economics, literature, science, or math.

This is false teaching. There is nothing neutral about it. The presence of a Christian teacher in the government school does not change the situation. Unless the teacher develops the material from a Christian point of view, the ideas will be distorted.

The teacher is not free to teach from a Christian perspective in a government school. Any teacher who does that will soon be ordered to discontinue or be fired.

Far from being neutral, the typical government school is busily indoctrinating the students in the religion of secular humanism. Man, not God, is the standard for all things. The child is being reared to serve the state, not God.

COERCION The government school is based on coercion. Parents are forced to send their children to

school under compulsory school attendance laws.

Taxpayers are compelled to pay for the government schools. If they don't pay, their property is taken away from them to pay the taxes.

There are several bad effects of this coercion.

Parents resent being forced to send their children to a school that is not of their choosing. They can place their children in a private school, if there is one around, and if they can afford it. Or they can move away. That, too, is an added cost.

Taxpayers resent having to pay the huge tax bill for the government schools.

Another effect is on the government teachers and administrators. They have a captive audience thanks to compulsory school laws. They have a guaranteed income thanks to the tax collector. As a result they don't have to try harder. Mediocrity sets in. It affects the teachers and it affects the students.

Still another effect of coercion is that the school must accept any and all students regardless of their interest in learning. The hard core discipline problems disrupt the classroom. It is no wonder that there are so many nervous breakdowns in the teaching profession.

The power of force is the power of the sword given to civil rulers by God. It is the police power. The police have no business running schools. It is high time to remove governmental coercion from education. There is a better way.

REFORMING THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

Some Christians want to get involved in politics so

they can reform the government school system.

Don't waste your time. It is wrong in principle for the government to operate schools. While you're trying to reform the system, your kids are being indoctrinated.

Government schools are never going to be operated efficiently. Were it not for coercion they would have folded long ago. They are getting worse, not better. They lack competition except in the area of sports.

When I served in the Virginia General Assembly, I learned a lot about how politicians operate. The Assembly met for eight weeks one year and about six weeks the next year. Around 2000 bills and resolutions were considered on a variety of subjects. Most of the legislators have no real understanding of the legislation. State Senator Bill Richardson wrote a neat little book titled *"What Makes You Think We Read the Bills?"*

Most legislators don't read the bills. They can't possibly make intelligent decisions in all the things that come up. Political control of education means neglect of education. It also means that whoever can control the political process at any given time can control the schools. The schools that try to please the majority of the people in the community are not going to be pleasing to Christians.

I don't advise getting involved in politics to make a socialistic system work better. This is why the Christian needs to know what a Biblical approach to government is. He needs to know where he is headed. Otherwise we may be prolonging the life of a humanistic system.

THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOL Parents are responsible for the education of their children. They are to pay for and control that education. The Christian parent realizes that it must be a Christian education.

Some parents are carrying out this responsibility by teaching their children at home. There is much to be said for this. If the parent can do the job himself, well and good. My wife taught a dozen children in our home before we started a Christian school. We had two preschoolers whom she wanted to teach so we invited some neighbors to participate. We started a Christian school primarily because we wanted our own children to have a Christian education.

The home school movement is growing. There is a growing trend toward self-help and away from institutional help. This is apparent in many fields, including education. The home school movement ought to be encouraged. Materials need to be developed to aid the parents. Court battles are being waged. Even if we are not running a home school, we ought to help in the struggle for parental rights.

In 1983 Mrs. Thoburn and I went to Dallas to speak to a group of parents who were teaching their children at home. I noticed that they were eager to get help. I also noticed that they were making informal arrangements among themselves to provide social contacts for their children.

What this tells us is that the home school movement will never take the place of the Christian school. In the chapter on economics I pointed out the Biblical principle of the division of labor. We have division of labor within a school. It is highly

unlikely that one teacher could teach every subject from elementary through high school. At least it could not be done with competence.

Home schooling is more practical in the early years. As children grow older the parent will find that the specialized help the school can give is needed.

The parent who sends his child to a Christian school is not abdicating his responsibility to educate the child. There were schools in the Old Testament. The parent chooses the school, pays for the education, and takes a direct interest in what the child is learning.

The parents are responsible to feed and clothe their children. It does not follow that they must be engaged in agricultural pursuits and personally grow the food their children eat. Division of labor is entirely consistent with parental responsibility.

FINANCING EDUCATION It is not the responsibility of the taxpayers to pay for your child's education. Parents should pay. What about those who can't afford it? They should be helped through tithes and offerings.

God's Word provides for the poor. That provision is not through civil government. Government confiscation of wealth that is then given away is not charity. The next chapter will deal with the welfare question.

If every Christian parent took his children out of the government schools, they would likely be closed down. At least, they would be much smaller and

would take much less money from the taxpayers. If there were no government schools, there would be more than adequate funds to pay for private and Christian schools. The government schools cost about double what most Christian schools charge for tuition.

Some parents are working to get tuition tax credits to help finance a Christian education. It is unlikely that this will come about. I am not working for tuition tax credits. I realize that in a sense the tax credit is simply letting us keep some of our own money.

We ought to spend our energies on establishing a Biblical approach to the whole tax system. I shall discuss this in a later chapter.

The tuition tax credit is bound to bring controls. The proposal which was considered by Congress already had controls written into it. The parents of the children in the school I operate would not be eligible for the credit.

You can be sure the government would use the tax credits to control the schools. They are trying to control the schools even without the tax credits.

The Biblical approach to education involves getting civil government out of the school business. Education through the university level should be the responsibility of families.

9

WELFARE

"And when ye reap the harvest of your land, thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest. And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and stranger: I am the Lord your God."

Leviticus 19:9-10

Humanism breeds the welfare state. Humanists want to control people. Welfare handouts lend themselves very well to that. Humanists are do-gooders. They want to do good with the money of others.

As long as humanists are in charge, we can expect the welfare situation to worsen. There are just as many poor as ever. John Kennedy said 17,000,000 Americans went to bed hungry every night. Lyndon Johnson waged a war against poverty. Humanism assures that there will be a large segment of the population permanently on welfare.

HISTORY OF WELFARE For most of our history, welfare was handled through the churches and

voluntary associations. Millions of immigrants came to our shores. They obtained jobs, learned a new language, and became self-sustaining without the aid of government.

Civil governments did not get involved, even on the local level, until fairly recently. The Christians and churches began to abdicate their responsibility. Politicians, sensing another opportunity to buy votes with the people's own money, jumped at the opportunity to "do something" for the poor. The welfare state was on its way.

Then the Federal government got into the act. With the vast resources of a graduated income tax and printing press money, why not? The welfare state got rolling in the 1930's, but this was nothing to compare with what followed. Today the budget for welfare is the third largest budget in the entire world, outranked only by the total budget of the United States and that of the Soviet Union.

The old Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) did not come into existence until the Eisenhower Administration. A separate cabinet level department now looks after education. Welfare includes a vast array of programs: aid to dependent children, medicare, social security, and the job corps, to name a few. Despite the complaint that the present administration in Washington is stingy, the welfare programs keep expanding.

EFFECTS OF THE WELFARE STATE The cost of the welfare state is threatening the economic stability of the country. The deficit in the Federal budget is

running over \$200,000,000,000 per year. Nearly half the money borrowed last year was for the Federal government.

The Social Security program was a disastrous notion from its beginning. It is a type of Ponzi scheme. It works like the chain letter racket. Ever increasing amounts must be paid in so that those already in the system can be paid off. The program is actuarially unsound.

The legislation setting up the Social Security program is called FICA (for Federal Insurance Contributions Act). It is neither insurance and it certainly is not based on contributions, in the usual sense of that word.

Social Security started out with a maximum tax of 1% on employers and employees. That tax was on the first \$3000 of income. The maximum tax was \$30 per year on a worker. Now the maximum is over \$2000 and going higher. Still there is not enough money coming into the system.

The Social Security program would be better named "Unsocial Insecurity." It does not help society and it does not provide security.

The Social Security tax is about equal in its bite to the income tax. Most workers don't realize that the employer share of the tax comes out of the wages of the employee for all intents and purposes. The reason for this is that the employer "contribution" is part of the cost of labor. If that money weren't going to the government, it would go to the worker in a competitive economy.

Other welfare programs are costly, too.

Employers are required to pay state and Federal employment taxes. These go into a fund which the government controls. Unemployment compensation is made to workers who are out of work. The theory behind it is that they are laid off through no fault of their own. They are supposed to be looking for work.

Human nature being what it is (not inherently good as the liberals think), many unemployed persons find it is more profitable to receive government checks than to take a job. The persons who administer the program have a vested interest in keeping the program going.

The public pays, and pays. What the public doesn't realize is that again the employer figures this in as part of the cost of doing business. He has to raise his prices to cover the added cost. If the public doesn't pay the higher prices and he can't operate profitably, then he goes bankrupt. Then he is looking for some kind of welfare.

I operate a Christian school as a business. So I have to pay all these taxes. I would estimate that I have paid over \$50,000 in unemployment taxes over the years. This does not count the cost of all the paperwork. In that time I have had one person collect for the princely sum of about \$400. (That person really had no business collecting.) We paid at the lowest rate because our employees were not drawing from the fund. The Virginia State Commissioner for such matters told me that they spent more on paperwork on their end than was being collected from those of us on the lowest rate. What a waste of

money!

The effect of government welfare is to establish a class of persons who stay on it permanently. In ancient Rome the right to welfare was made hereditary. If your parents were on welfare, you could stay on it for life. The welfare state is destructive of human character.

THE BIBLICAL ANSWER The Bible provides the way out of the welfare problem. The answer is the tithe. An excellent treatment of the tithe is found in R. J. Rushdoony's *The Institutes of Biblical Law*.

It is not our purpose here to rehash what others have already covered thoroughly elsewhere. Most Christians have heard about tithing. The major problem is getting Christians to tithe.

Until Christians take tithing seriously, we can not expect to rid ourselves of the curse of the welfare state. Christians have gone along with the humanistic idea that the civil government could do it better, or at least cheaper. The heavy burden of taxes proves otherwise.

Rushdoony identifies a poor tithe as well as the Lord's tithe in the Bible. The poor tithe was used for those in need. The Lord's tithe which went to the Levites was used for educational as well as other social purposes. The Levites tithed one-tenth to the priests for the furtherance of worship.

It is encouraging to see Christians today again assuming responsibility in a variety of fields. There are prison ministries, Christian schools, and welfare programs designed to help those in need.

The Christian in politics can contribute by phasing out the involvement of civil government and encouraging Christians to take care of the poor in their midst.

10

TAXES

“And he said, This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you:

He will take your sons . . .

And he will take your daughters . . .

And he will take your fields . . .

And he will take the tenth of your seed . . .

And he will take your menservants . . .

He will take the tenth of your sheep . . .

And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day.”

I Samuel 8:11-18

The Israelites wanted a king in order to be like the nations around about them. They rejected God's rule over them. They wanted a strong central government.

God instructed Samuel to tell them that they could have a king, but the king would rule over them in a tyrannical fashion. He would draft their sons and daughters, and take a tenth of their production.

As a result the people would cry out. God would not hear them. They would have to accept the burden they had brought on themselves.

THE USA TODAY The United States is in a similar situation today. When our country was established, the culture was fundamentally Christian. The Constitution provided for strictly limited government. There were no government schools or welfare state schemes. Taxes were low. Since that time we have departed from our Christian heritage. We have turned away from Biblical law and adopted man's law in its place. With this has come enormous tax increases. We are crying out under the burden. God will not hear us until we return to His law.

We shall analyze some of the major taxes. We shall show how they are unbiblical and suggest Christian alternatives.

THE INCOME TAX The income tax did not exist until the early part of the Twentieth Century. It was necessary to amend the Constitution in order to have this tax.

The Federal income tax is a graduated tax. This means that as the taxable income increases, the rate of taxation increases. Another name for this kind of tax is the progressive income tax.

The tithe is a proportional or flat rate tax. No matter how little or how much a person's income was, God required only a tenth. For the king to demand a tenth in Samuel's time was to put the state on a par with God. That was tyranny.

The Federal income tax is far worse. Current rates **start** at 14% and go as high as 50%. Not long ago the top rate was 70% on what the government calls "unearned income." Not many years ago the top rate exceeded 90%! State income taxes are paid on top of the Federal rates.

The income tax has several implications. The rates are well above the Biblical tithe. In demanding more than God, the state is putting itself above God.

The graduated rates show a definite bias against wealth. The assumption is that the person with a larger income should not be able to keep the same proportion of his income as the person with a lower income. God does not require more than a tenth even from the most wealthy.

The high rates of taxation destroy the incentive to work. When the government takes more than the worker has left, he feels it is not worthwhile to work as much.

The income tax is based on the principle that our entire income belongs to the government. The government is nice to us by exempting part of our income from taxes and then taxing the remainder at something less than 100%.

One of the worst features of the income tax is that it is used to further social and economic policies favored by those in power at the time. This is done through tax credits, exemptions, depreciation allowances, etc. The threat of removing the tax-exempt status of churches, schools, and other institutions is used to control them and further social goals of the humanists in charge.

The loopholes in the tax code, the varying interpretations, and the complexities of tax law have resulted in a growing disrespect for law in our country. Someone has said the income tax has made more liars out of people than anything since the game of golf was invented!

The income tax goes contrary to Biblical law on many counts. It is not surprising that Karl Marx advocated a graduated income tax as part of his plan to bring about Communism.

Christians need to work toward abolition of this tax. The lowering of the top rates is a small but significant step in the right direction. The indexing of the tax will provide some relief from inflation which has been pushing people into higher brackets even though they really aren't making any more money.

Humanists will express shock that anyone would touch this sacred cow. After all, where would they get money to run the government? Conservatives may argue that we wouldn't have enough for an adequate national defense. My answer would be that we got along fine without this tax until the Twentieth Century. We never lost a war. And that's more than we can say now with the enormous taxes we're paying.

SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES I have nothing good to say about Social Security taxes. This tax was instituted during the 1930's. It was set up by the Federal Insurance Contributions Act (FICA).

It is not insurance. The Supreme Court says so.

Who am I to argue with the Supreme Court, especially in those rare instances when they are right? An insurance company has a contractual obligation to pay. The Feds don't.

Social Security is called a contribution, but it is not a contribution in the usual sense of the word. Tribute, yes, but contribute, no. It is a payroll tax.

Social Security is not a progressive tax. Nor is it a proportional tax. It is a **regressive** tax. Those who have the lowest income pay a higher percentage of their total earnings than those who earn more. This is unjust to those who earn less.

The tax rate is the same for everyone. The difference is that income over about \$37,800 isn't taxed (yet!). The base rate has been rising rapidly in recent years as well as the top amount on which the tax is paid. It is scheduled to go higher, much higher.

