



Motivated by our different religious traditions, we believe that attitudes, priorities, and institutions can be changed to reflect a just and democratic use of the universe's bounty; we believe in the value of work that contributes to the common good; and in the healing influence of respect for the differences as well as the commonness of human experience.

## SUMMER 2002

VOLUME 26, ISSUE 3

### *Inside...*

3...Prepare the Way  
*Richard Schwartz*

4...The Attractions and Temptations of Religious Socialism  
*Peter Steinfels*

6...Profile of a Religious Socialist:  
Gabriel Grasberg

8...Dead... or Dead Wrong?  
*Michael Harrington and Rosemary Radford Ruether*

11...Facing Up To Our Nation's Split Personality  
*Rev. Judith Deutsch*

14...About Christopher Hitchens  
*Book Review by John Cort*

# Religious Socialism

THE JOURNAL FOR PEOPLE OF FAITH AND SOCIALISM

## 25 YEARS OF RELIGIOUS SOCIALISM

2002 marks the 25th year of *Religious Socialism* as well as the Religion and Socialism Commission itself. Aside from *Democratic Left*, the national DSA publication, we are the longest continuously running periodical in the organization's history, coming to you from the oldest commission in DSA. We're proud of that, and we intend to be here for another 25 years, in whatever form our democratic socialist community shall take.

In commemoration of the event, this issue is a compilation of previous articles from earlier years, that some of our newer readers may have missed. Michael Harrington and Rosemary Ruether debate the existence of God as a social entity; the Rev. Judith Deutsch addresses the dichotomy of America's political psyche, and Peter Steinfels outlines some of the attractions and temptations of religious socialism.

Over the years, we have had contributions from Cornel West, Dorothee Sölle, Harvey Cox, and former British socialist MP Tony Benn, among other fine voices from almost all of the world's major faiths. We have printed views from the "right" and "left" within our movement, and at times we have provided a space for some fairly lively debates. As we carry on, we continue to work to broaden the diversity of faiths and perspectives you will find in these pages. RS is a labor of love,

*continued on page 2*

## editor's notes

the result of the input and suggestions of our good comrades who help to make it happen. We rely solely on subscriptions and donations, so perhaps those of you who are able will consider us when making your political contributions.

Our gratitude goes out to all those who have made RS possible since 1977: John Cort, who started it all off and was the sole editor until 1988; our writers and our editors; and a special thanks to Jack Spooner and Curt Sanders, who for eight of those twenty-five years managed every aspect of the publication. And on behalf of all of us who work on RS (not just the editors, but all of us on the Commission's Executive Committee), we thank you, our readers, for the dialogue we have been fortunate to have together. ▀

### *Memorable Quotes from the pages of Religious Socialism...*

"If your organization can use a compassionate, humane, understanding, open-minded individual who considers himself very religious by nature, while also being an agnostic, then count me in."

– A letter from Daniel J. Haase, Summer 1996

"The religious left in the United States is representative of a wide range of faith traditions and beliefs. The readership of *Religious Socialism*, for example, consists of Jews, Christians of a variety of traditions, Unitarians, non-affiliated believers, atheists, perhaps a few Muslims. (We lost our only known Witch a few years back.)"

– Jack Spooner, Editor's Notes, Winter 1993

"We are sincerely appreciative of your support during our struggle with the Pittston Company. It is, through your aid, that we are able to advance the issues of our labor movement and overcome corporate greed. Your support, compassion, and solidarity with striking miners at Pittston has been heartfelt by our membership."

– Letter to RS from Harless Mullins and Jerry Stallard,  
Justice for Pittston Miners, Spring 1990

"The present task of leftist religious intellectuals, activists, and organizers is to create a discourse that preserves the integrity of religious people yet moves beyond the limits of liberalism and points toward libertarian socialism. This process can be prompted by accenting the radical implications of the liberal notions of liberty, equality, and democracy and fusing these notions with religious ideas of individuality-in-community, human dignity and the struggle against institutional forms of sin and evil."

– Cornel West, Fall 1982

"Socialism, as I see it so far, has developed a scientific language. But humans don't live by science alone. I need more language. I need a language for my wishes, for my dreams. I need to pray. I need to pray with others. I need to share hope with others, to listen to the old stories, to refresh my memory that some have already left Egypt and the realm where death is produced and worshipped."

–Dorothee Sölle, Winter 1979

"*Question:* What are Religious Socialists? *Answer:* People Heaven doesn't want because they're too saintly, and Hell's afraid they'll take over."

–Summer 1989



Religious Socialism  
1 Maolis Rd  
Nahant, MA  
01908

religioussocialism@socialist.org

[www.dsusa.org/rs](http://www.dsusa.org/rs)

Religious Socialism (ISSN 0278-7784) is published four times per year by the Religion and Socialism Commission of the Democratic Socialists of America, and is produced by the Democratic Socialists of America Fund. Subscriptions at the basic rate are \$10.00 per year.

©2002 Religion & Socialism Commission, Democratic Socialists of America

#### Editors

Andrew Hammer  
Alex Mikulich

#### The Religion & Socialism Commission

Co-Chairs: Rod Ryon, Juanita Webster  
Secretary: Maxine Phillips  
Treasurer: John Cort

#### Executive Committee:

Rev. Judith Deutsch  
Rev. Norm Faramelli  
Mark Finkel  
Andrew Hammer  
David Kandel  
Alex Mikulich  
Tharen Robson  
Juanita Webster

Member, International League of Religious Socialists – ILRS (Socialist International)

#### RS Contributing Editors:

Jack Clark, John C. Cort, Rev. Judith Deutsch, Harvey Cox, Michael Eric Dyson, Rev. Marcia L. Dyson, Norm Faramelli, David O'Brien, Maxine Phillips, Cornel West

•Articles in this issue are the opinion expressed by the writers, and not of DSA or the Religion & Socialism Commission or Religious Socialism. Contributions to the Democratic Socialists of America Fund are tax deductible.

•Writers may submit manuscripts via postal mail, e-mail, or on a 3.5" computer disk formatted to text files and a hard copy. Photos are encouraged.

**UNION MADE  
PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER**

# prepare the way

*Richard H. Schwartz, an occasional contributor to RS, wrote this brief piece for us in the Spring 1991 issue. Not only does it read just as timely today, it also gives us an opportunity to announce that we will be re-issuing the Religion & Socialism Commission's pamphlet, A Vision for Religious Socialists, before the end of the year.*

There is a Chassidic story that tells of a rabbi so righteous that he was permitted to see the realms of Heaven and Hell before his death. He was taken first to Hell where he saw people sitting around a great banquet table with a magnificent white tablecloth, the finest of china, silver, and crystal, and the most appealing of foods. However, the people were looking at the food and wailing uncontrollably, for each person's arms were splinted so that their elbows could not bend and they could not bring the food to their mouths. When he got to Heaven, he saw the identical banquet table and foods. But here the rabbi observed joy greater than any he had ever seen, for while the people also had splints and could not put the magnificent food into their own mouths, each fed it to his or her neighbor.

