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Outlook-94th Congress

# Congress Has Many New Faces but Same Old Problems

By John W. Baker, associate director in charge of Research Services **Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs** 

When the 94th Congress convenes this month there will be many new faces but most of the same old problems present.

In the Senate, Democrats gained three new seats for a total of 61 with the New Hampshire race, the closest Senate election in history, going, apparently, to the Republican by two votes in a statewide election. However, the elections produced more of a change in the Senate than the increase in the Democratic majority indicates. Eleven of the one hundred Senators will be new to the Senate though two of them served in the House of Representatives in the 93rd Congress. Eight of the new members are Democrats, three are Republicans.

The House of Representatives shows the more dramatic change. Though the Democrats showed a net gain of 43 seats—the new lineup is 291 Democrats, 144 Republicans-it is more important that retirements and decisions to run for other offices led to the election of 76 freshmen Democrats and 16 freshmen Republicans.

With newcomers making up 11 percent of the Senate and more than 21 percent of the House, new approaches to old problems should at least be given serious consideration by the Congress.

### **Pending Tax Reform**

One of the most profound changes in the 94th Congress did not come as a result of the elections, however. The tragic and precipitous fall from power of Congressman Wilbur Mills-long considered the most powerful single member of Congress-could have repercussions on



church-state relations. Mills is no longer the Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. The Committee has been enlarged to 37 members with Democrats holding 25 of the seats. Eighteen of

the 37 members are new to the Committee. The new Chairman, Al Ullman of Oregon, has indicated that the Committee will operate more openly and more democratically than it did in the past.

Ways and Means is expected to hold hearings on and produce major bills on tax reform and on national health insurance. Both of these could have far reaching influences on churches and their institutions.

It is too early to know what the tax package will contain. Usually the Committee holds open hearings on all types of proposals for reform. Congressmen, spokesmen from the executive branch, public interest group representatives, and representatives of special interests which would be helped or hurt by tax changes (e.g., the American Association & Man-

ufacturers and the AFL-CIO) present their points of view and, after the Committee reaches some tentative agreements, the staff draws up a final bill which the Committee may approve and send to the full

The Committee is larger, younger, and generally more liberal this year. We will have to wait a few months to see how these changes will be reflected in public policy. but it is clear that an attempt will be made at a "root and branch" reform of a patchwork tax system.

Any broad tax reform could affect the churches and must be monitored carefully this year.

### Health Insurance

The Committee on Ways and Means will also take action on proposals for some form of a comprehensive national health insurance program. The program proposed by the American Medical Association-Medicredit-lost 54 of its House sponsors in the November elections. The AMA and President Ford propose plans which provide for a central role for private insurance companies and for medical and hospital payments similar to the \$100 deductible clause in automobile collision insurance.

Speaker of the House Carl Albert sees the last election as a mandate for a more comprehensive health insurance act. In all

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# From the Desk of the **Executive Director**

# Why the Church Must Be Involved in Public Affairs

By James E. Wood, Jr.

As in previous years, the great need of this year 1975 is that the church may be the church. Simply to profess Christ as Lord does not constitute for the church, any more than it does for the individual, authenticity of its claim to belong to Christ. In the light of its theological heritage, some application or incarnational expression of the church's witness within history is inescapable. Involvement of the church in public affairs is based upon certain fundamental truths which

periodically need reaffirmation. 1. The church is not to be bound to the power structures of this world.

The church must be free first of all in order to serve its Lord, and, secondarily. in order to be involved in the transformasociety and the kingdoms of this world. The freedom of the church is not an



end in itself, but is prerequisite to the church's assuming the role of servant in the world. To the degree that a church is allied with the powers of this worldeconomic, political, social-to that degree it is in bondage and its prophetic role is denied. The captive church, whether of a majority or a minority, a dictatorship or a democracy, a ghetto or surburbia, is one whose prophetic voice has been seriously altered. Only a liberated church can proclaim a liberating Gospel.

2. Involvement in public affairs is an inescapable responsibility of the church.

To moralize about the world while remaining aloof from the world, "keeping one's own hands clean," is incompatible with the church's apostolic mission and a denial of its claim to be the body of Christ. The church is bound to participate in the arena of public affairs because it cares about persons.