Still there is not enough money. The system is going broke. The reason is clear. The Social Security system is actuarially unsound. This means there is not enough money scheduled to come in to meet the commitments. Social Security is a type of Ponzi scheme. It is like the chain letter racket. It needs an increasing number of people paying in so that money promised can be paid out. That is why newly hired Federal workers and employees of tax-exempt organizations are being brought under the system.

Congress will patch up the system from time to time to try to keep it going. **Don't** depend on Social Security for your financial future. The Social Security idea started in Germany. In that country in 1923 a month's social security check would not buy an egg.

They had hyperinflation. If we continue as we are, there is no reason to think we will not suffer the same fate.

Private retirement programs are available that will provide the benefits of Social Security at half the cost. They are contractual arrangements.

Christians need to influence the political process in order to rid ourselves of the Social Security tax. It is putting an enormous burden on our children. The Bible teaches that parents should lay up for their children. It does not permit parents spending their children's money and leaving a legacy of debt as we are doing.

Meanwhile we will not stand by while the elderly starve as the humanists will contend. We must assume our responsibilities in the manner prescribed in Scripture.

PROPERTY TAXES There were no property taxes in colonial times. The Colonists resisted a tax on tea. They rejected taxation without representation. (They ought to see taxes **with** representation.) They knew King George must be stopped or he would be taxing their land next. At the beginning of our country there were no real estate taxes, no income taxes, and no Social Security taxes, not to mention others. The country made tremendous economic progress without these taxes. They got along very well, thank you. The property or real estate tax strikes at family security. Property is the foundation of liberty and is essential to economic progress and security. Many families have worked hard all their lives to buy a

home. They have used money left after paying income taxes. Sales taxes have been paid on the materials used in building their houses. Payroll taxes were paid on the labor. Now the house is paid off.

Or is it? The tax collector ups the assessment. The property taxes are raised. If they are not paid, the sheriff sells the house. Many people find that their real estate taxes exceed what their house payments once were. They do not really own their houses.

As a result of this tax, many elderly must sell and move away.

Most real estate taxes are paid by the banks out of escrow funds. Taxes and insurance are added to principal and interest payments each month. The homeowner does not get hit with one big tax bill once a year.

This feature of taxes is built in by government. The withholding of Federal income taxes was started as a temporary measure during World War II. (By the way, there is no such thing as a "temporary" tax.) If taxpayers had to shell it all out at one time, we would have a tax revolt on our hands. The Social Security tax is collected by the withholding method also. The end result is that workers talk about "take home" pay. They don't miss the money they never lay hands on. The politicians are smart when it comes to methods of extracting the most with the least amount of pain.

Property taxes are the mainstay of the counties and cities. Being a local tax, there is more likelihood of controlling it. Local decisions are always pre-

ferred over those made at the state level or in Washington. You can more readily influence your local officials.

Most of the property tax goes to support government education. Since localities are resisting increases in real estate taxes, the humanist educators are looking to Washington to make up the difference. Did you notice how the NEA was with Jimmy Carter all the way? Jimmy gave them the Department of Education.

When all the Christians pull all their children out of the government schools, we will see property taxes wither. You don't have to get the government schools shut down tomorrow. Just remove your child. That will be one less person who needs taxpayer support to stay in school.

The property tax can be reduced and eliminated when we eliminate the items for which it is spent.

INHERITANCE TAXES Inheritance taxes ought to be abolished. (You may think by now that I am against **all** taxes. I do favor some, but not much.)

The property tax is unbiblical because the land belongs to God and is not to be taxed by anyone other than God. The inheritance tax is unbiblical because it is based on the idea that the state should inherit our wealth.

As you would expect, Karl Marx advocated the inheritance tax, also. (No, I'm not saying that present-day advocates of the inheritance tax are card-carrying Communists. It's just such a coincidence that Marx proposed so many things that to-

day's humanists like.) Marx opposed private property. He hated Christianity and wanted to destroy it. He knew this involved undermining the family.

The inheritance tax is an attack upon the family. The family is to have dominion over the earth. This requires capital. Marx was not opposed to capitalism. He wanted the capital to be in the hands of the state. God wants capital in the hands of families. Parents were to leave the inheritance to their children.

Today's society is present-oriented because it is under the influence of a philosophy called existentialism. Only the present is important to the existentialist. The Bible teaches that we should be future-oriented. We are to save for the future and provide an inheritance for our children.

The inheritance tax, like the income tax, attacks the concept of wealth. Humanists want the government to be big and wealthy. They want people to be poor. The inheritance tax has been responsible for wiping out many a family farm or business. The tax rates are graduated. If a person dies, the tax has to be paid in a few months. Properties often have to be sold when the market is down.

Efforts to avoid the inheritance tax by giving away wealth are often in vain. There is a gift tax, too! The government is very creative when it comes to taxes. Maybe they can't fix potholes, but they are fairly good with loopholes. At present one can give away \$10,000 per year to another person without paying a gift tax.

Inflation, the hidden tax fostered by government, has pushed up the dollar value of estates. To

compensate for this, the inheritance tax has been adjusted. When I was in the Virginia legislature, we repealed the state inheritance tax, except for that portion that would have gone to the Feds anyway. Some other states have done the same.

These changes are a step in the right direction. This should be an encouragement to us. With greater involvement by Christians armed with the truth, we can look forward to the abolition of this tax.

THE BIBLICAL TAX God has given us the tithe to take care of education, worship, and other social needs. A poor tithe was paid every third year. Gleaning was established to help the needy. Interest free loans were made to those who had an emergency. The tithe was paid to the Levites, not to the state.

Civil government was supported by a head tax. This tax is sometimes referred to as a capitation or poll tax. The head tax is mentioned in Exodus 30:11-16. It was levied on all males who were 20 years old or older. It was the same amount for everyone.

The head tax was used to support civil government. Since it was the same for everyone, the tax was small. There would be no incentive to raise the tax in order to benefit from the wealth of others since the tax was levied equally.

It is interesting that when the first legislative assembly in America was held, the tax passed was a head tax. That was in Virginia in 1619.

When God's order is restored, we will have limited government and low taxes. Until then we stand as a nation under His judgment and get what we deserve.

11

LAND USE LAWS

If you own a parcel of land and are not permitted to use it for certain purposes, it may not be of much value to you. Land use laws are being used to restrict citizens in various ways. They are being used to prevent churches from building and to curtail the Christian school movement.

The theology behind zoning and planning is statist. Man wants to play God. God has a plan for the universe. He foreordains whatsoever comes to pass. He owns everything. God has a purpose for everything He does.

Through obedience to God's commandments man can have dominion over the earth. God put man in paradise. He forfeited his right to be there because of sin. Paradise will be restored only through Jesus Christ.

Statist man wants to legislate paradise. He believes in salvation through politics. Education in government schools is an important part of that legislation.

Environmentalism is a basic tenet of the human-

ist religion. Man is an animal to be conditioned by his environment. Statist man yearns for a paradise on earth. By passing laws he plans to create this paradise. As George Bernard Shaw, the English socialist, said, "Under socialism you may not live at all, but if you do, you will be forced to live well."

When men reject the idea that God plans the world, they can turn only to man as an alternative. Thus we live in the age of the planner. Especially at the local level we have massive codes dealing with planning, zoning, use permits, and the like.

The concept of planning is not lacking at the state and Federal levels. When I served on the Conservation and Natural Resources Committee in the Virginia House of Delegates, I learned about some of the plans. They wanted a satellite to pass over the state every few hours in order to know what was going on. A bill to regulate sand dunes would have affected land 50-100 miles from the shore. I enjoyed the opportunity to join with conservative legislators to kill that bill.

God knows all things. The planner wants to be omniscient, too. Governments are constantly collecting data for this reason. As a school director I am frequently asked for information. Some of the statistics they want are not even available to me. The Federal census is taken every 10 years as provided for in the Constitution. The original purpose was to enumerate the population to determine representation in Congress.

The census now goes far beyond that. The government wants to know how many bathrooms you

have, how much money you make, how many children you have, and a long list of additional information. The government wants to be omniscient. Statistics is the Achilles heel of government. Even with the computer there is no way they can keep up. They will never be omniscient.

Through planning the statist wants to create a beautiful environment in which man may live. It does not work. Again and again government planners have made stupid errors. It is not because the planners lack ability or integrity. It is just that they are trying to do the impossible.

I have had considerable experience with planning and zoning. I think I could write a whole book just on that subject. I was the general contractor for three school buildings that we constructed during the 1960's.

We had to get a use permit to use the land for a school. I purchased the property several miles from any concentration of people so that no one would object. I bought a large tract and steadily added more land (currently 34 acres). The idea of use permits is to protect other people from us. I wanted to protect myself from the neighbors.

I looked at 30 or 40 sites before selecting the one I thought would be best. Everyone who visits the campus comments on what a nice location it is. I wanted a buffer between the school and our neighbors so I told the Board of Zoning Appeals that I planned a 50 foot buffer.

The Board had never set foot on the property. They sat in an office three miles away and made

snap decisions about the use of the property. They decreed that we should have a 50 foot buffer left in the natural state.

They did not realize the natural state of the land. It was covered with scrub pine and briars. My dad (who is used to clear, rolling farm land) came to visit. He went back to our home in Ohio and said, "That boy of mine! He bought a bunch of brush."

I proceeded to clear the land and plant shrubbery. We constructed some attractive, colonial-style brick buildings. One day my neighbor came over. He remarked on what a fine job we were doing with the land and how it was a credit to the neighborhood. "But tell me," he asked, "Why have you left all the briars and scrub pine next to me?" "That," I replied with a smile on my face, "is for **your** protection."

I explained to him the Board of Zoning Appeals' ruling and we had to go in together to get it changed.

SAUCE FOR THE GANDER On the farm we had an expression. "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." I found that isn't true when it comes to government. They don't live by the rules they make for others. A national example of this is the Congress which is called "the last plantation."

I mentioned that we located the school away from a populated area. It is on a country road. The planners told me we would have to build sidewalks along the road. I explained that there was no one to walk on the sidewalks. I was afraid someone would think the sidewalks were my idea and I would be

laughed out of the county.

I pointed out to the bureaucrats that their own building which housed the County Courthouse and was located in the middle of the city, didn't have sidewalks. One had to jump down an embankment to walk on one side of it. Needless to say, I got my way.

It took months for us to obtain site plan approval so we could get our building permit. We constructed the building in 60 working days. I spent so much time at the Courthouse obtaining permits that one of our friends thought I had a part-time job there.

When the building was completed we were told we could not use it until we got an occupancy permit. We could not get the occupancy permit until some endwalls were constructed at the culvert under the driveway. The endwalls had nothing to do with anyone's health, safety, or welfare. (My neighbor downstream managed very well with a 12 inch culvert. My engineer calculated that we ought to have a 24 inch culvert. He made it 36 inches just for good measure. The county bureaucrats upped it to 42 inches. Guess what? Beginning right at 42 inches you have to put in these fancy endwalls.)

I did them one better. We put in an old smokestack that is 44 inches in diameter and I guarantee it will be there long after the bureaucrats and I are gone.

It took a month or two to get the endwalls in. Meanwhile it was September and we needed the building to house all the students who were clamoring to get out of the wonderful Fairfax County

School system (touted to be one of the best in the country because it is one of the biggest—what other reason do you need?). Among these students was the son of a liberal United States Senator whose name I won't divulge because you won't believe me anyway. (Besides the voters have now retired him.)

We lived only one block from the Courthouse. This was very convenient because we were spending so much time there. One morning my wife got riled up. We got up, marched over to the Courthouse and confronted the Planning Engineer. He was a red-haired guy and they can be known to have a temper.

Rosemary banged her fist on the counter in front of him. "What do you think this is, **Russia?**" she demanded to know. "That is **our** property and we are going to use it. I understand you give 30 day temporary occupancy permits." "Oh, no, lady," he replied, irked at first, but warming up because of her persistence, "Who ever told you that?"

"**He** did!", she blurted out as she pointed her finger at a bureaucrat lurking in the background. (I think he got transferred not long after that.)

We got our 30 day temporary occupancy permit and six years later they were kind enough to send us a permanent one. As I mentioned, government doesn't live by its own rules. Articles in newspapers were to reveal later that the County Executive was living in a house without an occupancy permit. (Can you imagine! Actually living in a house without an **occupancy** permit? I wonder if our hundred year old farmhouse ever had one.) We also learned that half the public buildings in Fairfax County at the time

didn't have occupancy permits.

As I say, I could write a book on that subject. I must move on, but I do want to tell you about another incident. In our enlightened county you are not permitted to cut a tree down on your own property (with certain exceptions) unless you have a permit and are bonded. I was visiting the office of the woman who was then Chairman of the Board of Supervisors. In discussing this law with a young high school student who served as her aide, I said the following:

"Isn't it odd that in this county you may not cut a tree without a permit, but you may kill your unborn baby?" "I agree with that," he replied, "because we have too many people and not enough trees."

Fairfax County is loaded with trees by the way. But even if it didn't have any, how revealing that young man's statement was. He is the product of our humanistic schools. That is what the liberals want to do. They want to control people in the name of human betterment.

A CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO PLANNING It is not within the scope of this book to give all the answers to this. We need to begin with the fact that God owns the land. We are stewards of the land. We are to use it to His glory.

We want to maintain our property so that it is a testimony to our neighbors. We are not to encroach upon his property. If we want to live in a neighborhood composed of houses of a certain quality, then so be it. Covenants can be made. These are private

contractual arrangements which we voluntarily make.

The fact that we object to statist planning does not mean that we oppose planning. Adam was placed in the Garden of Eden to dress it and keep it. We ought to plan carefully when we are constructing a school, a church, a place of business, a house, or whatever else we believe God wants us to build.

We have to consider safety, health, and other factors. Our septic fields are not to infringe on our neighbor's property rights. The water we offer the public should be safe to drink. Civil government through the court system has a responsibility to adjudicate disputes that arise. If we injure others or damage their property, the Bible requires that we make restitution.

This is a far cry from the unrealistic demands made by many planners today. In operating a school I have always felt that we should do our job so well that civil government would have no excuse to intrude.

12

FOREIGN POLICY

Humanism has brought disastrous results in foreign policy just as it has in domestic matters. Humanists want to intervene, control, and regulate.

A look at history sums up the results. President George Washington warned against entangling alliances with foreign nations. The United States was small and seemingly weak in its early days. But it successfully defended itself time and again. It grew and prospered.

With the Twentieth Century and the advent of humanist theology, we are witnessing a different situation. Because the humanists deny the sinful nature of man, they were very optimistic after World War I. They thought man was getting better and better every day in every way. Woodrow Wilson said that World War I was fought to "make the world safe for democracy."

