

**FOLLOWING
JESUS CHRIST
IN THE
WORLD
TODAY**

Jürgen Moltmann

Occasional Papers No. 4

FOLLOWING JESUS CHRIST

in the WORLD TODAY:

Responsibility for the World
and Christian Discipleship

Jürgen Moltmann

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No. 4

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Editor's Preface

The academic communities of Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries and Canadian Mennonite Bible College were the honored hosts for Professor Jürgen Moltmann's visit to the United States in the fall of 1982 for the purpose of dialogue and mutual benefit. Emerging peace concerns within Europe have prompted in part Professor Moltmann's openness and desire to become acquainted better with the Historic Peace Church tradition. Professor Moltmann's writings, especially The Crucified God, have prompted Mennonite interest in Moltmann. The lectures presented in this volume are the fruit of this welcomed joining of interests.

The contribution of this issue, a conjoint publication of the Institute of Mennonite Studies and Canadian Mennonite Bible College, will stimulate readers to fresh thought in numerous areas. Some of the salient issues are noted by Miller and Harder in their co-authored introduction. Two introductory lectures by theology professor Thomas Finger and numerous responses to Moltmann's lectures were also part of the experience at the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries; since this endeavor represents commitment to ongoing dialogue the Institute of Mennonite Studies is projecting the publication of a sequel issue of Occasional Papers in the fall of 1983. This issue will contain selections from Finger's lectures and the AMBS responses, a few additional responses to be written by CMBC personnel, and a response by Professor Moltmann to all of this.

It has been my task and pleasure to edit the manuscript, already in English, which Professor Moltmann used for the lectures. With his permission I also incorporated from the tapes some of his extemporaneous additions to and alterations of the written text.

Several people merit tribute for their assistance on the project: Charmaine Jeschke for proofreading, Sue Yoder for typing the camera-ready copy, and Elaine Martin, IMS Administrative Assistant, for typing manuscript copy from parts of the tapes and managing the office work of the project.

INTRODUCTION

Professor Jürgen Moltmann's lectures on "Responsibility for the World and Christian Discipleship," appearing here under the title Following Jesus Christ in the World Today, point a direction in theological ethics which challenges mainstream Protestant churches to accept the way of Christian discipleship and the Historic Peace Churches to act responsibly in a world threatened by nuclear disaster. Such a direction would reject a social and political quietism, which has sometimes characterized an undivided discipleship shaped by presumed faithfulness to the Sermon on the Mount. Such a direction would reject a political neutrality which has often accompanied traditional just war doctrines assumed to be responsible. It would combine defenselessness and the readiness to suffer with creative efforts for peace in the present world in the light of God's coming kingdom.

Moltmann's theological itinerary in the following lectures begins by reviewing the Lutheran doctrine of the two kingdoms and the reformed vision of Christ's lordship over all of life. The journey continues by turning from the restoration tendencies in German theological and ecclesiastical life during the last three and one-half decades and by turning toward a political theology oriented to the future. The series concludes with a trenchant call to discipleship in an age of nuclear war. Along the way Moltmann contends that the paths projected by just war, just nuclear war, and just nuclear armaments perspectives are neither viable nor compatible with the gospel. Living without armaments, proclaiming God's peace and entering actively into the service of peace constitute the realistic priorities of the Christian churches and

theology in a world teetering on the uneasy nuclear balance between the super-powers.

Both mainstream Protestant and Historic Peace Churches will do well to examine carefully Moltmann's case for a third way. Neither can dismiss the intent of this case and simultaneously claim to adequately re-present the gospel of Jesus Christ. Christian discipleship and responsibility for the world do indeed belong together in a nuclear age. Moltmann's case can be improved only by reformulating and reshaping it in terms of a theology and praxis which would strengthen rather than dismiss it.

From the theological perspective of those communities which invited Moltmann to present this series of lectures, both of which are within the Historic Peace Church tradition, suggestions for a mild reformulation and reshaping of Moltmann's theological basis for his direction would proceed along several lines. First, christology would be more resolutely and thoroughly based upon the gospel record of the earthly way of Jesus. Anabaptist-Mennonite theology has emphasized more the ethical significance of Jesus' life while mainstream Protestant theology, and Moltmann's theology as well, has appealed mainly to the cross and resurrection. As is evident in these lectures, Moltmann is moving toward a recovery of the Sermon on the Mount for ethics. Is this an indication that for Moltmann and for the Reformed tradition christology as such will find its basis less directly in the dialectic of cross and resurrection, and more directly in the life of Jesus which shows how the good news of reconciliation and defenselessness was carried along an earthly pathway to its culmination in the cross?

Second, there would be the tendency to be more careful to protect a certain distinction between the church and political orders, between what one can hope for the church and what one can hope for the world. This tendency has admittedly at times spread an unfruitful quietism among peace church adherents. Yet this need not be. A clarity regarding our separateness can also provide a basis for a faithful witness. While the final eschatological vision of the kingdom of God may not differ essentially, the Historic Peace Churches have traditionally placed greater emphasis than is apparent in Moltmann's statement upon the identifiable people of God, the church, as the viable sacrament and instrument of Christian peace and hope.

It should be emphasized in conclusion that our meeting with Moltmann under the rubric of this lecture series in Elkhart and in Winnipeg provided the occasion for a discovery of mutual Christian companionship. While it is evident that the theological journey of the Historic Peace Churches began at a different place than did the Lutheran and Reformed tradition from which Moltmann comes, it is now clear that our paths have crossed and that we share a common goal for the Christian pilgrimage-- the peaceable kingdom.

- Helmut Harder
- Marlin E. Miller

Advent 1982

MY SPIRITUAL AND THEOLOGICAL PILGRIMAGE

Jürgen Moltmann

Dear friends, let me first of all thank you for this invitation to come here. I must confess, however, that I feel somewhat uncomfortable to speak about my "spiritual pilgrimage." I am a pilgrim, this is true. Ever since I became a Christian I was also searching for a true peace church, and now my pilgrimage brought me to Elkhart, to a place where this so-called historical peace church lives. So I am very excited about it and I am looking forward not only to giving these lectures and teaching you something but to listen also to what you are saying.

It is difficult for me to introduce myself this way especially in a chapel service, since as Reformed theologians we do not glorify man but only God. I will try to speak, however, about what I have experienced, not of myself but of God in my life. I am again hesitant either to follow a written text or to speak from my heart, since that depends on the English language, which is not my own language. But I will try to speak from my heart and leave my text aside.

I was born in Hamburg in 1926. During my youth I lived in Hamburg--in fact, a little bit

outside of Hamburg in the direction of Lübeck, where Menno Simons lived for the last years of his life (but I discovered this only later). The background of my family is Free Mason--like George Washington, I believe. My grandfather was a great master of the Free Mason in Hamburg and he then got the idea that the church must be overcome because it sits in darkness compared to the enlightenment which he found in Lessing and Feuerbach. So he left the church and brought his family to the same decision. My father then returned to the church out of his experiences of World War I. He died a couple of months ago and left a kind of testament of his religious belief for me. There he explained how he found God in the battles of World War I as a mysterious hidden God and his own humility in the face of this God. He found sympathy again for Christianity and for the church but kept always a certain distance over against Christianity and the church because of his kind of skeptical feeling. Whenever his son then came as a theologian talking about God, he always asked me the question "How do you know?" So all my life-time I had an ongoing dialogue with my father and he with me. He could call himself a Christian in this testament insofar as he believed in the teaching of Jesus and tried to follow Jesus in his own life, but he had problems with understanding the resurrection of Jesus and the resurrection of the dead, as many of us may have. I think he died in a very peaceful way and that he is safe in God.

But this is not part of my history now. Born in 1926, I was 13 when World War II began. When I was 17 in 1943 we were drafted to the German army as air force auxiliary with the anti-aircraft guns in Hamburg. The whole class at the school I attended was drafted and we served at the guns in a battery in the center of Hamburg. It was only three months later that the great bombing of the

city of Hamburg began for one week; we lived in the fire storms, and the bombing disrupted the whole eastern part of Hamburg down to the harbor. I saw several of my comrades and friends die in these fire storms in the battery in which we served. I survived, I did not know why. But this became always a question since that experience in July 1943—why did I survive? What is the meaning of my survival? Should not I be dead as my comrades were?

At the end of 1944 I was then drafted to the German army infantry and served in the German army for six months, then I was captured near Cleve in February, 1945 and was brought to the prison camps--first in Belgium for one year, then in Scotland and then in England. I returned home in 1948; so I served in the German army for six months and was in prison camps for three and a half years. In that time a great change happened to me. First it was a discovery of the strengths of survival. I remember in the camp in Belgium I had comrades who gave up all hope; they became sick and some of them died. They got bad news from their home in East Prussia and Silesia and other places in the east where the Red Army invaded; then they really lost all hope and died. I, myself, was on the edge at one point of giving up everything, lying down, and becoming sick.

At that point there were a few of my comrades who--later on I found out they were devoted Christians--helped me to build up a new strength of life, a new power of survival. I called this hope. So the first experience of a rebirth to life and to the will to survive came to me--thanks to a hope for which there was no visible evidence in this camp at all. Only a few other persons witnessed to me that there is a God in whom I can trust and whose promise is trustworthy.

Then came another thing. Army chaplains came sometimes into our camp in Belgium; I remember there was one American army chaplain who distributed small Bibles--this is the one I got from him in July or August 1945. At that time I was more interested in getting some food or something to eat, but he distributed these books. And I read on the first page "President Roosevelt, the White House, Washington, as commander-in-chief I take pleasure in commending the reading of the Bible to all who served in the armed forces of the United States." I took out the words "who served in the armed forces of the United States" and made a full stop after "all." So I included myself to the good wishes of President Roosevelt at that point. And then I started reading it--and it had also an addition of the Psalms. The first Psalm that caught my interest was Psalm 39: "I was dumbfounded with silence, I held my peace even for good and my sorrow was stilled. Hold thou not thy peace at my tears for I am a stranger with thee, a sojourner as all my fathers were." This Psalm first and then the other Psalms gave me words for my own suffering at that time. They opened my eyes to the God who is with those who are of a broken heart. And this was my situation at that time--behind barbed wire I experienced this.

It was not a sudden conversion to faith but a slow building up of faith in my heart at that time. I remember how often I walked around and around in circles at night in front of the barbed wire fence. My first thoughts were always about the free world outside from which I was cut off. But I always ended up thinking about the center to the circle in the middle of the camp; there was a little hill with a hut on it that served as a chapel. It seemed to me like a circle surrounding the mystery of God who was drawing me to the center. And so it

was in a labor camp in Scotland at the end of 1946 that I gave up my original idea to study mathematics and physics and become Einstein II; I turned toward theology. I wrote a postcard to my father, telling him that I decided now to study theology, to understand what real faith and hope is, which had grasped me. And then he answered on another postcard, asking me to please think about our family and that I should procreate our family. What a strange answer! But then I found out that he, a liberal person from Hamburg, combined theology always with Catholic churches. So he thought of me becoming a monk or a priest--this was his first idea.

In the year 1947 I was brought to a prison camp in England where imprisoned professors of theology taught imprisoned students of theology. I learned Hebrew in Norden Camp in the Sherwood Forest, very well located near Nottingham. I visited the place a couple of years ago, but nature has brought silence over this place. And then in 1948 in April I was repatriated, as it was called at that time, and came home to my family in Hamburg. I studied theology at the University of Göttingen in the tradition of the Confessing Church in Germany with Ernst Wolf, Otto Weber, Hans Jacob Iwand, my beloved teachers. I came home with a will to work for renewal, for a new Germany and a new church. What I found and many of my generation found in Germany was a restoration of the old conditions of church and state. There was a great wave of restoration under Adenauer in politics and Bishop Dibelius in the churches. So I joined all the protest movements in the 50's to get over this utopia of the status quo. Even the leaders of the Confessing Church of Germany did not build up a new church from below out of the Confessing congregations but entered into the traditional church offices and poured the new wine

into the old bottles. I took part in a movement against the rearmament of the federal republic, against the atomic bomb, and against the churches' willingness to supply chaplains in the armed forces of West Germany. I worked for reconciliation for Poland in a society for German-Polish relationships where I met my first Mennonite. It was Professor Johannes Harder from the Pedagogical High School in Wuppertal; he brought to my awareness Mennonite churches and what he called Mennonite existence. He is still alive and we are very good friends.

After I had taken my degree in 1952--this was one week of examination plus the doctoral examination and marriage, three examinations in one week--I went into a congregation and worked as a pastor in Bremen Wasserhous, a rural congregation of 400 farmers, North Germans very strong and very reformed. I never intended an academic career; my intention was to serve as a pastor. It was my teacher Otto Weber in Göttingen who took me out and persuaded me to go to the Kirchliche Hochschule of Wuppertal, a foundation for the Confessing Church in Germany where I had very delightful and happy years between 1958 and 1963. My further pilgrimage took me to Bonn University, then one year to Duke University in North Carolina, where I became a confederate and a "Tarheel." Now I'm living in Tübingen.

My theological pilgrimage is that out of my experiences from the early years in prison camps, then out of my understanding of the Old Testament as a promissory history and the New Testament as looking forward to the coming of Christ, and then out of the Marxist philosophy of Ernst Bloch (The Principle of Hope), I wrote The Theology of Hope which was published in 1964 and in English in 1967. The topic was in the air, so to speak, and therefore a great response came not only in the

West but also from the churches of East Germany and eastern Europe and from the Third World as well. After several experiences of political defeat and disappointment with churches, I came back then to the experience of the presence of God in these negative experiences of isolation and abandonment. I wrote the book on The Crucified God in 1972, which was published in English in 1975. This was the other side of the coin, so to speak.

The Theology of Hope was grounded in the resurrection of Christ looking forward to the coming of Christ; The Crucified God then looked to the cross of the risen Lord, to the meaning of Jesus' crucifixion and the cross' understanding of God the Father who gave up his own Son for our liberation and salvation. The point in this book is not only to ask what does the crucified Christ mean for us in terms of salvation, but what does the crucifixion of the Son of God mean to the Father, to God himself. And then I came to understand God as the compassionate God, not an apathetic eternal being, but a God full of compassion for his creation and his own world. "God is love," then, is the central sentence to understand the cross, the way to understand God in the crucified One, and also the way to understand God in trinitarian terms. This then is the topic of my last book, The Trinity of the Kingdom (1980).

I can explain this part of my theology best, perhaps, with a medieval picture. It is a so-called Gnadenstuhl picture where God the Father is sitting on his throne in heaven and has the cross beam of the crucified Son in his hands, taking him up to himself; and the Holy Spirit in the form of the dove is coming from the face of the Father to the Son. The medieval Christian painters thus understood the trinity in terms of the cross of Christ and the cross of Christ in terms of the

trinity. The theology of the trinity and the theology of the cross are one.

Another book appeared between these two, The Church In the Power of the Spirit (1975), where I for my situation try to overcome the Volkskirche, the established church pattern in Germany in which the church is open for everyone but works with no one. Our situation is that 90 percent of the people belong to the church, but only 10 percent use the church. The rest are paying for the church but are not really using it. Some of our bishops ask: what would happen if all 90 percent would use the church? We would have an explosion! So they are satisfied with this strange situation, some of them at least. My idea was to change this, to find a way from a Volkskirche to a Gemeindekirche, a peoples church, from an established church to a congregational church.