The story parallels conditions in the world today. For while God has provided an abundance of resources and human skills, the world faces a myriad of crises because of greed, materialism, hedonism, and militarism.

Recent events have shown that the world needs democratic socialism more than ever before. The fall of oppressive regimes in Eastern Europe, with the increased attention to their economic and ecological problems shows the failure of communism. Similarly, current economic woes in the U.S. — the S&L, HUD and other scandals, the increasing problems of homelessness, crime, drugs, decaying cities, and pollution vividly demonstrate the many weaknesses of capitalism. In order to establish a more just and peaceful world, it is essential that there be a shift to

democratic socialism. Religion can and must play a fundamental role in this transformation.

Many people profess to be religious. We must make them aware of the sharp contradictions between religious values and the realities of capitalism. We must stress that, in the words of a 1934 pronouncement of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, "...an individualistic, profit-inspired economy (is) in direct conflict with the ideals of religion ... We hold that only a cooperative economy, only one which has for its objective the enrichment of all rather than profit for a few — only such an economy can be moral, can elevate (people) and can function successfully."

It is essential that people become aware that religious values of compassion, sharing, justice, and peace, and biblical concepts such as the sabbatical and jubilee years and the mandate to leave the corners of the fields and the gleanings of harvests for the poor, are incompatible with capitalism.



“We hold that only a cooperative economy, only one which has for its objective the enrichment of all rather than profit for a few — only such an economy can be moral, can elevate (people) and can function successfully.”

— Rabbinical Council of America, 1934

Religious socialists should prepare a pamphlet which demonstrates that the full flowering of religious values requires a shift to democratic socialism. This pamphlet should be sent to every religious leader and publication, along with a letter urging them to consider how democratic socialism can help make religious values part of daily life. Nothing less than global survival is at stake. ▀

*Richard H. Schwartz is an associate professor of mathematics at the College of Staten Island. His books include Judaism and Vegetarianism and Judaism and Global Survival.*



# The Attractions and Temptations of Religious Socialism

PETER STEINFELS (Summer 1977)

*(The following are self-selected excerpts from keynote remarks made by Peter Steinfels at the first gathering of religious socialists within DSOC, the predecessor of DSA, on June 11, 1977 in Chicago. This meeting sparked the formation of the Religion & Socialism Commission.)*

Much that I have said about socialism and capitalism explains why religious people have been attracted to socialism. The Torah and the prophets condemned riches wrung from the poor and demanded that provisions be made for them. The poor and the humble were a channel of God's presence for the followers of Jesus. Though established Judaism and established Christianity could dull the edges of these teachings they could not remove them altogether. Egalitarianism broke out on the left wing of the Reformation and among the dissenting sects in England. The physical suffering and blatant inequalities brought about in the course of capitalist development — in 19th century Europe or 20th century Third World lands — turned many Christians and Jews to reform efforts, some of them to socialism.

Capitalism may have drawn from the religious outlook of mercantile groups among Protestants, Catholics and Jews. It may have banked (an appropriate word!) on certain traditional virtues and linked them, sometimes in fact, often in fancy, to worldly success. But in its full flowering it had to burst the bounds of almost all religious restraints. The genius with which it proposed to harness and promote self-interest and self-aggrandizement for the public good was profoundly secular and, to religious minds, profoundly amoral and materialistic. Its unalterable laws had the air of the idols and graven images Judaism and Christianity had refused to worship. Even more so did its transformation of lands and goods and services — above all, of the toil of working men and women, and (not to be forgotten) children — into commodities to be exchanged or hired or dispensed with on an impersonal market. Things and images had taken charge...

## The Vision of Community and Harmony

It is finally the religious vision of community and harmony that has led many to turn to socialism. The *people* and the *church* and the *congregation* can never be at ease with a system that so often sets individual against individual and that holds out no hope of reconciliation and communion.

I have of course been referring often to a more primitive capitalism the one that confronted the Christian socialists of the 19th and early 20th centuries. It may well remain the one that confronts much of the Third World today. What about the capitalism of the advanced industrial nations? It has, to be sure, done away with the earlier mass misery — under pressure of socialist or mass democratic movements. Outstanding injustices remain on the distribution side of the picture and as for the production side, the individual's lack of control over his or her own work and destiny, the transformation of human realities into commodities, the destruction of community, and the startling contradiction between our vast productive powers and the way they divide and embitter us, if not even threaten to destroy us — in regard to all of this, capitalism remains unchanged. What is more, it has survived by breaking its own rules, by recognizing the necessity of planning and political direction, a planning and direction that promise to be bureaucratic and elitist rather than democratic. Michael Harrington's observation that the real choice before us is not between "free enterprise" or "statism" but between an elitist collectivism and a democratic one was foreshadowed at the turn of the century by the fiery Christian socialist George Herron.

## The Two Socialist Parties

"Loosely speaking," said Herron "there might be many kinds of socialism... a thoroughly democratic and spiritual socialism... (or) an imperialistic or Bismarckian socialism, in which the State would own the people rather than the people be the state." Herron predicted that the next stage of the world will be a

collective stage of production and distribution and that in twenty years there would be two parties in America —“one the party of Tory socialism, and the other the party of democratic socialism.” Like many socialists he was embarrassed by seeing certain realities too soon...

The conjunction of religious concern and socialism is longstanding enough so that we can suggest certain temptations, if I may choose that term...

### The Temptations

1. Nostalgia for a pre-industrial past cloaked in the terminology of socialism. This was the “feudal socialism” Marx and Engels denounced a phenomenon that has had its American agrarian counterparts, and in the ecology movement and the enthusiasm over pure and spartan living in China may have them again today...

2. The denial of conflict and the vaporization of “love” into a sentimentality that clouds over all hard choices. Education and conversion become the answer to all difficulties. “The Christian Socialist,” Bill Haywood told an audience in 1912, “is one who is drunk on religious fanaticism and is trying to sober up on economic truth, and when he gets about half sober he thinks he can convert the capitalist to Christianity and that the capitalist will be willing to turn over all these things to the brotherhood of man...”

3. The absorption of the religious impulse in a secular political movement, with a loss of all specific religious identity and all concern for transcendence. Because the spiritual life has often been the occasion for withdrawal from social struggle, it now may be dismissed altogether — or worse yet, the language and symbols of the faith are manipulated in a reductive way to mobilize and propagandize politically.