The Twentieth Century has seen two devastating world wars. Our country was deeply involved in both. We have also had the Korean War and the Vietnam War. Today we have a large standing army

and spend billions for defense. Yet we have witnessed the steady growth of militant Communism. Let us examine some of the foreign policy of the United States from a Christian perspective.

THE UNITED NATIONS The United Nations was established after World War II in San Francisco. It has been headquartered in the United States ever since. It was nurtured by Alger Hiss, who was convicted of perjury in a trial dealing with his Communist connections.

The United Nations is a liberal dream. It is another attempt at building one-world government, a government to save mankind from all his ills and bring peace to the earth.

It has failed. The UN has been held forth as an example to school children as "mankind's last hope." It is a debating society at best. It is pro-Marxist. It is full of enemy spies. The United States continues to support it with large contributions. It remains on U.S. soil.

The UN has not prevented war. The Korean War was supposedly fought under the UN. The North Koreans were Communists supported by the Communist Chinese. The UN military division is directed by a Communist and always has been.

COMMUNISM The Soviet Union came under control of the Communists in 1917. The avowed purpose of Communism is to conquer the world. Time and again the United States has bailed out the Soviet regime.

President Franklin Roosevelt extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is controlled by the Communist Party. The Communist Party consists of a small percentage of the Soviet citizens. It is the only political party permitted. The Soviet Union is a totalitarian dictatorship that understands only one thing—force.

Communism is parasitic. Left to itself, it would collapse. Approximately half the people in the Soviet Union are engaged in agriculture. They work on collective farms owned by the government. They are unable to feed themselves and must import food. The United States sells them grain, often at cut rate prices.

The Soviet Union is a military encampment. They spend an exorbitant portion of their gross national income on the military. We sell them our superior technology. They steal the rest.

The Soviet Union represses its citizens. It conducts espionage around the globe, promotes guerilla warfare to undermine other governments, and invades other countries when that suits their purposes. One country after another has been taken over by the Communists. They captured Eastern Europe. They took over North Korea and China. They have moved into Africa. Cuba is Communist. They have moved into South and Central America.

STOPPING COMMUNISM Communism can not be stopped by appeasement. The British appeased Adolph Hitler. Hitler was stopped eventually, but only at great cost in lives and property.

God warned the Israelites not to compromise with evil nations. On September 1, 1983, the Soviet Union shot down an unarmed Korean passenger plane carrying 269 men, women, and children, including Congressman Lawrence P. McDonald, an arch foe of Communism. President Reagan talked tough, but did nothing of any significance. Congress passed a resolution condemning the Soviets. The Soviets said they would do it again under the same circumstances. We are back to business as usual with the Soviets.

We need a strategy of victory over Communism. Liberals in America are soft on Communism. They constantly harp on the sins of anti-Communists and overlook the greater sins of the Communists.

Weapons are needed to defend ourselves against the Communists. Weapons without a strategy of victory are of no value. We can not defeat Communism by continuing to support it.

Communism can not be stopped by promoting socialism. Much aid given to governments of other countries has been used to build government owned industries. The economies of those countries have been weakened as a result. Our country has been weakened as well.

FOREIGN AID There is nothing in the Constitution that authorizes Congress to give away money to other countries. Our country is being drained of its resources. The aid given has not brought about beneficial results.

Huge loans have been made by large banks in

the United States to other countries. The banks expect the U.S. taxpayers to guarantee these loans. Brazil, Mexico, and other countries are unable to repay these loans. They are not even able to pay interest in many cases.

A Christian approach to foreign policy would preclude government-to-government aid and government backed loans. Civil governments should punish evildoers. They should punish those who take property and human life. Civil governments under God should not place obstacles to free trade between its citizens and the citizens of other countries unless that trade represents a direct threat to the security of the state.

A godly civil government will not establish socialistic intervention at home. Such a country will prosper and be an example to other nations. From a godly nation missionaries will go forth to carry out the Great Commission.

A godly civil government will submit itself to Jesus Christ. It will recognize that He is the Prince of Peace and that peace will come on earth only through the increase of His government.

Part III

***HOW THE CHRISTIAN
CAN GET INVOLVED***

*“When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice:
but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn.”*

Proverbs 29:2

*“All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good
men do nothing.”*

Edmund Burke

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MY EXPERIENCE IN POLITICS

My second son, John, got me involved in politics. He was 18 at the time. I was 46. It was a Sunday evening.

"Dad," he said, "You have always been talking about getting into politics. Now is the time to do it."

That was in late November, 1975. The nation was on the eve of its Bicentennial. Many Christians were to come out of the woodwork that year and get involved. I agreed with John.

The next month I found myself in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, taking a special course for candidates sponsored by The Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress. A month later I made my public announcement for Congress.

In the intervening years I have won campaigns and I have lost them. I've learned a lot and I want to share my experiences with you in this chapter.

I had some involvement in politics before 1975. I had registered and voted in the first election I was eligible for. I was born on the "New Deal Dairy Farm" but voted a split ticket the first time I stepped

into a voting booth. In 1960 I served as a precinct co-captain.

My principal involvement in the political process was appearing at public hearings before the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors. There were many issues that I became interested in. This was an opportunity to express my views. I saw our county being socialized very rapidly.

I used to sit for many hours at these meetings waiting for my turn to speak. I recall a hearing that was so packed that a seat wasn't available until midnight. The hearing lasted until 3 A.M. I found that the Supervisors listened politely. Then they voted the way they wanted to.

I got the feeling that public hearings didn't make that much difference. I also wrote letters to the editor. Most of them would be published. I felt I could be more effective by becoming a candidate.

Because of my experience at the county level, I decided to get into politics. People have different reasons for becoming a candidate. Some have enormous egos and like to see their name in the papers, or at least on a sign. I was concerned about the direction the country was going.

Our incumbent Congressman was a liberal Democrat who had previously served on the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors. He had voted for an ordinance making it illegal to have a religious service, prayer meeting, or Bible study in your own home without a permit from the county. He was pro-abortion, weak on national defense, and a big spender. He liked George McGovern.

I felt I had a good understanding of the national issues and that Congress was the major problem politically. I had been a member of a championship debate team in college so felt I could hold my own in political debates.

I was completely unknown in political circles when I decided to run. I called the Republican County Chairman to let him know I planned to run. He said that he had never heard of me. I wanted to tell him I had never heard of him either, but I had better sense than to say that.

No one took my candidacy seriously, but I did. The Republican Primary was held in June. There were five candidates in the race for the Republican nomination. Two months before the election my principal opponent took a poll. No one will vote for you unless they have at least heard of your name. My opponent discovered that my name identification was lower than the poll taker's. Two or three percent of those polled claimed they had heard of the poll taker. Even fewer had heard of me.

Two months later the election was held. I lost by 143 votes! My opponent was shocked. He thought he would easily win the election.

How was I able to do so well my first time running for public office? It wasn't easy, but I must admit I enjoyed the campaign tremendously. Even though I lost the election, it was the turning point for conservatives in Northern Virginia. Subsequently, we have won victory after victory.

Let me explain how it was done. I am a Christian. I knew that my base of support would be

among the Christians. If they didn't support me, then who would? I talked to Christian leaders. I visited the churches. All over the area Christians held receptions for me in their homes. One of my most ardent supporters was Alyse O'Neill, a Jew. She brought in the largest vote in any of the precincts.

I spoke at these receptions about the issues. I got Christians interested. Many volunteered to help in the campaign. We distributed campaign literature all over the district. Young people helped us do this. They had a contest to see who could get the most bumper stickers out.

Direct mail was an important part of our campaign. My daughter-in-law wrote a Thoburn for Congress Cookbook. It was widely distributed. We set up a campaign headquarters. We made lots of phone calls. We organized the precincts. I appeared at candidate forums throughout the district. We got newspaper and television coverage. I got endorsements from prominent politicians and people in the community.

We were able to raise more money than our opponents. A successful campaign is usually expensive. Most of our funds were raised by direct mail. I loaned my campaign money also.

When the votes were counted, more persons had voted in the primary than had ever voted in a Virginia Republican Primary before.

I carried the two most populous areas of the district. I lost in an outlying county even though I received more votes there than had even been cast in the previous primary. I did not have time to get organized there. I believe if I had two or three more

housewives or even students serving as precinct chairmen, I could have won that election.

I live in Fairfax County which adjoins Washington, D.C. The area is basically liberal in its politics. The Washington media is noted for its liberalism. On the Sunday before my Congressional primary, *The Washington Post* came out with a vicious attack. They had a big headline "**THOBURN ALARMS GOP IN EIGHTH.**" The article continued on another page with the headline "**GOP LEADERS FEAR THOBURN.**" This helped my name identification, but hardly my image. We were left with no time to counteract that kind of attack. It showed me how important direct mail is. Conservative candidates have to run against the media as well as their liberal opponents.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES CAMPAIGN Even though I lost for Congress, I did not consider the campaign a losing situation. During the campaign we became active in local party politics. We signed supporters up for the party convention. We provided the critical votes to send one of my supporters to the Republican National Convention in 1976.

Four years later the entire delegation representing the Eighth Congressional District of Virginia to the Republican National Convention were from among our supporters. We had continued to organize during the intervening years. We were prepared. Our opponents weren't.

In 1977 I ran for the Virginia House of Delegates. That is the name of the lower house of the Vir-

ginia General Assembly. I was successful both in the primary and the general election.

What we did in the House of Delegates campaign was to build on what we had accomplished the year before. The delegate district was about 60% of the area we had covered for Congress. We had card files on all the precincts. We had a base of supporters already identified. We had workers whom we knew could produce. We had a list of persons who had contributed to my past campaign.

There are 100 members in the Virginia House of Delegates. Five of the members were elected from our district at-large. Two of the five were liberal Democrats. One was a liberal Republican. The other two Republicans were liberal on some issues and somewhat conservative on others.

The three incumbent Republicans were running in the Republican Primary. There were two vacancies. My Congressional campaign manager, Larry Pratt, and I both ran. We wanted to unseat the liberal Republican incumbent in the primary. I recruited a friend with no political experience. He owned and operated a painting business. His name was John Adams.

When we announced that John Adams was running, the party regulars (as they liked to style themselves) thought it was a joke. "John Adams!" they laughed. "Well," I said, "We didn't want to call him "George Washington." When John Adams showed up at a Republican mass meeting to give his first speech, they were surprised, "There **really is** a John Adams."

"He'll never make it," another predicted. But

John Adams **did** make it. He won the right to be on the Republican slate for the House of Delegates in the general election to be held in November.

John Adams, a political unknown, beat out Jim Dillard, a veteran Republican legislator, in a primary. Adams was unknown, had no organization, and did not have access to a lot of money. He is a staunch conservative and defeated a liberal incumbent in a district that had been regularly electing liberals. How was this done?

The answer is organization. Pratt, Adams, and I ran together as a slate. There were five to be nominated. Altogether we had six candidates. I felt I could win because I was well known after having run for Congress the previous year. Mr. Pratt had managed my campaign so he knew his way around.

Our hope was to have Adams come in ahead of Dillard. Dillard taught government in a government high school. We gave him a lesson in civics. Our slate appropriately enough was called the PTA slate, after Pratt, Thoburn, and Adams. Since Dillard was with the NEA, we thought this was a catchy little name for our slate.

The liberals had been used to having it their way for years in Fairfax County. They went to a few Republican Women's Clubs, talked to a few civic associations, and got re-elected term after term. After my unsuccessful Congressional campaign the Secretary of the Fairfax County Electoral Board had made the statement that "Bob Thoburn brought campaigning to Fairfax County." Liberals were to learn that they were not annointed to their offices. They

would have to raise money, campaign hard, and would be held accountable for their votes in Richmond, in Washington, or at the county seat.

We won this campaign because we worked seriously at the political process. I was running Fairfax Christian School and a number of knowledgeable men have enrolled their children over the years, including Richard Viguerie (known as the godfather of the New Right and a highly successful political fundraiser), Howard Phillips (head of The Conservative Caucus), Morton Blackwell (an expert in youth campaigns and recently a special assistant at the White House), Congressman Larry McDonald, Congressman Phillip Crane, and others.

I took advantage of contacts that I had. I learned from these men and other leaders in the Washington area. Larry Pratt worked fulltime as a Washington lobbyist and knew all kinds of political operatives.

The general election was a classic. With Dillard out, there were two incumbent Republicans, two incumbent Democrats, one independent, the three of us, and three other Democrats. Five of the 11 would win election.

Up to this time the incumbent Republicans and Democrats had a cozy arrangement. They differed little on the issues and really did not attack one another. They call that the two-party system! We brought out the issues.

Right after I won my primary election, I was viciously attacked by a newspaper chain that published 12 papers in our area. Although our family is large (we have eight children), we took in 12 Viet-

namese refugees after Saigon fell. We spent over \$20,000 per year on their care, including all medical care and education at the Christian school. The papers tried to make out that I was some kind of slavemaster. Christian friends came to our rescue. Over 19 letters to the editor were received the first week alone, all of them supporting us. The newspaper story backfired.

One of the things I have learned in politics is that you should expect persecution, especially if you are a Christian conservative. You can expect to get plenty of "nut" mail. Whenever I run, I regularly get a letter from an anonymous source likening me to the Ayatollah Khomeini. During my Congressional campaign I received a cinder block which was attached to a Return Postage Guaranteed envelope at a cost to us of about \$36.00. I don't know to this day whether we had to pay it because my campaign never told me. They wanted me to concentrate on the campaign.

The newspapers regularly refer to us as ultra-conservatives, ultra-right, fringe groups, extremists, etc. I find the persecution flattering. I figure we must be having an effect or they wouldn't pay attention to us. Harry Truman said regarding politics, "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen." I like politics. I enjoy campaigning. But most important, I feel this is a job we must do. We can't stand by and see the country go the wrong way.

At the beginning of the general election campaign, I was warned by fellow Republicans that one of the Democrat candidates was "way out." His

Democrat colleagues had said something similar to him about me.

I remember the first night we met. It was candidates' night. We were asked our position on "elected school boards." All 11 candidates favored elected school boards. Mike, the "way out" Democrat said he, too, favored elected school boards. He said the Democrats had only one misgiving about them. "Bob Thoburn might run for the school board and get elected!"

Mike and I became good friends. He had no car and I often gave him a ride home after the meetings.

The highlight of the candidate debates came on the Wednesday evening before the election. One of the liberal Democrats was carrying on his usual attack against me. He was always negative in his campaign. He said he was really worried about the Republican Party. He shrieked to the audience that the right-wing was taking over the Republican Party. "In fact," he shouted, "They're taking over the whole country." Everybody clapped loudly. It was our kind of audience.

Then this young liberal Democrat revealed something very sinister indeed. "Mr. Thoburn is being supported by Larry McDonald! And do you know where he is from? **Georgia!** And he's a member of the Council of the John Birch Society!"