To address now some of our present concerns: It is only a few years ago that after the new policy of President Reagan in your country we in Germany were pressed to work more for the armament of Germany in order to roll back the "Red flood" coming from the East. It is quite understandable that in this situation with the new missiles stationed in West Germany especially, and in western Europe, the question of war and peace came back to us. This had stopped at the end of the 50's because of the new policy of the Social Democratic Party and the Liberal Party in Germany, a policy of peace and detenté with East Germany and eastern Europe and Soviet Russia. But now when the armament race began, the old peace movement came back; I joined this peace movement--and we made statements about the disarmament of West Germany--because nowhere else in the world is there such a concentration of foreign armies and armament, and especially of nuclear warheads. We

have around 5000 American nuclear warheads in West Germany and certainly a similar amount of the same stuff in East Germany. And we have four foreign armies in Germany, the Red Army, the French army, the British army, the U.S. army. So nowhere else in the world is the situation so dangerous as in our country. When the White House and the Pentagon spoke about the possibility of a "limited nuclear war" in Europe, we all of a sudden thought, well that's us! Thus the new peace movement in Germany is really a people's movement and not only a students' movement. We are looking, therefore, to the witness of the historic peace churches again. Two years ago, when I was president of the Gesellschaft für Evangelische Theologie (the Society of Protestant Theology), we sponsored a large conference on discipleship and the Sermon on the Mount; we invited for the first time Mennonites and Brethren and other theologians and pastors from the Free Churches to this conference. Pastor Willi Wiedemann was in this conference and told us about the Mennonite witness to peace.

My church, the Reformed Church in Germany, just a couple of months ago published a declaration against nuclear war and against armament with nuclear weapons. This is the first unambivalent no of a church in Germany.

As you know, the Protestant church in Germany as a whole (and the same is true of the Catholic Church) has always said yes and no at the same time: we need this peace of deterrence and, therefore, we must have this armament. The armament development in the West must keep pace with that in the East in order to have a balance all the time. Simultaneously however, we must use the time we get from this peace deterrence in order to have disarmament negotiations. I think this is an illusion because the speed of armament is 100

percent faster than the speed of disarmament talks. They are still talking about the disarmament of these middle-range missiles in Geneva while the preparation for a nuclear war in space is already on the way. And therefore, our understanding and decision was to say no, no without conditions at this time.

In the context of this interest, I have been invited to come here and learn more about Mennonite existence and the Mennonite church as a peace church. I am looking forward to listening to you and I will listen very carefully to what you are telling me. Thank you.

THE LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF THE TWO KINGDOMS
AND ITS USE TODAY

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

In its 400 years established Protestantism on the Continent has developed two different theological conceptions in order to clarify, in its expression of Christian faith, its historical situation and its political commission. These two conceptions are the Lutheran doctrine of the two kingdoms and the Reformed doctrine of the lordship of Christ. These two doctrines define also the attitude that the German Protestant churches had toward the state during the church struggle under the Nazi dictatorship. On the basis of the two kingdoms doctrine, the Lutheran established churches (the Landeskirche) maintained a "neutral" position as documented in the "Ansbach Decree" of 1935. On the basis of the doctrine of the lordship of Christ, which determines the whole of life, the Confessing Church took up the position of resistance, as shown by the "Barmen Theological Declaration" of 1934. Furthermore, the very strong differences in post-war Germany--to this day--over questions of politics and social ethics find their basis in the difference between these two conceptions.

Whether it has to do with questions of nuclear armament, the recognition of the Oder-Niss border, the contracts of the social-liberal government with the eastern Bloc, the ordering of private property, the question of abortion, the World Council of Churches' "Program to Combat Racism," or aid for development, division will appear along lines associated with these two doctrines again and again. On the one side--the side of the two kingdoms doctrine--these questions are defined as non-theological and are pushed away into the "kingdom of the world" to be dealt with only from the point of view of political reason and expedience; the other side, however, seeks to place political decisions within the meaning of obedient discipleship under the lordship of Christ.

The obstinancy with which both of these concepts are maintained shows that it is not simply two different models of theological ethics which are at stake here; rather, the roots of the difference lie in the understanding of the gospel, and of faith itself. In order that these models of theological ethics be understood it is necessary to clarify, therefore, the underlying understanding of the gospel contained within them. For without examination and clarification of the differing basic dogmatic positions there can be no change in the political orientation of the church and of faith. Only by rethinking these basic theological conceptions will new understandings emerge regarding the church's political commission in relation to the present day struggle for the liberation of the oppressed and for justice in the world. Some revision of these basic theological conceptions has been begun by the recent political theology, and this promises to overcome some of the differences in the political orientations of the two conceptions. This political theology is ecumenical in character and is seeking, both in its

Catholic and Protestant expressions, a new theological and ethical understanding of the church's commission in the political order.

The following lectures will introduce the most important aspects of these three theologies. They cannot, of course, be any more than an introduction, for each of these theologies is a world of its own, each having its own extensive library of exposition and polemic. In order to make a comparison possible, I will try to show how each of the three theological conceptions (designated by the first three lectures) stands in relation to three topics:

1. The basic theological position regarding christology.
2. The interpretation of eschatology and history.
3. The relationship of theory and praxis.

It is important to remember though that we are not dealing with Christian ethics for its own sake, but with the foundations of Christian theology and praxis.

THE TWO KINGDOM DOCTRINE

Although Lutherans constantly appeal to Luther's two kingdoms doctrine and its use in Lutheran tradition, there is no one uniform doctrine, but many. Even in Luther's writings and then also in the Lutheran tradition there are many very different doctrines of the two kingdoms. In Lutheran confessional documents (the so-called Book of Concord) there is no formulated two kingdoms doctrine. In the relevant Protestant dictionaries two quite different articles on this doctrine often appear, both written by Lutherans. The Lutheran lawyer Johannes Heckel spoke of the "Garden of

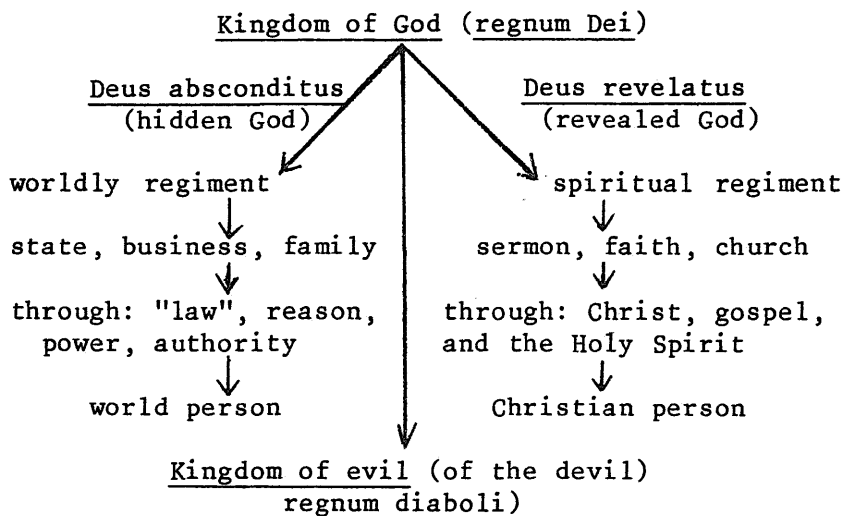
errors of the two kingdoms doctrine" and did not mean by that simply the immeasurable expanse of literature, but also the unclarity of the matter itself.

A look at actual practice increases the confusion: whereas some Lutherans in West Germany support politically conservative powers with the help of the two kingdom theory, Lutherans in East Germany live in and work with a socialist state by appealing to the same theory (see G. Jacob, Weltwirklichkeit und Christus Glaube. Wider eine falsche Zwei-Reiche-Lehre, 1977). While German Lutherans used this theory to justify favorable neutrality in the Third Reich, the Norwegian Bishop Berggrav used it to provide the rationale for his resistance against the Nazi tyranny. In the light of this "garden of errors," the two kingdoms doctrine does not appear to provide a particularly bright beam for guiding those pressed by political and ethical questions.

I. The Basic Theological Position: Apocalyptic Eschatology; History Is the Apocalyptic Conflict Between God and the Devil

Luther was an Augustinian monk. His early writings show him as an independent representative of the late medieval Augustinian renaissance. When he speaks of the two kingdoms in this early period he takes up Augustinian tradition and means by this the struggle of the civitas Dei (city of God) against the civitas diaboli (city of the devil), a conflict which rules world history until the end. The expressions "civitas" (city) and "regnum" (rule) can be interchanged, but it is always the conflict between Jerusalem and Babylon, between Cain and Abel, good and evil, God and the devil, which is meant when he speaks of the two kingdoms.

The following diagram shows the two kingdom polarity.



Just as this conflict between the two kingdoms dominates world history, it also dominates the personal life of the Christian as the continual conflict of the Spirit against the flesh, justice against sin, life against death, faith against unfaith. This struggle of faith which leads to the mortification of oneself and the vivification of the spirit will find its end only when the power of sin is conquered in the resurrection of the body and death is swallowed up in the victory of life. In principle, then, the battle between God and the devil in world history and in personal life is understood eschatologically. In fact, to be more precise, this eschatology is an apocalyptic eschatology which speaks of a real, but as yet, unrealized future.

But what is the cause of this conflict? In the Old Testament the cause of this struggle lies

in the election of Israel to be the people of God in the midst of the godless nations, and in the election of the righteous who hold to the law of God in the midst of the lawless mass of human beings. Understood from a Christian perspective, the cause of the apocalyptic conflict of the end-time lies in the coming of Christ, the coming of the gospel and of faith. Through the proclamation of the gospel this conflict is inflamed, and through faith it is recognized (G. Ebeling). For the sake of the saving kingdom of Christ two kingdoms must be spoken of, for in salvation corruption is simultaneously revealed, and with the coming of Christ comes also the antichrist. The preaching of the gospel brings with the decision of faith the simultaneous separation of the faithful from the unfaithful, Christ from antichrist. This is not just an apocalyptic conflict which is going on. The cause of this conflict comes from God, in the election of Israel first and then in the coming of Christ and then in the coming of the gospel.

The decision of faith for God is always a decision against the devil. Thus this decision provokes an eschatological conflict in the world and in the life of every single person. Because God and faith go together, faith goes against the godless world; faith always contradicts this world and leads the person into temptation, trials and suffering.

But, the two kingdoms theory which speaks of this conflict between the reign of God and the reign of evil (diaboli) would not be Christian if it were only to transmit this apocalyptic world view. Only when this conflict results from the coming of Christ and from the coming of faith, and Christ and faith are themselves the initiators of the eschatological conflict, does this two kingdoms

theory have a Christian foundation. For the sake of the kingdom of Christ, therefore, the conflict between the two kingdoms must be spoken of.

I will try to make this clear with the scheme in the above diagram. There are first the two kingdoms which are in the apocalyptic struggle: the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the devil. But inside of the kingdom of God, fighting against the evil and related also to the kingdom of the devil, there is the distinction between the worldly regiment and the spiritual regiment (or the worldly kingdom and the spiritual kingdom; the terms are not everywhere the same). So we have not only the doctrine of two kingdoms; we have the doctrine of four kingdoms. Sometimes Luther speaks of the two kingdoms with these two in mind; thus we must not confuse the church and the state, but recognize the difference and the cooperation of these two regiments within the struggle between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the devil. (Parenthetically, though, can the devil have a kingdom? Or does the devil only give chaos, not a kingdom. But that's another question).

When this distinction between the two regiments is clear, then two kingdoms within the reign of the world (regnum mundi) can also be spoken of. But what is "the world?" At this point the doctrine of the two kingdoms begins to become ambivalent; in the "Fall" the world raised itself in rebellion against God, but it is still God's creation. The devil has become "lord of this world," but God is still the creator of the world. As a result, the world finds itself in self-contradiction (Ebeling): it is godless, but God will not let it go. Because it has removed itself from its origin in God, destruction has fallen upon it. That it still remains, however, shows that God preserves it in spite of its turning

away. Equally, every human being is also a creature and a sinner at the same time, and is both of them totally.

What also is the result of the kingdom of Christ in a self-contradictory world? The kingdom of Christ is set in contradiction against the kingdom of the devil, but it wants to save the world from this self-contradiction to make it again into God's good creation. The reign of Christ, therefore, is at one and the same time against the world as the kingdom of evil and for the world as God's creation, against human beings as sinners and for human beings as images of God. Further, two specific relationships between Christ's kingdom and the world appear in this theory: first, a relationship of contradiction is apparent when the kingdom of the world as the reign of evil or as the city of Babylon is opposed to the reign of Christ; second, a relationship of correspondence is apparent when the kingdom of the world, as creaturely, earthly and temporal, points toward the coming eternal kingdom of God. It is the same for the individual human being: the sinner is a contradiction to the Creator; but the one justified corresponds to the Creator. As long as history continues humans are constantly divided and in conflict within themselves.

It is, I believe, completely wrong to interpret the two kingdoms doctrine as either leaving the world as it is, or as dividing human beings into two parts, one which contradicts and opposes God, and the other part corresponding to God. That is not what the two kingdoms theory originally intended, although its adherents have often made just this of it. Authentically, this two kingdoms theory is far more concerned with two total aspects of the world and human beings--that is to say, two different perspectives:

self-contradiction against God and correspondence to God. The total world and the whole person is meant every time. Contradiction and correspondence remain in conflict in every person's life and in the world itself until the end of the world.

II. The Dual Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms

Just as the two kingdoms doctrine has its theological origin in apocalyptic eschatology, it receives its ambivalence also from the same source: the kingdom of earth is, on the one hand, "this passing aeon of unrighteousness;" but, on the other hand, God is also Lord of this world in so far as he is Creator of it. The kingdom of the world is therefore also the kingdom of the earth (regnum terrena).

Within the basic distinction between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of evil which rules world history, the two kingdoms doctrine makes a second distinction between the saving kingdom of Christ and the life-sustaining kingdom of the world. Within this second distinction, both kingdoms--the kingdom of the world just as much as the kingdom of Christ--are directed against the kingdom of the devil but in different and therefore distinguishable ways.

Each of these kingdoms has its own justice: one has civil justice, the other the justice of God. In the kingdom of the world, law, good works, reason, the punishing sword and reward for good deeds are valid. In Christ's spiritual kingdom only grace, justification and faith are valid. In the worldly kingdom the sword rules; in the spiritual kingdom the word rules. In the spiritual kingdom God provides the eternal salvation. In the worldly kingdom people must take care of the temporal welfare.

Luther presented this distinction between the two kingdoms or regiments especially in his well-known pamphlet of 1523, "Of World Rulers, How Far One Is To Obey Them." My interest here is to clarify the fundamental perspectives of the two kingdoms doctrine through observing its use. Luther begins with the major distinction:

Here we must divide Adam's children and all people into two parts: the first is those who belong to the kingdom of God, the rest belong to the kingdom of the world. Those who belong to the kingdom of God are all those who are true believers in and under Christ. For Christ is King and Lord in the Kingdom of God. . . and he also came that he might begin the kingdom of God and establish it in the world . . . The people need no worldly sword nor rights, and if all the world were true Christians, that is true believers, then there would be no prince, king, sword nor rights needed or used . . . To the kingdom of the world or under the law, however, belong all who are not Christian. For while few believe and the least conduct themselves according to the Christian manner, of not resisting evil and not doing evil, for those outside the Christian condition and the kingdom of God, God has created another regiment and has placed it under the sword . . . For if that were not so because, to be sure, all the world is evil and in every thousand there is scarcely one true Christian, each would devour the other. God has therefore ordained two regiments--the spiritual, made up of Christians and the pious people through the Holy Spirit under Christ; and the worldly regiment which restrains the

non-Christians and wicked ones so that they must maintain outward order and be peaceful without their thanks (Clemen: 364ff.).