4. A new clericalism, the cashing in of religious authority — cultic or theological leadership — for political authority... There is a place for prophetic and explicitly religious political action — when the issue is crucial, when a community has examined the matter seriously, and when the spokespeople have a valid claim to their role. But political life has an autonomy which ought to be respected. There are always immediate gains to be made by narrowing religious concern to specific political actions or employing

religious attachments for political mobilization. In the long run, I believe, the gains will be outbalanced by the losses...

### Winthrop's City on a Hill

Rather than open with a text, in my backward manner I am closing with one, a passage familiar to you, from the sermon “A Model of Christian Charity” preached by the Puritan leader John Winthrop ... There are three points I would like to add about this text.

First, it is a distinctly anti-socialist text insofar as it describes the divisions of society into rich and poor as

immutable expressions of God's will; and at the same time it offers a vision of community to which socialists readily respond. In these respects it represents that ambiguity of the American experience to which I referred previously, summed up by the *New Yorker*

cartoon cited in Robert Bellah's *The Broken Covenant*:

Two Pilgrims are talking aboard ship. “You know,” says one, “my first objective is religious liberty. But after that, I really want to get into real estate.”

Second, this text proclaims that we are “a city on a hill.” Yet unlike contemporary announcements that we are all decent folks, or “the party of liberty,” it demands that we fulfill the obligations springing from our opportunity — to share in toil and suffering — to act justly — to make others' condition our own — all under peril of being cursed and shamed before the world if we fail in our duty.

Third, it was preached on the flagship *Arbella* in mid-Atlantic. It is said that on their way out of the Garden of Eden Adam turned' to Eve and said, “Don't worry, dear. It's only an age of transition.” Perhaps then every age is an age of transition. But today we do seem to be, like John Winthrop and his fellow Puritans, in mid-ocean. Our destination may not, after all, be democratic socialism; but I, for one, fear that if it is not, we risk, in his words, being “consumed out of the good land whither we are going.”



*The people and the church and the congregation can never be at ease with a system that so often sets individual against individual...*



# Profile of a Religious Socialist

*A CHAT WITH GABRIEL GRASBERG (Autumn 1993)*

*Shortly before the Nazis destroyed the Warsaw Ghetto in 1943, our late comrade Gabriel Grasberg and his family escaped from the ghetto and saved themselves from the gas chambers at Treblinka. Gabriel was a founding member of the Boston Branch of DSA's Religion and Socialism Commission. John Cort sat down with him for this interview in 1993.*

*Religious Socialism:* Tell us something about your life in Poland.

*Gabriel:* I grew up in Warsaw. My father was the owner of flour mills and bakeries. Although he was a businessman, in his youth he had been a socialist and the memory of socialism was important to him. Both sides of our family were of Jewish origin, but early in life my father left home because his family wanted him to have a Jewish education and he wanted a secular education. He became an atheist and active in the socialist faction led by Rosa Luxemburg and for a time was imprisoned for his part in a school strike over the use of Russian as the medium of instruction. At the time Poland was under Russian rule.

Feeling unsafe, my father went to Germany for several years, working in the grain importing business, and when he returned to Poland he was able to build his own business. We were quite well off. After the Germans occupied Warsaw, we were forced to move into the Ghetto, which was walled off from the rest of the city. That was 1940. Jews from smaller cities near Warsaw were also moved to the Ghetto. In effect, we were prisoners.

*RS:* What was the population of the Ghetto?

*Gabriel:* Somewhere between 400,000 and 500,000.

*RS:* How many were there in your family?

*Gabriel:* I have a sister by my father's first wife. When she died, he married her sister. I have a brother by that marriage.

*RS:* How old were you then?

*Gabriel:* In 1940 I was seventeen. After we were moved into the Ghetto, my father became the vice-chair of the Food Board, under the Jewish Community Council, with responsibility for storing and distributing the official food rations. This was very taxing work and he worked extremely hard. He soon became ill and died in May of 1941. Meanwhile my sister and her husband had escaped and by way of Italy, France, Portugal and Brazil, had come to the United States. In the summer of '42 the Nazis began deporting people from the Ghetto to the gas chambers at Treblinka.

*RS:* Did you know where they were going or what was to become of them?

*Gabriel:* Not at first. But after a time the word got back. In January of '43 there was another deportation and we realized that there was not much time left. Fortunately, we had money and we had Gentile contacts outside who were willing to help. They were able to bribe a Polish policeman who managed to take us out, and we (i.e. my mother, my brother and myself) stayed with Gentile friends, moving from place to place until the city was evacuated in the summer of '44, shortly after the Warsaw Uprising. My brother took part in that, along with the underground Polish army.

*RS:* What did you do then?

*Gabriel:* We managed to find places to stay in the countryside. In January of '45 we returned to Warsaw, which was now mostly in ruins, but we were restored to our property, some of which we could sell. In 1947 we came to the U.S., or rather to Canada, where my brother and I, with much help from my sister, attended McGill University and got our bachelor degrees. I then earned a Masters degree at Harvard in Russian studies, where I met my wife and got into library work.

*RS:* Do you have children?

*Gabriel:* An adopted daughter, who has a daughter and is about to have a boy.

*RS:* How did you become a socialist?

*Gabriel:* I was always a socialist sympathizer. But I didn't think socialism would work in such a big, complex society as the United States. And I was very busy. So I voted Democrat and it was not till the Seventies that I read about DSOC, the predecessor of DSA, in the *New York Times*. I telephoned Julie Bernstein in the Boston office and started attending meetings on the second floor of that building down by the Haymarket.

*RS:* Tell us something about your religious beliefs.

*Gabriel:* Let me read from a letter I wrote recently to my brother in Madagascar. He's an economic consultant. He thinks that if there is a God, he must be more malevolent than benevolent. These are slightly paraphrased excerpts from my letter:

The only source of my ideas about God is my personal experience of prayer. I consider myself to be a sober and

skeptical person. Yet, these experiences were so convincing that any alternative explanation, such as coincidence or auto-suggestion, seems to be out of the question... I believe in the effectiveness of prayer (though not through outright granting of our wishes). There follows the conclusion that there is an agency, a force or a being that responds to our prayers. And this is the God I know.

This God is benevolent, a provider of help and of guidance. It is not a God who is obsessed with setting norms and with rewarding or punishing us according to our alleged deserts. I doubt if this God is omnipotent or omniscient, although he/she may have the ability to provide alternative and surprising solutions. His/her effort may be more like groping towards vague purposes than a decisive action following a thought-out plan. It is a God who needs our help, through our prayers and our actions.