Yes, it was quite a revelation. What the poor fellow didn't realize is that I was proud indeed that Congressman Larry McDonald was supporting my campaign. (I was the next speaker and I pointed out that not everyone from Georgia was bad and that

Larry McDonald was a **Democrat**.) And my opponent didn't realize either that while we were speaking my supporters were putting the first 10,000 of 65,000 letters into the mail. The enclosed brochure had a picture of Larry McDonald with me at a fundraiser.

These letters would hit every day for four days before the election. I was ready for *The Washington Post* this time. Their reporter, Athelia Knight, asked me if I were sending out direct mail (We were getting somewhat of a reputation for our direct mail) this year. I told her that we were sending out 65,000 letters with first class postage and that I was paying for the stamps personally. "Why are you doing that?" she queried, "That's a lot of stamps."

"Well, Athelia," I replied. "I can't count on the newspapers to get my ideas across." The liberals do not like direct mail because they can not control it. The candidate can write directly to the voters.

Direct mail was the key to my successful campaign. The 65,000 letters we sent out were all hand-addressed. I had several hundred faithful supporters who addressed, stuffed, sealed, and stamped all these letters.

What a response we got from the letter. It was written simply. I enclosed a little flyer contrasting my views with the liberal Democrat who had served as the hatchet man for their side. My phone rang off the hook for four days. I knew the letter was receiving a favorable response, especially when liberal Democrats began to complain about it.

Election Day arrived. The votes were counted. I had apparently won the fifth seat by about 65 votes.

The next day they began an official count of the votes. My margin extended to 98. The following day they discovered my nearest opponent had been credited with 600 votes through a counting error. I won by 698 votes.

It was interesting to read the press accounts after the election. One of my little boys wanted to get interviewed by a reporter who came to see me (He was used to daddy getting all the publicity). The reporter took his picture with a Stop ERA button on his coat. He wrote, "Little Jonathan Thoburn has an impish smile, a Stop-ERA button, and a father who sends chills up and down the spines of local politicians—Democrats and Republicans alike."

In the general election I had defeated one of the liberal Democrat incumbents. We had succeeded in ousting a liberal Republican and a liberal Democrat in the same year. Pratt and Adams did not win, but Mr. Pratt was to get elected two years later.

SERVING IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY I've always said that the only thing I enjoyed more than campaigning was serving. I really liked the two years I spent in the Virginia General Assembly. I considered it an honor and privilege to be there. The Virginia General Assembly is the oldest legislative body in the Western Hemisphere. It first met at Jamestown in 1619.

The Speaker of the House of Delegates was John Warren Cooke. Cooke is only 14 years older than I am. I was amazed to learn that his father was on Robert E. Lee's staff during the War Between the

States. Cooke was 22 when his father died at the age of 98. The Confederate Congress had met in the building where we held our sessions.

My tenure as an elected official was short. I always voted in terms of what I believed was right, never just to assure my re-election. I was the only member of the 140 member legislature to receive a 100% mark for my conservative voting record during the two years I was there.

I was like the new kid in school. They gave me a seat right in the corner next to Mr. Speaker. I liked that seat. You couldn't see as well. It wasn't close to "power alley" where the committee chairmen sat. But it was next to the pages' bench and those young people were always right there to run errands.

The nicest thing about that location was that the visiting ministers would be seated right in front of me after they gave the opening prayer. The Speaker always invited them to stay awhile and would give them a gift. These visiting ministers didn't know me from Adam. I was one of two ministers in the House of Delegates. I had my desk full of R. J. Rushdoony's *Law and Liberty*, and would give a copy to the visiting minister. I liked doing a little missionary work on the side.

After a few weeks one of the liberal legislators asked for one of the books I was giving out. Then the press got interested.

LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS When they held an orientation day for the freshmen legislators, we were told that a good legislator didn't necessarily

have to get a lot of bills passed. Killing bad bills could be more important than passing new ones. It was good advice.

I introduced very few bills. I introduced legislation and worked in areas that I felt had substance to them. Virginia was one of the states that had not passed the Equal Rights Amendment. Only a handful of states were needed to add it to the Constitution.

I knew the passage of ERA would have far-reaching implications for America so I made its defeat a primary goal. The proponents of ERA claimed that polls showed 57% of the people of Virginia wanted the amendment. The women's lib groups contended that a small group (the "Dirty Dozen" they were dubbed) of men in the House Privileges and Elections Committee were thwarting the will of the people of Virginia. They were constantly reminding the public through letters to the editor and in other ways that this was the case.

My staff and I decided to call their bluff. Bob Beers, who was one of my legislative aides, suggested that I introduce a bill to provide an Advisory Referendum on the ERA. It had to be of an advisory nature because the U.S. Constitution stipulates that only the state legislatures can pass on a Constitutional amendment.

We wanted to give the people of Virginia an opportunity to vote on whether we should pass the ERA. We knew that the ERA had been voted down in every state where it had appeared on the ballot, including liberal New York.

My bill went to the Privileges and Elections

Committee (known as the P&E Committee) for consideration. Much to the surprise of the pro-ERA people (and even to myself) the bill was voted out of committee.

When it got to the floor, the pro-ERA legislators loaded it up with about eight frivolous amendments. They specified that it would have to be voted on in separate voting booths for men and women. They wanted to appropriate a large sum of money for the election (It wasn't going to cost anything since an election was being held anyway.), etc.

Then the pro-ERA people voted to send my bill back to the P&E Committee to die forever. This was the very committee they had accused of bottling up legislation. The last thing they wanted was to have the people of Virginia vote on ERA. They knew they would lose. They said they feared that Jerry Falwell and others would get all kinds of right-wingers elected in the process of voting on the ERA.

After this we shut down a lot of the ERA propaganda. They didn't forget the part I had played. I was the **only** member of the Virginia General Assembly from Northern Virginia who was against the ERA. There are about 25 legislators from Northern Virginia.

The year I was elected the libbers had gone after Delegate James Thompson from Northern Virginia because he was anti-ERA. They defeated him, but while they were at it we knocked out two pro-ERA delegates. I took the place of one of them. When I was up for re-election they went after me with a vengeance. I was defeated. ERA was not the only

reason. One of my sons was running at the same time for the Virginia State Senate. He was only 22 at the time and had an excellent chance to win. He had defeated the former Secretary of the Commonwealth (and a prominent pro-ERA supporter) in the primary in what was the biggest upset in the state. Now he was running against the Senate Majority Leader, a prominent Fairfax County attorney. John got 45% of the vote. I was more interested in his campaign than my own.

Although I was defeated, the conservatives in our area made tremendous progress. In the race for the five at-large seats I came in sixth and lost, but just ahead of me was Larry Pratt. He won my seat. Larry had been my campaign manager when I ran for Congress. I was his minister and had baptized him. I recruited him to run for the House of Delegates and gave him his first campaign contribution.

Larry was as opposed to the ERA as I was. In addition to Pratt, we got two other men elected from Northern Virginia who were anti-ERA. Now there were three. The libbers put great pressure on one of them and he defected. Only Pratt and John Buckley were left. The libbers went after Pratt and Buckley as they had gone after me. Only more so. They ran vicious radio ads. Thousands of dollars, much of it from out of state, were poured into the campaign. They defeated Pratt and Buckley. In the process four other delegates got elected from Northern Virginia who opposed the ERA! We were making progress.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ONE VOTE One of the things I learned in politics was the importance of one vote. The first time I ran for Congress I lost by exactly one vote per precinct. There were over 18,000 votes cast. There were 143 precincts. I lost by 143 votes.

I remember being at a precinct when the polls were closing. About a minute before closing time a young lady came running in to vote. She had attended Fairfax Christian School so I have every reason to believe she voted for me. I carried that precinct by one vote.

When I was in the legislature, I made my first speech against pari-mutual betting (betting on horse races). We won that vote by one vote. The vote got reconsidered and a delegate who had been absent returned and the vote went the other way. (The issue went to referendum after that and Jerry Falwell and others worked hard to defeat it successfully.)

I remember a bill that would have increased sales taxes on Northern Virginians by 25%. I voted against it. It lost by one vote. There was a bill in our Conservation and Natural Resources Committee to add a whole new department to the state government. I voted against it. It lost by one vote. I felt my vote really counted.

I also felt my vote counted when I found myself on the short end of a 99-1 vote on the budget. The budget contained money for abortions and there was no way I would vote for it. The liberal legislators hated my vote against the budget. They expect everyone to rubber stamp the budget when it comes

out of committee. Even a minority vote can be a testimony against the system.

I also selected a judge in effect by one vote. In Virginia judges are elected to fixed terms by a vote of the legislature. The majority party meets in secret caucus to select the judges. Then they stick together on the floor and that person invariably gets elected. As a member of the minority party, my vote on the floor didn't mean much. We needed a new judge in Fairfax County. The Democrats invited the Republicans to sit in on the interviews with judicial candidates. I was the only Republican to do so. The Democrats were split evenly between two candidates. My vote made the difference. The man I voted for was recommended to the secret Democrat caucus and he got elected.

CHURCH LICENSURE I felt I made my greatest contribution on an issue dealing with church licensure. A number of fundamental Baptist churches in Virginia had day care centers as part of their ministry. Under Virginia law they had to be licensed by the Virginia Department of Welfare.

These churches refused licensure because if the state were to license the day care center, it would be licensing the church itself. A license is a permit to operate. The state would be giving the church permission to operate. This could not be accepted by these churches. I agreed with them.

A church near Roanoke provided leadership. They wisely had their delegate, a fairly conservative Democrat, introduce a bill to exempt church day

care centers from licensure. The bill was carried over from the first year I was in the Assembly to the second year.

We went into session at noon the first day. The church licensure bill was to be voted on in committee the very next morning. If it got PBI'd (Passed By Indefinitely) there would be no likelihood of passage. We had to work fast. We counted noses. There were 20 on the committee. We could count on about five or six votes for sure.

We did everything we could. And we prayed. The next morning two of the delegates took a walk. The vote was 9-9. The opponents couldn't PBI it. The proponents couldn't get it to the floor. It was sent to a subcommittee.

We worked really hard on that bill. The Virginia Council of Churches was lobbying on the other side. Concern was expressed about fire and safety in the day care centers. We agreed the churches should abide by local codes. The matter of staff qualifications and child-staff ratios became an important issue.

We proposed that staff qualifications, the program, child-staff ratios, and other such matters should be disclosed to the **parents**, but not to the state. The hard core liberals didn't like this, but we were persistent. We got our bill. The day-care centers did not need to be licensed. Parents were to be given the information they had every right to expect anyway. State bureaucrats were kept out of the church.

STATE CONTROL OF NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS I believe effective political action requires a combination of lobbying, political campaigning, and use of the courts. An issue that arose in Virginia illustrates this well.

The Virginia code does not define what a school is. There are no state controls over the private schools. We do not have teacher certification or accreditation requirements.

Several cases came up in Virginia in which parents were either teaching children in their homes or they were going to very small private schools. The cases came to court and the parents won them all. Teaching at home is regulated in Virginia. Private schools are not. The parents simply said they were running a school in their homes. There was not much the state could do about it.

I was involved in helping to set up one of these small schools in a rural part of the state. Some families had come up from North Carolina because the state was making things so difficult for them. Some of these parents had been messed up with drugs after a humanistic government education. They were now Christians and wanted something better for their children.

When I went to testify in court as an expert witness on their behalf, I became aware that this little school was looked upon as a threat to the local state schools.

After the parents won a series of court cases, the State Board of Education struck back. In June of 1979, they passed a resolution by 8-1 asking the

General Assembly to give the State Board power to identify and approve all non-public schools in Virginia according to rules, regulations, and other criteria that they (the Board of Education) would establish from time to time. In other words, they wanted a blank check from the legislature.

I organized the Committee for Private School Educational Freedom. It consisted of myself as chairman, and Sandra Upton, my secretary, as treasurer. I believe that the best defense is a good offense. The reason given by the State Board for its action was that the parents and their children needed protection. In other words, the kids needed protection from their own parents, and the parents needed protection from themselves.

So here is what I did. I wrote a strongly worded petition to the Governor and the General Assembly. In it I attacked the government schools, pointing out the problems with drugs, alcohol, lowered academic standards, and the immense cost of it all. The poor kids in the government schools needed protection if anyone did.

I circulated this petition to a group of about 20 hardcore ministers (probably all Baptists) at a meeting they were having in Richmond on other matters. Within a few weeks the petitions came in, like a flood. I even got one two weeks later from persons living in Iowa. We got about 17,000 signatures in short order.

Coupled with this we got newspaper publicity, especially in the Richmond papers. It was election year. Election year is always the best time to go after

politicians. They are on their best behavior in election year. We made up a candidate questionnaire in which we asked all the candidates throughout the state their position on control of non-public education. We let them know that their views would be publicized. We got many of them on record. I noticed that the best response was from our own area, Northern Virginia. Politicians there knew we could organize and make things uncomfortable for them when we chose to do so.

Meanwhile I wrote to the people who had signed the petitions and informed them about events. I also solicited contributions which helped to make the whole thing nearly self-supporting.

We still have all the petitions! We never had to use them. The month before the legislature was to go back into session, the State Board of Education rescinded their resolution unanimously. We had won an important victory.

SOME SUBSEQUENT VICTORIES We have helped elect a number of conservatives to state and local offices in the past few years. The papers now refer to us as the "powerful right-wing" of the Republican Party.

I would like to tell you how we have been able to take over the local Republican Party machinery. The County Chairman is elected every two years at the County Convention. Delegates to the County Convention are elected at "mass" meetings of Republican Party members. Not many people come to these mass meetings. In 1964 about 14 of us in the City of

Fairfax got organized about two hours before the mass meeting. We had enough votes to elect ourselves to the County and State Conventions and to bind the delegation to Barry Goldwater.

By getting just a few persons from each precinct to the mass meetings, we get our people elected. Last year only six people attended from my precinct. My wife and I, together with a conservative neighbor, got elected to the County Committee.

We motivate our people to get out through issues that are of interest to them. The liberals accuse us of being one-issue people. They are the one-issue crowd. Their issue is always to expand the power of civil government and tax us to death to pay for it. We are interested in a variety of issues.

But we are smart enough to know that you have to build coalitions to be successful. We get anti-ERA, pro-gun, right-to-work, pro-life, pro-defense, anti-tax people together and we win. In 1980 we elected a conservative Republican Party County Chairman. We didn't try to control the County Committee. That was a mistake. They gave our man trouble throughout his term. We learned. In 1982 we elected both the Chairman (who had been my legislative aide in Richmond) and the majority to the County Committee.