It must ever find a way of speaking a word on behalf of the oppressed and the powerless, as Christ himself so exemplified. Certainly the church cannot ignore the oppressed or the powerless people of the world. It must give witness to their liberation. Black theologians, for example, have rightly reminded us in recent years, "If God is not the God of the oppressed he is not the God of the New Testament." The church sees all human rights as sacred because of a theological understanding of man as created in God's image.

3. The secular state is one which the church should strongly welcome, for the secular state is not an enemy of religion but an ally of religious liberty.

To oppose much of the political and social revolution in today's world the church may well be opposing God who is the Lord of history. As Paul Tillich and others have so well reminded us, "secular culture is now the arena of God's activities and has contributed and will contribute to the realization of his reign." The church must stand with the secular if it is to be God's agent of reconciliation.

4. The separation of the gospel from politics needs to be seen as an abdication of the Christian's responsibility to advance justice and to serve the larger community.

Lamentably, the church has allowed its influence to be weakened by giving support to the attitude that the religious man should have nothing to do with politics, which in turn has actually made possible political corruption, injustice, and oppression. The church is to be a constant reminder to the state that it is not absolute or a law unto itself; although ordained of God, it is not morally autonomous. The Christian has an obligation to take part in politics and the political process and, indeed, to develop a concept of "incarnational politics." A Christian is one who cannot give his ultimate allegiance to the state, since his primary commitment is to God.

5. As Christians involved in public affairs, we must acknowledge that since it is for God's kingdom that we labor, it is ultimately through his power that his kingdom will come.

"Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever." This must not be the basis of inactivity or resignation. As Arthur G. Gish has cautioned: "To assert that we cannot bring in the kingdom through our own effort does not mean inactivity or resignation. Rather we accept the kingdom as a gift, as a given, and begin living in it. We participate in movements for justice, because we already live by that new vision. We participate in demonstrations to witness to what God has already done and what he will do. To say that we will not bring in the new era does not deny the possibility that it may be created through our actions. The point is that we do not create it. It is bigger than we are."

6. The church needs to eschew non-involvement in public affairs as being neither moral nor Christian.

The proper exercise of power must be seen as integral to the life of the church. Recognition of the legitimate role of power does not necessarily mean the abuse of power, let alone the justification of unlimited power in the name of morality and religion. Power always needs to be controlled by law and justice. While Lord Acton was right in saying that power corrupts, unwillingness to exercise power also corrupts.

So long as the exercise of power is not an end in itself and is rooted in justice, it is not in contradiction with Christian ethics. Any sin of power has to do with how power is exercised. The Christian demand is for the responsible use of power in public

Religious liberty for the church must include the right of the church to give expression to its witness and prophetic voice on all matters affecting domestic and foreign policy, war and peace, and the entire legislative and political process because of its concern for the sanctity of the rights of persons.

Any attempt on the part of any government or its agencies, including the IRS, to deny this right to a church or synagogue, is an abridgement of religious liberty by the state.

To be true to its mission, the church must be involved in public affairs because it seeks to minister to the whole man in the world; no aspect of life can be regarded as outside of God's concern, dominion, and power. The ultimate basis of the free church idea is that which asks only for the right to be free in order to be the church! Meanwhile, authentic Christian faith necessarily means involvement within an historical context-in the affairs of men and nations. To do less is for the church to fail to fulfill its mission to the world.

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probability there will be considerable pressure for a plan which is operated by the government, financed through social security taxes, and which has full underwriting of medical expenses.

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Whatever form the bill takes, church-related hospitals will feel its impact.

### Nation's Economy

The state of the nation's economy will also take up a major share of Congress' time. Though congressional Democrats are not bound by the proposals of December's Democratic Mini-Convention-and some have been outspoken in their oppositionthey have been strongly encouraged. among other things, to work toward wage, price, and profit controls and for an expanded public service job program. It is certain that a program similar to President Hoover's Reconstruction Finance Corporation will be introduced in Congress to help meet credit needs. All of these, obviously, will have an indirect effect on the churches.