Whatever be the truth about the existence of another force—perhaps a malevolent deity, as you and the medieval Cathari suggest — I feel compelled to be concerned with my God only. The attitude is one of trust and therefore requires giving up aspirations to be in control. Human beings can always exercise influence, but it is futile to attempt mastery. Having trust means: pray and act, and leave the rest to God.

It also means accepting uncertainty. Counting only on human resources or human technology is the greatest mistake one can make. I prefer to trust *my* God and to find the source for my thoughts and actions in a dialogue with him/her. Finally, who knows, maybe there is an element of God in each one of us, and we may be of some help in connecting this element to the general pool of energy, thought and purposes. Also, God's acting through all people provides the need and the basis for human collectivity.

RS: I think, Gabriel, that you are the only contributor to *RS* who has ever written about the importance of prayer.

Gabriel: Yes, and after my first article ("Prayer for Socialists," *RS*, Summer, 1987, [Ed.]), a Unitarian in California wrote in and cancelled his subscription.

RS: What form of expression does this faith of yours take? You pray. Do you have a set time or place to pray? Do you ever go to the temple or synagogue?

Gabriel: God forbid.

RS: (laughing): What do you read?

Gabriel: I read the Bible. I have a mediocre knowledge of Greek, good enough to read the four Gospels in Greek. And I read Plato. I don't like the *Republic*. I think it's kind of Stalinist. But I like the way he writes, and there are a lot of interesting ideas.

RS: Some of the dialogues are quite spiritual, even religious.

Gabriel: Yes. I also think listening to music, art, literature, talking to people, friendship, these can all be forms of worship. I don't feel the need for forms of worship that are separate from ordinary life. I tried for awhile to attend Quaker meetings, but they were too moral for me.

RS: Too moral?

Gabriel: Yes, too moral, too edifying.

RS: But you're a very moral person yourself. Do you mean humorless perhaps? Too serious?

Gabriel: No. I feel I am a mixed bag, and to sit with people and just express one side of myself, or listen to them express one side of themselves, strikes me as not very candid. And unaesthetic, frankly.

RS: What do you see for the future of this country, of this world? You feel that you have a piece of the truth, that what you believe is therapeutic. It's good for people, right? You believe that your relationship to God, your prayer and reading, etcetera, is good for you, gives you a sense of peace, of self-sufficiency and self-confidence. How are you going to spread that? In some ways the world seems to be going to hell in a hand-basket. Pretty fast. How are we going to stop it? You don't see a solution politically?

Gabriel: No.

RS: You believe in socialism, but you don't think it really has a chance?

Gabriel: On each point I have two views. One is the view I deduce from the facts I have observed, which is extremely pessimistic. The other is that God does provide unexpected solutions. I hope that I am wrong, but what I see is that this is a civilization on an irreversibly self-destructive course. I used to think it's going to explode, but now I think it's just going to rot away.

The aim of socialism used to be total transformation of society, then it was to make society more humane, but always thinking about society as a whole.. Now I think we have to reduce it even more, that we can only maintain some islands of humanity, on a very small scale. But as I say, if we pray, something may happen. You never know. Civilization may yet be saved. Also: I would not call my religious attitude therapeutic. I feel a sense of obligation to follow what I interpret as God's guidance.

RS: So you would encourage everybody to pray?

Gabriel: No, I pray, but I don't believe in proselytizing. I don't try to convert people. I can share my experience. I can give testimony. But I leave it at that.

RS: It's a fine line between sharing and proselytizing. But anyway, your testimony is very impressive. Thank you, Gabriel, for sharing your experience with us. ■



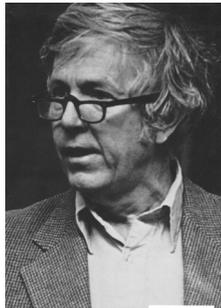
# Dead... or Dead Wrong?

**MICHAEL HARRINGTON AND ROSEMARY RUETHER**  
**DEBATE GOD'S EXISTENCE (Autumn 1982)**

*From time to time, RS has published "point-counterpoint" exchanges between comrades on various subjects. The following exchange was one of our better ones, between the late Michael Harrington, DSA's founder, and DSA Vice Chair Rosemary Ruether.*

## **MICHAEL HARRINGTON**

Is God dead? Let me rephrase the question. Is the political and social, Judaeo-Christian God of the West dead, or near death? I think so. Does that have immense political consequences? Of course.



In developing this theme, which I deal with at book length in *The Politics at God's Funeral*, to be published in the fall of 1983, I make no judgment about the ontological issue of the existence of non-existence of God. I assume that everyone knows that I regard the socialist interpretations of religious faith, the Jewish and Christian ones very much included, as one of the most positive developments on the left in decades. Still, I think the political and social Judaeo-Christian God of the West is dying.

Strangely enough, the most determined defenders of God these days, or so it seems to me, are found among sociologists, not theologians. They say, "God is dead. Long live God!" The God-is-Dead thesis, they argue, mistakes a passing historical moment in the history of divinity for the end-of the divine. Thus, Talcott Parsons and Robert Bellah hold that what is now happening is simply a new phase of the specialization, or differentiation, of a religious reality that will exist as long as human society.

The God-is-Dead thesis, Parsons and Bellah assert, identifies God with two of his historic incarnations: the utter unity of church and society (if one can use either term) in pre-literate society; the pervasiveness of Catholicism in the feudal West. Measured by those standards, the argument goes on, this God(s) is indeed dead. But it is parochial, they say, to use such standards. We live, Parsons wrote in one of his later essays, in the most religious time humanity has ever known. Only the religious function survives in a differentiated form. It is

to be found (this was written under the influence of the sixties) in the civil rights and anti-poverty movements. Or (here Bellah) it bubbles up in the Eastern religions, in dozens of private modes of communion, etc.

Another argument — it is made most forcefully by Mircea Eliade and Thomas Luckmann — is that human consciousness is, in its very constitution, religious. Therefore, God cannot die unless humanity perishes — although he (she) can take different guises in different cultures and periods. Indeed, Luckmann asserts, religion can continue to exist "invisibly." What distinguishes humans from all other forms of animal life is the "moral unity of a biography," a sense of transcendental meaning that arises out of the interactions of social life and lifts the human above the merely empirical or biological. It is this sense of the whole which religion has articulated — and as long as there is such a sense of the whole, religion exists. God is not dead.

I disagree with a basic assumption in all of these analyses, although that disagreement is not basic to my central argument, so I will simply note it here. I think that Parsons, Bellah, Eliade, and Luckmann define religion so loosely that it indeed cannot perish unless society perishes. And, it is almost totally devoid of content. Secondly, and this is relevant to my major point, this vague abstraction allows these theorists to ignore what is of enormous historic importance in the present situation: that the God who has acted as the source of political legitimacy, personal identity, economic motivation, philosophic meaning, etc. in the West is disappearing.

