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REPORT from the **CAPITAL**



I am the Alpha and the Omega

REPORT from the CAPITAL

"... a civil state 'with
full liberty in religious concerns'"

Vol. 36 No. 3 March, 1981

Articles

- Enough 4
By K.D. Hurley
- New Frontiers in Religious Liberty 7
By H.K. Hurley
- Politics and the New Right—
Toward 1984 10
By William H. Elder, III

Features

- Washington Observations 3
By Stan L. Hastey and Larry G. Chesser
- Views of the Wall 6
By John W. Baker
- News in Brief 8
By Larry G. Chesser
- International Dateline 12
By Victor Tupitza
- Correspondence 14
- Reflections 15
By James M. Dunn
- Reviews 16

Apollo 10 view of the earth from 36,000 nautical miles.

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Authentic Discipleship

Should this issue of the **REPORT** come across as a bit "heavy" in its contents, the reason lies in the weight of the burden of making peace, caring for the poor and liberating the oppressed. As the world situation shows every likelihood of worsening before improvement can set in, that burden must be shared by the strong. To edit the late Pogo, "we have met the friend and it is us."

The push for political power by the New Religious Right, whose candidates scored smashing victories last fall, appears to have slowed down considerably. Bill Elder gives two reasons: initially, he believes post-election polls have confirmed the findings of the pre-election polsters—that while the American public may have supported the New Right candidates, it demonstrates no devotion to the Right's creed. Again, the consensus that held the Right together for the election, has yielded to disenchantment.

Elder underscores the imperative to remain nonetheless alert to the dangers of civil religion and to desensitization of the principles of religious liberty and the separation of church and state. His provoking analysis of the dynamics of the past year or so ends with a call to uphold proved religious values through engagement in authentic discipleship.

Harvey Cox, a contemporary theologian whose practical involvements and inquiring spirit expand and reinforce his scholarly credibility, takes peacemaking out of the offerings of elective courses. Nor is peace a task set aside for the more astute elite Christian, or as an ideal over which the committed can muse.

To allow the churches to become the place of protest against war, Cox told an audience in an address from which his article is excerpted, "connects the deepest recesses of the human spirit with God." And in an awesome vein, "of the fifty-seven previous generations of Christians, no previous generation has ever had to face the actual prospect of human annihilation by human hands."

The Family: The Seventh Day Baptists, who make a significant contribution to the cause of religious liberty and the separation of church and state, number approximately 5500 members. In terms of the denomination's commitment, however, one hesitates to call it a small group. Executive Secretary K.D. Hurley provides a look-in on its concerns and efforts in support of religious voluntarism with some perspectives of a Sabbatarian body.

BJC executive James Dunn, as most folks acquainted with him know, welcomes the debate, not only to allow truth to surface but also as a prelude to healing reconciliation. **REFLECTIONS** examines some possibilities in political decision-making—compromise, accomodation and reconciliation, all in the process of resolving potentially alienating polarities.

Victor Tupitza



news/views/trends

EVIDENCE IS MOUNTING that the New Right is already becoming disenchanted with President Reagan's new administration over the absence of right-wing appointments. Spokesmen for the movement are complaining openly that not a single Cabinet seat was offered to what they are calling genuine Reaganites.

During a meeting for ministers sponsored by The Roundtable, several political strategists of the New Right warned that hard-line conservatives must follow up on gains registered in November's elections by putting pressure on Reagan to live up to his campaign pledges not only on economic and military questions but on volatile social matters such as abortion, homosexuality and prayer in the schools.

Coming in for particular criticism by Conservative Caucus head Howard Phillips were Reagan's appointments of Alexander Haig as Secretary of State, Casper Weinberger at Defense, Donald Regan at Treasury, Samuel Pierce at Housing and Urban Development, and Terrel Bell at Education. ■

THE NEW HEAD of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs says he is "realistic but hopeful" about the future of church-state relations in the United States in spite of a president and political party publicly committed to profound changes in the area.

James M. Dunn, who became the fourth executive director of the Washington-based Baptist agency Jan. 1, pledged to "applaud and support" initiatives of President Ronald Reagan's administration for church-state separation and human rights.