Luther distinguishes and demarcates each regiment then with respect to the other:

If anyone attempted to rule the world by the gospel and to abolish all temporal law and sword on the plea that all are baptized and Christian and that according to the gospel, there shall be among them no law or sword--or need for either--, pray tell me friend, what would he be doing? He would be releasing the restraints and chains from the wild beasts and letting them bite and mangle everyone, meanwhile insisting that they are harmless, tame, and gentle creatures, but I would have the proof in my wounds. Just so would the wicked under the name of Christian abuse evangelical freedom, carry on their rascality, and insist that they were Christians subject neither to law nor sword, as some are already raving and ranting (Hertz: 63).

On the other side, Luther holds that

where the worldly regiment and law alone now rule, there must be futile hypocrisy, for it is as if they themselves are the same as the command of God. For without the Holy Spirit in their hearts no one will be truly pious, as many fine works as he may do. Where the spiritual regiment rules alone over land and people, however, there the restraints on viciousness will be untied and all wicked things will be given room (Clemen: 367).

According to Luther, both regiments mutually limit and complement the other. In the worldly regiment law and power serve to bring external order and earthly peace. In the spiritual regiment the word of God serves to bring to internal faith.

This distinction which Luther draws between the two is originally polemical; in the matter of faith there may be no laws nor coercion: "Faith is a free work to which no one can compel anyone." In the realm of faith, therefore, civil pressure and political oppression must not be used. Even heretics may only be overcome by means of the word of God and may not be politically persecuted. In the matter of faith it holds that "You must obey God more than humans." Wherever a ruler exercises political coercion in order to bring people to the faith of the country (Protestant or Catholic), he must be opposed. The ruler may not interfere with the kingdom of God nor with the spiritual regiment. On the other side, the spiritual regiment may not interfere with the worldly regiment, for one cannot rule the world with the Gospel.

Luther often also distinguishes between the two regiments anthropologically: the world regiment may not extend further than over the body, goods and the external parts of the earth. The spiritual regiment extends over the soul and the inner person. This description of the mutual limiting and complementing of the two regiments appears to be the description of an ideal state, but it was in fact critically directed by Luther as his contemporary religious and political situation. Why? Because, first, politics is constantly made to serve religion. This seduces and corrupts the soul. And second, religion is constantly made to serve politics. That corrupts worldly order and peace. Luther's two kingdoms doctrine was originally intended to enable Christians to make a

critical-polemical separation between God and Caesar, to allow neither a Caesaro-papalism nor a clerical theocracy. It intended to teach that the world and politics may not be deified, nor may they be religiously administered. You should give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar--no more and no less--and give to God that which is God's. You should turn the self-deified world into the world, and let God be God. You should deal rationally with the world, with the law and with authority. The world is world and it will never become the kingdom of God; it is to be simply a good earthly order guarding against evil chaos. You should deal "spiritually" with God and his gospel--and here "spiritually" means faithfully. The gospel does not create a new world, but saves people through faith.

III. Christian Person and World Person

As illuminating as the great and small distinctions of the two kingdoms doctrine may be, when considered with regard to the Sermon on the Mount and the political life of the Christian, it has severe difficulties. Where are Christians to find a place to stand? On the law of the worldly regiment or on the gospel of the spiritual regiment?

First of all, Luther makes a corresponding distinction between faith which justifies before God without the works of the law and works which are to be done for the sake of the neighbor. When the person is justified before God by faith alone, then works will spring out of this justified relationship to God.

Liberated from the impossible task of earning access to heaven by way of works, these works now stand totally and exclusively in the service of the

neighbor. In the distinction between faith and works we find again the distinctions which were operative in the two kingdoms theory. In faith, the human being is a Christian person; in works, a world person. This is again a critical-polemical distinction: whoever confuses faith and works will do justice to neither God nor the neighbor. Before God only faith helps; before the neighbor, only works help.

What is the standing of these good works for the neighbor? What criteria mandate and guide their expression? The Augsburg Confession says in Article XVI:

The gospel teaches an eternal righteousness of the heart, but it does not destroy the state or the family. On the contrary, it especially requires their preservation as ordinances of God and the exercise of love in these ordinances.

The gospel does not create new orders in the world but calls instead for the preservation of the present orders, respecting them as "God's ordinances," and love is to be exercised within them. By ordinance here is meant the state, the economic system (socialism in the East and capitalism in the West) and the family. In these ordinances faith becomes effective through love.

The question, however, is: according to which guidelines should love be effective politically, economically and in the family? According to those of the law or of Christ? Indeed, at the end of Article XVI the Augsburg Confession says that one should obey the ruler and his laws in all these three areas of life, but then adds, "so that it may be done without sin."

Accordingly, Christian love in the worldly regiment stands under the law, by which is meant the law of God--the ten commandments and the natural law as well as the positive laws and decrees of the law books. The limitation upon such laws is that they should not force a person to sin, but this is mentioned without being more exactly formulated. It appears that God has set Christians within his two regiments, so that the Christian as Christ-person and world-person is a citizen of two kingdoms--the gospel and the law. In the spiritual regiment God rules through Christ and faith. In the worldly regiment God rules through the law without Christ.

This understanding has led Lutheran theologians to constantly conform to unjust forms of the state and business, because the criterion for justice in the kingdom of the world was missing. This view of the two kingdoms doctrine only arises, however, if one takes the distinction of both regiments out of the world-historical drama of the battle between the reign of God and the reign of evil, and deals with it in isolation on its own. The more both regiments are seen in their common struggle against the kingdom of evil, the closer they come together and so the clearer their common features become. As Melanchthon says in Article 198 of the Apology for the Augsburg Confession: "Through the good works of the faithful in the worldly regiment the kingdom of Christ reveals itself over against the power of the devil."

According to this view, Christian love in the various circumstances of political, economic and family life corresponds to the guideline of Christ. Through politics, business and family life, the Christian becomes God's co-worker and a witness to the kingdom of Christ against the kingdom of the

devil. Christians will act appropriately and rationally in these various areas, but their deeds will be motivated by faith and will be directed toward the salvation of the world. The various areas of life give the place of Christian action but not the morality for these actions. The Christian acts in the relationships of the world but does not act under their compulsion.

Evaluation and Critique

I make several observations of Luther's two kingdom doctrine (see diagram above):

1. If we look from the spiritual to the worldly regiment we see the distinctions: here the Spirit, there the authority; here faith, there works; here gospel, there law.

2. If we look from the kingdom of God to the kingdom of the devil, then the spiritual and the worldly regiments come closer together: God fights the power of evil through both regiments--here with word and faith; there with order, peace and law.

3. If we only look at the differences between both regiments then the Christian stands in the contradiction of being a citizen of two different kingdoms: here required to be obedient to the gospel of the Sermon on the Mount and there required to be obedient to the law and authority of the state. But if we see that both regiments are together in God's battle against the devil, then the Christian, on the basis of faith in God, will do the good works of love against the devilish seed of hate in all worldly places. The worldly orders will thus become places in creation which all "contain Christ in themselves," (Wolf).

The eternal strife over the correct interpretation of Luther's two kingdoms' doctrine has to do with these two perspectives and their ordering.

4. Insofar as Luther's two kingdom doctrine means the eschatological struggle between the reign of God and the reign of evil, it is a battle cry and its distinctions are polemical. But the main question is: who acts as judge in the two kingdoms theory? Who is allowed to draw the line of separation between the kingdom of the devil and the kingdom of God or between religion and politics? In East Germany we have a doctrine of the two kingdoms written out and lived out by the political party, the SAD. Marxists say, we take care of the body and you take care of the soul; we leave heaven to the theologians and take care of the earth. That is also a two kingdom theory. The political dictator of South Korea says we have freedom of religion but whoever draws political consequences out of his religion different from my policy will be put into jail. So there also is a two kingdom doctrine. Therefore it is very important to ask who makes the judgment as to where the line differentiating between the two lies. And who has the right to draw that line?

Misuses

Abusus not tollit usum, goes an old saying. However, when the misuse gains the upper hand, then it can be sensible to suspend a doctrine and to seek orientation in another place. I will mention,

without systematic order, the misuses which have made the two kingdoms theory suspect for many Christians and theologians.

1. There was an inversion of this doctrine into its opposite when it was no longer employed critically-polemically for the sake of disentangling an entangled world, but was made instead into an ideology which affirmed the Protestant world. Instead of aiding the critical distinction to be made within both kingdoms, which are actually constantly mixed in history, it became a religious theory for two separate areas of the world: church and state. Instead of applying the dialectic of law and gospel, it became a dualism according to which the law of retribution and compulsion rules in the state and stood opposed to the rule of grace alone in the church. The more lawful and authoritative the state becomes, the purer and clearer the gospel of grace shines in the church. Bismarck was gladly celebrated as a divine hero of the worldly sphere. This separation of law and gospel in the 19th century, however, made the law graceless and the gospel lawless. Even today there are Lutherans who regret the repeal of the death penalty and with that the loss of the law of retribution. It was the socialists, like the German Minister of Justice, Gustav Radbruch, who translated the Sermon on the Mount into a legal order, according to which one should "pay back evil with good." They understood punishment in terms of education and re-socialization.

2. An inversion of the two kingdoms doctrine arose when, in the 19th century, the distinction between the spiritual and the worldly regiment was replaced by the distinction between private and public, or inner and outer. With that, faith was made world-less and the world was made faith-less. God became unreal and reality God-less. The world

was left to unfaith, and faith retired into the shell of the introspection of the pious soul. It was believed that the two kingdoms doctrine was realized in the schizophrenia of the privatized, apolitical modern mind.

The negative consequences of this misuse of the two kingdoms theory came to expression in Germany during the Hitler period. The doctrine provided no basis for religious and political resistance to Hitler's perversion of the state and the political religion of national-socialism. For the most part, the church bowed with holy timidity before the autonomy of the political power struggle; it welcomed the fascist "law and order" and rejected the supposed chaos of democracy, liberalism and the Enlightenment. With this false separation of the two kingdoms, the gospel of the kingdom of Christ was made impotent on one hand and on the other, the right or arbitrariness was given over to the present powers.

Basic Theological Questions

1. The two kingdoms doctrine presents the gospel of Christ within an apocalyptic eschatology of the ongoing battle between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the devil. This apocalyptic eschatology comes from the Old Testament; it was not developed from New Testament christology. The two kingdoms doctrine paints christology into the framework of this apocalyptic eschatology. Is that correct? Must not the gospel of Jesus Christ begin from the resurrection of Christ and God's victory over the power of evil in the cross? Apocalyptic eschatology understands Christ from within the world-historical struggle of God against evil, but it fails to understand history and the end of history from the viewpoint of Christ's victory. This is the questionable basic theological decision

of the Lutheran two kingdoms theory; it begins with the struggle of faith with unfaith, and of God with Satan, but not from God's victory in Christ over sin, death and the devil. For the two kingdoms doctrine this victory lies in the apocalyptic future, but not in the prophetic and apostolic perfect tense. Therefore, the worldly orders are seen only as powers of repression against evil until the end, but not as processes open to the anticipating of the kingdom of God.

2. The two kingdoms theory places the worldly regiment under the law. It remains unclear, however, what the context of this law is: the covenant of Israel, natural law or the given laws which are valid at the time of a certain society? Mostly, it is the latter, and with this consequence: these laws which are valid at the time within a certain society are also declared to be the laws of God--tanquem ordinationes Dei (as if they were the ordinances of God)! Lutherans therefore are called humorously the "eternal positivists." Where are the criterion for judging the justice of the valid laws in a given situation? Are there not unjust laws--legal laws which are laws which repress?

3. Finally, as this presentation shows, the two kingdoms theory gives no criteria for a specific Christian ethic. It gives criterion only for a recognition of a secular ethic in a given society or an ethic of the worldly orders. Basically it is a theology of history but it is not a foundation for Christian ethics. It serves to sharpen the conscience; that is its strength. It brings into Christian ethics a realism which reckons with the given facts. But it does not motivate world-transforming hope. That is its weakness.

Sources: The quotations from Luther are Moltmann's translation of O. Clemen, Luthers Werken in Auswahl (Vol. 2; Berlin: DeGruyter Verlag, 1929); one is from the English work edited by Karl H. Hertz, Two Kingdoms and One World: A Sourcebook in Christian Social Ethics (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg, 1976).

BARTH'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORDSHIP OF CHRIST
AND THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CONFESSING CHURCH

The recently formulated doctrine of the lordship of Christ provides an alternative to the doctrine of the two kingdoms. The doctrine of the lordship of Christ has developed out of the Reformed tradition, called by some the Calvinistic or theocratic tradition.

The impulse toward the present doctrine of the lordship of Christ has come from the theology of Karl Barth and the Confessing German Church under the German dictatorship of Hitler. Its basic formulation is to be found in the "Barmen Theological Declaration" of 1934, Theses 1 and 2:

Thesis 1: Jesus Christ, as he is witnessed to us in Holy Scripture, is the one Word of God which we have to hear, to trust in life and death, and to obey.

We reject the false teaching that the church can and must also recognize still other events, powers, forms and truths as the revelation of God, outside and alongside this one Word of God.

Thesis 2: As Jesus Christ is God's consolation for the forgiveness of all our sins, so and with equal seriousness is he also God's powerful demand over our entire life; through him a joyous liberation from the godless bondage of this world comes to us for the free, thankful service of all his creatures.

We reject the false teaching that there can be areas of our life in which we have lords other than Jesus Christ, areas in which we do not require justification and sanctification from him.

A short exposition of these theses of the Confessing Church should serve to highlight the thinking underlying them.

All the confessions of the Reformation are essentially christocentric: the Church enters into its truth when Christ--and indeed Christ alone--is its Lord. The church enters its freedom when it listens to the gospel of Christ, and indeed only to that gospel and to no other voice. Therefore all human church laws and all church statutes are placed under the measure of the gospel of Christ.

The Confessing Church repeated this central confession in the face of the totalitarian claims of the state, the nation and the society. Whenever political powers and social interests want to make the church into their servant, the lordship of Christ--and indeed, the exclusive lordship of Christ over his church--must be confessed and witnessed to in the form of resistance. Only under the lordship of Christ is the church free; only so can it be a liberating people. It can never become a vassal of other powers and an accomplice of organized injustice without losing its identity.

There are no places in the world which are excepted and in which the liberating lordship of Christ is ineffective. The experience of liberation from the godless bondage "of this world" shows itself in the free and thankful service of all God's creatures. Therefore, the liberating power of Christ penetrates, redeems and claims the whole of life, including its political and economic relationships. Those who would restrict the lordship of Christ to a spiritual, churchly or private area, thus declaring other areas of life to be autonomous, fundamentally deny the lordship of Christ.

With these theses of the Barmen Declaration, the Confessing Church freed the public form of the Church from the claims of state ideology and political religion: "the church must remain the church." With the first thesis the German-Christian heresy was rejected. It claimed: "Christ for the soul; Hitler for the people." Or, "the Gospel for faith; the law of the German nation for ethics." In this area of church opposition to Hitler and his fascist regime, the Confessing Church had success.