This year we had elections for the County Board of Supervisors. They have a four year term. The Supervisors set the budget, pass ordinances, and appoint the School Board, among other things. We went after one supervisor, a liberal Republican. She was defeated in the primary. Our candidate, a

private school director, won every precinct in the general election.

I could write a lot more about what we have been able to accomplish in the shadow of our nation's capital. Government is the main "industry" in Northern Virginia. We believe that if conservatives can win in Northern Virginia, they ought to be able to win in most other places in the country, with motivation, and the right organization and candidates.

When I went to Richmond, a lobbyist from the Farm Bureau came to call upon me. That organization considers itself quite conservative. The lobbyists are used to having liberals in the legislature from Northern Virginia. After he found out my conservative views his question was, "How in the world did you ever get elected from Northern Virginia?"

It wasn't easy. I've lost more than my share of times. But it can be done. In the next chapter I would like to take you through the subject of campaigning. There is a lot to it. There is a place for every Christian to fit in.

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RUNNING A CAMPAIGN

Congressman Larry McDonald told me there were four ingredients to a successful campaign:

1. A candidate
2. Issues
3. Money
4. Organization

McDonald said you could win if you had three of the four. My experience bears this out. Mediocre or even poor candidates have been able to win with good public relations, with issues, money, and organization.

In this chapter I want to go into the different aspects of a campaign. There is a lot more to it than meets the eye. It's not just a matter of tossing the proverbial hat in the ring, getting your name on the ballot, making a few speeches, and waiting until election day.

A veteran politico once told me, "Politics is a business." There is a lot of truth in that statement, too. If Christians apply themselves in the field of

politics, they will reap the benefits. But it isn't going to be easy.

I plan to cover lots of aspects of campaigning in this chapter. I've been in a lot of campaigns. I think I understand the subject fairly well. But it is beyond the scope of this book to provide the comprehensive knowledge the serious campaign will require. So seek expert help. If you are sick, go to a doctor. Pipes leaking? See a plumber. Yes, politics involves a host of volunteers and anyone and everyone can make a contribution. But campaigning has become sophisticated business, too.

You can learn much from those who work with this day in and day out. The success of the New Right in recent elections has not come about by accident. The New Right is led by some sharp men and women (most of them on the young side) who have learned the realities of successful politics. At the end of this chapter I'll list some groups that will be helpful to you.

I have attended several campaign schools where we received the very best help available. It is important to avail yourself of these fine resources. Otherwise you will make a lot of mistakes and might just get too discouraged to stick with it.

THE CAMPAIGN GOAL The goal is simple. You want to win. Christians should not be satisfied just to be part of the "loyal opposition." You don't get to hold office unless you win.

To win you need to get more votes than your opponent. Sounds simple enough, doesn't it?

To get more votes than your opponent, you need to figure out how many you are going to need. You want to figure out how many your opponent is going to get. This means setting up a vote goal. What is a vote goal and how do you determine what it should be? How do you get the votes?

PLOTTING A STRATEGY It should be obvious by now that you need a strategy. Planning is important in politics, just like anything else. If Christians want to get involved in political campaigning either as candidates or by supporting candidates, they need to plan.

You join with others who are interested in the same goals you have and begin your planning. Probably one of the first decisions you must make is whether you are going to work in one of the two major political parties, in a minor party, or as an independent.

The time may come when we need to have a third party. In some instances an independent campaign may bear fruit. In most cases we are going to be most successful if we work within the Democrat or Republican Party.

I am a Republican. I was born a Democrat. This book is dedicated to a Democrat. I believe Larry McDonald was the finest man we had in the United States House of Representatives. I am a Republican because I find their philosophy more in line with my own, certainly in the area of the country in which I live. You may find it better to work in the Democrat Party.

The liberals like to think they own the Democrat Party. Richard Viguerie says their attitude toward Republicans is, "What is mine (the Democrat Party) is mine. What is yours (the Republican Party) is negotiable." The liberals want to control both parties. Their idea of a two-party system is to have a liberal Democrat running against a liberal Republican. Then you can take your pick in November. Why not turn it around and have a conservative Democrat running against a conservative Republican and then let the liberals take their pick?

In any case, I think we Christians need to stand on principle and not blindly follow a political party just because that has been a tradition with us. At the same time we can not lightly dismiss political parties. Right now the most effective way to work at politics is through a political party.

After deciding which party you want to work in, you will need to look over the election picture. What offices will be voted on this year? What comes up next year? Remember, it isn't just the office of President we need to be concerned about. There are elections at every level. Every office is important. Your influence can be far greater at the local level than in a national campaign.

KEEPING TRACK OF PEOPLE Political campaigns involve people, lots of people. They are the ones who vote. I learned to carry a pack of 3 by 5 cards with me at all times. I wrote down the name, address, and phone number of potential voters and workers. It is amazing how you soon build a substantial file.

You need to get a computer. They are cheap now and can be very effective. Larry Pratt has developed a good program for keeping track of people and issues through the computer. We computerized our last campaign. We were able to send out personal letters with the computer. The computer has fantastic possibilities. Richard Viguerie's mailing list and his computers made him the king of political fundraisers. Without his work, the New Right would not have enjoyed the political success of the past several years.

In dealing with people, you want to know where they stand on the issues. This can be learned through polls or by other contacts. Petitions provide a good source for knowing where people stand on issues. I have had people ask me where I stood on gun control. That is the only issue they cared about. A letter to such a person on other issues would be a waste of mail and could even result in losing his vote.

THE CAMPAIGN CALENDAR A campaign calendar works in reverse. You decide what you are going to do on election day and you work backward to the present time.

The campaign calendar enables you to plan so that everything gets done properly. Time seems to go much faster when you are in a campaign. Someone has suggested that if you want to see time go quickly, sign a 90 day note. I would add, "Get involved in a political campaign."

With a campaign calendar you can set dates for

recruiting workers, raising money, canvassing the voters, and all the other things that need to be done.

SELECTING CANDIDATES Candidates for political office come from all walks of life. The most frequent background is that of an attorney. Sixty percent of the Virginia General Assembly were attorneys when I was there.

Persons can be recruited from various backgrounds. Often candidates will put themselves forward. The politicians themselves may license others and require them to have all kinds of credentials, but the politician doesn't have to possess any himself. He has to meet some age and residency requirements, file for office, perhaps pay a fee, but that's about it. The voters pass on his qualifications.

Most successful candidates seem to be outgoing types, but believe me there are all kinds.

"Don't bet on a horse who doesn't want to run." That was the advice given to me by a retired colonel in Alexandria who was active in politics. I don't recommend you run unless you really want to.

CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION The key person is the campaign manager. You will need a treasurer. The kind of office you are running for will determine the extent of the campaign organization.

If you are running for Congress, get a pro to run the campaign. A housewife or retired person who has time may be a good manager for a state or local office.

It is the duty of the candidate to recruit workers.

Most of the workers will be volunteers. It is the duty of the campaign manager to put them to work. The candidate should be free of the details of running the campaign.

A good public relations person is important in a campaign.

RESEARCH ON THE OPPOSITION It is important to conduct careful research of your opposition. Politicians like to hide their records. Most persons have no idea how they voted. They are skilled in voting in such a way that they can satisfy both sides on an issue. For example, they may vote one way in committee and a different way on the floor. They may vote against their own convictions if their vote is not needed for passage of a bill. They would do this when their position was unpopular with a majority of constituents.

When my son John ran for the State Senate, he first researched his opponent's record. He pointed out that the Senator had campaigned against a sales tax on food and then voted to raise the tax. He found many inconsistencies in his voting record. Although John was only 22, he came close to upsetting this powerful legislator. Four years later the Senator chose not to run again.

The best way to check out the record is to go to the Courthouse or State Capitol for local and state races. At the state level there may be a conservative rating organization which would be helpful. There are many groups, liberal and conservative, who monitor important votes at the Federal level.

GETTING OUT THE VOTE Getting the vote out on election day is crucial to a winning campaign. As I mentioned before, a vote goal should be set. This can be determined by studying results from previous elections. There is usually very little change from one election to another.

In addition to establishing an overall vote goal, the campaign should set a vote goal for each precinct. The precinct can be further broken down into subdivisions and blocks. By breaking the vote goals down into smaller units, the task does not seem so formidable. The workers can see that the vote goals are realistic and the election can be won.

The most practical way to get the vote out on election day is by the telephone. The telephone is a vital part of campaigning. The most effective way is by using "telephone banks." Several phones will be installed at campaign headquarters or elsewhere. This works better than having the phoning done at home. The person doing the phoning at home is likely to be distracted and may not get the work accomplished.

In order to call the voters on election day, you need to know who the favorable voters are. You do not want to remind the unfavorable voters to come out. During the campaign you are working to identify the favorable voters.

Who are the favorable voters going to be? There are several factors. First is name identification or name I.D. as it is called. A person will not vote for someone if he has never heard of the candidate. Newspaper articles, brochures, bumper stickers, signs, direct mail, door-to-door campaigning, can-

didate nights, and receptions are ways that a candidate gets to be known. There will be various political party functions to attend.

The next factor influencing the voter is the perception the voter has of the candidate. Most voters have very little knowledge of the candidates. Presidential candidates get a lot of press coverage. Not much is reported about candidates for local and state offices. The voters will have some general perception of the candidate. It will not necessarily be the reality about that person. In Washington the saying is that "perception is the reality."

After perception comes the issues. They are not as important as many people imagine. Conservatives tend to be more issue oriented. Most campaigns center around one or two issues. It is not wise to develop more than three issues in a campaign. I have seen candidates try to run on 30 or 40 issues. Needless to say, they got few votes.

A fourth factor is the negative one. If there are negative factors in the candidate's life, he needs to overcome these.

In various ways the campaign seeks to win votes. There is a certain base party vote that can usually be counted on in every election. There are always people who vote a straight party ticket no matter who is running. Through telephone or door-to-door canvassing the favorable voters are identified. Their names and phone numbers are recorded. On election day they are encouraged to get out to vote. A well-organized campaign will keep track of the persons who have voted. Those who fail to vote by three

or four in the afternoon will be called on the phone or someone may personally stop by the house.

FUNDRAISING Money will not buy votes. If that were true, Rockefeller would have been President.

It is an important factor in most campaigns nevertheless. More often than not, the candidate who raises the most money will stand the best chance of winning.

It isn't easy to raise money for political campaigns. Fifty or a hundred dollars is considered a good contribution even in a Congressional campaign. I have never quite understood why people will pay out thousands of dollars in taxes each year, but will hardly give anything to political candidates.

I do not favor public funding of elections. Nor should there be limits on what a person can give to candidates. That interferes with his right of free speech. Most of the money for Presidential campaigns comes from the dollar checkoff on the income tax return. Checking the dollar off does not affect the tax you owe or any refund you might be eligible for. It appears that it costs nothing. That is only appearance. The money in effect comes out of the Treasury. There is no such thing as a free lunch. And there is no such thing as a free political campaign.

How much money does it take to run? A good way to figure that out is by studying financial reports from previous campaigns. Usually these will be on file with the Electoral Board. A challenger with low name identification will probably need more money

to run successfully than a well-known incumbent.

One source of funds is the political action committee. There are thousands of these PACS as they are called. They operate at national, state, and to some extent at local levels. Some of them not only raise and distribute funds to candidates with whom they agree, but also provide campaign training. The campaign schools they conduct may be worth much more than the funds they give.

The telephone is useful in fundraising. It enables your campaign to talk personally to potential contributors. It is especially effective as a follow-up to direct mail.

Direct mail fundraising is the most effective way that I have found. Perhaps you find yourself on many mailing lists and receive numerous requests for donations. That indicates the effectiveness of this kind of fundraising.

There is an art to direct mail fundraising. Among conservatives, Richard Viguerie is known as the most successful. Richard told me that he spends several hours every day learning more about it.

I shall pass on to you some of the things I have learned. Conservatives have more success than liberals in raising money. Liberals, as I have mentioned before, like to spend other people's money. They are not "liberal" with their own. I am told, however, that the most successful fundraising letter was written by none other than George McGovern. It was a long one at that (about 22 pages if I recall correctly). I am told that long letters, if well written, will raise more money than short letters.

Conservatives are more successful with direct mail because conservatives are issue-oriented. Such people give more generously. I found this to be true in Northern Virginia politics where Larry Pratt, John Buckley, and I were successful in raising funds.

People give out of current income. I took my first fund-raising course at a seminar next to the Potomac River. One of the speakers said the river is like current income. The water is flowing by. If you do not get your bucket out and dip it up, it will be gone forever. This helps to explain why fundraisers come back again and again. They want to get some of your current income. If they miss it, it will be gone forever.

I also learned that the best source of contributions is from those who have already given. This is contrary to what we might expect. If I had not learned this, I would probably say that we should not go after the person who already gave. Let's solicit those who have given nothing. The fact is that those who have given before are most likely to give again. I have confirmed this by my own experience. There is a rule in life called the 80/20 rule. Eighty percent of the sales will be generated by 20 percent of the salesmen. Eighty percent of the problems in school will be caused by 20 percent of the students. I think this is true with contributions. Eighty percent of the money will come from 20 percent of the contributors.

Those who have already given are most likely to give again. Don't go to the well too often though. Appeals should be properly spaced.

The reason direct mail is so effective is that you are able to make a personal contact. Each of us eagerly looks forward to getting mail. Direct mail is especially useful for conservatives because the liberal media does not publish the truth. To show how much respect the liberal media have for Richard Viguerie, the first and only question one reporter asked me was, "Is Richard Viguerie supporting you?"

With the computer, you can really make direct mail personal. You can use the first names of those to whom you are writing. You can ask for precise amounts of money. You would not ask a \$100 contributor for \$10, nor would you ask a \$10 contributor for a hundred. With a letter quality printer attached to the computer, you can not tell the difference between a computer letter and one written on a typewriter.

It is important to include a return envelope with your appeal for funds. Sentences should be short and so should the paragraphs.

Direct mail fundraisers will even put a lot of one cent stamps on the envelope to make it more personal. This can be done by machine. Some will even put the stamps on crooked!

You can rent mailing lists of potential contributors. You can also "prospect" for contributors by mailing to the voters in the district or to other lists. You may lose money on the first mailing, but you can make it up in additional mailings. In later mailings to those who gave the first time you are not spending much money relative to what you get in.

A good contributor list is a capital asset. Guard it. Use it judiciously to promote the cause of good government.

Direct mail fundraising can be combined with campaigning. You can get your message out at the same time you are soliciting funds to pay for the campaign. You can send questionnaires with your appeal for contributions. Don't be shy about asking others to give to your campaign. You aren't doing it just to benefit yourself and your family, but the community at large. If you don't ask, then don't expect to receive. Your supporters need to know what your needs are.

There are many more things to learn about fundraising, I suggest studying books written specifically on the subject or attending a good seminar. Another idea is to collect fundraising letters you receive and note how they are written.

