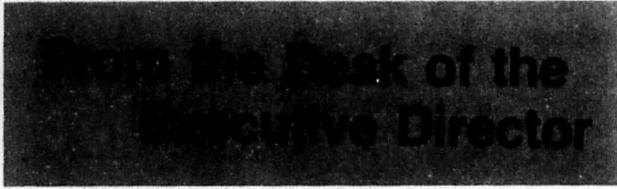


# Report from the Capital

December  
1976

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# Baptist and Public Affairs in 1976

By James E. Wood, Jr.

The work and witness of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs is rooted in a biblical understanding of the prophetic role of religion, a theological view of religious liberty as the foundation of all human rights, and the free exercise of religion in public affairs as the guaranteed legal right and divine obligation of the church. The Baptist Joint Committee does not exist to serve the national interests of the United States. To do so would be to make an idol of the state and to deny the exercise of our religious liberty of a Baptist witness in public affairs.

As freedom for the Christian is the freedom to be Christian, to be wholly obedient to Christ, so freedom for the church is the freedom to be the church, the freedom to be the body of Christ in the world in fulfilling its mission. This means not only that the church is not to be subject to persecution and restriction by the state in fulfilling its mission, but, even more importantly, it is not to be dependent upon the sanction or support of the state in carrying out its mission in the world.

It is for this reason that, throughout the history of the Baptist Joint Committee, religious liberty has been the basis for our Baptist witness in public affairs. The authenticity of this witness—to the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government—requires the separation of church and state, without which the integrity of the church's witness would be seriously threatened. While religious liberty must mean separation and independence of church and state institutionally, it does not mean, as affirmed by the Southern Baptist Convention fifty years ago, that church and state "are in no way related or that they do not act and react on each other." But to the degree that the church is allied with the powers of this world—economic, social, and political—to that degree the church is in bondage and its prophetic role is denied.

## II

In accord with the constitution and stated purpose of the Baptist Joint Committee, primary attention was given this past year to the program of government relations, which involved the representation of Baptist concerns to governments (federal and state) on matters affecting public policy. Frequent opportunity was found to communicate Baptist concerns in public affairs to various religious offices and organizations, the mass media, and other non-governmental organizations.



Wood

The Baptist Joint Committee Resolution on Religion and Public Policy, along with action of the Committee "that no member of the staff register as a lobbyist or provide financial information under any new law to be enacted hereafter" and the action of the Baptist Joint Committee on possible causes of IRS abuse of discretion affecting religious organizations or clergy persons, were forwarded to the IRS, the Secretary of the Treasury, and appropriate House and Senate committees.

As in years past, testimony in 1976 was given before congressional committees and federal agencies. Testimony, oral and written, was submitted to the IRS on Proposed Regulations on "Integrated Auxiliaries," whereby, if and when formally adopted, the IRS would define the mission of the church. Continued attention has been given to the review of problems relating to taxation and the churches.

Consultations have continued to be held with HEW officials, particularly with the Office of Education, concerning federal programs involving nonpublic schools. The Baptist Joint Committee participated in an *amicus* brief (*Roemer v. Board of Public Works*) in the U.S. Supreme Court in opposition to tax aid to church colleges. This major church-state decision was handed down June 21, 1976 (see *Report from the Capital*, July-August 1976).

Other positions advocated and implemented by the Baptist Joint Committee during the past year have included a variety of concerns. Vigorous support has been given to increased federal aid for world hunger. Opposition has been made to the use of public funds in programs of Transcendental Meditation. At the same time, firm and sustained support has been given to the teaching about religion in the public schools in ways "which are educationally appropriate and constitutionally acceptable to a secular program of public education," as expressed by the National Council on Religion and Public Education.

Continued effort has been made to support and safeguard the right to privacy as a basic human right. Throughout the past several years the Baptist Joint Committee supported through to its passage legislation providing for the voting rights of Americans overseas. Firm opposition to the CIA's use of missionaries, whether at home or abroad, has been communicated to the White House, the U.S. State Department, and the CIA.