But as soon as the question of political resistance to Hitler became acute the Confessing Church entered into difficulty. The second Barmen thesis led to conflicts of conscience, when the war began. When drafted, confessing Christians also marched into war for Hitler, although "in faith" they rejected him and the war as an unjust war. Political opposition to Hitler was exceptional; Dietrich Bonhoeffer, for example, was an exception when discipleship of Christ drove him into politics and into conspiracy against Hitler. It is still an unresolved discussion in German theology whether inner-church resistance is sufficient or whether

this must be extended to political resistance. Should Christians react only when the state intrudes into the church and, for example, dismisses or imprisons Jewish-Christian clergy or socialist priests? Or must they react as soon as socialists themselves are persecuted, Jews are murdered and whole races or classes are oppressed? Must we resist only when the church and witness to faith is suppressed or should we resist whenever injustice appears as a public issue. How wide does the liberating--and therefore, commanding--Lordship of Christ extend? How can Christians respond to their Lord in the political struggles of the present? Before we deal with these current questions, we must first clarify, for ourselves, the basic theological position which lies behind the doctrine of the all-embracing lordship of Christ.

I. The Basic Theological Position:
Christological Eschatology

The Barmen Theological Declaration begins with the assumption that God in Christ has fully and finally revealed himself and that, therefore, there are no other sources of divine revelation for the church. God reveals himself in his Word, Jesus Christ. He does not, therefore, also reveal himself in history, in nature, in political movements or political leaders. These stand rather in contrast to Christ, in opposition to his revelation. God has not revealed himself ambiguously; he has revealed himself unambiguously.

The second thesis of the Barmen Declaration concludes from this that Jesus Christ is already, here and now, the Lord of all the universe, of the powers and, so, of the whole of human life. Therefore there are no areas, in which the Christian must also listen to other voices, powers,

or laws alongside the voice of Christ. All things and all relationships now stand under the liberating and claiming lordship of Christ. This is already accomplished.

This basic theological position is expressed clearly in the theology of Karl Barth. In three topical publications from the years of the church struggle, Barth attempted to grasp and define the relationship of church and world christologically. These were: Gospel and Law (1935); Justification and Justice (1938); The Christian Community and Civil Community (1946). These three titles already show the direction of his thought: from Christ to church, from church to politics, from faith to life and from religion to the kingdom of God. The basic idea is this: in Christ God has humbled himself and has taken on the whole of humanity. God has lowered himself even to death on the cross and has taken on the whole misery of human life, namely its rejection. In Christ, God has exalted the human being and has brought the human being to freedom and honor. Therefore Christ is the reconciler who takes away sin and condemnation from human persons. Because Christ does this, he is also the victor over all powers and authorities. His resurrection from the dead and his exaltation to lordship reveal the triumph of God's grace. Death is already swallowed up in his victory. The exalted Lord already ushers all powers and authorities behind himself in triumphal procession.

From this basic christological position three controversial consequences arise for Barth:

1. The whole world is already objectively in Christ and is placed under his lordship. No longer is there a world-historical struggle between God and the devil. The struggle has already been

decided in Christ. The victory has been revealed in Christ's resurrection. Christian faith lives in the certainty of Christ's victory over sin, death and the devil. The decision about this world has already been made by God for the sake of its salvation. Objectively, i.e., from God's point of view, in Christ all humans are already reconciled. Subjectively, however, i.e., seen from a human point of view, there are both the faithful, who recognize their reconciled being, and the unfaithful, who do not recognize it: "Knowledge of God is one thing, being in God is another" ("The Christian Community," 5). Barth has replaced Luther's apocalyptic eschatology with a christological eschatology. Out of the constant battle between God and evil God's victory over the devil has come in Christ. This victory has been already obtained in Christ for all people, once for all. The eschatological future remains, therefore, only as the public and universal unveiling of this victory of Christ.

2. If Christ is Lord, then already all power in heaven and on earth is given to him. It also follows that "the state as such belongs originally and finally to Jesus Christ; its relatively independent substance, its dignity, function and objective are to serve the person and work of Jesus Christ" ("Justification").

For a long time Barth tried to ground this thesis in a strange exegesis of Romans 13. Günther Dehn believed that the exousiai-powers which are named there are angelic powers. As all angels serve already the exalted Lord, so also are the political powers subject to Christ. If that were so, then the consequence would be a christological metaphysic of the state. Later Barth gave up this exegetical interpretation. The thesis of the New Testament is not that of a

Christian metaphysic of the state but is rather that of a Christian ethics in politics. It is not a theological doctrine of the state which is taught, but rather a theological substantiation for Christian discipleship, i.e., how Christians should behave in the political area. In contrast to the Lutheran tradition which isolated Romans 13 from its context and thus used the text to formulate a Christian view of the state, Romans 13 must be seen in the context of Romans 12 which addresses how Christians should respond to evil and, then in chapter 13, specifically to government. Romans 13, therefore, should not be used as a theological umbrella to cover or justify the acts of the state.

3. Above all, Barth saw that the New Testament describes the order of the new creation with political and not with religious concepts: the kingdom of God (basileia), heavenly city (polis), heavenly citizenship (politeuma). Barth draws the conclusion that "The real earthly church sees its future and hope not in a heavenly reflection of its own existence but precisely in the real heavenly state" ("Justification"). Its promise and hope is not the eternal triumphal church but the state built by God coming from heaven to earth ("Christian Community"). Thus the incomplete earthly state and the incomplete human society are oriented toward the coming lordship of God.

Thus in this basic theological position of Barth we find:

a. "Christological eschatology" in which "Jesus is victor." Christian faith lives everywhere in the certainty of Christ's victory.

b. Universal christology in which Christ is the Pantocrator: "For through him was everything

created that is in heaven and on earth, seen and unseen" (Col. 1:16). From this perspective the world-historical struggles are only the rear-guard actions of an already defeated enemy.

c. The christological ethic of obedient discipleship in all areas of life, i.e., an ethic of the relationship of created life to the reconciling God! The question to be put here, however, is: according to which measure and in which direction must the discipleship of Christ take place?

II. The Christian Community and the Civil Community

With all possible emphasis, Barth distinguishes between church and state--which, however, are bound together in a unity of basis and aim--in that he speaks of two different communities, rather than two kingdoms.

The church is the Christian community. It is the community of those people in a particular place who as Christians are called out from the rest into the elect through the knowledge and confession of Jesus Christ. The church is concrete in the "gathering of the faithful" (Ecclesia). Its life is defined inwardly through the one faith, one love and one hope, and outwardly through common confession and common proclamation of the gospel to all people.

The civil community is the community of all people in one particular place who are bound together through a common legal order. The purpose of their community is the securing of the outer, relative freedom of each person and the outer relative peace of their community. In so far as this happens, the civil community provides the

provisional and preliminary form for corporate human life. That Barth characterized the civil community as a legal community, and not as a ruler with a monopoly of authority, is important. Law and the establishing of justice, therefore, is the foundation of this state, even when adherence to the law is enforced by means of force.

In the civil community both Christians and non-Christians are together; they are limited regionally, that is to say, nationally. In the Christian community only the faithful are together, and they are together in ecumenical freedom and expanse. The Christian community is held together by the consciousness of God; in the civil community, however, the relationship to God cannot be an element of the legal order. The Christian community recognizes the necessity of belonging, in its own being, to various civil communities. It recognizes the legal order and the necessity of its protection by means of force. In this legal order, the Christian community sees a divine ordering, a constancy of divine providence over against human sin; this ordering is an instrument of divine grace, a point similarly advanced in the two kingdoms theory.

But how should the Christian community act in and upon the civil community? Barth always remained firmly against the dissolution of Christianity into a political movement of either the right or of the left: "the church must remain the church." Precisely because the church is the church of Jesus Christ which concentrates entirely upon its Lord, it affects the civil community.

Barth's thought on the relationship of the Christian and civil communities may be presented in a diagram consisting of concentric circles around Jesus Christ as the center, as follows:

God in Christ

*

Christ the Lord

Circle 1

Christian community

faith-proclamation-prayer

Circle 2

civil community

parabolic and requires:

- human rights
- rights of the poor
- human rights of freedom
- public politics, etc.

Circle 3

Kingdom of God

heavenly city on earth

the horizon of the vision

the common aim of both communities

The Christian congregation is the inner circle of the kingdom of Christ. It proclaims the liberating lordship of Christ and the hope of the coming kingdom of God. The civil community, even in the best of possible circumstances, does not do that. Precisely in the fulfilling of its own task the Christian community also joins with the task of the civil community but, as it were, in an indirect way. Because the church has faith in Jesus Christ and proclaims him, it believes and proclaims him who, as the head of his church, is the lord of the world. In this proclamation it confronts all political concepts with its hope, and also with its critique. This faith and proclamation is valid

then especially for political realities, and in this twofold way.

First, the church's proclamation will destroy human hubris, pride and arrogance, which is present in all political ideologies and lordships; and it will point sharply to their eschatologically provisional character. But it will also resist resignation and compromise which characterizes political actions; in this way it extends the hope of the eschatological completion of politics into the city of God. At the same time, the church will not erect a Christian doctrine of the state nor religiously justify and bless the political condition. Because the Christian community concentrates itself upon the proclamation of Christ as the Lord, it holds the political processes accountable, keeping them open for the kingdom of God. Politics remains earthly—a forever provisional process for freedom and justice. This condition is difficult to bear. But whoever wants to claim finality for or reify this political process will become a tyrant. Also, whoever yields this process to resignation delivers the world over to the tyrants. The direct effect of the proclamation of Christ and the Christian community upon the civil community is that political conditions are kept changeable and the political changes are kept historically incomplete. The church does not divinize politics nor does it demonize politics. It places politics into the human sphere, thus "suspending" it for permanent improvement and historical incompleteness. That is the first step.

Second, out of this condition of suspension which has been brought about by the Christian community's proclamation and existence, there follows for Barth a subsequent step which is best initially formulated as a question: "Are there

directions and guidelines for Christian decisions which are to be executed within the political sphere? The state is not and never will become the kingdom of God; nevertheless it stands under the promise of the coming kingdom of God. How is this to be comprehended? Barth uses the language of parable in dealing with this condition of suspension. There is no exact similarity between the state and the kingdom of God, but there is also no absolute dissimilarity. Their relationship is to be perceived as that of parable, correspondence, and analogy; this approach understands the justice of the state from the Christian view of the kingdom of God, believed in and proclaimed by the church.

Politics, like culture, is thus capable of acting as a parable, a picture of correspondence, for the kingdom of God, and necessarily so. Because of this, Barth calls the civil community the outer circle of the kingdom of Christ. Since the Christian community as inner circle and the civil community as outer circle have their common center in Christ the Lord and their common aim in the kingdom of God, the Christian community, by means of its political decisions, will urge the civil community to act as a parable by corresponding to God's justice and not contradicting it. It wants the state to point toward, and not away from, the kingdom of God. The church wants the grace of God to be represented in the outer, provisional deeds of the political community. But how is this to happen?

Barth gives some examples:

a. The Christian community lives from the God who has become human. Therefore, for the church, the state and the law exist and function for the sake of human life, humans do not exist for the

sake of the state and the law. Since God has become human, the human becomes the measure of all things political. Therefore Barth turns against Moloch "nationalism" and against humanly destructive "capitalism."

b. The Christian congregation is the witness to the divine justification of human beings. Its maxim, therefore, is: justice precedes power;" it must then step in against anarchy and tyranny.

c. The Christian community is the witness to the Son of Man who came to seek those who are lost. It will therefore take the side of the lost, the weak, the poor and those threatened. It will choose from the differing socialist possibilities the one from which it expects the greatest social justice.

d. The Christian community is called into the freedom of the children of God. It will involve itself politically, therefore, for the sake of human and civil rights. "It will not under any circumstance support a practical dictatorship, or partial and temporary restrictions of civil freedoms; it will certainly oppose, under all circumstances, the principle of dictatorship.

e. The Christian community lives from the light of the public revelation of God in Christ. The necessary political analogy to this consists in the existence of the Christian community as the resolute opponent of all secret politics and secret diplomacy. Where freedom and responsibility in the service of the civil community are one, everything can and must be spoken before all ears and dealt with before all eyes.

Barth consciously restricted his discussion in this essay ("Community") to examples of Christian

political positions in order to make clear his basic thought: politics has parabolic capacity and is equally necessary, therefore, to the lordship of Christ in both the beliefs of the Christian community and the community's public proclamation.

This requires, however, that

"the right and proper state must have its image and example in the right and proper church. So the church exists in an exemplary way; i.e., so that, through its simple presence and its way of being present, it is the source of renewal and the power of preservation for the state."

The proclamation of the lordship of Christ would amount to nothing if the church did not begin first, in its own life, its constitution, its government and its administration, to witness practically to this lordship of Christ.

Summary, Evaluation and Critique

1. The Christian community and the civil community have different commissions in history, but they have their common foundation in Christ the Lord and their common aim in the kingdom of God. Therefore not only their differences may be established, but because of their common foundation and their common orientation, correspondences, parables and analogies must be sought.

2. The state is not seen as a repressive authority of God against evil but as an outer, earthly and provisional vessel for the good. It is not understood as a repressing power against chaos and sin, as is so clear in the description of the state in Luther. Understood as the civil community

and as the community of law, the state contains the positive possibilities of a parable of the kingdom of God.

3. Whereas, according to Lutheran doctrine the Christian is required to act in the worldly regiment only according to the principles of reason, choosing the means for the ends and limiting love for the neighbor to political ends, Barth's parable theory gives substantial criteria and guidelines for Christian political action. Christian faith does not only free political reason to be itself with its own rationality, as the Lutherans say, but also, according to Barth, uses political reason, by virtue of its interest in making claims upon people, to make visible in parable-form the kingdom of God here on earth.

Barth's political parable theory is often ridiculed because of his illustration of the Christian necessity for rejecting secret services and secret diplomacy: "That this argument is theologically and politically indefensible is immediately clear," says Helmut Thieliche. Or it is said that the impression given is that these examples were selected at random, that the analogies are only developed in an exemplary and playful way. Or Barth is criticized for having underestimated the problem of the "relative autonomy" and self-responsibility of the political arena.

But when we read his essay more carefully and ask ourselves which political conception lies behind it, one discovers the basic elements of social democracy as the precursor and the best available correspondence to the lordship of Christ and the kingdom of God. It is in this context that Barth calls for the public transparency of all political decisions. It fits into the

fundamentally democratic claim of socialism, which theologically and politically is immediately obvious and is in no way to be ridiculed.

4. For Barth, democratic socialism was not the kingdom of God on earth. It would also never become that. But for Barth it was the best possible parable of the kingdom of God which is readily present and therefore provisional. Thus Barth's political option of democratic socialism was never simply and affirmatively expressed as "Christians for socialism" but was always simultaneously critical: "Socialism for the sake of the kingdom of God." That means exactly as far as it corresponds to the kingdom of God and does not contradict it.

Misuses.

The above diagram makes the picture so simple that it is hardly protected against misuse. Barth's ordering of the church as prior to state and society can easily lead to a clerical tutelege whether that be from the theological left or right. His demand that the Christian community be "an example" for the civil community can only be fulfilled by that church which Barth calls "the true church." But where is "the true church?" The actual church with its feudal constitution, its anachronistic symbols and rites and its outdated languages is in most cases less like the forerunner of the civil community than it is the tail-light of cultural development. If the possibility and the power to create parables for the lordship of Christ in political life depends upon the precedence and example of the Christian community, then Barth's theory fails in the practice.

How, for example, can the Roman Catholic church be against secret politics and demand public

access to political dealing and processes, when its own Sacred Congregation of the Faith does not hold even to the fundamental principles of present legal practice, and does not even inform the accused of the charges (as e.g., in the case of Hans Küng)? How can a German Protestant church be on the side of democracy in public life when it rejects the democratization of its own constitution and does not proceed from the rights of the (Christian) person? Barth knew the condition of the churches. He complains about them at the end of this pamphlet. He should have begun with this criticism, in order not to become theologically illusionary.