RECEPTIONS Holding a reception for candidates is very useful in political campaigns. These receptions are generally called "coffees" in my part of the country.

These receptions provide an informal setting in which voters can meet the candidate you are supporting. The hostess will provide refreshments. The candidate gives a short speech and answers questions. Someone might ask for contributions.

I have found these receptions very useful for recruiting workers as well as getting votes. The minister of a church gave a reception for me in his home. There were 41 persons present. One of them

was registered in another state (a necessity in his case). The other 40 signed three by five cards indicating I could count on their support at the polls. Three persons volunteered to be precinct captains.

I once attended a coffee with 15 in attendance. All 15 signed up to be workers.

Another advantage of the coffee is that a family invites friends and neighbors to their home. This is a way of saying, "I endorse this person for office." A list of all the registered voters in the precinct can be given to the host family. Even though 90% of them will not come to the coffee, much is accomplished. They hear about the candidate. They know someone in their community is supporting the candidate. They appreciate getting a personal invitation.

We provided sample letters for the host family. We would print the letters for them as well as the stationery. If you can have one coffee in each precinct you should be able to win. Be sure to write your host family a thank you letter when the coffee is over.

PRECINCT ORGANIZATION The precinct is the place where you vote. Precinct organization is basic. This is the battle of the trenches. Vote goals should be set by precinct. Some precincts will be more favorable than others. You don't need to carry every precinct to win. The goal is to get as many votes as you can in each precinct so that added together you have the winning margin.

The precinct captain leads the precinct. A person who lives in the precinct with organizational ability and time to do the job should make a good captain.

It can be almost anyone. I had a 15 year old high school student who took over a precinct for me when I first ran for Congress. He brought in the largest vote of any precinct in the City of Alexandria. There were about 31 precincts!

The best job I ever saw in a precinct was done by my daughter-in-law, Dolly Thoburn. It was in a Republican Delegate Primary in 1977. Larry Pratt, John Adams, and I were running against three incumbents. None of us had held political office before.

Dolly contacted the persons in her precinct who had voted in previous Republican primaries. She distributed literature, telephoned, and identified the favorable voters. On the night before the election, she and one of my younger sons went to the homes of all the favorable voters. They hung an attractive card on those doors reminding the people to vote for Pratt, Thoburn, and Adams. The hanger was homemade and contained a cute little elephant.

Similar signs were posted on the main street in the subdivision. Dolly and my son, Bobby, were at the polls on election day to greet the voters and hand them a piece of literature. The result? Pratt, Thoburn, and Adams all did better than any of the incumbents in that precinct.

Wherever we had effective precinct captains, we would do much better. Some persons serve as precinct captains year after year. They become very familiar with voting habits and can be very effective.

Handbooks on politics will contain information on precinct organization. The political parties prob-

ably will have information available, too.

It is important to get many people involved in a political campaign. This provides more support for the candidate in terms of votes, spreads the work around, and helps to recruit future leaders.

HUNTING DUCKS What does hunting ducks have to do with political campaigning? A lot. You hunt ducks where the ducks are. You fish where there are fish. And you campaign where the votes are.

I mentioned earlier that those persons who have given contributions before are the ones who will likely give again. This principle holds true with voting. Those who have regularly voted in the past are the ones most likely to vote in the future. Of course we want to get new voters out. That can even mean the margin of victory.

But it is a mistake to concentrate on the public in general when as a matter of fact, only a few are going to vote. We may be misled by all the ads we see on television for Presidential or Congressional candidates. In a general election that makes sense. But even in a Congressional election you don't want to scatter your shot. Zero in on the people who are most likely to vote. This is especially true in a primary. In our area only about eight or nine percent of the **registered** voters will vote in a Republican primary. Even fewer turn out for a Democrat primary.

This means you concentrate on those eight or nine percent, not the 91 or 92% who won't be voting. And you don't concentrate on those who are not

registered to vote, especially after the books have closed for registration. They can't vote for you even if they want to. I'm not saying you should ignore the unregistered voters or those who seldom vote. I am saying to **concentrate** on those who **do** vote. Hunt where the ducks are!

In order to find out who has voted before, you get a list from the Electoral Board. In our state you have to be a candidate in order to get such a list. In our state, the Republican Party will sell lists and labels. The lists will tell you how old the person is. They will tell you when they voted, telephone numbers, and other helpful information.

When I ran for Congress, we had the largest turnout in the history of the Republican Party in a Congressional primary in Virginia. There were five candidates. The turnout? About nine percent of the registered voters. All one needed was a plurality of the votes to win the nomination.

Very few people vote in primaries. In our area you can win nomination by getting just one in 20 registered voters to support you. A typical precinct in our area will have about 2000 registered voters. If just 50 families (at an average vote of two per household) could be located in each precinct among the registered voters, one can get nominated.

CAMPAIGN LITERATURE Campaign literature is important. Many people want to read something about a candidate before they will vote for him. They are more likely to believe something that is in print than if it is merely spoken. The campaign

brochure should be brief and attractive. It should appeal to three levels. If the brochure is mailed or left at the door, one should figure it will take a few seconds to throw it away. Some large headlines that will catch the voter's attention are important for that reason.

Pictures are also important in catching the attention of the casual voter. Family pictures are important. Pictures that convey an impression or concern over some important issue help the image of the candidate.

The second level of voter the brochure should reach is the one who may read a couple of minutes. The brochure can be laid out to appeal to that person, too.

The third kind of person to appeal to is the one who is issue-oriented. Those persons will keep the brochure, read it carefully, and will be influenced by what it says. The fine print can be used to convey the message to them.

The brochure should be limited to two or three issues. Candidates tend to run on non-controversial issues. The brochure goes to a wide audience. If you have an issue in which the public is about evenly divided, you may be wise to leave it out of the brochure you are distributing to everyone.

For example, suppose the voters in your area are about evenly divided on the gun control issue (You can find out by having a poll taken). If you come out against gun control, you will lose potential supporters who might agree with you on practically everything else. You can inform the pro-gun voters by direct mail on your position. There is no sense in

stirring up opposition needlessly. You do not want to do your opponent's campaigning for him.

Be certain that the brochure has the essential information about the election. Also your address and campaign phone number should be listed.

NEGATIVE CAMPAIGNING Christians may not be favorable towards negative campaigning. In negative campaigns the emphasis is on the weaknesses of the other candidate, usually an incumbent.

There is nothing wrong with negative campaigning, provided it is properly done. The Christian should portray his opponent's record accurately. A negative campaign does not mean that you resort to mud-slinging and character assassination. It means that you show why you are against a certain candidate.

The media have been complaining about negative campaigns by conservatives in recent years. The reason is that these campaigns have been effective. The fact is that people are more likely to vote against one candidate than for another. A person in office has to vote on certain issues sooner or later. No matter how he votes, someone is not going to like it. In negative campaigning we point out those votes and we point out inconsistencies between the person's voting record and his campaign promises.

A campaign that is only negative probably will not succeed. The voters will want to know where you stand on the issues. The voters may sympathize with the person being attacked. It is best if other persons, not the candidate, do the negative campaigning.

Many people do not take campaign rhetoric seriously. It is best if the bad points of an incumbent's record can be constantly held before the public long before a campaign begins. If an incumbent votes for abortion, high taxes, restrictive laws against Christian schools, etc., let that fact be known before a candidate announces against him.

YOUTH CAMPAIGNS Young people are an important part of a campaign. Not only can they make a contribution directly, but they can get interested in the political process. In later years they may become candidates.

Literature distribution is a good job for young people. Printing literature is not too expensive. It costs a lot to mail it. Young people are good at running door-to-door on a lit drop. Gets lots of them involved. They will influence the votes of their parents, too.

Young people are good at branding bumpers. Teach them how to do it. Never brand a bumper without the owner's permission. If you are putting on only one sticker, the best place is the front of the car on the driver's side. Every driver coming the other way will see the sticker. A bumper sticker on the back will be seen only by the persons in the car that is following.

Whenever I campaigned, I always went to the high schools. The high schools would have the candidates come in for a debate. I found the young people quite interested. There are two fallacies about young people. One is that they are more liberal.

Another is that they are more interested in politics. Neither is true. They tend to vote the way their parents do. They are less likely to vote than their parents.

As far as work is concerned, students in the elementary grades will do much more than high school students. High school students have many interests and activities. You will find the elementary students eager to work.

Young people are very good at stuffing, sealing, and stamping envelopes. They also like to work at the polls. Morton Blackwell, a conservative, is an expert in the area of youth campaigns. He ran President Reagan's youth campaign. He was recently a special assistant to the President at the White House. He holds whole seminars just on youth campaigning.

BUILDING COALITIONS Liberals are fond of decrying one-issue groups. The fact is that many people have a special issue that is important to them.

It is wise to put together coalitions of these groups. Some coalitions are: taxpayers, Stop ERA, pro-life, pro-gun, right-to-work, and pro-defense. There are other groups. Some citizens may be opposed to a public housing project that threatens their neighborhood. They may be concerned about the crime problem, transportation, or other matters.

Christians can work with many other groups to elect candidates. For example, we worked with Mormons who were especially concerned about the ERA. Many Roman Catholics are anti-abortion. By

working together in the political area, we could accomplish what we could not do in smaller groups.

THE MEDIA The media presents a real problem for conservative candidates because it is usually so biased. The campaign schools offer some good information on how to deal with the media.

Don't have a blind trust in reporters. I've had plenty of them act really friendly and then write terrible articles. They are experts at twisting words to make you look bad.

The problem isn't always the reporters. One reporter interviewed me and wrote an article. Before the paper came out, he called to warn me that he would be quoting me as saying things that I never said. "My editor changed the story," he explained. Later he was to quit the paper because he found he could not get promoted unless he went along with the paper's policy.

Many will remember Janet Cooke of *The Washington Post*, who won a top prize about a child on drugs in Washington, D.C. It turned out to be a completely fabricated story.

After the Janet Cooke affair, *The Washington Post* carried an article quoting a freshman at George Mason University by the name of Sally McKenna. George McGovern came to speak at the university and Sally, a member of the Moral Majority and a fundamentalist, said some very unkind things about him. She hoped his false teeth would fall out, and assured the reporter that Jesus would take care of McGovern when He returned. Sally also called

McGovern a Communist-pinko faggot.

There was just one thing wrong with the story. Sally McKenna was not a freshman at George Mason University or any other university in the area. Sally McKenna did not exist! She was made up. Anything to hurt the Moral Majority.

Write your own copy for the papers and hope they will use it. Meanwhile use direct mail to get your views across. Answer any false charges the papers come up with. Get yourself a good public relations director.

A FINAL WORD More people lose than win in political campaigns. Many lose the first time. Jimmy Carter ran last for governor the first time around. Ronald Reagan tried three times before getting elected. Nixon lost the first time. I know two delegates in our area who lost the first two times. One of them lost two times, won barely the third time, lost the fourth time, and won subsequently. The last election he did not have an opponent.

Even when losing you may have a beneficial effect. In 1978 a minister ran against Congressman John Anderson in Illinois. I contributed to the minister's campaign several times. I had lunch with him. His name escapes me. He lost. Anderson won, but barely.

So what good did it do for that minister to run? If I have already forgotten him, what difference did it make? I'll tell you. John Anderson, a long-time incumbent, almost got beaten by an obscure minister. He saw the handwriting on the wall. He knew he

probably wouldn't get re-elected to Congress the next time around.

So John Anderson ran for President. Anderson is a liberal. Anderson took votes away from Jimmy Carter. That helped Ronald Reagan to win.

I have found that even when losing one has an effect. The second time I ran for Congress, the reporter from *The Washington Post* said to me that it was amazing how the other two candidates sounded just like me. I had lost the first time for Congress and I was to lose again. But I believe the winners are voting better than they would have otherwise because they know they will be held accountable for their votes.

15

ORGANIZING CHRISTIANS

This chapter is not titled "Organizing Churches." I do not believe churches as such should be involved in politics. I very strongly believe Christians should be involved. That includes ministers.

The political liberals complain about Christians getting into politics. They make pious speeches about "separation of church and state." The liberals have a double standard. We don't hear them railing against the National Council of Churches and the positions they take. They are happy to have the support of the liberal clergy.

There is no reason for the conservative Christians to be left out of the political process. They are citizens of the United States. The political process is open to all.

THE ROLE OF CHURCHES I have said that churches as such should not be involved in politics. The church is a ministry of grace. God set up the church to preach the gospel and to teach His Word.

The church should not be supporting a particular

candidate for political office. It is not to lose sight of its mission in the world.

This does not mean the church as such should not influence civil government, including the legislative process. There are many things the church can and properly should do.

I know a church that was not even willing to announce that an election was forthcoming. I see no reason why a minister should refrain from urging church members to get out to vote.

A minister should preach the whole counsel of God. That will include all that the Bible teaches about civil government, education, penalties for crime, taxation, economics, abortion, the role of the family, etc.

The minister who faithfully preaches the Word of God and shows its relevance to all of life will be laying a moral foundation for godly government in every area, including the area of civil government. This is the most important contribution a minister can make to politics. Without strong preaching in the churches, we aren't going to have a proper political system no matter how skilled we are at organization or how hard we try to get people elected.

I would never want to see churches sidetracked from their duty under God—to proclaim His Word faithfully to all men.

ENORMOUS POTENTIAL It has been estimated that there are at least 50,000,000 born again Christians in the United States. These are people who claim to believe the Bible from cover to cover. If

these born again Christians were to exert themselves politically, they would be an absolutely dominating force. I believe this is why vicious attacks have been made on Christians who have become involved. Liberals recognize that born again Christians are like a sleeping giant. If that giant awakens, sweeping changes will take place in civil government.

We showed the potential that Christians have by our success in Northern Virginia. I noticed that politicians who had ignored fundamental churches before began to court their support.

GIDEON'S 300 Gideon won a decisive victory over the Midianites with only 300 men. We read in Judges 7 that the Midianites and the Amalekites lay along in the valley like grasshoppers for multitude. Gideon won. Yes, he used strategy. And God was with him. But he had few men.

It takes many votes to win elections. It doesn't require many leaders. Former Congressman John Conlan said that a Congressional election could be won with 300 dedicated workers. I believe that is true. A primary could be won with even fewer.

The principle of the division of labor was discussed in the chapter on economics. It applies in politics, too. Not everyone is interested in politics. Only a small percentage will be actively involved. The same will be true of the Christian community. Only a few will be leaders in the political arena.

ONE LEADER IN EACH CONGREGATION I believe the most effective way to organize Christians is to

find at least one person in each congregation who will assume a leadership position. That person would not be representing the church. He would work within a political organization.