"The responsibility of this agency to bear Christian witness to questions of public policy, specifically religious freedom, is so consistent and so overwhelming and so overriding," he declared, "that the relative difference in the way we relate to one administration or the other is very unimportant." ■

POLITICS OF THE stripe that accents opposition to candidates on the basis of an arbitrary "moral" voting record (Re: John Buchanan, "A Southern Baptist minister needed to be replaced") will continue in fashion, a recent seminar on political involvement indicated.

Pastors and religious leaders labeling themselves "pro-family" and New Right political heads joined in a pep rally type seminar sponsored by the Roundtable to hear addresses and presentations by four New Right spokesmen on the "how to" aspect of political activity.

The evident consensus of the seminar, held in conjunction with a joint convention of the National Religious Broadcasters and the National Association of Evangelicals, was firm except over references to the desirability of the separation of church and state:

James Kennedy, president of Evangelism Explosion called it the "official doctrine of the Soviet Union," and a "perversion of the First Amendment." He said the concept was "foreign" to the Constitution. ■

Harvey Cox

Professor of theology at the Divinity School of Harvard University, Dr. Cox offers a theological contribution to the peacemaking work of the churches.

"... if only you knew the things that make for peace" (Luke 19:42)

Our greatest problem as Christians in actually becoming peacemakers is not that the Gospel mandate is unclear; it has been our inability to take the step from our commitment to peace to knowing and doing "the things that *make for peace*."

More specifically, the peace work of the churches has been plagued by three obstacles we must now overcome. Peacemaking has been viewed by many Christians as an *elite* rather than a popular concern. Peace work has also appeared to many Christians to be a sort of *elective*, and what the churches have taught about peace has been perceived as *abstract and idealistic*. How can we escape the elitism, marginality and vagueness that has hounded our peacekeeping and make our witness one that ordinary people feel is *theirs*, one that comes from the heart of the Gospel itself and one that is specific and tangible?

The root of our difficulty is that for nearly 2000 years there has never been a consistent Christian theory nor a wide Christian consensus about how we as peacemakers are to make peace. Immediately after the earliest generation of Christians, the church found itself in a world in which the expected early second coming of Christ did not occur. It had to learn to live in *this* world of power and nations and classes. So the church had no choice but to borrow and bless concepts taken from the world around it—ideas and practices that did not stem directly from the Gospel but seemed useful and credible. Such an idea, for example, is the theory of the "just war" which was not invented by the church but which many Christians found helpful in struggling with the problem of how to live out the Gospel in an imperfect and sinful age.

So long—to put it in traditional idiom—as "the Lord tarries"—the borrowing and blessing process must go on. This prevents the church from deteriorating into an esoteric cult with its own private argot. In not blaming past generations of Christians for the choices they made, for the concepts and practices they borrowed and blessed, however, another error must be avoided—that of uncritically ac-

ENOUGH

cepting the compromises they made. There have been fifty-seven previous generations of Christians but no previous generation has ever had to face the actual prospect of human annihilation by human hands. This is new. Consequently it is time to examine once again what the Gospel of God's grace says to us in our unprecedented situation. Once embarked on this task we will discover that continuing to think in terms of national security, just war, balance of power and so on will not only obscure the Gospel but will also caricature the actual world situation.

There can be no "just" nuclear war. No conceivable human cause or policy can justify the unimaginable destruction, extermination of innocent civilians and irreparable damage to the earth and atmosphere that such a war would bring. The just war theory, borrowed and blessed by Christianity some fifteen hundred years ago, now no longer either applies the Gospel or illuminates the real world. It obscures both. It is time for a qualitative leap into a new dimension of Christian thinking about war. What are some of the images and categories which can now be used to make the Gospel intelligible and credible in today's deteriorating international situation?