Two Critical Theological Questions of the Basic Foundation

1. The doctrine of the lordship of Christ over the Christian community and the civil community is grounded in christological eschatology: Christ is the Pantocrator who already now rules over heaven and earth. This christology is present initially and powerfully in the early Christian hymns and then in the letters to the Ephesians and Colossians. These hymns actually proclaim the present lordship of Christ already broken out over the world and the complete subjection of the cosmic and political power already taken place. Christians already participate in the complete lordship of Christ in doxological jubilation. They are already raised with Christ. They participate in his resurrected Lordship. They already RULE WITH HIM! But that is, according to Ernst Käsemann, an enthusiastic piety which forgets the crucified one and retreats from the reality of the world.

Paul certainly opposed this so-called "Corinthian enthusiasm" and he taught over and over again that the lordship of Christ is none other than the rule of the crucified one. In the present, Christians have an immediate part in the cross, but they do not already have any immediate part in the resurrection glory of Christ. The certainty of the victory of faith is a certainty only under the cross and nowhere else. Indeed Barth seldom speaks of a "kingly" lordship of Christ. He restricts himself to the language of the "lordship of Christ." It must be stressed against his students and also against him too that the lordship of Christ is not like that of a king's but is the lordship of the crucified who does not conquer with great might but through his weakness, and who rules by his representative suffering on the cross. Christ's lordship is the lordship of the slain Lamb!

Without the living memory of the death and cross of Christ, the doctrine of the kingly rule of the lordship of Christ will become triumphalist and theocratic. It becomes self-justifying. But Christ is no super-king--the King of Kings--and he is also no Superstar, but he is the Son of man whose "power is made perfect in weakness" (RSV, 2 Cor. 12:9). It probably belongs together with the memory of the crucified one that Paul does not confer the risen one with the title of Cosmocrator nor with the statement that all the kingdoms and the powers of this world have been already subjected to Christ. According to 2 Corinthians 15:28 God will make everything subject to his Christ in the future; then the Son will hand the kingdom over to his Father. That Christ is the Lord signifies for Paul that he must rule "until all his enemies lie under his feet." Only then, when the lordship of the crucified becomes God's,

will the lordship of all earthly lords, rulers and authorities, along with death, be destroyed.

Thus what for Barth is already completed in the cross and resurrection of Christ has not yet happened for Paul. What is certain victory for Barth is the certainty of hope for Paul.

2. Barth's doctrine of the already present lordship of Christ over all lords, rulers and powers, leads to the following ambiguity: either all powers and states serve the Pantocrator Christ already, whether they know it or not, or the Pantocrator rules over the Christians and only through them can he rule in all civil areas of this world. Then his rule reaches as wide as the obedience of the faithful.

In Justification and Justice Barth says that "the proclamation of justification as the proclamation of the kingdom of God establishes true justice and the true state here and now" (p. 25). That leads to a Christian metaphysic of the state. Against this, in the "Christian Community and Civil Community" Barth says, "The Christian community is not in a position to propose a doctrine such as the Christian doctrine of the just state"! (p. 12f.) If, on the basis of the world-rule of Christ, a Christian doctrine of the state was produced, it would then be difficult, with 1 Corinthians 15:26, to expect the destruction of all rulers, principalities and powers. The post-Barthian discussion in Germany has therefore distanced itself totally from a theological theory of the state. The lordship of Christ, according to our experience, reaches as far as people who, freed from sin through Jesus' death, are obedient. There are certainly directions given for the discipleship of Christians in political life which arise from Jesus' lordship, but there is no metaphysic of the

state which is equally valid for Christians and non-Christians. Christocentric ethics can only be discipleship ethics. It is an ethic for Christians in a state, but not a Christian ethic for the state. It is political ethics for the Christian community but not Christian politics for the civil community.

Sources: For text and commentary on the Barmen Confession see Ernst Wolf, Barmen; Kirche zwischen Versuchung und Gnade (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1975) and Arthur C. Cochrane, The Church's Confession Under Hitler (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962).

POLITICAL THEOLOGY AND POLITICAL HERMENEUTICS

The Lutheran two kingdoms doctrine arose out of the Reformation. The Reformation happened 400 years ago in the power of the newly discovered gospel and was related to the medieval corpus Christianum -- "Christendom." It had immediate consequences for the relationship of church and secular institutions to one another and for the life of Christians in both.

The new lordship of Christ doctrine arose out of the resistance of the Confessing Church. This resistance lived out of the power of the gospel and was related to the modern secularized state and the anti-Christian, totalitarian ideology of the state. In post-war Germany the effect of the Confessing Church was repressed by the restoration of the old church-state relationships. In place of a "free church" in a "free state" there arose a new institutionalized partnership between the established churches and the state which was secured through church contracts (on the Protestant side) and Concordats (on the Roman Catholic side). The romantic idea of the "Christian West" versus the Communist East encompassed the churches, the state, the schools and the society. This "utopia of the status quo" was attractive in the Federal Republic of Germany from 1945 until the beginning

of the 60's, because, understandably so, many people after their experience of the chaos of war sought only order and security.

I. What Is Political Theology? What Does It Want?

The new concept of a political theology has arisen out of a deep dissatisfaction with this restoration of antiquated conditions in Germany. In contrast to Barth, it began with criticism and a new definition of the social and political functions of the church under the conditions of the modern age. In Germany, this concept was the first attempt at a critical society-related theology in which Catholic and Protestant theologians participate in the same way (e.g., Johan Baptist Metz on the Catholic side and Dorothee Sölle and myself on the Protestant side). Political theology also has a cross-confessional character and is ecumenical insofar as both churches stand before the same problem of the growing irrelevance of their doctrines and ethics for modern life, finding in none of the different theological-church traditions the key for the solution of the problems of the modern age.

This new political theology for the church and Christian life under the conditions of the European modern age has two starting points.

First, the process of secularization has not yet received a sufficient theological answer or explanation. Political theology has taken up the marxist criticism of religion in this process. This is, as is well known, not a criticism of the content of Christian theology and religious faith but only a functional criticism, a criticism of the social, political and psychological functions of religion and church. It is no longer asked whether a theological doctrine is true or false; instead,

it is tested practically to see whether its effects are oppressive or liberating, alienating or humanizing. With this, praxis becomes the criterion of truth. This is true not only for Marx, but it is operative from Kant to Satre; it is the characteristic feature of the modern spirit. It is a movement from orthodoxy to orthopraxy. With this criterion, reflective consciousness has no longer a self-forgetting contemplative relationship to reality but has won an immanent, operative and therefore self-critical relationship to reality instead.

A theology which engages in this must reflect constantly and critically, therefore, upon its practical functions, as well as upon its content. A church which engages in this may no longer ask abstractly about the relationship of "the church and politics," as if these were two separate things which must be brought together; rather, this church must begin with a critical awareness of its own political existence and its actual social functions.

Political theology is not a new dogmatic, but it wants to awaken the political consciousness of every Christian theology; it wants to be a fundamental theology, as J. B. Metz says. There is theology which is conscious of its own political function; there is also naive and, as it were, politically unconscious theology. But there is no apolitical theology; neither in earth nor in heaven (since we expect a heavenly politeuma). There are churches who do not want to recognize their political "Sitz im Leben" within their society. They conceal, cover and disguise it and then assert that they are politically "neutral"--something which they de facto never are. There are Christian groups who exist consciously as Christian groups. But there is never an

apolitical church--neither in history nor in the kingdom of God. "Political theology" does not want to make political, rather than theological, questions the central concern of theology, but rather the reverse: it wants to be thoroughly Christian, especially in its public and political functions. It doesn't want to "politicize" the church but it does want to "Christianize" the political involvement of Christians. It therefore takes up the modern functional criticism of religion and urges movement from the orthodoxy of faith to the orthopraxis of discipleship of Christ.

Second, the history of the modern age will not be understood if it is seen theologically as only negative, i.e., the modern emancipation from tradition, the secularization of the holy, or the defection of the world from God and the church. Modern consciousness criticizes the past and the traditions regarding the origins and meaning of the past because it is oriented towards the future; it organizes human life for the end and fulfillment of history.

The criticism of past reality takes place in the name of present possibilities for the future. The criticism of tradition and institutions seeks freedom for the new present and the hoped-for-future. Thus Kant was the first to put the modern question to religion: "What may I hope for?" Instead of dwelling upon metaphysical origins as a source for security, humanity looks now to the future for transcendent meaning, an important and perhaps unique development in Western Christian theology. The experience of transcendence is thus shifted out of metaphysics into eschatology.

Following the primacy of love in medieval theology and the primacy of faith in the

reformation theology, the modern age disclosed the primacy of hope. Immanence is no longer experienced as the transient earth under an immortal heaven, but as an open process of life and as the history of a still unknown future. For 150 years theology and church had not understood this modern primacy of the future and the modern struggle for the truth of hope. Because both theology and the church encountered this development in forms of criticism of the church and of social revolution, they felt forced into a defensive position and allied themselves with anti-revolutionary powers and conservative ideologies. They saw the future of the modern age simply as the image of the antichrist and its hope as the spirit of blasphemy. Only recently have we learned to understand that the modern situation calls us to "account for the hope that is in us" (1 Pet. 3:15). This "account" is no longer achieved theologically with a small tractate on "the moral perfections," as was the case traditionally where hope was only briefly dealt with together with the other virtues of faith and love. Rather, this "account" requires a new eschatological orientation of the whole of Christian theology in order that theology can respond with the biblical promissory history to the modern interest in the history of the future.

The new political theology therefore, has declared eschatology as its foundation and as the medium of Christian theology, and this stands in contrast to the expectation of merely an apocalyptic moment in the future, as conceived in the older theology. It has designed Christian theology into a messianic theology. The roots of political theology in Europe lie in "the theology of hope."

II. The Basic Theological Position: Eschatological Christology

When one speaks of christology, it sounds specifically Christian, but it is really not so. The doctrine of the christ is the doctrine of the anointed messiah, the hoped-for-liberator and the awaited redeemer. There is also Jewish and Islamic messianism and messiology. There is messiology in every doctrine of salvation and every liberation ideology.

The modern age also has developed its political messianisms: National socialism declared the nation to be the Messiah; Italian fascism spoke of the "Duce" of the end-time; German national socialism worshipped the "Führer" of a "Third" or thousand year Reich; Saint Simon named "the machine" as messiah because it would liberate us from toil and work; and in early Marxism, the proletariat who freed themselves became the "redeemed redeemer" of the world. Everywhere in the modern age the primacy of the future was recognized and people themselves organized the end of history. Political and social revolutionary messianism arose as a result.

With political theology, however, we come to a very specific messianism, the messianic theology of the historical Jesus and the Jesus of the cross. The distinctive features of this messianic christology do not lie in its orientation toward the future, nor simply in a present liberation from misery, but in the definition of the subject of this christology: who is the Christ? Who is the Messiah? Christian christology believes that the Christ is not a nation nor a Führer nor a People nor a Spirit but, Jesus of Nazareth--the one sent with the gospel of the kingdom to the poor, the preacher of the Sermon on the Mount, the one who

called his followers to discipleship, and the one who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, was raised from the dead by God, and will come to judge the living and the dead. Not christology or messianism as such, but Jesus makes the messianism of the political theology we here describe specifically Christian.

If Christian theology, therefore, really wants to understand Jesus as the true Christ, then it must grasp him and his history in an eschatological way. It must read the story of Jesus within the framework of the Old Testament history of promise in order to understand his conflict with the law and his fulfillment of the Old Testament promise. It must so interpret his death and his resurrection from the dead in the light of the Old Testament hope in the coming God in order to understand him as the liberator of the world sent from God. Jesus is understood historically only if his story is read in light of the remembered hope of the Old Testament and the awakened hope of the kingdom of God. In this way then he is understood as God's Christ.

This brings us then to the very old Christ-question, put by the Jewish people: "Are you the coming one or shall we wait for another?" The religious question of modern times is: "What may I hope for?" This second question is very similar to the Jewish question. The coming one (ho erchōmenos) was a symbol simultaneously for the messianic liberator and for God himself. Jesus' answer to John the Baptist's question was, as everyone knows, "Go and tell John what you see and hear: the blind see, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear; the dead are raised up and the poor have the good news (gospel) proclaimed to them. And blessed is he who takes no offence at me (Matt. 11:4-6). Similarly, Luke summarizes the

messianic mission of Jesus: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me to preach the good news to the poor, to heal the broken hearts, to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, and to proclaim the acceptable (jubilee) year of the Lord." (Lk. 4:18ff.) The universal question about the future concentrates here on the question of the "coming one" who will turn calamity to wholeness of salvation and lead people from oppression to freedom.

When Jesus shows himself to be the coming one through his gospel to the poor, his healing of the sick and his forgiveness of sinners, and when he is believed in and known as the coming one by those people who are affected, then the whole future of salvation and the kingdom of freedom must be expected from him. Where the poor hear the gospel through him, where the blind recover their sight through him, where the lame walk, where the oppressed are set free and sins are forgiven, there he reveals himself as the Christ because he makes present their true future.

Jesus' messianic message and deeds may be summarized by the concept of eschatological anticipation: through him and in his way "the kingdom of God has come near," so that already his healing, liberating and saving actions can be experienced now. We can therefore summarize the many diverse messianic titles found in the New Testament by saying: "Jesus-anticipator of the kingdom of God." But if Jesus is the anticipator of God then he must simultaneously and unavoidably become the sign of opposition to the powers of a world which is opposed to God and to this world's laws which are closed to the future. Because he proclaimed the kingdom of God to the poor he came into conflict with the rich. Because he gave the

grace of God to sinners, he contradicted the laws of the pious, the Pharisees and the Zealots. Because he revealed God's lordship to the lowly and oppressed, Pilate let him be crucified in the name of the Roman Caesar-god.

Eschatological anticipation, thus inevitably brings forth historical resistance. Salvation can enter the situation of misery in no other way; liberation can enter into a world of oppression in no other way.

When we read again the story of Jesus in the light of his proclamation of the coming God, we know him much more clearly. Then we understand more clearly Jesus' resurrection from the dead: God raised him from the dead. This means that the universal resurrection of the dead has already begun in this one. The time of the end has already broken in. The future has already begun. Because people have faith in, and see the risen Christ, the people of the end-time unite together--as the body of the Messiah--in expectation of the coming kingdom of God. Jesus' resurrection from the dead must be understood as eschatological anticipation and promise, as the real beginning of the resurrection process and the world's new creation of the end-time (Rom. 8:11). Thus in the New Testament the raised one is named "the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" (1 Cor. 15:20) and "the leader of life" (Acts 3:15). From this Easter sign and promise arises for Jesus' followers the unambiguous and definite hope for the coming kingdom; out of this stance of waiting and expectation comes also the practical passion to renew life now in the spirit of resurrection, and not to equate the messianic vision with the system of this world.

Indeed, this Easter anticipation is also related to resistance, namely to the cross of Christ and to the cross which Christians carry. Whom did God raise from the dead? Just any person? No, this particular one--the condemned blasphemer, the crucified rebel, the abandoned son of God. The future of God and of salvation--the kingdom of God and God's freedom for humanity--is therefore recognizable and realized in no place other than in the poor and violated Jesus, crucified for us.

This brings us then to the dialectic between the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. For,

by his suffering he freed the sufferers;
by his weakness he wins power in the world;
by his God-forsakenness he brings God to the
forsaken and abandoned;
by his death he creates salvation for those
condemned to death.