That God was ontologically "there" (in contrast to at least some of the Eastern deities); he (and he was a he) was social in the sense that he articulated the values and experience, not simply of regimes, but of a culture. And he is going. It can well be argued from a religious point of view that the death of this God is a good thing, that a more subjective, cosmic, less culture-bound divinity is superior to the Judaeo-Christian God. Perhaps. But that

cannot be allowed to mask the enormous sense of loss felt by the nontheological, nonphilosophic citizen of the West. Nor can it conceal from us the political consequences of the event.

In this perspective, I believe that the belief in belief of the present day fundamentalists will fail. I do not say this on the political grounds that the fundamentalists are on the right, for I am well aware that some of them are on the left. I do think, though, that from a social analytic point of view, that strategy will not work for them any better than it did for Pius IX and his Catholic, integralist successors. That is true whether fundamentalists have good or bad politics. I therefore see the fundamentalist right not as the first breath of the new, but as the dying, desperate gasp of the old. That still provides a base of 20-25% of the American people and the possibility of doing grievous harm to our politics for at least a generation. But it is the glow of embers, not the first spark of a fire.

These are some of the reasons why I think that atheists

and religious people who take values seriously must now join together, not to forget their differences, which, in other contexts, are important and serious, but to work to articulate transcendental values that are neither supernatural or anti-supernatural, i.e., which can be accepted, on different philosophic grounds, by both believers and unbelievers. In a sense, Parsons et al. realize what Troeltsch so well understood at the conclusion of his monumental study: that, whatever its value and truth in other regards, Judaeo-Christianity will never again be the organizing principle of a civilization. The yeast, the leaven of a civilization — that is possible. An indispensable factor in the creation of a human civilization if it is to be created, that is certain. But not the principle of that civilization.

Religion, as every serious thinker of the past half century has known, must learn to live in a society that is not, and cannot be, religious. Secularity, as few atheists and socialists have understood, will be a disaster if it is not informed by a religious spirit. The latter will come, I think, from the godless as well as the godly. ▀

## ROSEMARY RUETHER

In Michael Harrington's brief précis of his forthcoming work, *The Politics at God's Funeral*, he gives what he seem to regard as a startling pronouncement; namely that the God of imperial Christendom is dead or dying and that secularity is the wave of the future. As I read this piece, I couldn't help thinking that Michael Harrington is a good ex-Catholic of the 1950s who has missed Biblical renewal and liberation theology in contemporary Christianity. If his work had been published in 1960, it would have sounded revolutionary in Christian circles. Today it sounds passé.



The God identified by Harrington as the Judaeo-Christian God of the West is basically the patriarchal God of the Constantinian Church who functioned as the apex of the established ecclesial and socio-political order. Harrington is a latecomer to the funeral of this God, whose demise has been announced in various ways for several centuries and was even dismissed by Christian theologians about 25 years ago. The problem is that Harrington seems to think that this God is the essential meaning of the Judaeo-Christian God. When this God dies, it is the death of the Judaeo-Christian God.

Like other good Catholics of the 1950s, Harrington is unacquainted with a pre-Christendom biblical prophetic God who is not only not dead, but who regains power as the God of Christendom dies. This God was never the God of Western Christendom, but has always been, and still is, the God of the dissidents, the marginalized of the official social systems, the vindicator of the poor and the oppressed. This God has not just lately arrived on the scene in response to the threat of secularity. Indeed, this God is not threatened by secularity at all. Rather, this God is most threatened by (or opposed to) a religiosity that sacralizes institutionalized social privilege. In the name of the biblical prophetic God, counter-cultural Christians throughout Christian history have denounced the God of Christendom as an idol who eclipses the vision of the true God of justice. Harrington speaks of the Judaeo-Christian God of the West as though he has never heard of the God of Amos, who thunders:

*I hate, I despise your feasts, and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies... take away from me the noise of your songs, to the melody of your harps I will not listen: but let justice roll down like water — and righteousness like an everlasting stream. Amos 5:21,23-24*

As one looks at the international reality of Christianity today, two opposite faces emerge. On the one hand, there is the continuing lack of credibility of that sort of

Christianity traditionally allied with the state and with the ruling classes. In European countries with that kind of established church, church attendance is low and creative intellectual leadership has little respect for organized religion. On the other hand, where Christianity is emerging as a critical force over against totalitarian and fascist regimes, religious communities become dynamic centers of social leadership and generate exciting new syntheses of social issues and theological reflection. Sometimes, as in Latin America, both of these trends are going on in the same country. In effect, two opposing kinds of Christianity develop within what is still officially one Church — an establishment Christianity and a liberation Christianity.

This spirit is particularly evident in Nicaragua today. Here for the first time a liberation Christianity, organized in base communities, made a key contribution to bringing about a socialist revolution. The *ecclesia popular*, or popular church, sees itself as closely allied with the aims of the revolutionary government and as helping to shape revolutionary society. There is overlapping leadership between those who gather in base communities of Christians to do liberation reflection on the Bible and those who lead the local revolutionary committees and militia of popular defense.

On the other hand, the hierarchy increasingly shows its alliance with the remaining bourgeois ruling class and comes into conflict both with the revolutionary government and with the popular church. The struggle between the hierarchy allied with Rome, which sought to remove priests from key leadership in the government, and the Christians allied with the revolution is one sign of this struggle. It is significant that so strong is the relationship of this new liberation Christianity and the revolutionary government that the hierarchy was unsuccessful in removing the priests and had to settle for a compromise in which the priests agreed not to exercise priestly roles while members of the government.

The role of the Catholic Church in Poland presents a different picture, but again one in which Christianity gains enormous popular stature as it ceases to be an ally of the state and becomes instead an ally of the people. Here is a church with relatively little of the liberal renewal brought about by the Second Vatican Council, much less the kind of liberation theology emerging in Latin America and other third world areas. Yet, as a church traditionally allied with Polish nationalism against colonial oppression both by Russia and by Russian orthodoxy, as well as by its rivals to the west,

Germany and Lutheranism, it commands enormous popular allegiance.

Today, as a mediating power between a Communist party kept in power largely by the U.S.S.R. and the popular union movements under Solidarity, the Church stands as the one independent force in Polish life that cannot be crushed by the government. A recent delegation of Polish Protestants to my seminary unhesitatingly stated that with Solidarity in disarray and the party totally discredited, the Church stands as the only cohesive force in Polish society today. Contrary to Harrington, it would seem that the Church will play a key role in bringing about a new coalition of forces for the future of this society, and not simply as anonymous Christians in a secular society, but as a highly organized counter-institution to a secular Marxist state.