Careful examination was given to the proposed Youth Camp Safety Act and the proposed Child and Family Services Act, neither in support of nor in opposition to these acts, but rather to provide reliable and responsible information as a corrective to much of the misinformation and hysteria which these two proposed pieces of legislation provoked.

The Baptist Joint Committee's resolution on Religious Liberty and Freedom of Assembly, in opposition to the Fairfax County, Virginia, zoning ordinance requiring a special permit for holding religious services, was communicated to Fairfax County officials, the congressional representative, and denominational leaders.

Throughout 1976 personal contacts were maintained and relations strengthened with the U.S. State Department and the United Nations Association for giving greater focus to religious liberty and human rights in international affairs. A special consultation was held at the U.S. State Department, expressly for the Baptist Joint Committee in order that attention could be focused on our concerns for human rights in U.S. foreign policy.

Earlier this year, special attention was given to the agency's coordination and sponsorship of A National Bicentennial Con- (See PUBLIC AFFAIRS, p. 7)

## 1976 And Living Still

By The Hon. Fred Schwengel  
Fifth in a special Bicentennial series

The Declaration of Independence and the Revolutionary War were *about* something. The Declaration was written, and the War was fought *for* something, and they *won* something tremendous; something that is "Living Still;" something that gives meaning to our existence as a great people; something that may be our greatest reliance as we move down the final decades of this bewildering twentieth century and into the Tricentennial.

That war was fought for the freedoms; later we articulated them and began to apply them. Five great freedoms: Freedom from *Want*, Freedom from *Fear*, Freedom of *Expression*, Freedom of *Movement*, and most important of all, Freedom of *Religion!*

In our experiences since then, these Freedoms have been established and extended. The greatest surge forward came when Blacks were freed from the chains of slavery and given the right to vote. In recent years all our people have been given an equal voice in government.

Our history can tell us much. Carl Sandburg, the incomparable student of Abraham Lincoln, once said. "Whenever people or an institution forgets its early, hard beginnings, it is beginning to decay." "These things that disturb us now are evidences of decay." Then in reference to the riots he said, "Those poor black devils at Watts and their counterparts all over the United States, more of them white than black; they didn't forget American History, because we never told it to them, and this we must do." We *must* tell the story of Freedom to each new generation. From the Lincoln literature and history, we learn that Lincoln said to the Congress after sending them a copy of the Emancipation

*The Hon. Fred Schwengel has served as president of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society since its founding in 1962. He represented Iowa's first district as U.S. Representative 1954-1964 and 1966-1972. He is an American Baptist layman and a deacon at Washington's Calvary Baptist Church. A consistent spokesman for religious liberty, Schwengel delivered this address on July 4, 1976 in Arlington, Va.*

Proclamation for approval, "Remember when we free the slaves, we free the master, honorable alike in what we preserve and in what we do." In learning from history, we find that whenever we, the privileged, give freedom and opportunity to those who have less freedom and opportunity than we, we, the privileged, benefit as well.



Schwengel

There is something prophetic in the fact that the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence came to us on a Sunday. This would seem an encouragement at least, if not a challenge to speak of the importance of religion in our history, by far the most important of our freedoms.

The Declaration of Independence and a successful War, and finally the adoption of the Constitution, committed us to make a working reality out of the Brotherhood of Man here in the United States of America, and thus influence the world. Today, and in the atmosphere of churches, we note and celebrate the fact that all we have was built on a moral base handed to us by the religions!

Dale Stoog, a distinguished citizen, scholar, and writer of California, reminds us that the Declaration of Independence is high among the great religious and political documents of man's history. It is an

expression of the highest kind of political ethics. He makes the astounding claim that "the conception of the deity and human nature spelled out in the Declaration of Independence has never been surpassed in political history."