The lordship of Christ is no royal, kingly lordship (Barth) but the lordship of the obedient servant of God (Phil. 2), the Lamb of God (Rev.)! Nor is the lordship of Christ a "religious rule," separated from the kingdom of the world; it is rather the rule of the real bodily crucified one in the midst of this world. He rules by serving. He redeems through suffering. He liberates through his sacrifice. The unity of the risen and the crucified one is grasped by neither a two kingdoms doctrine nor by the doctrine of the kingly lordship of Christ, but only by an eschatological christology.

In saying this we are already exercising a friendly critique of both Luther and Barth, and in this way:

1. Although Luther related his theology of the cross critically to the church and to faith so that it was also liberating, he left the social and political consequences to Müntzer and others, whom he declared and condemned as "enthusiasts." In Protestantism that led to the result that the lordship of the crucified one is only to be interpreted for those justified by faith. Political theology, however, begins from the assumption that Christ was not crucified between two candles on an altar, nor that the effects of his death belong only to the privacy of the individual-personal life; rather, as Hebrews says, Jesus was led "outside" the gate of the city. The salvation which faith embraces in hope is therefore not a private but a public salvation, not only spiritual but also bodily, not a purely religious but also a political salvation. We may not separate this into two kingdoms but must recognize the form of the cross in this Savior and his salvation.

2. With his doctrine of the pantocrator Christ, Barth, on the other side, fell into a kind of enthusiasm. But, as Hebrews says, "As it is, we do not yet see everything in subjection to him" (2:8). Ernest Käsemann described this Pauline "not-yet" the "eschatological reserve." Certainly the crucified one is already the Lord in his person, but he is, as such, still on the way to his kingdom. He draws the faithful into his way toward his Father. This conclusively provisional character is the historical form of the lordship of the crucified one. The theology of the cross is always a theology of the way and, equally, the theology of the way is a theology of the cross. Thus the Christian hope leads to conflict, contradiction and suffering because it resists evil and everything which resists the coming of God's kingdom; it will become certain of victory only

in this struggle, not apart from it, and certainly not in flight from it!

To sum up this section: political theology strongly appeals to its christological basis; it anticipates the coming of the resurrected-crucified Jesus. This anticipation, rooted in this particular cross-and resurrection-messianism, leads the followers of Jesus into active struggle for the kingdom's victory coming into the world.

III. Political Hermeneutics

1. The eschatological hermeneutics of history.

"Hermeneutics" signifies the art of interpretation of the witnesses of the past. Every interpretation has two sides, a historical and prophetic side; it includes historical explication and prophetic application: one must ascertain by means of historical-critical research what words, sentences, stories and symbols meant in their own time; one also must understand prophetically what they mean in our time. Hermeneutics is, therefore, the art of translation from the past into the present.

But why should we re-present the past by interpreting the witness to earlier events? Whence arises the interest which guides such knowledge? The past is not re-presented for the sake of its pure pastness. Only when something sticks in the past that points beyond itself into the future is there any point in remembering the past. The unfulfilled character of the past, its future-oriented direction and its original primal character, presses upon the present because it seeks its fulfillment and completion. Hermeneutics

returns to the past because it seeks the future in this past. History is "hope in the mode of remembrance."

Christian hermeneutics then reads the Bible as the witness of God's history of promise and the human history of hope. Its "interest in leading to knowledge" is an interest in the power of the future and how this is revealed in God's promises and stirred in human hope. Because God's history of promise, about which the Bible in its core speaks, has liberated people from their inner and outer prisons ever anew--Israel from Egypt, Jesus from death, and the church from the nations, the remembrance of this story, therefore, is as dangerous as it is liberating for every present moment; the promise of hope in the crucified Christ is dangerous for the powerful, but liberating for the powerless. By looking backward from our present, to this story, we learn to see also beyond our own present into the future, promised by Christ and the Messianic kingdom. This then is the prophetic side of hermeneutics: "Past things become present in order to announce the things of the future" (Augustine).

In World History and Salvation History Karl Löwith called the historian a prophet who is turned backwards. We can expand this insight and call the prophet a historian who is turned towards the front. As the historian discovers hope in the mode of memory, so the prophet shapes memory in the mode of hope. For the "Power of the future", anticipated in the biblical history of promise, stretches far beyond the present and its given possibilities. To grasp this in hope means to become free. We then understand history as a whole as the element of the future. What we call the past are anticipations of the future which have preceded us. When we orient the present towards

this future, it becomes a new front-line of this future. Then history is no longer the history of death and decay; it is rather the history of the future. When we speak in such an absolute and dominant way of the future which defines all history and therefore does not decay, God is meant as the "Power of the future." The power of his future affects people in such a way that they are liberated from the compulsion to repeat the past and from bondage to the givenness of what is already there. To speak of the history of this future means to speak of the history of human liberation. That is the basic thinking then of the eschatologically oriented hermeneutic of history as it has developed through stimulation from Ernst Bloch.

2. Political hermeneutics: by participation in God's history, we learn to understand God's history.

Political hermeneutics links up with eschatological hermeneutics. Early hermeneutics usually remained at one level: from manuscript to manuscript, from understanding to understanding, from faith to faith. When hermeneutics, however, involves a history of promise, then the way of translation goes from promise to fulfillment. When it involves a history of hope, then the way goes from exposition of the hope to realization. When it involves the hope of liberation, then the way goes from oppression to freedom: i.e., hermeneutics does not remain on the level of intellectual history nor on the theoretical level, but wants to lead, by way of the experience of understanding hope, to a new praxis of hope. In this regard, the thesis of Karl Marx is pertinent: "The philosophers have only differently interpreted the world, whereas everything depends upon transforming it."

When the remembered promises press for the liberation of people and for the humanizing of their relationships, the reverse of this thesis is true: everything depends upon interpreting these transformations critically. The way of political hermeneutics cannot go one-sidedly from reflection to action. That would be pure idealism. The resulting action would become blind. Instead, this hermeneutic must bind reflection and action together, thus requiring reflection in the action as well as action in the reflection. The hermeneutical method to which this leads is called in the ecumenical discussion: "the action-reflection method." Christian hope motivates those who hope for the liberating act of love; the historical practice of liberation, however, must be reflected upon in the light of this hope, and criticized in its effects and consequences.

To say this differently: without personal participation in the apostolic mission and without cooperation with the kingdom of God, one cannot understand the Bible. And without understanding the Bible, one cannot participate in the mission of the apostolate, nor can one cooperate with the kingdom of God in the world. Political hermeneutics leads to experiences in Christian passion and action. In political activity and suffering one begins to read the Bible with the eyes of the poor, the oppressed and the guilty--and to understand it.

Political hermeneutics therefore rejects pure theory in theology just as it does blind activism in ethics. Its model is a differentiated theory-praxis relationship in which theory and praxis, thinking and doing, mutually drive each other forward. Theory and practice do not belong

in two different kingdoms; however, they are never totally equivalent. They do not come to a unity in history. They constantly overlap so that theory must subsume practice and practice must incorporate theory. By means of critical theory one frees oneself from previous practice and pushes toward new liberating experience. In critical praxis one follows a theory and, through new experiences, evaluates and possibly transforms it. Such a theory then does not restrict itself to world thought but attempts to understand itself as a moment in the process by which the world will be transformed--because it opens itself to the future of the kingdom of God.

IV. The Ethics of Hope: Resistance and Anticipation

The political ethic which results from the Lutheran two kingdoms theory is an inherently secular, realistic and conservative ethic. It wishes to see the present orders of state and society as "God's ordinances" and seeks to exercise love within them (Conf. Aug.16). Its aim is the preservation of the world against threatening chaos "until that lovely last day," but not the anticipatory realization of the kingdom of God on earth. Conversely, the political ethics which follows from Barth's doctrine of the lordship of Christ seeks a way between the strict separation of the world and the kingdom of God. Rather than accepting an easy identification of the world with the kingdom of God, it seeks to relate these two with parables, hints and signs; these point to the kingdom of God in history.

The political ethic which follows from political theology begins with Barth's emphasis, but also goes beyond it. Barth's political parables, images and analogies in the civil

community are answers to the already completed salvation event in Christ; the Christian community, therefore, is a prototype. But when one begins with the eschatological christology presented here and understands history as the history of God's future, then these political parables and social analogies have not only a responsive or corresponding character turned backwards; they possess also simultaneously a character of anticipation which is directed forwards. Because the congregation attempts to correspond to Christ as messianic Lord also in political and social activity, it anticipates in history the kingdom of God.

These anticipations are not yet the kingdom of God itself. But they are real mediations of the kingdom of God within the limited possibilities of history. They are, to speak with Paul, a pledge (arrabōn) and the first fruits (aparchē) of God's kingdom in the midst of human history. This ethic then is christologically founded, eschatologically oriented and pneumatologically implemented. This world is no "waiting room for the kingdom of God." Though this world is not yet the kingdom of God itself, it is the battleground and the construction site for the kingdom, which comes from God onto the earth. We can already live now in the Spirit of this kingdom through new obedience and creative discipleship. But as long as the dead are dead and we cannot achieve justice for humanity, love remains fragmentary.

Furthermore, the Pauline ethic participates in the sacramental nature of early Christian baptism and eucharistic celebration; it is a sacramental ethic. The church, its proclamation, baptism, and the Eucharist are not themselves already the kingdom of God, but they make the kingdom present in a sacramental way. When Barth speaks of ethics

in parables, signs and analogies for the kingdom of God, this is also sacramental language. His ethic corresponds to his doctrine of baptism. For the mediation of the future kingdom into history completes itself "Christianly" by means of the sacraments. Christian ethics, therefore, also makes the future of the kingdom present in a corresponding way. When ethics is understood in this way, however, it is not sufficient to see in liberating and healing acts simply a parable, only a sign and only a hint of the freedom and salvation of the kingdom. We must go a step further then and discover the unconditioned within the conditioned, the last in the next to last and the eschatological in the ethical, just as we believe that the blood and body of Christ is present in the bread and wine of the Eucharist. In the sacrament of Christian ethics, we experience the real history, for the ethic is the element of the kingdom of God coming into the material of our history. Christian praxis--in its suffering, struggle, and hope--celebrates and completes then the presence of God in history.

The human person is not a one dimensional being. He/she always lives and suffers simultaneously in many different dimensions. Christian-messianic activity, therefore, can also not proceed mono-dimensionally but must participate in complex interrelated historical processes and the many dimensions of human experience. I will identify here the fundamental dimensions in which messianic activity must take place today:

1. The struggle for economic justice against the exploitation of some people by other people.
2. The struggle for human rights and freedom against the political oppression of some people by other people (be it patriarchalism, nationalism, or other such isms).

3. The struggle for human solidarity against the cultural alienation of people from people.

4. The struggle for ecological peace with nature against the industrial destruction of nature by humans.

5. The struggle for the meaning of life against apathy in personal life.

These five dimensions, in which messianic activity is needed, hang so closely together that one cannot be without the others; there can be no economic justice without political freedom, no improvement of socio-economic conditions without the conquering of cultural alienation, and no ecological peace or economic justice without personal conversion from apathy to hope. Whoever does not understand salvation in this "catholic" sense and does not strive for this comprehensive anticipation, does not understand salvation holistically.

Epilogue

Christian messianic ethics celebrates and anticipates the presence of God in history. It wants to practice the unconditioned within the conditioned and the last things in the next to last. In the economic dimension, God is present in bread; in healing, as health. In the political dimension God is present as the dignity of the human being; in the cultural dimension, as solidarity. In the ecological area, God is present as peace with nature; in the personal area, in the certainty of the heart. Every form of his presence is veiled and sacramental; it is not yet a presence face-to-face. God's presence encounters human persons in the concrete messianic form of his liberation from hunger, oppression, alienation, enmity and despair. These messianic forms of his presence point at the same time, however, beyond

themselves to a greater presence, and finally to that present in which "God will be all in all."

God's real presence as bread, as freedom, as community, as peace and as certainty thus have the character of exploding the present. To act ethically in a Christian sense means to participate in God's history in the midst of our own history, to participate in the comprehensive process of God's liberation of the world, and to discover our own role in this, according to our own calling and abilities. A messianic ethic makes people into co-operators for the kingdom of God. It assumes that the kingdom of God is already here in concrete, if hidden, form. Messianic ethics integrates suffering people into God's history in this world; it is fulfilled by the hope of the completion of God's history in the world by God himself.

Messianic ethics makes everyday life into a feast of God's rule, just as Jesus did. The messianic feast becomes everyday life. As Athanasius once said, "the resurrected Christ makes life a feast, a feast without end." As we celebrate the presence of God's kingdom by identifying with and serving the needs of the poor, the downtrodden, the lonely, and the powerless, Christian ethics becomes a sacrament. Then in our normal daily life in the world, politics becomes worship (Rom. 12:1-2).

FOLLOWING JESUS CHRIST IN AN AGE OF NUCLEAR WAR

Context

In this last lecture I would like to explain the theological and ethical implications of the debate about armament and nuclear armament in Germany. I am speaking out of my situation and you must see how to translate this into your situation. I do not claim to teach you what you should do in your situation; I have a hard time to find out what to do in my situation.

I am convinced that peace is a major theological problem of politics in this decade, just as unemployment is a major theological problem of our social situation. We all believe that God's peace is on heaven and on earth, but what is it and what does it mean for peacemaking on a violent earth? Shall we follow the radical discipleship of Christ? If we do so, do we abandon our responsibility for the world? We have on the one hand, especially in this seminary here, an old traditional peace church; my church, the Reformed Church, was called in history a traditional just war church. The question I face: can I still live with this tradition in my situation?

How is the situation in Europe today? I go back into history and read about three periods. We had in the 50's a peace movement under the slogan "Ban the Bomb." This was a time of the cold war in Europe, the Korean War in Asia, and the Berlin crisis in Europe. There was a confrontation building up in Europe and we had this peace movement "Ban the Bomb." But this was a voluntary movement, a voluntary group. This peace movement of the 50's declined when the time of a political peace policy came in the 60's. The treaties of the West German government with the USSR, Poland and East European countries brought us from a peace movement to the hope for a real peace policy in Europe. So in the 60's and 70's there was no considerable peace movement in my country but a real hope for peace policies, a detenté policy.

This changed dramatically when President Reagan and his administration came into office and a new conservative policy came out of the United States of America two years ago. The year 1981 was the year of the mushrooming of a European peace movement, a real nonviolent peaceful movement. The gathering on October 10 last year brought more than 300,000 young, but not only young, people to Bonn. When President Reagan visited us in June this year, 400,000 met on the other side of the Rhine. And this was also an unorganized and nonviolent gathering of people demonstrating for peace. And the beginning of this year showed us how an American peace movement also came into being; we have felt great support from the American peace movement.

This peace movement, in Europe and America is especially important to us because we live under the threat of Russia SS20 missiles in Europe. We were used to living under this threat already for a couple of years. But then we heard from the White

House and the Pentagon about a public calculating of a limited nuclear war in Europe. All of a sudden my people got the feeling that our lives were at stake; a limited nuclear war in Europe must be in central Europe, and that is in the two parts of Germany, and we will be the first. Therefore the new peace movement in my country is not only a movement of young people. Many older people have joined the peace movement because they all fear the danger now at hand. So the character of the peace movement in Germany at the moment is a real peoples movement, not only a students movement. It is a Christian movement and not a Communist movement. The organizers of the great gathering in Bonn were two Christian organizations and no communist organizations. There is a small number of communists in the peace movement, but that doesn't matter.