What Harrington also does not seem to reckon with is the enormous loss of credibility of Marxism and socialism in Eastern and Western Europe due to the accommodation of these parties to totalitarian bureaucracies. If Christianity gradually became discredited over 2,000 years for its alliances with the state, the discrediting of Marxism has been much more swift. In many areas, both in Europe and the Third World, socialism regains credibility only as it drops a militant atheism and secularism and finds alliance with religious humanism and prophetic Christianity. This new kind of Marxism, allied with democratic and humanist forces and liberation Christianity, is beginning to show its possibilities both in the Third World and in Southern Europe today.

These kinds of religious and humanist socialists are as free to exercise strong criticism against state totalitarian forms of Communism as they are to criticize the established Church.

Thus Harrington's politics at the funeral of God appears more as a voice from the past than as a prophecy of the future. He does not seem to have taken the pulse of liberation Christianity as it emerges from the grave of established churches. In so doing, Christianity not only recovers the voice of biblical prophetic hope, but also proves an essential element in revitalizing the humanistic promise of socialism against those sterile police states that have arisen in the name of Marxist-Leninism. ■

*Rosemary Ruether is Carpenter Professor of Feminist Theology at the Pacific School of Religion.*

# Facing Up To Our Nation's Split Personality

REV. JUDITH DEUTSCH (Winter 1988)



*As the nation seems to be preparing for another showdown not only with Iraq, but with the United Nations and international law in general, the following article by Rev. Judith Deutsch seemed particularly appropriate. Written when the Cold War was still warm, it's disturbing to consider how many of the points expressed in this article still apply today.*

One day when our government was even more openly involved in supporting the Nicaraguan Contras than it is now, a member of the Church I served said with concern, "What our government is doing in Central America is diametrically opposed to what our country stands for." Another replied, "Not at all. That's how we've always acted."

As I've thought about these two points of view, the disintegration inherent in our national personality became evident to me. One aspect of this personality stands for liberty and democracy. The other has supported many dictatorial regimes. And it has used military force to defeat revolutionary movements, some of which have — at the very least — democratic tendencies far stronger than those of the regimes we've intervened to support.

As I've thought some more and mentally reviewed our country's history, these questions reverberated in my mind:

How come we aren't always opposed to dictatorships?

Wasn't it our founders' desire for political democracy that caused us to become a nation?

If so, how come we weren't sympathetic to other similar movements, at least before the threat of Communism?

And then I remembered. Our nation, a federal union — the United States of America — was founded six years after the end of the American Revolution.

Whether or not our revolution was fought to allow self-government on this land and/or to allow merchants to continue their trading without crippling taxes will always be a moot point.

What is clear, however, is that our nation was founded, in contrast with the loose confederation that existed immediately after our Revolution, to provide a stable climate in which businesses could prosper, a climate in which private property would be safeguarded, a climate in which — as James Madison wrote in number ten of the Federalist Papers — "private rights would be secured against majority factions," at the same time the spirit and form of popular government was preserved.

The American Revolution did not immediately result in either political or economic democracy. Our founding fathers established a republican form of government which included the machinery that made possible the development of political democracy. And it was only gradually — with federal constitutional amendments and with changes in state constitutions regarding voter qualifications — that our political democracy has come about. Slaves were freed only about 123 years ago, women were first allowed to vote only about 63 years ago, and the poll tax was eliminated only about 39 years ago.

And although the machinery was and is there for the development of economic democracy, and although in this country some poor and propertyless people do become rich and propertied, many studies of past statistics reveal that the overall ratio of rich to poor in this country has remained constant throughout much of the twentieth century, and that the recent trend is for the gap to widen between the rich and the poor. Less clear are the studies which purport to show that the real wealth remains rather constantly controlled and that the power structure remains the same. What is clear, however, is that our American Revolution was not fought to take either political or economic power from one group in this land and give it to another. It was fought to free our forebearers from interference from their mother country.

Subsequent revolutions, however, including even and especially the French Revolution — which came soon after our own — were and are aimed at taking economic and political power from one group and giving it to another. Our government did not support the French

*cont'd on next page*

Revolution; it could not resonate with the turmoil that that Revolution involved. And our government has not supported most subsequent revolutions.

To some of us — our country has frequently been on the wrong side of revolutions. To us, the United States government often seems to support those elements in other countries which are least responsive to the needs of most of their people — those elements which seem opposed to the sentiments expressed in the Declaration of Independence, those elements which — on the surface at least — seem opposed to the basic ideals of our own society.

This troubled some of our forebearers who were around during the Spanish-American War. It troubled some who were around when the United States Marines were landing in Central America during the 1920s. It troubled some of us who were around during the Spanish Civil War of 1936. And it troubled many of us during the Chinese Revolution, immediately after Castro's success in Cuba, and during the Vietnamese War and our invasion of Grenada. It troubles many of us as we hear about what goes on in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the Union of South Africa.

However, it is clear that an important part of the belief system under which this nation operates, and in which many of our people have implicit and explicit faith, is the belief that capitalism (and the private property that goes along with it) is the only economic system that will provide us with liberty and freedom. This belief includes the concept that our democratic government is undermined when parts of the rest of the world — particularly our Western Hemisphere neighbors do not have economic systems similar to ours.

John Locke, a seventeenth century English physician and philosopher, maintained that God who “shows himself as present to us everywhere.... makes discernible to us certain natural laws,” including the one that Government exists for the protection of property and other rights of people.

Locke's myth describing the origin of government depicts a situation in which people were unable by themselves to protect their own property and other natural rights. Therefore, they formed a government by means of a social contract through which they gave the

government the authority to protect their natural rights — their rights to life, liberty, and property.

Locke argued against absolute government and for the right of people to revolt when governments did not safeguard their natural rights. This idea and its interpretations supported our revolution, having found its way — through the words of Thomas Jefferson — into our Declaration of Independence.

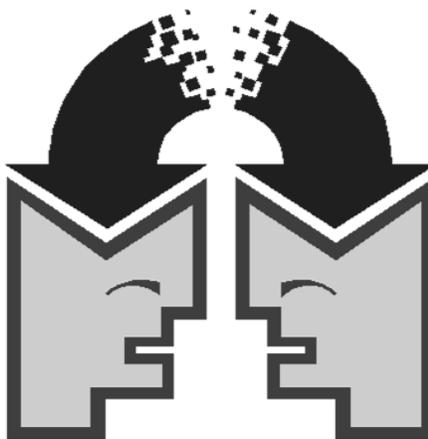
But Jefferson did not include Locke's natural right of property in our Declaration of independence. Instead, he substituted “the pursuit of happiness” — a more inclusive phrase. However, by the time our Constitution was written, it was Locke's concern for the protection of property rights, as well as his opposition to absolute government, that received most attention.