In recent times freedom of religion has been challenged, and because I am sure that religious freedom, which is more important than any other freedom, will continue to be challenged, we need to be reminded often that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." The 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence provides a rare opportunity for all Americans with spiritual motivations to recall with gratitude the heroic struggle of our leaders (forefathers we call them) for religious liberty and the other basic freedoms and to emphasize the constant need for alert and unflinching actions to maintain them all against encroachment of bureaucracy and the maneuverings of special interests.

To fully prepare and be aware of the constant danger of losing the freedoms, and especially losing religious freedom, we must know our history.

It is my deep conviction that we have never paid enough attention in the history of ideas to the biblical basis of our democracy—Jesus noted this when he quoted the Prophet Isaiah as it reads in the 61st chapter:

"The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath annointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prisons to the oppressed."

God grant that each of us in this period of celebration always sense the spirit of Isaiah and quoted by Jesus. Thankfully the leaders of 1776-1789 appreciated and supported religion. None expressed its need more eloquently than Washington.

It is a paraphrase from Washington's Farewell Address to say that religion and morality are indispensable to political prosperity. What Washington said needed saying then, and it certainly needs recall and response today. In Washington's time (See SCHWENDEL, p. 8)

# Review of 94th Congress: Human Rights

By Carol B. Franklin

Second in a two-part series

The 94th Congress was notable as much for what it failed to do in the area of human rights and social issues as for what it actually accomplished. Many bills were lost in election year politics or the complications of the legislative process.

## SOCIAL SERVICES

An administration proposal to raise food stamp prices, which would have hurt the poor, the elderly, and the unemployed most, met with quick congressional action. The plan was suspended to allow time for a comprehensive review of the food stamp program.

Numerous bills were introduced to change the food stamp program. A complete overhaul was reported but not considered. It will undoubtedly be reintroduced in the 95th Congress.

Some individual measures were passed which deal with problem areas. Accountability for food stamp vendors is improved and penalties are imposed for illegal use or distribution. Federal cost-of-living increases must be passed through by the states to needy blind, disabled, and aged.

A comprehensive proposal for child care services met with an anonymous but well-organized campaign to prevent its passage. The measure would have provided for a variety of child and family service programs.

Opponents of the measure charged that parents would lose all rights in rearing their children. This charge had no basis in fact.

Congress did pass the Child Care and Social Services Act which allows postponement of federal staffing standards for day care centers. It also authorizes funds to help centers serving low income families meet staffing, safety, and health standards.

The elderly were assisted by legislation providing for services in the home, counseling, housing assistance, and transportation services. The law also establishes an Older American Community Service Employment program to promote part-time work opportunities for unemployed low-income persons aged 55 or older.

## HEALTH

Despite high rates of unemployment, rising medical costs, and the overall economic outlook, comprehensive national health insurance legislation was not

reported for consideration. Numerous proposals were considered by committees.

The subject became a campaign issue. With the rhetoric behind, the 95th Congress will face the issue again.

Congress overrode the President to extend health services such as community and mental health centers, migrant health centers, family planning programs, and home health services.

Congress also authorized funding for programs for research and treatment for a variety of health problems such as alcoholism, drug abuse, developmental disabilities, heart, lung, and blood diseases, genetic diseases, and other chronic diseases.

Medical services to American Indians are expected to be improved by additional funds.

In another action designed to improve distribution of health care in this country, Congress assured scholarship support for physicians, dentists, and others who voluntarily choose to serve medically underserved areas upon completion of training.

Another new law attempts to make Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) more competitive with traditional insurance programs and health delivery systems.

HMOs are medical groups that offer a wide range of basic health services to individuals who pay in advance a fixed and uniform fee that does not change with the actual use of services during the coverage period.

## HOUSING

The 94th Congress did not enact any major new initiatives in housing and community development. It reauthorized a number of existing programs and attempted to ease the burden on homeowners during the recession.

The Emergency Homeowner Relief Act was hurried through Congress after President Ford vetoed an earlier, more generous bill. This law provides mortgage foreclosure relief for unemployed homeowners. It also expands the President's authority to make mortgage credit available when housing starts are low.