This peace movement is important also because, for the first time, West Germany and East Germany are experiencing the same thing. We have had an autonomous peace movement of young Christian people in East Germany and they have a special difficulty because the policy of the DDR was always called, since the beginning, a peace policy. So they have had peace missiles and peace tanks; everything is for peace there. To create then an autonomous peace movement in such a situation has been especially difficult. But for the first time it has happened.

One must say that this is not only a crisis of military policy, but a crisis of the whole political industrial system--East and West. The armament race in the north and the growing poverty in the south of the world belong together. We are destroying the third world more and more with our armament race; the two developments are intertwined.

The question we face is: can a church as a whole become a peace church, or is this limited to only committed Christian groups in a church? We face also a related question: responsible support of the world orders of economics, society, culture and politics or consistent, undivided discipleship of Christ in economic, social, cultural and political conditions? This is the question today in view of the growing number of nuclear plants, further economic growth at the cost of poor peoples and the preparation for nuclear warfare. Should we boycott nuclear energy? Must we come up with alternative economic systems? Should we "live without armaments?" Can we afford to buy "no products of apartheid?" Or is it the case that we may not and cannot "drop out" and must therefore exist responsibly with nuclear energy, live with the bomb and use our economic relationships with South Africa to improve the conditions of the blacks there? Where are the limits of Christian responsible political engagement?

I. Christian Responsibility for the World or Discipleship of Christ? Reformation Reflections

Responsible participation or undivided discipleship? That was the question which stood behind the consequential and controversial Article 16 of the Augsburg Confession. Unfortunately it is not clearly recognizable and therefore overlooked by many that the Lutheran Church on this question took an unambiguous but also one-sided position. The reason for this was that with this confession at the Augsburg Reichstag the Protestants wanted to enter into discussion with the Emperor and Rome, but not with the "Left Wing of the Reformation," which was at that time still a widespread Anabaptist movement prepared for peace. Together

with the Catholic Church the Protestants united themselves in a common condemnation and persecution of the Anabaptists. Who were the Anabaptists and what did they teach?

Article 16 of the Confessio Augustana is an answer to Article 6 of the Schleitheim Articles of 1527 (the "Brotherly Union"), which Michael Sattler drafted for the first Anabaptist synod. Within a year (four months actually) Sattler was burned at the stake in nearby Rottenburg-am-Neckar. We begin with a systematic comparison of these two articles.

1. "The sword is a divine order outside of the perfection of the Christ" (Schleitheim Article 6).

This sentence summarizes the lived witness of the Anabaptists. The perfection of Christ can only be lived in the consistent and undivided discipleship of Jesus. This means that a Christian cannot serve two lords. If a person confesses "Christ alone:" as his or her Lord, then he or she must live solely according to the wisdom of Christ as it is expressed for the life of discipleship in the Sermon on the Mount. A Christian is not a person with a divided conscience. Therefore a Christian cannot commit an act of violence, not even to impede or punish others doing violent acts. It follows that a Christian cannot accept and practice a calling in economics and politics; this would compromise his or her faith by forcing him or her to use violence. For the Anabaptists of that time this meant no participation in public affairs which necessitated the use of the sword; hence this meant refusal to participate in the army, serve in the police functions, or hold positions in the court and the state.

The perfection of Christ can only be lived in the voluntary community of brothers and sisters. The voluntary community which is constituted by faith, discipleship and baptism is the true, visible body of Christ. In this visible community of believers there is only admonishment--no force, only forgiveness; no judgment, only love, no calculation, only obedience. This voluntary community which is constituted by faith, discipleship and baptism is the true, visible body of Christ. This voluntary community of Christ is the visible alternative to the society of laws and compulsions: "It shall not be so among you..." (Mt. 20:26ff). Many Anabaptists demonstrated this alternative in their own life communities: the Hutterite Brothers from Mähren created the "Brüderhöfe," which still exist in the United States and Canada. The Mennonites founded their own village communities in Russia, Paraguay and the United States. The current movement of basic communities and alternative rural communities on the land has Anabaptist origins.

The perfection of Christ is proven through the refusal of participation in state acts of violence. The Christian's ministry of peace demands the consistent defenselessness of life. The Anabaptists did not believe with Luther that executioners and soldiers could be in a "holy station," they refused participation in such public offices which "necessarily force one to sin." They refused to take oaths and repudiated that private ownership of land and tools which made other human beings into slaves.

Finally, the perfection of Christ can be witnessed in this violent world only through fundamental readiness and willingness for suffering and defenseless martyrdom. Patience, tolerance and

"forbearance" were considered signs of the true church. Indeed the Anabaptists are the martyrs of the Reformation times--persecuted, condemned and executed by Protestants and Catholics alike. The Book of Martyrs and the moving Anabaptist song of 1527, "How precious is the consecrated death..." speak a most impressive language. When Michael Sattler was interrogated at Rottenburg about how to defend against the danger of the Turks stirring out of the East, he replied, "Live defenseless!"

Love of neighbor, defenselessness, readiness for suffering are for the "Anabaptist" the signs of discipleship of Christ based on personal faith and one's own decision. Is this responsible Christian existence? There remain open questions. The "community of Christ" and "this world" stand in exclusive opposition. Only in apocalyptic times has the Christian community experienced such alternatives. From this perspective the community of Christ must separate itself from "this world." Is "this world" thus lost? Is this world, despite its violence and inhumanity, not God's good creation? If the community of Christ separates itself from society, does it not then show only its own "great refusal," but not the criticism of this violent world in light of the judgment and kingdom of God?

2. "...all established rule and laws were instituted and ordained by God..." (Confessio Augustana, Article 16).

This sentence appropriately summarizes the witness of the "Lutheran responsibility for the world." If all established rule is from God, then the participation of Christians in ruling offices and their conduct according to public laws cannot as such be considered sinful. To civil offices and to actions according to public laws

also belongs the Christian's right to "render decisions and pass sentence according to imperial and other existing laws, punish evil doers with the sword, engage in just wars, serve as soldiers, buy and sell, take required oaths, possess property, be married, etc." None of this contradicts the gospel because the gospel teaches an "eternal righteousness in the heart." The perfection of Christ is not external, but rather internal. It is the "proper fear of God and real faith in God." Because "the gospel does not teach an outward and temporal but an inward and eternal mode of existence and the righteousness of the heart," it does not overturn the worldly regiment but requires that the political and economic orders be kept as "true orders of God" (Conservare tamquam ordinationes Dei) and that love be practiced in these orders. Thus Christians are obliged to be subject to civil authority and obey its commands and laws. Fortunately, the Augsburg Confession also added a phrase at the end of this wholesale declaration of civil authorities, namely, "except when they command to sin" (nisi cum jubent peccare). "When commands of the civil authority cannot be obeyed without sin, we must obey God rather than men," says Article 16.

We have here in classical form the basic ideas of Christian responsibility for the world: every political power contains an element of "good order" without which there can be no common human life. Civil authority is created by God and equipped with a monopoly of force so that social peace might be preserved and political justice established. It belongs to Christians as such to respect and responsibly maintain civil authority. The political obligation of Christians is not the "great refusal" but responsible cooperation.

But according to which criteria should Christians cooperate? The gospel, they believe, offers no new perspectives for the transformation of structures but rather only obligates Christians to "love in structures." Love penetrates all political and economic orders but does not transform them. It presupposes that in the normal situation God speaks through the gospel internally in the heart with the same language with which the authorities created and set in place by God speak externally. In cases of doubt one must obey God more than human beings, that is, the gospel more than the authorities.

But if Christian world responsibility means leading a responsible life in the world orders, then this means that God, not the human being, is responsible for it. Christian responsibility for the world thereby gains a fundamentally preserving tendency: against the temptation to disintegrate (dissipare) political and economic orders, it conserves them by explaining them as "God's orders." This conservative orientation is grounded in the faith that the preservation of the world by the divinely ordained authorities is willed by God until the end of time (conservatio mundi). The criteria for Christian responsibility for the world are thus love and reason. There is no such thing as a peculiarly Christian view of justice or a wisdom which is specifically Christian. This formulation of Christian responsibility for the world makes the Christian unrecognizable in worldly callings and positions, for in ordinary situations he/she chooses to do exactly the same thing that non-Christians do.

The critical questions which arise here are numerous: If the gospel really teaches only the righteousness of the heart, then the thought of the actually lived, incarnated--that is, also political

and economic--discipleship is sacrificed. A faith which is made so internal delivers over the external world to other powers which it must then explain as divine orders; these then must be obeyed, but "without sin." But can just any group--militaristic and even terrorist perhaps--who come to power by the use of arms be regarded as a divine order? Should the text be understood to say "all authorities," or only legitimate governments (legitimas ordinationes), as the Latin says.

So just as the Anabaptists stand in danger of pulling themselves back out of the world quietistically and without criticism, so the Lutherans stand in danger of going along with the world as it is and cooperating without criticism. The "silent ones in the land" and the "pious state underlings" thus in the end have little to contribute to peace and justice in economics and politics in the world.

Further, this conflict of the Lutherans and the Anabaptists over responsible participation or undivided discipleship provides no direct way to address the problems of Christian witness in the nuclear age. However, for Christians today the patterns of both of these decisions are always close at hand. These great alternatives constantly obtrude in many individual decisions; the basic thinking for these decisions remains similar to that of the sixteenth century.

II. "Justified Nuclear War" or "Refusal of Nuclear Weapons"?

We begin with the major pronouncements of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands (1962, 1978), of the Protestant Church in Germany (1969, 1981), and of the Reformed Alliance in Germany (1982). According to these pronouncements we must assume

that peace is the order and promise of God: God wants to live with human beings in a kingdom of peace. Because of this the people of God are given their task of peace. Peace means not only the absence of war but also the overcoming of suffering, anxiety, threat, injustice and oppression. Peace is the blessed, affirmed, good, splendid life with God, with human beings, and with nature: Shalom. It is the commission of Christians to serve this peace in all dimensions of life, to promote it and protect it, but in particular to resist war, the most dangerous form of the lack of peace. Christian churches have always viewed their position against war as only one part of their comprehensive service of peace.

In view of the fact and possibility of war there have been among Christians two different approaches:

(1) Principled pacifism (from the traditional peace churches). This approach refuses every act of violence, including those acts of violence by which violence is to be prevented. Here the discipleship of Christ is given priority over political responsibility for one's own people. The responsibility for the consequences of this discipleship is given over to God: "Do not have anxiety . . ."

(2) The doctrine of "just war." Whoever is not a pacifist always explains himself/herself with a kind of "doctrine of just war." This doctrine does not intend to provide a justification for war--we must be clear about this--but seeks to apply the moral criteria of justice and injustice to the conduct of war. With this doctrine the moral norms of good and evil are applied to the execution of war. According to this theory war must be conceived as a means of politics or a

continuation of politics by other means. Yet we should be aware of the fact that the doctrine of the "just war" was not developed for the justification of war but for the limitation of war, because no one is allowed to participate in an unjust war, (both the Vietnam war and the Falkland's war, e.g., were, according to this tradition, unjust wars because war was never declared).

The decisive elements of the doctrine of the "just war" are:

1. War must be declared by a legitimate authority; it must serve the common good of the state.

2. It must be conducted with a good intention.

3. It must be conducted with the expectation of a good outcome: the general situation after the war must be better than the situation before it.

4. All peaceful means for a resolution of the conflict must have been exhausted.

5. The means of the war may not be worse than the evil which is supposed to be overcome by it, that is, the means must stand in the right relationship to the end.

6. There must be a distinction between soldiers and citizens. The civil population must be protected.

Points 1-4 relate to jus ad bellum, (the right to war); point 6 to jus in bello (justice in war) and point 5 relates to both. Those who find these considerations somewhat macabre in the

world today may apply these points to a doctrine of the "just liberation struggle" and think, for example, about the struggle of the Sandinistas against Somoza in Nicaragua. But we in the Federal Republic of Germany have to come to grips with the possession of nuclear weapons, and now quite specifically the refusal of armament or disarmament; we must in this situation live out our service of peace as Christians and churches of Christ. Our efforts to find the right way have taken place within the context of five related considerations, in the church and in the world generally:

1. The Doctrine of the "Just Nuclear War"

According to this doctrine nuclear war is not to be directly justified but rather confined to prescribed limits. The possession of weapons is not refused. Having weapons is part of the present deterrent system which "secures peace." The use of the weapons is subjected to the norm of the appropriateness of the means and the norm of the differentiation between military and civilian population. This means that the massive destruction of large cities is not allowed; only the selective use on military objectives is allowed. The strategy of "massive retaliation," therefore, is not to be justified. As a result of the strategic attacks on military installations, however, civil population will be destroyed, and this is inevitable. This inevitability is thus a part of the deterrence strategy because it provides an additional threat to the opponent. But mass destruction cannot be espoused. Hence it is prohibited to be the first one to use nuclear weapons. If this is prohibited, then it is also prohibited to prepare for a first-strike capacity. These considerations, arising from the application of the just war theory, do not exclude, however--to

this point in the discussion--nuclear armament as such.

By its further development of nuclear weapons the government of the United States (and the USSR as well) is obviously following the position of "just nuclear war": the neutron bomb, the Pershing II and the Cruise missiles can be employed with precision against military objectives without causing massive destruction of civil population. Out of the old strategy of massive destruction has developed the more finely tuned strategy of "limited nuclear war." Nuclear weapons are thus made useable. Accordingly, the process of increasing armaments is organized more and more. With this, however, the threshold of the beginning of a nuclear war has come only considerably nearer. And because no one knows whether a "limited nuclear war" can be kept within limits, the situation in Europe has become not more secure but less secure. As far as I am aware, no one in our European churches is a proponent of a "just nuclear war," because the limiting of such a war cannot be assured.

2. The Doctrine of the "Just Nuclear Armament"

While the doctrine of the "just nuclear war" has been refused, the doctrine of "just nuclear armament," however, is maintained in both pronouncements of the Protestant church of Germany (EKD) of which we have spoken (1969, 1981): By means of the parity of armaments the present "peace" is preserved; only a situation of parity will allow negotiations for disarmament; and, further, the mutually incredible horror of attack prevents a nuclear war. Because disarmament steps can be taken only on the basis of military parity, armaments must be increased. But this can be

justified only if the "breathing space" or "grace period" is used to move from armed peace to a security system without nuclear weapons and to build an international order of peace.

According to this doctrine, therefore, only the possession and threat, but not the use of nuclear weapons, may be allowed. If, however, one is not ready to use what one possesses, no deterrence results. To this extent there is an illusion here. On the other hand, it was already recognized in the 1969 pronouncement: "The expectations which in the early 1960's were connected with international politics on the basis of "armament control" can no longer be maintained." The "breathing space" or "grace period" was not used for peace--not because of bad will, but because the possibility did not actually exist: In the midst of the armaments race one can hardly speak of disarmament. The speed of increased armaments is always many times greater than the speed of disarmament talks (compare, e.g., the relationship between the Geneva talks to limit intermediate-range missiles while at the same time development plans proceed for space war missiles!).

3. The Apocalyptic Threshold

Among many people today the impression is growing that increased armaments of nuclear weapons do not secure peace but rather lead more and more into a collective insanity. The deterrent systems have their own laws. Within their logic it is not asked whether something serves peace and life but whether it increases the enemy's fear of one's own strike capacity. Kurt Biedenkopf is right when he calls "peace" based on nuclear deterrence an "ultimate threshold," because nuclear deterrence presents the threat of the enemy as world destruction. A securing of "peace" by means of

threatening world destruction can never be stabilized as a permanent condition. This situation is therefore unsuitable as the foundation of a permanent order of peace. That an apocalyptic peace of deterrence is not even "capable of gaining democratic consensus" shows that among the peoples of the world there is still a healthy human understanding.