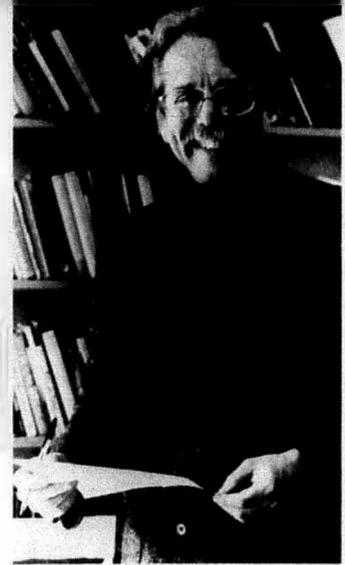
First, when we allow ourselves to hear the "voices of the people", what we hear is a curious mixture of rage and numbness. A recent study done in California turned up the astonishing fact that the majority of people interviewed did believe a nuclear war is likely and that they would not survive it. It is hard to let this amazing fact sink in. Not since the Black Plague have so many people forseen their own unpreventable and untimely death. Yet

a more disturbing part of the study was that the response of these people to the threat they themselves perceived was to do nothing, to remain silent. Joanna Rogers Macy who discusses this ominous study in *New Age* magazine makes the theologically sound comment, that the most pressing need in such a situation is first of all simply to "cry out" as the Hebrews did in slavery, as Jesus on the Cross.

Clearly the first job of the churches is to provide the places and the occasions liturgically and otherwise, for giving vent to this massive pain and fear. In Exodus God acted to deliver the slaves from Egypt only when "I heard the groaning" (Exodus 6:5) of those who saw no hope. The Psalms remind us that God's people can and must shriek and moan in their bondage, for—both theologically and psychologically—God only acts when the people first cry out. Crying out links people to each other, dispells isolation. God acts as people leave their isolation and cry out together against a fate which, as they join in the crying, no longer seems so ineluctable after all.

Second, as a new Biblical language begins to issue forth from the groanings of the people, from their angry rejection of the prospect of their planet's being scorched and poisoned, a new way of appropriating the Gospel's call to peacemaking may also emerge.

In the Gospel of John we read "In the beginning was the Word, the Word was God. . . the Word became Flesh and dwelt among us." A return to this very center of the Christian Message reminds us that God has permanently assumed the condition of human flesh, the flesh, in fact, of one who did not remain mute but cried out in pain and



helplessness. God's becoming flesh reminds us that human flesh whether it will be incinerated in unprecedented quantity—and perhaps even exterminated from the universe—is exactly what is at issue today.

More particularly, our first faith obligation as Christians is to those parts and members of our species that are poor and powerless, unable to defend themselves. These, the victims of racial, sexual, age and class denigrations—are also the first victims of nuclear war since they are already being deprived in order to pay for the arms race.

The leap needed in thinking about war and peace is a leap away from all the categories we have inherited and into a recognition that the only just war imaginable is a struggle to preserve the human species, that the only enemy is nuclear war itself and that the only national security is species security. Are the churches ready to make this their program?

The 19th century history of the Christian church is largely the story of "foreign missions." During the 20th century, the most striking characteristic of world Christianity has been the emergence of the ecumenical movement. The sight of separated and suspicious bodies of Christians finding each other in dialogue and cooperation after centuries of feuding and acrimony has impressed even outsiders. Still, many Christians have begun to ask recently "to what end?"

Maybe the answer is that both the global missionary movement and the ecumenical movement were preparing the churches for the most important task they have ever confronted: becoming the champion of all the inhabitants of earth (the literal meaning of "ecumene"), becoming the voice of the earth and its people against nuclear annihilation.

Third, what would this mean, not abstractly but quite concretely? Today the USA and the USSR together possess 50,000 nuclear weapons. In the space of only thirty minutes all large and middle-sized cities in the northern hemisphere plus numerous other targets could be completely annihilated. It is hard to imagine what the construction of additional bombs could be intended to accomplish. Yet, over the next decade the two superpowers plan to build 10,000 more nuclear weapons and the long range rockets to carry them.

In previous years Christian thinking about war has ranged from pacifism to just war theorizing, from arms control



"a new way of appropriating the Gospel's call to peacemaking may also emerge."

to balance of forces, from world government schemes to national security ideology. Perhaps now the time has come to move beyond these well-worn categories, to put internal differences behind us and to unite all Christian voices in a single word. To the existence of 50,000 nuclear weapons we simply say "enough".