And, as our nation developed, the spirit of modern capitalism grew out of the Calvinistic Puritanism of New England, largely becoming a pursuit of wealth for its own sake. It extended throughout our borders, and beyond them to the far corners of the earth and became divorced from the general welfare.

The impact of such a pursuit of wealth is felt in our foreign relations and in our general welfare. It is felt in how we employ our natural resources. It is felt in how consumer goods, houses, health care, and other services are produced and distributed throughout our land. It is felt in how fewer and fewer of our citizens are taking advantage of their right to vote — as they become convinced that no real options are offered to them. It is felt in how we are addicted to drugs and to preparations for war.

There are, of course, some good reasons why our national split personality has developed. Those of us who have been part of the chaos that results when a nation is defeated in war can probably attest to how awful it is to live in a place where nothing is protected. And, if there are any among us who have lived in countries where there was little (if any) private property, they can probably attest to the undesirability of that, too.

Two elements — the protection of private property on the one hand and political freedom and human rights on the other — must be incorporated together as parts of one essential whole. It is in the failure to do so that our national split personality is reflected.



Signs of this split personality were seen in the suppression of insurrections by the poor under the Articles of Confederation in the 1786 Shay Rebellion, in the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion of 1795, and in the suppression of the post-World War I march of veterans on Washington. They are seen in the existence of the unhoused and the ill-fed among us today.

And these signs were clearly seen in our willingness to support Batista in Cuba, Somoza in Nicaragua, and Marcos in the Philippines, and in our willingness to undermine Allende in Chile. They are also seen in our present involvement in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras.

They are seen, too, in our failure to use our economic resources to meet real human needs in our own country — in our expressed fright, for instance — at the monetary cost of providing health care to all our people.

Such developments may, however, merely be part of the human condition — the human inability to get at all close to perfection. And I am aware that — within each situation I have mentioned and within the many more I have not — there is much ambiguity, much room for various interpretations.

However, I do know where I stand. I stand opposed to our government's supporting other governments that deny basic human rights to their people — just because our government believes that they are a help, or at least no threat, to our economic system. And I stand for our country's providing economic, as well as political democracy within our own land.

There are people who say that we must change our perceptions so that we can rediscover the place of economic activity in society and culture. These people include economists and futurists and the thousands of people engaged in alternative forms of economics — economic enterprises aimed at harnessing solar energy and water power in ways that do not harm the ecological balance, small-scale businesses organized to provide basic goods and services that people need.

Many of the people engaged in alternative economics shun our political system. They ignore it. They, find that they, together with others like them, can work outside of, or perhaps more accurately, under the protection of our political system. There is real danger, I believe in their ignoring our political system — in their not participating in it. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and while they are looking the other way — their liberties and ours could easily be eroded. Consider the

suggestions made by Robert Heilbroner and the National Industrialists and others within the last fifteen years — suggestions that the only way out of our economic difficulties is fairly authoritarian control.

I prefer the approach of the Green Movement — a movement which first gained prominence in West Germany in 1983 when it received 5.6% of the votes and seats in the national legislature. And in January 1987 it gained a 25% increase in votes and seats. More recently, in Sweden, it gained some seats in the Parliament. In this country there is a small group of adherents — even (for a time) one elected officer in New Haven. The Green movement stands for ecological wisdom and for personal, local, national, and international social responsibility. It stands for grassroots democracy and nonviolence. Greens see that the socialism and capitalism that are practiced by today's superpowers share many of the same faults, faults they lump together as "industrialism." Greens insist that the major industrial economies of the world must be put on a sustainable footing with regard to the resources they use and the products they produce. They would like to see centralized governments with less power and local communities with more, so that the destiny of a whole town does not depend upon the decision of some corporate executive. But they are not demanding that national governments refrain from providing social services that their citizens need. Greens would revitalize small businesses — including worker-and-consumer owned cooperatives, community-development corporations, and non-profit companies, as well as more customary models. Such a Green economic program would stress democracy and the quality of life.

It seems unlikely to me that the Green Movement will ever make the national inroads in our country that it has done in Germany and Sweden — both nations with multi-party political systems. But it does seem very possible to me that — just as was true with the changes advocated by the American Socialist Party — the Green program will someday be implemented by our existing parties.

I believe that such a program would bring about the economic democracy that is needed to complement our political democracy, thus curing our national split personality. I believe that such a program would go a long way toward making our national personality an integrated whole. And I believe that this is something we can work toward as citizens of this nation, as we confront the elections and the governments that will come our way. ■

It would be hard if not impossible to put together an issue looking back over our history without at least one example of the sometimes provocative writing of our founding editor John C. Cort. The following review is actually a current piece, and is printed with another reminder that the articles published in *RS* are those of the authors, and not those of the editors, the Religion and Socialism Commission, or DSA. There. As always, we invite your response.



## About Christopher Hitchens

by John C. Cort

***Unacknowledged Legislation: Writers in the Public Sphere*, Christopher Hitchens**  
Verso Press, 358 pp.

My first impulse was to entitle this review "A Brilliant Attack Dog". Which would have been neither courteous nor entirely fair. But the impulse could be justified simply by contemplating the titles of three other books Hitchens has published since 1995: 1) *The Missionary Position: Mother Theresa in Theory and Practice*, a title in dubious taste, to put it mildly; 2) *No One Left to Lie to: The Values of the Worst Family*, another anti-Clinton job, and 3) the most recent, *The Trial of Henry Kissinger*, "for crimes against humanity".

A *Times* reviewer faulted the last named for its failure to distinguish between "domestic criminal law and international law" and dismissed the book as "a propaganda screed devoid ... of balance".

Nevertheless, any indictment of Kissinger, one of the more unattractive characters thrown up by American politics, cannot fail to be endearing to the liberal mind and demonstrates Hitchens' gutsy tendency to let chips fall where they might. Also, his brilliance as a polemical columnist, with one foot in *The Nation* and the other in *Vanity Fair*, an impressive stretch by any measure, is nicely illustrated by the following:

"The pudgy man standing in black tie at the *Vogue* party is not, surely, the man who ordered and sanctioned the destruction of civilian populations, the assassination of inconvenient politicians, the kidnapping and disappearance of soldiers and journalists and clerics who got in his way? Oh, but he *is*. It's exactly the same man. And that may be among the most nauseating reflections of all. Kissinger is not invited and feted because of his exquisite

manners or his mordant wit (his manners are in any case rather gross, and his wit consists of a quiver of borrowed and second-hand darts). No, he is

sought after because his presence supplies a *frisson*: the authentic touch of raw and unapologetic power .... I've noticed, time and again standing at the back of the audience during Kissinger speeches, that laughter of the nervous, uneasy kind is the sort of laughter he likes to provoke. In exacting this tribute, he flaunts not the "aphrodisiac of power" (another of his plagiarized *bons mots*) but its pornography."