### **Financing Elections**

Watergate will continue to have its influence on Congress. Opinion samples in the new Congress indicate that a majority of the members are in favor of some form of public financing of congressional elections. The Senate, which has approved public financing of congressional elections several times in the past, found its advocates for such legislation strengthened by the election. Six Senators who consistently voted against such proposals either were defeated or retired. In the House, where last fall an amendment calling for public financing of congressional campaigns was

defeated by 41 votes, the situation seems to have changed considerably. Common Cause, the public interest lobby, polled the House members of the 94th Congress and found 242 of the 435 members would support a plan to mix public dollars with limited private contributions to pay campaign expenses. Some 75 percent of the freshmen congressmen indicated support for the idea.

The form that a final act will take has not been agreed on, but the votes to pass an act seem to be available. The thrust of a second election reform act only a few months after the first one is to prevent congressional candidates from feeling obligated to major campaign contributors and thereby restore a fuller measure of integrity to and a greater public confidence in the legislative branch.

### **School Prayers**

Though the 94th Congress will continue to feel pressure for an amendment to the Constitution which would return governmentally sponsored and/or written prayer to the public schools, reliable sources have indicated that neither the House nor Senate Judiciary Committees are planning to hold hearings on the various proposals.

However, the possibility is great that some Senator or Representative will introduce a bill which would limit the jurisdiction of the federal courts in school prayer cases. This bill would have the effect of denying the federal courts the right of judicial review of any case dealing with prayer or Bible reading in the public schools which might arise in a state court. Passage of such an act would require only a simple majority vote in each house rather than the

two thirds majority and the approval by three fourths of the states which are required for adoption of a constitutional amendment.

Congress, whose membership is largely made up of attorneys, has generally been unwilling to alter the jurisdiction of the federal courts to get around a Supreme Court decision. The proposal, which has been made by non-attorneys, bears close watching.

### Miscellaneous Items

Under the chairmanship of Senator Birch Bayh, the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments will resume hearing testimony on an anti-abortion amendment later this month. There is no official estimate of how much time the hearings will consume, but the Subcommittee will probably reach some decision on its recommendation to the full Judiciary Committee by midsummer. Various Baptist groups, including the Joint Committee, will present testimony before that time.

Welfare reform will be a major item on the congressional agenda as will such perennial issues as federal aid to both public and private education, increased expenditures for wars past, present and future, foreign aid, voting rights for Americans living outside the continental United States, civil rights, and the development of adequate mass transit systems.

The year 1975 presents Congress with both problems and opportunities. The 93rd Congress had its hands so full of Watergate that it did not do better than an average job. The 94th Congress seems determined to work seriously at the tasks facing it and to attempt to leave Watergate behind.

### PROTESTS 'RADICAL' LABEL

BOSTON — The president of the Unitarian Universalist Association has strongly protested the inclusion of his organization on a list of 99 groups identified as "radical" by an Internal Revenue Service investigative committee.

"Our denomination is over 400 years old," said Robert Nelson West. "Many of our congregations were in existence at the time our nation was founded. We are not a militant, subversive or radical organization."

The name "Unitarian Society" appeared on an IRS list disclosed last November 18 as a result of a Ralph Nader suit. The groups cited were among those investigated by a special IRS panel from 1969 to 1973. The probe was initiated by the White House.

Groups on the list were identified as "ideological," "militant," "subversive" and "radical." They included the National Council of Churches, the John Birch Society, the National Urban League and the organization of Evangelist Billy James Hargis. (RNS)

### SCHOOLS EXPEL WITNESSES

LUSAKA, Zambia — More than 300 children, members of the Jehovah's Witnesses sect, in the copperbelt district of central Zambia have been threatened with expulsion from school for refusing to sing the country's national anthem. Deadline for compliance with a government directive to pledge to sing the anthem was Dec. 9, 1974. Some school children were already suspended. If they continued their refusal past Dec. 9 they were to be expelled and refused readmittance until they promise to sing the anthem. (RNS)

# Report From The Capital

Note: This is the second year Report From The Capital has published its Index. It is planned to publish the Index annually. The Baptist Joint Committee has in its office file an Index beginning with Vol. 23, 1968. An Index of Report From The Capital, beginning with 1968, appears in the Southern Baptist Periodical Index, published by the Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. Numerals refer to page number on which the article begins; abbreviations refer to month.