"Enough" is not everything. It sums up in one word the growing sentiment among Christians and others both here in the USA and elsewhere that the time has come for a freeze, a moratorium on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of the aircraft and missiles designed primarily to deliver them.

"Enough" has the force of simplicity and logic. It is believable, easy to explain (unlike SALT II) and applies to both sides. Most importantly it would supply a point of consensus around which Christians of various theologies and traditions could gather. It is not the Kingdom of God, but it may just avert the Apocalypse. It suggests simply that both the USA and the USSR immediately accept such a moratorium and then take steps to negotiate it into a treaty.

The idea of a nuclear moratorium is not a new idea. But maybe it is an idea

whose hour—because of the pressure of reality—has now come. One need not accept or reject this or that theory of Russian expansionism or American imperialism, to say that 50,000 is enough. One need not decide everything in order to decide one thing. As Jesus said when his disciples showed him they had two swords, "It is enough."

Theology may have other words, more words, to say to the peace work of the churches; but in this critical time, maybe "enough" is enough. When the numbness of the people is unstopped, this gives them a real and reasonable word to say: "enough." When the Gospel cuts through the conflicting of theories by which it is obscured, this is what it says: "enough." And when theology abandons its pinnacle of generalization and sums up the Word for our time in a word, that Word is "enough." May it become flesh again among us.

Order

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John W. Baker

VIEWS OF THE WALL



The First Amendment built "a wall of separation between Church and State"—Thomas Jefferson in a letter to the Danbury Baptist Association.

"... the line of separation, far from being a 'wall', is a blurred, indistinct, and variable barrier"—Chief Justice Burger, Lemon v. Kurtzman.

Washington observers have concluded that there will be proposals for constitutional amendments and general legislation in the new 97th Congress which will severely test whether Jefferson's "wall of separation between church and state" will remain a viable legal precept for the decade of the 80's. All proposed constitutional amendments must be considered by the Senate and House Judiciary committees. Much of the proposed church-state legislation will also be referred to them for hearings and, perhaps, redrafting.

The 1980 elections brought about few important changes in the House Committee on the Judiciary. Veteran Democratic members won a victory on January 22, 1981 by convincing the House leadership to reduce the size of the committee from 31 to 28 members with a breakdown of 16 Democrats and 12 Republicans. The move toward a more conservative stance in the House generally did not have a major impact on its Committee on the Judiciary. Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) remains as chairman and the subcommittee chairmen remain essentially the same. This committee, made up entirely of attorneys, has usually appreciated the necessity for maintaining the separation of church and state and presumably will continue in that tradition.

However, the Senate changed from a Democratic to a Republican majority so that Republicans will have a majority in every committee and subcommittee and will control all committee chairmanships. The Senate Committee on the Judiciary is experiencing some rather dramatic changes. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) has replaced Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) as chairman. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), who formerly held the chairmanship of the Subcommittee on the Constitution, was defeated in his bid for reelection and Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) has replaced him as chairman. The Republicans now have a 10-8 majority in the full committee—which does not limit its membership to attorneys.

The Subcommittee on the Constitution will probably hold hearings on a new proposed constitutional amendment to permit state-sponsored prayer in the public schools and, given its

new membership, will probably report the amendment favorably to the full committee. The rumor on the hill is that, if the subcommittee does not begin full hearings early in the session, Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) will attach his amendment denying jurisdiction to the federal courts over cases arising in the states over prayer in the public schools to some piece of legislation already voted out of a committee. This is the method he used in the last Congress and it serves to do away with full Senate hearings on the proposal's merits.

Joseph Biden (D-Del.) has become the ranking minority member of the full committee. One of his aides has been quoted as saying that the Democrats would not spend their time banging their collective heads up against a wall. "Where we clearly don't have the votes, we will not do much."

This should be an interesting Congress, to say the least.