### Mostly Tasty

Christopher Hitchens is a transplanted Brit of Oxbridgian style and erudition, which is encapsulated in the title of the book under review, a collection of reprints, *Unacknowledged Legislation*, a metaphor borrowed from Shelley to indicate the power of certain writers to influence the laws and mores of Western society. Among them are favored scribes like Salmon Rushdie, Gore Vidal, George Orwell, Murray Kempton, Scott Fitzgerald and Dorothy Parker, unfavored like Isaiah Berlin, Tom Wolfe, Norman Podhoretz and Conor Cruise O'Brien, and both favored-and-unfavored like T.S. Eliot, Evelyn Waugh, Allan Bloom, H.L. Mencken and Rudyard Kipling.

In short, the book is a mostly tasty bouillabaisse featuring many of the more interesting writers of the 20th century.

Among the less tasty ingredients of the bouillabaisse are Hitchens' aggressive atheism and his assault on the sexual morality of traditional Jews, Christians and Muslims. He has described himself elsewhere as "not neutral about religion. I'm hostile to it. I think it is a positively bad idea, not just a false one. And I mean not just organized religion, but religious belief itself." I haven't read the Mother Teresa book, though I have read a review and an extended interview with Hitchens about it. I am not prepared to defend her from his caustic critique, but you can't help noticing that a major source of his hostility is related to her emphasis on the positive and redemptive value of suffering, which she tries to communicate to the dying unfortunates who come to her clinics in Calcutta.

It is easy to whack Mother Teresa for her infelicitous choice of words, but why not go directly to the epistles of Peter and Paul or to the Acts of the Apostles, where Luke reports that "as the apostles left the Council, they were happy, because God had considered them worthy to suffer disgrace for the sake of Jesus": (5:41)? In other words, Christopher, pick on somebody whom even you — though this is by no means assured — might consider to be your own size.

### The Enemy of Pleasure

Mostly Hitchens hates religion because, as he summarizes the view of his friend, Gore Vidal, "monotheism is the enemy of pleasure and the foe of rational inquiry". He covers both enmities succinctly in his treatment of the view of traditional believers that homosexual pleasure is a sin:

"They cannot, without admitting to the chaos of their worldview, seriously affirm that men and women are simultaneously designed to be sick and commanded to be well. So they take refuge in various confected "laws", and, when these inevitably break down, they resort to simple-minded denial."

This, of course, was written before May 9, 2001, the day that Dr. Robert Spitzer of Columbia University appeared before the convention of the American Psychiatric Association and shared with it his extraordinary change of mind. It was extraordinary because Dr. Spitzer is the same man who led the task force that was responsible, back in 1973, for the Association's change of mind, namely, from holding that homosexuality is "a mental disorder" and subject to reparative therapy, to the view that it is a normal variation of sexual behavior.

Dr. Spitzer's change of mind was based on research involving interviews with 200 former gays and lesbians, which convinced him that active homosexuals can in fact become active heterosexuals if they have the desire, the will and the available therapy to motivate and assist them.

Said Dr. Spitzer, "It occurred to me that maybe the general consensus, which was that the behavior can be resisted but sexual orientation couldn't be changed, was wrong" (*New York Times* 5/9/01).

Actually, there never was "general consensus" among American psychiatrists. In 1978 a poll of 10,000 members of the APA, to which 2500 responded, revealed that 69 percent agreed that "homosexuality is usually a pathological adaptation as opposed to a normal variation". Only 18 percent disagreed, with 13 percent "uncertain". To the best of my knowledge, this is the last credible poll taken on the subject.

In short, as the *Times* reporter, Erica Goode, concedes, there are no scientific certainties when it comes to sexual orientation and what can be done about it. On both sides we are dealing with questions of faith, of belief. Traditional Jews, Christians and Muslims tend to believe that all human beings — whether gay, lesbian, bisexual or straight in inclination -- have free will and that freedom of will and freedom of desire, empowered and assisted by agents both human and divine, can make it possible for them, for all of us, to change our behavior to conform to the will of God.

So much for rational inquiry. And where did Hitchens and Vidal get the idea that religious folks don't have any fun? ■

## Religious Socialism ...is the only periodical dedicated to people of faith and socialism in North America.

This is a:

- Renewal subscription - \$10
- New subscription - \$10
- Change of Address

Enclosed is:

- \$10 Regular, 1 year (4 issues)
- \$15 Sustaining (includes DSA Commission Membership\*)
- \$12 Canadian, 1 year
- \$15 Foreign, 1 year

\*DSA membership required

Make checks payable to:

**Religious Socialism, 1 Maolis Rd, Nahant MA 01908**

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

STREET: \_\_\_\_\_

CITY/STATE/ZIP+4: \_\_\_\_\_

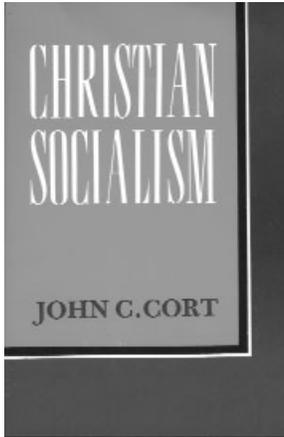
PHONE: \_\_\_\_\_

I am a member of DSA.

I would like membership information about DSA.

# FREE

with your new subscription  
to *Religious Socialism*



## CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

by John C. Cort  
402 pp., Paperback  
Published by Orbis  
Books

If you've already subscribed, get the book today  
for the low price of \$5.00 each,  
add \$2.00 for shipping/handling.  
(Profits go to Religious Socialism)  
Make payable to Religious Socialism,  
1 Maolis Rd, Nahant, MA 01908



[www.dsausa.org](http://www.dsausa.org)

Check out DSA on the  
World Wide Web for the latest  
news and updates!

Back issues of  
*Religious Socialism*  
are available on our web site,  
in Acrobat PDF format.  
[www.dsausa.org/rs](http://www.dsausa.org/rs)



**Religious Socialism**  
The Institute for Democratic Socialism  
DSA Fund for America  
1 Maolis Rd.  
Nahant, MA 01908

NON-PROFIT ORG.  
U.S. Postage Paid  
Boston, MA  
Permit No. 59341