There is ethically no conceivable justification of a possible destruction of humanity and of life on earth in order to protect the rights and freedom in one of the social systems in which human beings live today. A "peace" which is bought with the threat of world destruction is no peace. The peace of deterrence through mutual fear may technically be "non-employment of weapons," but it is not peace. Mutual deterrence through fear is a condition of extreme lack of peace, because it increases potential realities of violence. Even without nuclear war the stock-piling of armaments already destroys the life of human beings and the natural environment. The "military-industrial complex" spreads itself like a cancerous growth and infects all dimensions of life. Unnoticed, a total mobilization has come into being.

We call, therefore, for "withdrawal from the apocalyptic threshold," a gradual nuclear disengagement as a first step and then the gradual dismantling of conventional armaments. But is such a withdrawal still at all possible? Does not the turning back away from an apocalyptic death zone unto life mean a comprehensive transformation of the whole system in which we live? If for a moment we imagine that the nuclear threat did not exist, we would then have to disband the military, dismantle the armaments industry, establish the state economy without a military budget, free our souls from anxiety and aggression, and... But

because this idea sounds so utopian, it is clear that we have never thought through it seriously; this shows that we quite pessimistically believe that the "point of no return" has already been reached and we have become prisoners of the deterrence system. In terms of political rhetoric the "force of the issue" and the "momentum" have already taken the place of free, responsible decisions.

4. "To Live Without Armaments"

A person who recognizes that mutual deterrence through fear is based not on a parity of armaments but on an armaments race which is already now bleeding the nations to death and can lead to no good end stands before the decision either to go along with it or to protest against it. It is therefore understandable that the old movement which worked under the slogan "Ban the Bomb," a "struggle against nuclear death," is being resurrected in Europe today under the self-obligating formulation "live without armaments" (Ohne Rüstung Leben) The logic is clear: The use of nuclear weapons is irresponsible and sin.

But if the use is irresponsible and sin then the possession also can not be considered responsible, for the possession binds the possessor to rearmament, improved rearmament, modernization, etc., and also, in the long run, to their use. If, however, the possession is not to be considered responsible, then one must withdraw from the universal arms race and devote all of one's efforts to an alternative service of peace just as the Anabaptists and Mennonites who were prepared for peace have done for a long time--and this was written not simply for this occasion of dialogue here.

"To live without armaments" can have two dimensions, a personal and a political dimension.

First, Christians who place the discipleship of Christ over responsibility for the world can deny themselves without making their own denial a model and a law for all human beings, Christians and non-Christians. That was the way of the Anabaptists: Defenselessness, bound with the readiness for suffering and martyrdom, is the way of faith, and this faith is "not everyone's thing" (we can expect it from those who believe, but not from those who do not have the strength of faith; it is a personal commitment, but not a political proposal).

Second, Christians and non-Christians who want to end the arms race can deny themselves and make their readiness to live without armament a political injunction for all human beings of their nation.

In the first case the risk is personal; in the second case it is also political. In the first case one takes the consequences upon oneself; in the second case one must think of the consequences for others.

Wherein does the risk lie in the second case? Whoever disarms unilaterally and brings to the enemy preliminary achievements for peace can of course by this very action provoke the foe to aggression (e.g., it is sometimes said that England's and France's peace initiative in 1939 provoked Hitler's aggression). Even if no aggression results, one can thereby become subject to black-mailing and extortion through the threats of the adversary. In this way one delivers oneself and one's own to the more powerful foe. Therefore

whoever believes that nuclear war can be prevented only through unilateral disarmament must be ready to sacrifice not only himself or herself but also his or her own people. Such a person must risk the freedom, the rights and the security of his or her own country in order to save the whole of life on this earth from nuclear death. Therefore, a more conservative group in the European church says that the slogan "live without armament" serves not the resistance but the intensification of military practices in world politics" ("Sicherung des Friedens," 1980, Thesis 9). To be sure, this risk is not yet provable because as of yet no one has made the experiment but it is a fear which cannot easily be laid to rest as long as the adversary is believed to be capable only of the worst, but not of the rational. And this leads to the controversy of what we, the West, can expect of the Russians--the worst or the rational.

5. "Complementarity"

In and of themselves the two basic decisions, "just nuclear armament" and "refusal of nuclear weapons," contradict each other. The EKD pronouncements (1969, 1981), however, recommend a third, combined standpoint. It is the thesis of the complementarity of both decisions which, just as much as they mutually exclude each other, also limit, and in view of the common goal of peace, even complete each other. Out of this idea, then, has been developed the formula of "service of peace with and without weapons." The "service of peace without weapons" is not seen as "alternative service" but as directed toward the "goal of international solidarity." It should be possible for an individual to engage in the "service of peace without weapons" in place of his military service "but without thereby forcing him to a decision of conscience against military service,"

says the pronouncement of 1969. If the "service of peace without weapons" did not exist, then the armament would become total and without limits. If the "service of peace with weapons" did not exist, then the "service of peace without weapons" would be overcome by the weapons of the foe. But this complementarity is illuminating only so long as military armament has the goal of preventing nuclear warfare in order to gain time for building another system of peace. But that is an illusion. The complementarity thesis does not remove the personal decisions of any Christian, for no one can decide complementarity. This is a position of church leaders who believe that they must always stand "for everyone." But it cannot be the position of Christian persons who must decide this way or that.

III. Remembering the Sermon on the Mount

Up to now both sides of this issue have made their calculations as if neither Christ nor the Sermon on the Mount existed. With Christ, however, there comes into the calculation a factor which suspends the whole process and changes everything: It is the reality of God which actually supports us all.

"You are children of your Father in heaven," says Jesus. This remembrance calls us out of the conflict. Whoever engages in a struggle and arbitrates a conflict stands under the law of retaliation. Otherwise the parity in the conflict cannot be maintained: eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth, armament--counterarmament, proliferation--counter proliferation. When we engage an enemy on the basis of the law of retaliation, however, we enter into a vicious circle from which we can no longer escape. We become enemy to our enemy and horrified by our own fear. We threaten what

threatens us and we hate what hates us. We are more and more determined by the enemy. When evil is retaliated with evil, then there arises one evil after another, and that is deadly. We can be freed from such vicious circles only when our orientation to the foe ceases and another one becomes more important to us.

The love which Jesus puts in place of retaliation is the love of the enemy. The love of friends, "mutual love," is nothing special" it is only retaliation of good with good. The love of the enemy, however, is not recompensing, but is rather an anticipating, intelligent, and creative love. Whoever repays evil with good must be really free, strong and sovereign. The love for the enemy does not mean surrender to the enemy, submission to his will. For rather, he or she is no longer in the stance of reacting to the enemy, but seeks to create something new, a new situation for the enemy and for himself/herself. He/she follows his/her own intention and no longer allows the law of actions to be prescribed by the foe. Jesus did not die with a curse upon his enemies but rather with a prayer for them. In his life, his passion and his dying Jesus revealed the perfection of God: "Be perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect."

Of what does God's perfection consist? In no way is a moral perfectionism meant. It consists of that love which is long-suffering, friendly and patient, which does not add to evil or carry a grudge, which bears all things, believes all things and hopes all things (1 Cor. 13). God's perfection lies in the fact that he loves his enemies, blesses them, does good to them and does not return evil for their evil. It is precisely from this that we all live. The whole world lives from this divine reality, even if it does not know it. As Jesus said, God is like the sun rising on the evil and

the good, or like the rain pouring down upon the just and the unjust. Hence God bears all and maintains all because he hopes for each one. God's perfection is his limitless ability for suffering, his almightiness is his patient suffering for and with all things. God's uniqueness is his inexhaustable creative power of love.

In former times, we have asked only: What serves our security, what serves our survival? But now in listening to the Sermon on the Mount and seeking to experience God's love for the enemy, we must rephrase the basic question: What is the most helpful thing for "the enemy?" In what way can we best bless those who curse us? How do we do good for those who hate us? To remain concrete for my situation in Germany; since we Germans fear the Russians (and otherwise almost nothing on the face of the earth), we must ask: What helps the Russian people to gain peace more, our further armament or our disarmament? In what way can we bless the communist who curses us? In what way can we do good for the peoples of the "third world" who consider us their exploiter and enemy?

The politics of "national security" is, to a large degree, a politics of anxiety and fear: Because we have anxiety we demand security. Because we demand security, we increase our armaments. As we increase our arms we give terror to our adversary. Therefore our adversary also increases his arms. Quite to the contrary of this system, creative intelligent love arises out of freedom, out of the freedom to be a child of the eternal God, and that means out of the freedom from the fear of temporal death. Out of this freedom can come love for the enemy and the work for peace. Can one, however, really become free from this anxiety? One can become at least a bit freer from it when one recognizes the danger and consciously

enters into the risk. To the degree that the risk of the vulnerable, defenseless but creative life becomes conscious to us, the more free and patient we become. Only the unknown and the repressed make us really anxious. In this sense I am personally willing and ready to live without armaments.

IV. The Consequence: To Proclaim Peace

I come now to the 1981 Declaration on Peace by the Society of Protestant Theology (of which I have been president since 1981) and the statement of the Reformed Alliance in Germany from August, 1982. These two groups have made clear statements against nuclear war and armament and for disarmament. What follows represents, first, the Declaration of 1981.

Jesus Christ, as he is witnessed to us in the Holy Scriptures and lives among us in the Holy Spirit, is our peace (Eph. 2:14). In him the eternal God has reconciled the world with himself (2 Cor. 5:14). Through him the world will be redeemed. Through the gospel he makes his peace to be proclaimed among us (Eph. 6:15).

There are no dimensions of our life in which we cannot be certain of the peace of God. There are not conflicts of our life, neither personal nor political, which are not embraced by God's will for peace with human beings and his whole creation. There are no enemies, neither personal nor political, for whom God's will for peace does not apply.

We deny God's peace when we secure ourselves before our enemies by becoming

enemies to them, when we encounter their threat with counter-threat and their terror with horror. God's peace rather makes it possible for us to love our enemies creatively by understanding their suffering, by thinking through our own position critically, and by making every conceivable effort to dismantle their and our enmity. Love of the enemy is an expression of the sovereign freedom of the children of God and has nothing to do with weakness and submission.

From the modern, military means of mass destruction comes not only a deadly danger for humanity and all life on earth; it threatens us also with immeasurable guilt (and this reflects our experience as German Christians from WW II, after which we must ask how we can come to the judgment of God).

The Reformed Declaration says:

Jesus Christ is our peace. By reconciling the world to God upon his cross he made peace between man, God's enemy and God. To him as the risen and ascended Lord belongs all power on heaven and on earth. He has sent his community into the world to witness to his peace, to spread the word of reconciliation and, in obedience to the word, to live in peace. His peace which the world can neither give, secure nor destroy sets us free to pray, to think and to work for peace among men.

This confession of our faith is incompatible with the opinion that the question of peace on earth among men is

simply a matter of political calculation and, accordingly, to be settled independently of the challenge and claim of the gospel's embassy for peace. In the face of the threat to peace posed by the means of mass destruction by both conventional weapons of mass destruction and A, B and C weapons, we as a church have often kept silent for too long or not witnessed to the will of the Lord with sufficient decision. Now as the possibility of atomic war is becoming a probability, we come to this recognition: the issue of peace is a confessional issue. In our opinion the status confessionis is given to it because the attitude taken toward mass destruction has to do with the affirmation or denial of the gospel itself.

Now these are the first two clear statements of official churches in my country. It is instructive to compare these statements with the Declaration of the Brethren, from 1958:

The deployment of means of mass destruction in the use of the state's threat of power and use of power can only result in the factual denial of God's gracious will for his creation and for human beings. Such conduct simply cannot be represented as Christian. To maintain a position of neutrality on this stance, which is recognized as sinful by us, cannot be harmonized with the confession of Jesus Christ.

To conclude this presentation, I explicate further the convictions of these statements, and indeed, my own convictions. If the use of the means of mass destruction is sin, then the

possession of the means of mass destruction for the purpose of threatening and deterring the enemy cannot be justified as Christian. Because this threat is effective only if one is also ready the weapons, the threat itself is immoral and must also be viewed as sin.

The modern military means of mass destruction have changed war so much that the real nature of war is revealed now before everyone's eyes. We have reached the point, therefore, where we must go back and say that all war is irresponsible, is sin, and there can be no justification of it. Every martial threat and positioning which includes the possibility of escalation to universal nuclear war is irresponsible. The current "peace through mutual deterrence" is also irresponsible.

The planned spiraling of nuclear armaments threatens us all as never before. We therefore demand immediate and binding arms talks among the great powers. We advocate a European disarmament conference with the declared goal of establishing a zone free from the means of mass destruction. We support a gradual disarmament in the area of conventional arms and the agreed upon building up of cooperation in Europe and Asia, in particular in areas of economic justice.

The service of peace then must become the content of life in the community of Jesus Christ. Church institutions and organizations can do no other than encourage and help in the formation of this service of peace among Christians. Service of peace which is alive in the congregation and which is being supported by the church leadership should have these three emphases in mind:

1. Learning the love of the enemy. Wars are spread through friend-foe thinking. Through

artificially concocted images of the enemy, fears are used and aggressions called forth. Through psychological warfare human beings are led to the disregard for life and mobilized for killings. The command of the love of the enemy enables the dissolution of these images of the enemy and the fears and aggressions which are engendered through them.

If anxiety before the enemy is made the counsel of politics, not only external but also internal peace is imperiled. The loyalty of the citizens to the government which has been elected by them is then no longer won through fulfilling the mandate to govern but forced through the spreading of fear, be it fear of enemies of the state, or be it the fear to be considered as an enemy of the state. The spreading of psychological unrest and public mistrust are the results. Whoever wants, on the contrary, to spread peace will resist the use and engendering of fear in our people. Sober historical and political analyses can also free us in Germany from the fear of Russia, the horror of the communists, and make us capable of the necessary concrete political encounter (as I once answered one who pressed me about the Russian communist threat: "in Moscow also they cook only with water;" he was completely baffled!).

2. Recognizing the real danger and cooperating on overcoming it. While taking up again and intensifying this East-West conflict, the great powers have repressed from the public awareness the much more dangerous North-South conflict and the danger of the ecological catastrophe. The politics of the new armament functions at the expense of help for the Third World and leads to its further exploitation. The poor are already today paying for the arming of the

rich. Already today time, intelligence and capital are being wasted for instruments of mass destruction and not spent for overcoming hunger in the world. The Christian's service of peace in such a situation must also become the voice and advocate of the silent and dying peoples in the midst of the conflict over spiraling armaments.

3. Becoming a peace church. The more the church moves from being a church bound to the state to a free church, the clearer can become its witness to peace and the less ambiguous its initiative for peace. We believe that the church of Jesus Christ can become a church of peace without sectarian isolation from the world. It will become a peace church to the degree that it confesses Christ and Christ alone as its and the whole world's peace and shows the necessary consequences of this confession.

Two final remarks: I believe that so-called pacifism is no longer an illusion or utopia; pacifism is the only realism of life left to us in this apocalyptic situation of threatening world annihilation. Pacifists are the realists of life, and not merely voices of utopia. Second, having come through two world wars with much misery and tragedy, we Christians in Germany do not want to become guilty of a third and last world war. Please understand us and help us make your witness of peace and our witness of peace an emerging common witness of peace.