We noted briefly in our last issue that the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit had upheld the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania in its decision [480 F.Supp. 1161 (E.D.Pa. 1979)] that the City of Philadelphia constitutionally could not pay for the expenses of the religious services which were a part of the 1979 visit of Pope John Paul II to that city. The full 2-1 opinion is now available and needs to be elaborated.

The facts of the case are well known and will not be repeated here. It should be pointed out that of some 1.5 million dollars which the city spent on the visit of the Pope, the trial court found that the city had improperly spent \$310,741. However, because some of the items used in the religious ceremony were reusable by the city, the court held \$204,569 should be reimbursed to the city by the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. The appellate court agreed.

The decision written by Judge Rosenn found the actions of the city in its funding of the religious ceremony portion of the Pope's visit failed all three of the tests developed by the Supreme Court for determining whether

state action violates the prohibitions of the First Amendment.

1. *Secular purpose:* The court held that the construction of the platform had only an incidental secular purpose and that the primary purpose of the city's action was religious. The city asserted two secular purposes: the first, the protection of the Pope from the crowd, and the second, the possibility of a "public relations bonanza." The first of these assertions the court labeled "at best, suspect" and unsupported by the facts. The second, raised only on appeal, was rejected and the court pointed out that "if some peripheral public relations benefit can constitute a sufficient secular purpose, then the purpose test is destroyed, for it is hard to imagine a city expenditure that will not look good in someone's eyes." "[The] City failed to satisfy the first part of the constitutional test."

2. *Primary effect:* On this part of the test the city presented several arguments which the court called "imaginative." The city argued that the "unique" nature of the Pope's visit somehow made the effect not primarily religious, that the "transitory nature" of the aid—the Pope used the platform only once and it was removed within two weeks—meant that no religious institution was aided, that any religious effect was too remote, and that any religious effect was the result of the Mass and not of the city's providing the platform and related support.

The court stated emphatically, "The religious effect was both plain and primary. . . [and] can only be considered as advancing religion."

3. *Entanglement:* The court found a strong basis for claims that there was excessive administrative entanglement of church and state—e.g. the joint city-Archdiocese planning of the Logan Circle ceremony—and a serious "potential for community divisiveness along religious lines."

The court order was that "The Archdiocese of Philadelphia is required, in accordance with the stipulation and order of the district court, to reimburse the City \$204,569 that the City unconstitutionally spent in support of Pope John Paul II's Mass at Logan Circle." *Gilfillan, et al. v. City of Philadelphia, et al.*, No. 79-2786 (C.A.3) (Opinion filed December 30, 1980).

K.D. Hurley

New Frontiers in Religious Liberty



"Believing religious liberty to be not only an inalienable right, but indispensable to human welfare, a Baptist must exercise himself to the utmost in the maintenance of absolute religious liberty for his Jewish neighbor, his Catholic neighbor, his Protestant neighbor, and for everybody else. . . . We stand for a civil state, with full liberty in religious concerns."

The foregoing declaration was part of a joint statement unanimously adopted by the Southern Baptist, the Northern Baptist and the National Baptist U.S.A., Conventions in 1939, a preliminary step toward formation of the united Baptist witness in public affairs.

The validity of organizing and maintaining the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs becomes increasingly evident as we observe the insidious, sometimes almost imperceptible, encroachment upon the cherished "inalienable right" of religious liberty.

The examples of intrusion are both direct and indirect:

- Several actions of Congress have trended toward defining "church", taking the matter entirely out of church hands.
- Private, church-related colleges in some states are in danger of losing non-profit status simply because of allowing their facilities to be used by church and other noneducational groups for conferences during summer months.
- One state government confiscated the financial records and assumed business management of a church organization.
- An increasing number of church properties and activities such as camps are being government regulated and taxed.
- Some government officials have felt that it is not only right but proper and necessary to use church workers, such as missionaries, to serve as information-gathering undercover agents.
- Debate continues regarding questions such as prayer in public

Dr. Hurley serves as Executive Secretary of the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, and represents that denomination on the Baptist Joint Committee.

schools; tuition payments, tax credits, transportation, books, and supplies for students attending parochial schools.

Many experts in government relations feel that the years ahead pose greater threats of government infringement into religious matters than ever before. We are in the midst of a very active, controversial, and difficult time in church-state relations.