A package of amendments on housing authorizes help for owners of defect-ridden housing, new housing for American Indians, and expansion of the program of

housing loans to the elderly and the handicapped.

A new law enables consumers to obtain information about certain aspects of the mortgage lending patterns of institutions to determine whether lenders are "redlining" their neighborhoods.

"Redlining" is the practice of arbitrarily denying loans on the basis of geographic location, without regard to the value of the property or the credit worthiness of the potential borrowers.

## JOBS

As with food stamp reform and national health insurance, any comprehensive approach to the problem of unemployment became a victim of election year politics. The Humphrey-Hawkins "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976" received endorsement by most Democratic presidential candidates but it never came to a vote in either house.

This measure, which will be reintroduced in the 95th Congress, states the right of employment of all persons willing to work and calls for three percent unemployment within four years. Public service employment would be used as a last resort.

President Ford vetoed several bills calling for public service employment. He signed others authorizing public works projects, waste water treatment programs, and summer youth employment.

## CRIMINAL JUSTICE

The major legislation proposed in the area of criminal justice was a revision of the criminal code. The measure stirred controversy among civil libertarians who felt it was repressive and failed to protect citizens against governmental intrusion. It never reached a vote.

Hand gun control legislation was reported but never reached a vote.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

Congress extended the Voting Rights Act of 1965, permanently banned literacy tests, and extended voting assistance to language minorities.

Courts may, at their discretion, award attorneys' fees to a prevailing party in suits brought to enforce civil rights acts, according to a new law. This action recognizes that many citizens who sue for enforcement. (See HUMAN RIGHTS, p. 6)

## High Court Accepts Second Sabbath Case

By Stan L. Hastey

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Supreme Court announced here it will decide after all whether employers must make special arrangements to accommodate the religious views of Sabbatarians regarding working on Saturdays.

Just two weeks earlier, the high court, in a 4-4 tie vote, affirmed a lower court ruling which held that employers must make such concessions. That action, however, failed to establish a firm precedent for other similar cases.

A 1972 amendment to the Civil Rights Act stipulates that employers must not dismiss or refuse to hire any individual for religious reasons, including anyone whose religion requires strict observance of the Sabbath. The amendment was introduced by Sen. Jennings Randolph (D-W. Va.), a Seventh Day Baptist.

Ever since passage of the amendment, the courts have been besieged with claims of discrimination against Sabbatarians.

The new case the high court agreed to hear involves an employee of Trans World Airlines (TWA) at Kansas City International Airport. Larry G. Hardison, a mechanic, joined the World Wide Church

of God in 1968, more than a year after going to work at TWA.

Hardison, who also belonged to the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, worked out an agreement with his supervisors and his union's steward allowing him to be off from sundown Friday to sundown Saturday, the time his church required him to observe the Sabbath.

The agreement held until Hardison, who had recently been married, took advantage of his seniority privileges by choosing to work a day shift at another TWA building at the airport. By changing jobs, however, Hardison lost some seniority at the new site. As a result, he was denied the privilege of taking off every Saturday.

After missing three consecutive Saturdays when he was expected to work, Hardison was fired.

A U.S. district court agreed with TWA, denying that the company had refused to make efforts to accommodate Hardison's religious preferences. Later, however, the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the lower court, holding against TWA.

In a written brief submitted to the Su-

preme Court, lawyers for TWA argued that the 1972 amendment to the Civil Rights Act violates the federal Constitution by establishing religion. The amendment, they said, has the "direct and immediate effect of advancing religion." In addition, it "patently require(s) pervasive and excessive government entanglement with religion," they stated.

The union, which has sided with TWA in the case, argued in a separate brief that the entire seniority system is undermined by the 1972 amendment in favor of religious factors.

On the other side, attorneys for Hardison deny TWA's allegation that accommodating their client's religious needs would require "bumping" other employees with more seniority. They claim further that TWA had alternatives which would not have violated the company's collective bargaining agreement with the union while providing for Hardison's needs.