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# Public Affairs . . . and the Churches

## **Baptists Ask Clemency for Prisoners**

MOSCOW (BP)—An international delegation of Baptist leaders pled for clemency for a dissident Soviet Baptist leader, Georgi Vins, and other such religious prisoners in a meeting here with the deputy chairman of the Board of International Affairs of the USSR.

The delegation, led by Robert A. Denny, general secretary of the Baptist World Alliance (BWA), was composed of international Baptist leaders attending the 41st Congress of the All Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists (AUCECB).

Other members of the delegation with Denny were Jose Goncalves, president of the European Baptist Federation; Gerhard Class, general secretary of the Baptist Union of West Germany; Andrew D. MacRae, general secretary of the Baptist Union of Scotland; David S. Russell, general secretary of the Baptist Union of Great

Britain and Ireland; and Knud Wumpelmann, general secretary of the Baptist Union of Denmark.

In particular, Denny noted, the position of the "Initsiativnia", a dissident Baptist group, and other non-registered Soviet evangelical churches was examined. Separatist church groups have been a target of Soviet officials, landing Vins and others in prison for breach of Soviet law, reports have stated.

Vins, 46, of Kiev, is secretary of the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christians-Baptists (CCECB), a movement considered illegal by the Soviet government. A founder of the CCECB, he was arrested in 1966 and released in 1969, in broken health, according to Christianity Today.

Reports indicate Vins secretly carried on the work of the CCECB, even after officials had opened a new case against him in 1970. He was jailed again in March 1974, pending trial. He has since asked for a Christian lawyer from the West to represent him in court. Various members of his family have suffered imprisonment and job discrimination, reports say.

His father was arrested for illegal religious activities and died in a Soviet prison camp of torture, relatives said, according to Christianity Today.

Denny noted with "great satisfaction" that the AUCECB had made request in October for the release of dissident believers now in Soviet prisons and that many of them had been released.

The delegation of Baptist leaders was impressed. Denny said, by the efforts of the AUCECB to bring about reconciliation with separated Baptist groups. They were heartened by the numbers who had returned, but shared the disappointment expressed that greater progress had not been possible, delegation spokesmen said.

## Religious Leaders Join Plea for Baptist

NEW YORK (RNS) — Eight prominent U.S. churchmen have endorsed an appeal to Leonid I. Brezhnev, calling for the release of imprisoned Baptist leader Georgi Vins in the USSR.

The plea also called for "full freedom of religious belief and freedom to leave the Soviet Union which are guaranteed by Soviet law and which have been abrogated by local Soviet authorities, especially in the Ukraine and in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic

It said "many Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Orthodox and other believers and dissenters now suffer for their religious faith, political views or desire to emigrate."

The statement, issued here by the Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies, Ltd., was endorsed by the following officials:

Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America; Metropolitan Ireney, Primate of the Orthodox Church in America; William P. Thompson, Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church; Marion de

Veider, General Secretary of the Reformed Church in America; and Robert Schuller, pastor of Garden Grove (Calif.) Community Church.

Also, Dan M. Potter, executive director, the Council of Churches of the City of New York; the Very Rev. John Meyendorff, professor of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary; and L.M. Wilson, pastor, Convent Avenue Baptist Church, New York City.

The imprisonment of Georgi Petrovich Vins, and the harassment of his family by Soviet authorities, have received wide publicity throughout the world.

Concerned individuals and human rights organizations have petitioned in his behalf to the USSR. Prof. Andrey Sakharov, a leader in the human rights struggle in the USSR, a non-Christian, has asked the World Council of Churches to intervene for Georgi Vins.

Philip Potter, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, has asked Soviet authorities for full details of the Vins case.

U.S. Senator Harold Hughes has asked Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to investigate the facts. A group of students from Northport High School on Long Island are working on a campaign to free Mr. Vins.

Mr. Vins served for more than 10 years as secretary to the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christians and Baptists, the persecuted group sometimes known as "reform" or "dissident Baptists." The dissident group is separated from the officially recognized All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists.

During these years Mr. Vins and his family have been constantly "subject to repressions from the authorities and slander in the press," according to a statement by Mrs. Vins. He was imprisoned a second time in March 1974, without a trial, and is believed to be in poor health in a Kiev hospital.

In the letter to Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR, the Soviet Union was applauded for a recent move toward peace and cooperation.