He would have a sphere of influence within his local church. That person, whether man or woman, would do the following:

1. See that every member and friend of the church was registered.

2. Keep an accurate and up-to-date list of these registered voters, with names, addresses, and phone numbers.

3. Keep these persons informed about coming elections, including who the candidates are and what position they take on the issues.

4. Inform these voters about issues coming before legislative bodies. Encourage them to contact the legislators and to write letters to the editor.

5. See that every member gets out to vote at every election.

The Christian political leader will be more effective if he is equipped with a computer. He can quickly and easily keep other Christians whom he knows informed. He ought to raise some money on a regular basis to carry on his activities. An effective way for the Christian leader to find out the positions of candidates is to make up a questionnaire on issues that are especially important to Christians. I would not make this questionnaire too long. A few basic issues should suffice.

In addition to this, voting records should be studied. It is always a good idea to talk with other Christians who are active in politics to learn more about the candidates. Politicians can be very difficult to pin down on issues. They try to please everybody. Some of them will tell you what they think you want to hear.

GETTING REGISTERED It is appalling that many Christians are not registered to vote. It is simple to get registered. Registration laws will vary among the states. In Virginia, for example, one does not register with a political party. A registered voter can vote in either the Republican or Democrat primary regardless of what his party preference is. You need to find out what the law is in your state and be sure your people are informed.

In Virginia a person can register and vote in a spring primary if he is going to be 18 years of age or older by the time of the general election. I don't know the laws of other states. If that is the case in your state, take advantage of it. See that the 17 year olds who are eligible get registered and vote.

Figure out the most effective way to get your people registered. Christians leaders are working on a plan to register 10,000,000 new voters in 1984. If you can get the registrar to come to your church building, then do it. If you have to set up a registration party and lead the people by the hand to register, then do it.

MAXIMIZE YOUR INFLUENCE A businessman likes to maximize his profits. An investor wants to max-

imize his return. Each of us needs to maximize his influence in politics. There are many ways to do this.

1. **Get registered.** Many people aren't. At least you are eligible to vote. They aren't.

2. **Vote in the general election.** Many who are registered don't vote. If you vote, you are going to influence the electoral process more than they do. If you are going to be away on election day, vote absentee.

3. **Vote in the primary election.** Most of your neighbors will vote in the general election only. They don't think it is important to vote in the primary. They're "independents" they tell you. They are satisfied to make their choice in the November election. If you vote in the primary, you will make your vote count much more. In our county eight or ten percent of the registered voters will vote in a party primary. That is considered a "heavy" turnout. Sometimes it is much less.

4. **Vote in party conventions.** It is surprisingly easy to vote in party mass meetings and conventions. There your vote is really leveraged. It counts far more than in a primary or general election.

Our county has over 600,000 people. It is divided into eight districts. From each of these districts the people elect a supervisor. Together with a chairman elected at-large, these supervisors control one of the wealthiest counties in America. They approve the

budget, levy taxes, control the police, pass ordinances, approve zoning changes, and appoint the school board for a public school system of over 120,000 children.

A few years ago, a "mass" meeting of the Republican Party was held to nominate a candidate for supervisor in one of these districts. Twenty-seven persons attended. Fourteen persons could have nominated anyone they pleased. The person nominated easily won the general election.

This is not unusual. I have been in many party conventions in which we were making nominations for governor, attorney-general, and United States Senator when only a handful of votes decided the outcome. If Christians could be persuaded to give two or three evenings a year to the political process, they would be astounded at the difference they could make.

Several years ago a Christian in Norfolk, Virginia, decided to run for the U.S. Senate. He was a Democrat. The Democrats were holding a state convention to nominate their candidate. No one in state politics had even heard of this man. He had served on the city council and was a car dealer. Within a matter of weeks he got enough support to make a credible showing at the state convention. If he had started organizing two weeks earlier, he might have captured the nomination. As it was he ran ahead of four other Democrat candidates with longtime political ties in the state.

5. **Become a candidate.** This doesn't mean you have to run for a high office. That may come in time. Don't neglect local politics. They

are very important. Most persons who get elected to Congress serve in lower offices first. Some start out in the local civic association. Three of the men I served with not long ago in the Virginia General Assembly are now in Congress.

You might run for the school board, town council, county supervisor, or a state office. Or you might be a "kingmaker" and find someone else to run. You might serve as campaign manager or fill some other important post in the campaign.

CONCLUSION God's Word tells us that we reap what we sow. We are experiencing difficulties today because we have left the field of politics to others.

We need to put our hand to the plow in that part of God's kingdom. God is King and Lord over all. Every knee shall bow to Jesus Christ.

We are to be steadfast and unmoveable in the work of the Lord for we know that our labor is not in vain in the Lord.

God has promised victory.

To Him be the glory forever.

RECOMMENDED READING LIST

Crime and Punishment

Institutes of Biblical Law, by Rousas J. Rushdoony. This is a comprehensive volume on Biblical law. Must reading for those who want a solid Biblical basis for civil law.

Justice Through Restitution, by Roger Campbell. Has a good discussion of the problem of prisons with restitution as the answer.

Economics

The Dominion Covenant: Genesis, by Gary North. This is the first volume of North's Economic Commentary on the Bible. Gary says it is the most important book he has ever written and probably ever will write. That is saying a lot because everything that North writes is worth reading. He is the top writer on economic matters from a Biblical perspective.

Productive Christians in an Age of Guilt-Manipulators, by David Chilton. A thorough refutation of socialist Ron Sider who promotes leftist ideas under the cloak of Christianity.

Biblical Economics Today, a free newsletter

available from the Institute for Christian Economics, P.O. Box 8000, Tyler, Texas 75711.

Education

The Messianic Character of American Education, by Rousas J. Rushdoony. This classic work traces educational philosophy from Horace Mann down to the present. It exposes the humanistic idea that education is the new Messiah.

The Case Against Government Schools, by Frank Fortkamp. Written by a former government school administrator, this book is a telling indictment of the government school system.

Politics and Religion

Foundations of Social Order, by R. J. Rushdoony. This book deals with the creeds and councils of the early church. It shows how faulty views of the Trinity and of Christ lead to the worship of the state.

The Politics of Guilt and Pity, by R. J. Rushdoony. Shows the relationship between various Christian doctrines and political ideas.

A Theological Interpretation of American History, by C. Gregg Singer. Shows the relationship between religion and politics throughout American history.

The Theology of Christian Resistance and Tactics of Christian Resistance, both edited by Gary North. Each is a symposium on Christian resistance to tyranny.

These books are currently available from Fairfax Christian Bookstore, P.O. Box 6941, Tyler, Texas 75711. Ask for a price list.

Organizations to Help on Political Campaigns

The Conservative Caucus, 450 Maple Avenue East, Vienna, Virginia 22180. The Conservative Caucus is an educational and lobbying organization headed by Howard Phillips. Very good on showing how Congressmen vote.

The Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, 721 Second Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20002. The Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress is headed by Paul Weyrich. Holds excellent campaign schools. These schools deal with every aspect of campaigning.

Special Supplement

THE NEBRASKA SCHOOL WAR

by Gary North

Author's note: The following article was published originally as the December 16, 1983 issue of Gary North's *Remnant Review*, a Christian economics newsletter which applies Biblical principles to economic analysis. The Subscription address is P.O. Box 8204, Ft. Worth, TX 76112; \$95/22 issues.

I have just returned from a battlefield. What I have seen has astounded me. I have decided to send out this extra issue of *Remnant Review*, free of charge, to help you understand the nature of one impending crisis. I am also pulling the copyright of this issue: reprint it in any form you choose, in any quantity you choose. It's my \$7,000 Christmas present to subscribers.

As I write this report, seven men are in jail in Cass County, Nebraska. They were arrested just before Thanksgiving. The judge immediately went on vacation, so they sat in jail over the holidays. The judge knew what he was doing; he was from outside

the county, and had been brought in specifically to try this case. Their crime? None; the county court refuses to charge them with a crime. A crime, you see, is protected by such Constitutional provisions as the Fifth Amendment. A crime has a fixed sentence attached to it. These men are in jail for what could literally be *life imprisonment, without possibility of parole*. Their offense? Putting their children in a non-State-certified Christian school.

Their wives have fled the state of Nebraska. They are living across the border in Iowa. The pastor of their church, and formerly the headmaster of the school, is Rev. Everett Sileven. He, too, is a fugitive in Iowa. The Nebraska police desperately tried to catch the women and their twelve children. If the civil authorities had caught them, their children almost certainly would have been taken from them and put into foster homes. This increases parents' incentive to comply with rules and regulations.

Immediately, the word went out. A team of pastors from several states flew into the tiny town of Louisville to take charge. All of a sudden the little Christian school in the Faith Baptist church had three co-headmasters. They began to call other pastors. Soon the school had dozens of co-headmasters; then over 150. They told the sheriff to arrest them. Guess what? They're still headmasters. And the flow of pastors into the town is still coming. Hundreds and hundreds of ministers, mostly Baptists and mostly from small churches, are coming to Louisville to see the battle first-hand. My own

pastor, Ray Sutton, is there as I write this.

Why all the fuss? Because *a surrogate war* is in progress in Nebraska. The National Education Association is watching. Many state Departments of Education are watching. The question they want answered is this: Will the Nebraska civil authorities be successful in hamstringing the private school movement with its rules and regulations? The appeals court has said the schools must comply. The Supreme Court in 1981 refused to hear the case (Sileven's original case). But by the grace of God and the courage of a few people, the schools are still open.

I spoke with two visiting pastors who told me that their respective state Departments of Education are specifically holding back until they see the results (Massachusetts and Pennsylvania). Hawaii has already copied the Nebraska statutes and is pressing church-operated schools to comply.

What are they requiring in Nebraska? First, that the schools be licensed by the State. High schools, for example, must have libraries with at least 1,200 books, with only 2% of them religious and philosophical. They must buy 150 new books each year, plus subscribe to "professional" educational periodicals. In short, *only well-financed churches will be able to create a high school.*

Second, the teaching staffs must be certified, and this means not only a college degree but a set number of courses in State-approved courses in education. (Mennonite schools have been exempted.) This requirement, as you might under-

stand, is opposed by conservative, anti-John Dewey, anti-humanist head-masters and parents. (John Dewey's original experimental state, by the way, was Nebraska.)

About 20 tiny schools have refused to comply. Sileven's is the most prominent. Last year, the sheriff entered the school and arrested Sileven. This was videotaped—one of the most amazing films you'll ever see—until you see the tape of *this* year's invasion of the school. Because of the videotape, Sileven's case got national publicity. But not this time. ("Eyewitness News" seldom is, and when the event is available on tape, the T.V. networks are more likely to cover the story, unless it's just "too hot to handle." This year, it's just that hot, and so far, a successful news blackout is in effect. What's bigger news than this? Uh, let's see . . . I know: Cabbage Patch dolls! Just what the public needs to worry about this Christmas. The U.S. Constitution, with its First Amendment liberties, is disappearing, with the Justice Department calmly sitting on the sidelines, right next to the American—you won't believe this—Civil Liberties Union. Only on December 13 did the AP finally get a detailed version of this story on its wires, and only because the team in Louisville did some fancy "orchestration.")

Some of the bureaucratic aspects of this confrontation are weird. Two of the schools on the Wyoming border in the western part of Nebraska have rented space on the Wyoming side and have started their schools. The parents just drive across the border. Incredibly, the local truancy officers regard this as

legal. After all, the children are in school. Along the border children on both sides frequently attend school on the other side, since driving distances are great within each state. These private schools can sneak through a gap in the law. Wyoming doesn't regulate Christian schools, but the Nebraska truancy officers and county attorneys figure that's a matter for Wyoming to deal with. And Wyoming authorities, not being idiots, aren't about to stick their hands in a hornets' nest until they see the outcome of the pending cases in Nebraska.

THE ISSUES What is happening in Nebraska is a war. It's a war between two systems of thought, one based on a long-familiar and now increasingly suspect philosophy, and the other based on an accurate but politically unpopular philosophy. It's a question of *sovereignty*. Who is responsible for the education of children: the State or the parents? It's as simple as that, although other issues have been raised by participants on both sides.

The position that the State is responsible for the education of children is ancient. It goes back at least to the blueprint sketched by Plato of his recommended communist commonwealth. He argued that the controllers ("guardians") need a monopoly over instruction: "Then shall we so easily let the children hear just any tales fashioned by just anyone and take into their souls opinions for the most part opposite to those we'll suppose they must have when they are grown up? . . . First, as it seems, we must supervise the makers of tales; and if they make a fine tale, it

must be approved, but if it's not, it must be rejected. We'll persuade nurses and mothers to tell the appointed tales to their children and to shape their souls with tales. . . ." (Plato, *Republic*, Sect. 377b-c; Bloom translation). And more to the point: "It's likely that our rulers will have to use a throng of lies and deceptions for the benefit of the ruled" (*Republic*, 459c-d).

The position that the parents are responsible goes back to the Bible: "And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart. And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up" (Deuteronomy 6:6-7). That parents have the right to delegate certain aspects of this task to professional instructors of their choice is a fundamental principle—an aspect of the division of labor. This is the justification for church schools or other sorts of independent educational institutions, including universities that are not tax-supported.

The problem comes when tax money is extracted from one set of citizens in order to finance the "tales," "lies," and "words" that are most pleasing to a self-certified, self-policed, monopolistic guild of professional educators who answer to neither the free market nor the students. They answer to the State, to the extent that they answer to anyone, and the State sees to it that the "tales," "lies," and "words" taught in the system are not overly hostile to the State. Above all, words of the Bible that are totally hostile to the State as savior are not to be uttered in

the tax-supported classroom.

What we have here isn't a failure to communicate. What we have here is a war between religious groups for the *control of tax money*, and even more important, for *control over the minds of those who will be asked by the State in the future to provide even more tax money*. Ashes to ashes, debt to debt: forever.

It is a war. First, it is a war concerning sovereignty over children: parents vs. the elite managers of the State. Second, it is a war for tax money. Third, it is a battle for the mind. Fourth, it is a war over the content of education. Ultimately, it is a battle over the source of authority over truth: "Thus saith the Lord!" In short, just who is the Lord? And whose responsibility is it to decide and enforce this Lord's word in the classroom?

The National Education Association knows the stakes. Sadly, very few parents do. Not even Christian parents. Not even Christian parents who send their children to Christian schools—schools that seek accreditation, certification, and licensure from the representatives of a very different "lord." So it turns out that those who have begun to resist are obscure pastors in obscure churches that educate only small groups of students. But, then again, revolutions are not generally begun by 51% of the voters. And this revolution is every bit as much of a revolution as the revolution begun by God at Sinai, Jesus in the Roman Empire, Luther at Wittenberg, and Sam Adams in Boston. It is the same sort of revolution spoken of by John Adams, in a letter to Jefferson (1815):

“What do we mean by the Revolution? The war? That was no part of the Revolution; it was only an effect and consequence of it. The Revolution was in the minds of the people, and this was effected, from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen years before a drop of blood was shed at Lexington. The records of thirteen legislatures, the pamphlets, newspapers in all the colonies, ought to be consulted during the period to ascertain the steps by which the public opinion was enlightened and informed concerning the authority of Parliament over the colonies.”