Hardison's primary argument is that Congress was right in passing the 1972 amendment in recognition of the free exercise. (See SABBATH, p. 6)

## Justices to Reconsider Some Mandatory Death Sentences

By Stan L. Hastey

WASHINGTON—In an unexpected development, the U.S. Supreme Court announced it will decide whether states may apply mandatory death sentences to persons convicted of killing police officers.

In other actions, the high court upheld a lower ruling which overturned an Indiana abortion law, refused to disturb the conviction of a Virginia couple convicted of sodomy, and agreed to decide if an Alabama law discriminates against women in violation of the federal Civil Rights Act.

The court's surprise move to hear arguments on the constitutionality of death sentences for convicted murderers of policemen comes in the wake of its historic ruling in July striking down mandatory death sentences.

Last July 2, the high court declared that death penalty laws in Louisiana and North Carolina violated the Constitution's ban on cruel and unusual punishment by imposing mandatory death sentences which deprived both the presiding judge and the jury from taking into account such factors as previous criminal record, potential rehabilita-

tion, or extenuating circumstances surrounding the killing.

At the same time, however, the justices upheld three other states' capital punishment laws, ruling that the death penalty does not, in and of itself, constitute cruel and unusual punishment.

The court will now decide whether the state of Louisiana may execute Harry Roberts, 21, the convicted murderer of a New Orleans police officer during the city's Mardi Gras celebration two years ago.

In its abortion action, the high court upheld 6-3 a ruling by a federal district court in Indiana that the state's law requiring all first trimester abortions to be performed in hospitals is unconstitutional.

The lower court cited the high court's 1973 ruling that the state has no compelling interest in regulating abortion during the first three months of pregnancy. The decision to have an abortion during that period must be left to the woman and her physician, the court ruled.

Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and associate justices Byron R. White and William H. Rehnquist dissented, as they have

done in most of the majority's abortion rulings over the past three years.

In the Virginia sodomy action, the justices declined to hear the appeal of a Virginia Beach couple who engaged in oral sex acts in the presence of a third individual. The couple had argued that their subsequent conviction for sodomy, a crime in Virginia, violated their right to privacy.

A federal court of appeals had earlier disagreed with them, noting that they had voluntarily committed the illegal acts in the presence of an invited guest and had thereby forfeited any constitutional claim to privacy rights.

The justices did decide to hear the complaint of an Alabama woman who is challenging the state's law prescribing height and weight requirements for prison guards.

Diane Rawlinson, 22, who at 5 feet 3 inches meets the height requirement but weighs five pounds less than the 120-pound minimum weight requirement, argues that such regulations violate the Civil Rights Act of 1964. She also contests the state's view that such physical requirements are bona fide occupational qualifications. (BP)

### BWA Acts on Human Rights

By C.E. Bryant

VALLEY FORGE, Pa.—The Executive Committee of the Baptist World Alliance (BWA), meeting in annual session here, adopted three resolutions on various aspects of human rights and further recommended that its General Council establish special days of emphasis on peace and human rights.

Recommendations to the General Council, scheduled to meet next July 11-15 in Guatemala City, ask that the BWA establish an annual Day of Prayer for World Peace and that Baptists join in the United Nations' designation of each December 10 as Human Rights Day.

Other resolutions opposed torture, the taking of hostages, and the violent destruction of health and life.

G.K. Zimmerman, vice chairman of the BWA relief division, reported that Baptists have contributed more than \$503,000 to the Alliance's programs of relief and development during the first 10 months of 1976. Besides meeting human needs in natural catastrophes, the program includes developmental programs for economically needy areas and assistance to churches working in difficult places, he said.

A current program in church aid includes cooperation with United Bible Societies in sending 20,000 new church hymnals into the USSR. The shipment of hymnals and an earlier shipment of Bibles is being done with the approval of the Russian government, the BWA said.