"In the same spirit of detente and goodwill, we therefore appeal to you to grant freedom to the Baptist leader Georgi Vins... He and his family have suffered long years for their religious faith, the appeal said. "Their plight is of very serious concern to many in our country and throughout the world."

The statement was signed by the directors of the Research Center: Lt.Col. (Ret.) Starr West Jones, president; Blahoslav S. Hruby, executive director; James H. Sheldon, vice-president; and Father John H. Ryder, S.J., secretary. (RNS)

### MINNESOTA TAX CREDIT CASE ON WAY TO SUPREME GOURT

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The Minnesota Supreme Court decision invalidating the state's nonpublic tax credit law is expected to be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The tax credit law was enacted in 1971, and parents have recieved more than \$26 million in credits since then. In 1973 the tax credit for parents with children in parochial and other nonpublic schools was \$67 for kindergarten pupils, \$134 for elementary pupils and \$187.60 for junior and senior high students.

Still standing is a law passed by the 1974 Minnesota Legislature providing that parents who have received credits or refunds in past years need not repay the money in the event the law is found unconstitutional. (RNS)

# COURT UPHOLDS CONVICTION FOR DRAFT REGISTRATION REFUSAL

CHAPEL HILL, N.C. — The 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond, Va., has upheld the conviction of a young Quaker, Bruce Andrew Baechlor of Glastonbury, Conn., for failing to register for the military draft in a case in which the defendant contended the draft discriminated against males by excluding females. He also contended that the law denied him his rights to due process and religious freedom.

The Court said that there is no constitutional obligation on the government to subject women to an equal military draft with men. It also rejected the contention that Baechlor's religious freedom was infringed on by the requirement that he register for the draft before his application for conscientious objector status could be considered. (RNS)

### **SELLING FISH NOT RELIGIOUS**

SHREVEPORT, La. — The selling of fish door-to-door to raise money for black Muslims is not a religious experience protected by the U.S. Constitution, a federal judge ruled here.

A Shreveport city ordinance forbids such sales of fish. The Muhammad Temple of Islam charged that the city police were interfering with the means the Muslims used to raise money, thus denying their religious freedom.

District Judge Tom Stagg held that rather than having anything to do with religion, the sale of fish was "a purely commercial activity," and thus did not fall under the freedom of religion protections of the First Amendment. (RNS)

### CHURCH PROPERTY TAX EXEMPT

MINNEAPOLIS — Faith Evangelical Free Church in surburban Robbinsdale has been exempted from taxes on a 4-acre tract next to its church building in a ruting by Judge Jonathan Lebedoff in Hennepin County District Court.

The judge ruled that the uses to which the church put the property clearly satisfy the legal requirement for exemption under the Minnesota Constitution. The property has been used for boys and girls activity, church picnics, vacation Bible school and outdoor worship services. The church has not leased the property or used it for any commercial purpose and it plans to move a parsonage onto it.

In spite of the tax exemption, the church must pay special assessments on its property. (RNS)

### CHURCH SCHOOLS ASK AID

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — Twelve church-related colleges and universities in Arkansas have opened a drive to secure financial support from the state. They have formed the Arkansas Council of Independent Colleges and Universities and opened an office in Little Rock.

Among the 12 schools are four Baptist colleges: Central Baptist College at Conway, Ouachita Baptist University at Arkadelphia, Southern Baptist College at Walnut Ridge and Arkansas Baptist College at Little Rock.

Other schools are: Arkansas College of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. at Batesville, College of the Ozarks (United Presbyterian) at Clarksville, Crowley's Ridge College of the Churches of Christ at Paragould, Harding College of the Churches of Christ at Searcy, Hendrix College of the United Methodist Church at Conway, John Brown University at Siloam Springs, Philander Smith College of the United Methodist Church, Little Rock, and Shorter College of the African Methodist Episcopal Church at North Little Rock.

Representatives of the Council have conferred with public officials to make plans for legislation in 1975. State Senator Olen Hendrix introduced a bill in 1973 to give tuition grants to many students who attended private institutions, but the bill died in committee. Legislation is now being drafted by the Arkansas Legislative Council, but no commitments have been made.