It is seldom remembered by Americans that a large portion—perhaps as high as a third—of colonial citizens in 1776-83 did not join either the rebels or the Tories. They sought peace through non-confrontation. They stayed on their farms, or in their shops, and attempted to remain neutral, content with whichever side won the war, just so long as their daily routines weren't disrupted. So it is in every revolution. As Patrick Henry so bluntly put it, “They cry peace, peace, when there is no peace.” And from this point on, there will be less and less peace for parents who choose to exercise their legitimate sovereignty over the education of their children.

The humanist opponents of Christian education are blind to the underlying issues involved in the battle over Christian education—willfully blind, in my view—or else simply dishonest. They have

become convinced, as so many naive Americans are, that the State is responsible for the education of children. The Bible teaches that parents are responsible, not the State. It is because modern men believe that the State has taken on the functions of the family that people can believe that the State must supervise education. This religion of the "State as pseudo-parent" is widespread. The State has taught it in its very own *established church*, the public school system.

Conservatives are not immune from this error. I received a letter from a subscriber to *Remnant Review*, who protested against my insertion of a promotional flyer telling the story of Pastor Sileven's 1982 crisis. Amazing—one of Sileven's bureaucratic opponents was a subscriber! Here, believe it or not, is one political conservative's view—a high official of the public schools in a Nebraska county:

The State of Nebraska requires public and private school teachers to be certified which requires a B.S. or B.A. degree in education. The Catholic and Lutheran private school systems adhere to this policy and they state that although religion is an added part of the curriculum, qualified teachers still are needed to teach the three R's.

To someone living in Florida or Oregon and reading the newspapers about Everett Sileven's church, one would think that anti-religious idiots existed in the State of Nebraska. The public pulse columns of the Omaha World Herald were full of letters to the editor from all

over the country complaining about the Sheriff hauling Sileven out of a church and not one of the letters stated anything about the school, sponsored by the church, not using certified teachers, which was why Sileven, as head of the school, was charged to appear in court.

Your readers, in my opinion, may be reading about an issue that is not the real issue when they buy Sileven's publication. (Letter dated 5/23/83)

It's not Sileven's supporters who fail to understand the issue. It's this public school official who doesn't understand. *The issue is sovereignty: God vs. Satan, Christianity vs. secular humanism, family vs. State.* A B.A. in education doesn't impress some Christian parents; they know it's a third-rate union card in an academic discipline which is the laughingstock of every university campus in America. Who needs it? But because his school didn't have an accredited teacher, Sileven was put in jail for four months. The school was a ministry of his church, and parents, as sovereign agents over their children, delegated the authority to instruct their children to this church ministry.

These issues concerning legitimate sovereignty are at last being drawn by American conservative Christians. The fact that old-line (and humanist-infiltrated) Roman Catholic or Lutheran schools long ago compromised on this sovereignty issue provides an additional reason why it is not these schools that have experienced the unprec-

edented, explosive growth in Christian education since 1965. They believe that "religion is an added part of the curriculum," do they? Well, they're incorrect: religion isn't an "added part." *Religion is the ultimate foundation of all curricula.* The question is: *Which religion?* The battle over sovereignty in education is really a battle to decide this crucial question: *Whose religion will undergird education in this nation, the "State-parent's" religion or the covenant parents' religions?*

Nevertheless, Christian parents who want to send their children to schools that are not regulated by their humanist opponents should be forewarned: *millions of conservatives and Christians do not recognize the importance of the sovereignty issue.* They cannot expect automatic support from their supposed "natural allies."

"RELIGION" OR "THE LAW"? One of the discoveries I've made by a 20-year study of bureaucracies is this: those who oppose some bureaucratic decision tend to argue that their opposition is based on principle. Conversely, those who attempt to enforce the decision insist that the dispute has nothing to do with principle, but is strictly a question of lawful administration. It's "the spirit of the law" vs. "the letter of the law."

The battle in Nebraska conforms to this general outline. The county attorneys all over the state are bringing pastors to jail, or into court, in the name of the sovereign legislature which acted in the name of the sovereign people. They insist that it is the responsibility of parents and headmasters to conform.

"It's the law." But the parents say that there is another Lawmaker whose law is more authoritative. That Lawmaker isn't John Dewey or the president of the National Education Association. The law enforcement officials say that they're "just doing their job." But parents have a job to do, too.

I now own a copy of a videotape of the Sheriff of Cass County entering Faith Baptist Church of Louisville. He was stopped at the door and asked if he had a warrant. No, he said, I don't need one. He then pushed a man up against a wall who was carrying another videotape camera. "I've seen you before!" he shouted. "And I've seen you, too" was the man's answer. The sheriff then began taking pictures of the school room, as evidence. Then, in the toughest display of resistance I've seen lately, the mother who was teaching the children, Mrs. Nolte, grabbed her little Kodak pocket camera and started taking pictures of the sheriff. (She is now one of the fugitives in Iowa.)

What about the seven fathers? You won't believe the following. They were arrested and thrown in jail. Because they are being jailed for contempt of court—not putting their children into a licensed school—they do not have to be released. They must first sign an agreement to testify concerning their involvement in the school. Only when they agree to testify, they have been told, will they be able to present their case. No release until they sign. One man says he's afraid to sign away his freedoms, or to testify without legal counsel about issues he doesn't really understand, so he stands on his right to pro-

tection against self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment. Tough bananas, says Ronald Reagan. The court refuses to appoint an attorney for them, and 40 attorneys in Nebraska who have been contacted by the "visiting co-headmasters" have refused to represent them. *The men were not permitted by the county prosecutor to appear at the hearing to state their case.* The arresting sheriff testified on their behalf!

It's the law, remember? The law of Cass County, Nebraska.

And here's the capper. The judge, brought in from Sarpy County, is named **Ronald Reagan**.

But you haven't read about any of this, have you? It's not news. It has nothing to do with Cabbage Patch dolls. (One exception: *The Register*, the Orange County, California, newspaper, does have a reporter on the scene—the only reporter covering the event full time, even including local Nebraska reporters.)

Congressman George Hansen was at the hearing. So was his hard-nosed attorney on his staff, Jim McKenna. Both of them appeared at a press conference in Council Bluffs, Iowa, along with the mothers, and they voiced their outrage. Hansen was the Congressman who flew into Iran in 1980 to try to see the hostages. He said that even that experience didn't move him the way these events did. He has written the following description to Ed Meese, President Reagan's advisor:

Yesterday, I witnessed an outrage in a small courtroom in a town called Plattsmouth in Eastern Nebraska. Seven men, who were in jail

without visible cause, were continued in jail for an indefinite period *without* the right to appear in court or to have counsel. They were clearly being held by the State of Nebraska as hostages in the face of growing public dismay at the handling of the claim to religious freedom of a small church in Louisville.

What are the facts? The original judge apparently tried to treat the Church fairly and was put under such pressure from the political system in Nebraska that he removed himself from the case. An out-of-county judge was assigned to the case and made public note of the fact that he had come into the matter to break the resistance of the Church. A complete fabrication was created among the County Prosecutor, the Judge and the Sheriff which results in the incarceration of seven men and the flight of nine other people. This has been contrived in such a way as to appear a civil matter yet allowing the judge to put these people in jail for as long as he chooses.

Yesterday, these men were grilled by what could be described as a hostile "red-necked" Sheriff in circumstances no court should allow. The results of that third degree were entered as evidence in a court matter. The men were brought individually into a room, their signature was demanded by two burly uniformed officers. A tape recorder was allowed to run until one of them asked for the assistance of an attorney. Then and only then was the machine

turned off. Each man was put into a holding pen so that no two of them could discuss what the Sheriff was up to. (Dated December 7, 1983)

You can get a copy of several of Hansen's letters, plus attorney Jim McKenna's observations, simply by writing Congressman George Hansen, House Office Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20515.

Cass County attorney Ron Moravec told the press that there was no reason to bring the men to court if they wouldn't take the witness stand. "We're certainly not going to contribute to this circus by bringing them over here if they won't testify."

It's the law, you understand. In Cass County, Nebraska.

Meanwhile, in North Platt, a Nebraska town not close to a border, Rev. Robert Gelsthorpe is facing 8 of the 9 charges that are facing Rev. Sileven. The school has been ordered to close. If it doesn't, the state can extract a \$100 per day fine on the church, and \$50 a day on the headmaster, the pastor. This threat was what drove the other two congregations close to the Wyoming border to set up shop across the state line. His resistance approach is different from Sileven's, although he says that both approaches should be tried. His is the "wounded lamb" approach, in contrast to Sileven's "wounded water buffalo" strategy. He is not bringing in outsiders yet. He is quietly talking with the local newspaper editor. His confrontation is not direct and visible. But he says he will go to jail for contempt of court. He says that it may happen, but the school will go on, as one

by one outside pastors are brought in, one at a time, to take over. *The North Platt jail will fill up with ministers.* And then the state may put liens against the church's property, and against Pastor Gelsthorpe's property. He has vowed that he will not budge. The school will stay open, no matter what his sheriff does. His church is the **North Platt Baptist Church**, P.O. Box 641, North Platt, NB 69101. The church is going to need money for a lawyer, as you can imagine.

Hard core? You bet. What we need is a massive hard core. I'd call it the *Hard Corps*. Nebraska has bitten off more bad publicity than it will believe possible. Meanwhile, a banking scandal is about to rock the state.

But Nebraska in Number One in college football. And in America, that's the most important religion of all. Bread and circuses have always had worshippers.

But it gets better (or worse)! Rev. Don Brush of Ainsworth will be in court on February 6. His county prosecutor has advised the judge that two types of defense must not be allowed: 1) freedom of religion under the First Amendment; and 2) the academic performance of his school, as measured by independent professional testing. The judge has yet to rule on her request.

And what did the Supreme Court say? In 1981, the Sileven case went to Federal appeals court and was thrown out. It's a state educational matter, not a religious matter. And the Supreme Court declined to hear the case. No big Constitutional issues were in-

volved, you understand.

AND WHAT ABOUT YOU? If Cass County, Nebraska gets away with this, the State of Nebraska will achieve its goals. And if the State of Nebraska achieves its goals, there will be repercussions in many Departments of Education all over this nation. *You're going to see a war against independent private schools the likes of which has never been seen.*

Why? Because the stakes are the highest they've ever been. The Religion of the State is being cut off at the knees every time a new private school opens up and starts draining off students. It matters little to the State whether the private school is top-flight academically. The question is: *Is it registered?*

I'll tell you what I did. I edited 850 + pages of hard-core (non-violent) text on how to resist the encroachments of the bureaucratic juggernaut. I don't care who you are or what you are religiously. You may be a Jew, an atheist, or a believer in the Great Pumpkin. Sooner or later, they're going to step on your toes. If we don't find ways to *make it expensive and painful for the State to take away our liberties*, and to do it fast, there will be a lot more Cass Counties.

You can buy *The Theology of Christian Resistance* for \$10. You can now buy the *Tactics of Christian Resistance* for \$15—over 500 pages of “bread and butter” ways to resist, and not just if you run a church or a school. Guerilla computer tactics, clandestine short wave communications, the tactics of “**lawyer delay**”—he's never lost a case—and a lot, lot more. Or get both for \$20. If you don't think you've received

your money's worth, send the books back for a full refund. But I don't think you'll send it back. If anything, you'll buy more copies. I honestly believe that *this is the most important project I've ever pulled off*. If this wasn't perfect timing, I don't know what is. (And I don't take credit for the timing, either. *Tactics* was delayed two months by the printer. It arrived the day before I was to leave for Nebraska.)

Second, my church is putting on a conference to help train pastors and headmasters. It's called "The War Against the Church," and it will be held on March 13-16, 1984. We're only charging \$100 per attendee, which is dirt cheap (as you have to be if you sell anything to pastors and Christian school headmasters). We will accept laymen, Jews, Moslems, Sufis, and anyone else whose check doesn't bounce. I will speak, along with David Chilton, Ray Sutton (who's in Nebraska today), Lew Bulkeley, Mike Gilstrap, and one of the Nebraska veterans (we can't say which one yet; we don't know who will be out of jail in March). The conference will be held in Tyler, 90 miles east of Dallas. If we get swamped, we'll hold it as many times as we can. Learn how members of a church of under 200 can crank out 12 newsletters and create bureaucratic havoc every month. Learn about typesetting, computers, videotaping, short wave radio, political mobilization, and lots, lots more. See the sheriff of Cass County in action on videotape. Watch Constitutional liberties get nailed to the wall — and get a nail-remover before you leave Tyler. Write: *Geneva Divinity School, 708 Hamvasy, Tyler, TX 75701*. (Authors note: Tapes of this conference are

available from the above address.)

The Faith Baptist Church in Louisville now has seven families to support. They have a phone bill of \$1,000 per day that is spent on contacting other pastors and contacting news media representatives. (This is their way of short-circuiting the blackout, and without the phones, their defense collapses). This is a tiny church—under 150 members, and none with upper middle class salaries. These are the little people—the kind of people the massive bureaucracies think they can crush with impunity in order to get the precedents necessary to control the rest of us. If ever there was a “David vs. Goliath” story, this is it. If you’ve got some spare tax-deductible change lying around, these people need your help. If you’ll make a tax-deductible donation of \$100, they’ll send you the most appalling videotape you’ve ever seen: *X-rated tyranny*. Just ask for the video tape, plus Pastor Sileven’s audiocassette tapes. Or, if you think I’ve exaggerated my report, order a packet of photocopied documentary materials from them for \$10. Write: *Faith Baptist Church, P.O. Box 249, Louisville, NB 68037*.

You want to put some folks on your Christmas card list who could use some cheer? Here they are: Ralph Lyles, James Glenn, Ray Robinson, Larry Nolte, David Carlson, Ken Stastny, and Herman Buchanan. Address: Cass County Jail, Plattsmouth, NB 68048. They aren’t scheduled to have a merry Christmas.

Warning: if your church or synagogue is incorporated, you may have a problem staring you in the

face in the very near future. The Social Security fight is imminent. For information on how to **de-incorporate**, contact: *Coalition of Unregistered Churches, 2560 Sylvan Rd., East Point, GA 30344.*

The Calvary Temple in East Point has been hit by the I.R.S. with a tax bill of \$213,000. Now, they say, *produce your records* and prove we're wrong. As the I.R.S. attorney had repeated twice, "We'll get those records by hook or crook."