The resolution on torture said, "It is a matter of grave anxiety that torture and secret imprisonment are being used by many governments, anti-government groups, and others to extract information, to suppress criticism, and to intimidate opposition, so that throughout the world countless numbers of men, women and children are suffering inhuman treatment.

"We believe in the worth of every individual as a creation in God's image, and that no circumstances whatever can justify practices intended to break bodies, minds, and spirits," it continued.

"The Alliance calls on its affiliates, their churches, and members, as well as members of other religious organizations, to create a force of public opinion which will oblige those responsible to dismantle everywhere the administrative apparatus which permits or encourages torture, and to observe effectively those international

agreements under which its use is strictly forbidden."

The statement on hostages noted that the taking of hostages, whether airline passengers or other innocent persons, "is a particularly cruel act of violence which indiscriminately claims or threatens the lives of helpless people."

It called "upon the United Nations to draft a covenant banning the taking of hostages and providing that the alleged perpetrators are either subject to extradition or are brought before the courts in the country in which they are seized."

The fourth statement noted "that, in various countries, persons of opposing views and criminal attitudes engage in wanton acts of violence which result in the maiming and death of defenseless people. . . ." It called "upon society to direct efforts of education, law enforcement, and judicial process toward the elimination of such violent destruction of health and life." (BP)

### Liberia's Tolbert Named

MOSCOW—President William Tolbert of the Republic of Liberia, has been named to the Presidium of the Conference of Religious Workers for Lasting Peace, Disarmament, and Just Relations Among the Nations scheduled here June 6-10, 1977.

The Baptist statesman, an active ordained minister, was president of the Baptist World Alliance from 1965 to 1970. (EBPS)

### Religious Liberty Conference

#### "Taxation and the Free Exercise of Religion"

October 3-5, 1977

Washington, D.C.

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### Sabbath

(Continued from page 5)

cise clause of the First Amendment. TWA counters by arguing that the law amounts to an unconstitutional establishment of religion.

The case is likely to be settled sometime next spring. (BP)

## Human Rights

(Continued from page 4)

ment of civil rights laws have no money to hire a lawyer.

On the controversial subject of busing, Congress declared that funds authorized for Health, Education and Welfare may not be used to require the transportation of any student to a school other than the school nearest the student's home which offers the course of study pursued by the student.

A bill designed to limit the power of the executive branch in using electronic surveillance of citizens did not pass. Opponents felt that the measure failed to give adequate protection against governmental invasion of privacy.

### ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT

No energy policy emerged from the 94th Congress. Existing acts were extended to allow time for work on a comprehensive policy.

Funds were authorized for domestic oil production and for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. A measure designed to aid development of synthetic fuels was killed in the closing days of Congress.

Congress adjourned before completing action on the Clean Air Act Amendments. The issue of auto emission standards therefore remains unresolved.

Strip mining controls were vetoed for the second time in two years. A water pollution control measure did not emerge from conference.

The Environmental Protection Agency was given new authority to regulate industrial chemicals.

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Both houses of Congress passed "right to food" resolutions, though in slightly different versions. Both affirmed the right to "every person in this country and throughout the world to food and a nutritionally adequate diet."

The sense of the "right to food" resolutions was implemented in a revision of the Food for Peace program. In the past, food aid has gone to countries which might serve our foreign policy needs. The new focus for assistance is on the neediest nations.

Funds were authorized for earthquake assistance to Italy and Guatemala and for the resettlement of Indochinese refugee children.

Chile and Uruguay were among the nations affected by a decision to curtail aid to nations who consistently violate human rights.

# House Panel Reports Overseas Human Rights Violations

Editor's note: Congressman Donald M. Fraser (D-Minn.) made the following remarks on the floor of the House of Representatives prior to the adjournment of the 94th Congress. Fraser serves as Chairman of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations. The statement is reprinted from the *Congressional Record*.