Senator-elect Date B. Bumpers (former governor) noted that 39 states offer some form of aid to private colleges, or their students, holding that they save money over the cost of educating students in public institutions. Dan C. West, president of Arkansas College (Presbyterian) at Batesville, said the schools would prefer a scholarship program for students rather than direct aid. (RNS)

# NC PANEL TENTATIVELY OK'S PRIVATE SCHOOL AID

CHAPEL HILL, N.C. — North Carolina's Advisory Budget Commission has voted "tentatively" to recommend to the legislature that the state double its financial aid to students at church-related and other private colleges and universities. However, the commission is expected to review its decision at a later meeting.

Under the present aid program, \$200 in state funds is provided each year to each North Carolina resident student enrolled in a private college, distributed to recipients on the basis of need. The program costs \$4.6 million annually.

The Advisory Budget Commission's tentative recommendation would double that amount to \$400 per in-state student, as proposed by the 39-member North Carolina Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, for 1975-77.

The proposal of the association representing private schools would cost North Carolina \$9.2 million in the 1973-75 biennium and \$32.8 million in 1975-77. (RNS)

### **BISHOP SEES NO VIOLATION**

GREENVILLE, N. C. — A United Methodist bishop asserted here that state aid to church-related colleges does not violate the principle of separation of church and state

Bishop Robert M. Blackburn of the church's North Carolina Conference noted that the church operates child-care centers and old-age assistance programs that receive government funds. "We've been in partnership with the government a long time." On the issue of state aid to-church colleges, he said, "I don't see where there's any conflict. We feel if we can be

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# **Public Affairs . . . . and the Churches**

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in partnership in these endeavors we can be
partners in higher education." (RNS)

### SHUNNED MAN SUES CHURCH

HARRISBURG, Pa. — Pennsylvania's Supreme Court has been asked to settle a religious dispute between Robert L. Bear, Carlisle, Pa. and the Reformed Mennonite Church which excommunicated him. He charges that the excommunication wrecked his family life and that he is shunned by former friends and associates.

Mr. Bear was dropped from the church in June 1972 for criticizing its leaders and was subsequently "shunned" by church members, including his wife and six children. He is seeking court action to enjoin the church from the shunning action. He has charged that the shunning has interfered with his religious freedom, disrupted his farming business and alienated his family.

Attorney William Ball, counsel for the church, stated in a brief filed with the high court that shuaning is "basic and essential to the beliefs of the Reformed Mennetite Church. He cited church documents in his brief describing shunning as "the evangelical ban which forbids social intercourse, such as association in business relations and practicing the same social freedom in conversation and company as we exercise toward others, since it is designed to keep the apostate in mind of the divine judgment under which he lies bound, that he may repent and be released." (RNS)

### **BUDDHIST NAMED CHAPLAIN**

SACRAMENTO, Calif. — A Buddhist clergyman has been named official chaplain of the California Senate. The Rev. Shoko Masunaga succeeds a Methodist minister, David R. Swope, in the position. He is the first Buddhist chaplain of the legislative body, and will offer prayers at the start of each session. (RNS)

### **BICENTENNIAL PROJECTS**

WASHINGTON — Two religious projects related to the U.S. Bicentennial have received official certification by the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, the federal agency corrdinating the nation's anniversary.

They are "Project FORWARD '76," sponsored by 150 religious leaders, in cooperation with representatives from many private, business and educational groups, and "Four C's for Century III," launched by the Seventh-day Adventist Church. The four C's stand for communiministration, the federal agency coordinattion. (RNS)

### **BROOKS HAYS FOR AMNESTY**

WACO, Tex. — Former Congressman Brooks Hays, a past-president of the Southern Baptist Convention, has urged "general amnesty" for Vietnam war draft evaders and deserted as an act of forgiveness and tolerance.

"A general amnesty, not a case by case analysis, is what is needed to restore the conscientious objectors to their families and homeland," Hays said in an editorial in the latest issue of The Journal of Church and State, published by the J. M. Dawson Studies in Church and State of Baylor University.

"It is inconceivable," he said, "that the United States which has an admirable history of dealing compassionately with war dissidents and offenders will fail to take full and appropriate action" regarding general amnesty for Vietnam War veterans.

He said Congress and the President should be willing to make full opportunity for restoration to normal life with voluntary — but not mandatory — alternative service, as is required under President Ford's earned re-entry program. (RNS)

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