Since the fall of 1973, the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations has devoted major attention to the subject of international protection of human rights, with two principal interrelated objectives: to improve the capacity of international organizations to effectively protect internationally recognized standards of human rights; and to raise the priority of the human rights factor in U.S. foreign policy. In pursuit of those objectives, we have made numerous recommendations to the executive branch and held 76 subcommittee hearings.

Our concern emanates from the conviction that the way a government treats its own people is a legitimate concern of the international community. That concern is justified, from a legal standpoint, by the existence of ostensible acceptance of international standards of human rights, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations. From a practical standpoint, when these standards are violated systematically by governments, the victims may have no hope of redress other than from outside their own countries. The moral justification for American concern is inherent in the democratic tradition of our people and continues to be reiterated by our leaders. Indeed, our country can make no greater contribution to the world than to present an example of workable democracy which guarantees funda-

mental individual freedom.

From extreme left to extreme right, nations from one end of the political spectrum to the other are guilty of flagrant violations of internationally recognized human rights. The Subcommittee on International Organizations has taken the position that such violations should be an important factor in determining U.S. relations with other governments. Whether a government is an ally or adversary, Communist or anti-Communist, rich or poor, its human rights record should be an active concern clearly demonstrated in the foreign policy of the United States.

Accordingly, the activities of the subcommittee have responded to reliable reports of human rights violations regardless of the political ideology of nations or their attitudes toward the United States. In doing so, we also realize that U.S. policy may have greater potential for limiting or contributing to repression in countries toward whom we have a supportive relationship than in other countries.

During the 94th Congress, the Subcommittee on International Organizations conducted a total of 40 hearings relating to human rights problems in 18 different countries. Among the governments considered in the hearings:

Three are Communist—the Soviet Union, Cuba, and North Korea;

Two are neutral—India and Indonesia;

Two are controlled by white minority

governments—South Africa and Rhodesia;

Eleven are members of some form of alliance with the United States—Chile, the Philippines, South Korea, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Iran;

Eleven were recipients of U.S. military assistance or sales at some time during the 94th Congress—Argentina, Iran, the Philippines, South Korea, Uruguay, Paraguay, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Chile;

Thirteen were recipients of U.S. bilateral economic assistance at some time during the 94th Congress—Argentina, the Philippines, Indonesia, India, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, South Korea, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Iran, and Haiti.

The number of hearings on each country during the 94th Congress is as follows:

Philippines, 7; India, 5; South Korea, 5; Soviet Union, 4; Uruguay, 3; Chile, 2; South Africa (Namibia), 2; Rhodesia, 2; Argentina, 2; Paraguay, 2; Indonesia, 2; Iran, 2; El Salvador, 2; Nicaragua, 2; Guatemala, 2; Cuba, 1; Haiti, 1; North Korea, 1.

The repressive measures reliably reported to have been taken by these governments cover the full range of violations of international standards:

(See VIOLATIONS, p. 8)

## Public Affairs

(Continued from page 2)

Convocation, held January 12-15 in Washington, D.C. All nine Baptist bodies were well represented among the participants in this historic gathering of Baptists of America. One permanent contribution of the Convocation was the publication this fall by Judson Press of a major volume on *Baptists and the American Experience*. Dedicated to the Committee's first two Executive Directors, Joseph M. Dawson and C. Emanuel Carlson, it is anticipated that this significant publication on Baptists of America will be widely distributed and reviewed.

### III

The demands on the Baptist Joint Committee during 1976 were unprecedented. In the light of the events and demands of this past year the rationale for a strong Baptist Joint Committee

on Public Affairs in the nation's capital has never been more manifest nor the need greater for the Committee's work and witness in its thirty-seven year history.

Meanwhile, authentic Christian faith is seriously threatened today by those who would make religion an adjunct to government policies and programs. A church which is subservient to the state, silent on public affairs, is a church without a prophetic voice. The role of the church in public affairs is not to justify or sanctify whatever the nation wants or does. Hence the Baptist Joint Committee does not exist to give sanction and support to the nation's domestic and foreign policy, or even to plead Baptist self-interests. Rather this agency is mandated to give witness, in the words of its constitution, "whenever Baptist principles are involved in, or are jeopardized through governmental action." Quite appropriately, this has meant particular concern for religious liberty and human rights, which are indispensable to the free church and the free state, in both domestic and foreign affairs.

## Schwengel

(Continued from page 3)

our leaders had knowledge of and a strong faith in religion, but we were not then a very religious nation. The record seems to indicate that those early immigrants came here to have freedom from religion rather than freedom of religion.

Randal's recent book entitled *Centennial 1876*, is revealing in this regard. In the chapter entitled "A Mighty Fortress" he recalls that only one out of eight from New England were members of a church in 1776; one out of fifteen in the Atlantic States, and one out of 20 in the South. Except in the hearts and minds of many of our leaders, the Church was hardly "A Mighty Fortress" then. The question is, Is it "A Mighty Fortress" now? In preparation for an answer to this question, let us call on Jefferson who said, "... My God, how little do my countrymen know about the precious blessing they are in possession of, and which no other people on earth enjoy. I confess I had no idea myself... come then and see the proof of this and add your testimony... to that of every finding in order to satisfy our countrymen how much it is in their interest to preserve those peculiarities in their government and manners, to which they are indebted for those blessings!"

It is my firm conviction that religion has been and is a major force in shaping the destiny of America. The Baptists, Jews, Protestants, Catholics, and 250 different denominations have become, and are, a "Mighty Fortress" in America. The religious dimensions must continue to be taken with utmost sincerity if "Liberty and

Justice for All" are to have a solid foundation.

America in 1976 is "Living Still" because churches, with all their mistakes, shortcomings, lack of foresight, are growing and serving more people and better than ever before. Giving voluntarily with money in America to worthy causes last year was at an all-time high. Over \$26,000,000,000 was donated last year for all kinds of charity and church programs in America. Recent study of the value at \$1.50 per volunteer worker, per hour, estimates to be over \$50,000,000,000. Church membership has grown from less than five percent in 1776, to 23 percent of the population in 1876, to 62 percent or a total of 138,000,000 members in 1976. This makes the church "A Mighty Fortress" indeed.

At our birth 200 years ago, except for those we refer to as our forefathers and founders, we were overwhelmingly unchurched and heathen, regardless of pretentious and public claims. And today, because of the zeal of church leaders, a larger percent of our population is voluntarily churched as Baptists, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, than ever before in history in any country. In 1776 there began a program to get the people into the church. In 1976 the challenge is to get even more into the church and introduce the kind of instruction and challenge that will serve to make more meaningful the tremendous membership that we have won.

Learning from and gaining confidence from our experiences in religion, heeding the admonitions of the great moral leaders of the past, and responding to the needs of people and society, will assure that in 2076 America will be "Living Still!"

## Violations

(Continued from page 7)

Torture: Soviet Union—psychiatric abuse—Iran, Chile, South Korea, Philippines, Uruguay, Argentina, Paraguay, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Indonesia, India, Haiti, South Africa, and Rhodesia.

Arbitrary arrest and detention—political prisoners: All.

Racial or ethnic discrimination: South Africa, Rhodesia, Soviet Union, Argentina, and Paraguay.

Religious persecution: Soviet Union, Cuba, North Korea, and Argentina.

Denial of right to emigrate: In particular the Soviet Union and North Korea, and in varying degrees in many of the others, particularly South Africa.

Denial of representative government: Parliamentary authority suspended in Chile, the Philippines, India, Uruguay and otherwise undermined in most of the others. The Soviet Union, Cuba and North Korea are special cases of denial. For different reasons, South Africa and Rhodesia are also special cases.

Denial of press freedom: In varying degrees in all; total government control apparent in South Korea, the Philippines, North Korea, Soviet Union, Iran, Cuba, and India.

Witnesses at the hearings have included officials of the executive branch, Members of Congress, citizens and former citizens of the countries, representatives of international human rights organizations, and scholars.

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