Seventh Day Baptists, like all Baptists, view with alarm what appears to be a dual threat to separation of church and state: (1) The seemingly growing infiltration of government into church affairs; and (2) an apparent increase in the use of the guarantees of religious freedom for the advancement of personal, political, or selfish purposes.

Taking what would seem to be undue advantage of the cherished rights and privileges afforded by the First Amendment, some families have declared their homes as centers of religion, with heads of households assuming the role of "ministers" in order to escape taxation. Certain declared church-related, and therefore tax-free enterprises, seem to be in direct and perhaps unfair competition with business. In one community, it is reported, forty-seven percent of the property is held by churches and other nonprofit—and, therefore, non-taxed—organizations. Surplus property and equipment, as well as food, are sometimes obtained through government programs and subsidies for specific religious purposes and then are used by the church groups in other ways. Some individuals, using the electronic media, dabble in politics with danger of proclaiming doctrines and sponsoring programs which could be misunderstood because of incomplete or inaccurate or biased information.

Church leaders and members need to keep well informed regarding both public policy and church issues so they can speak out for maintenance of the time-honored separation of church and state. However, they should be slow to criticize categorically those who express opposing views. Erosion of religious liberty could occur both from within as well as from outside the church. Moral integrity needs to be demonstrated on the part of all concerned.

In keeping with long Baptist heritage and practice, it is timely to review and reapply the various doctrines presented in the Baptist Joint Committee statement of Purpose and Programs, including the following:

1. We "enunciate, commend and defend the historic Baptist principles of religious freedom with particular application to the separation of church and state as embodied in the Constitution of the United States."

2. We subscribe to "principles held essential to true relations between church and state and the right application of Christianity to the life of a nation."

3. We are committed "to the voluntariness of religious faith, the inviolability of the human conscience, and the relevance of Christian faith to all human rights and to the life of the nation through a concerted witness in public affairs."

Seventh Day Baptists are a *minor* part (in membership) of the total fabric of society, but they depend in a *major* way upon the religious freedom guaranteed by the United States Constitution. Freedom to worship according to the dictates of individual conscience is basic to the denomination's life and vitality.

Seventh Day Baptists came to the North American continent over 300 years ago, soon after the Pilgrims had arrived, seeking freedom to worship and work in keeping with their convictions. They had been persecuted for their beliefs and practices in Europe. In this country, they cherished for themselves—as well as their neighbors—the right to act without undue restraint or condemnation.

Therefore, Seventh Day Baptists doubly appreciate the work of the Baptist

(Continued on pg. 16)

News in Brief

SBC Executive Objects to 'Food as Weapon' Policy

NASHVILLE—A policy making food a diplomatic weapon, proposed by Agriculture Secretary-designate John R. Block, has been denounced as "both impractical and morally abhorrent" by a Southern Baptist leader.

W. David Sapp, director of organization for the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission, told Block in an open letter that he objected to "your belief that we should lure other nations into depending on us for food so that we can exercise some degree of control over them by threatening to cut off their food supply."

Sapp noted that "the OPEC nations have sought to manipulate us by similar means, and we have denounced their tactics as unfair, selfish and morally reprehensible. We must not sink to their level."

Although the Baptist leader acknowledged that under certain circumstances withholding food may be "the least evil available," he added that "when it is necessary, this sad strategy should be employed sparingly with tears in our eyes and repentance in our hearts."

Sapp told the Agriculture Secretary-designate that he was praying that "you will abandon this position concerning food as a weapon which is so foreign to the ideals of both the Bible and the American nation."

Congress Will Hear Prayer While O'Hair Appeals

WASHINGTON—Atheist leader Madalyn Murray O'Hair failed here in the first round of her legal challenge to ban the practice of maintaining chaplains in the Congress.

In an oral decision, Judge Louis F. Oberdorfer of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia ruled that O'Hair did not have standing to bring the suit challenging the practice. His decision, announced at the conclusion of oral arguments, did not deal with the church-state arguments raised by the case.

Attorneys for both parties in the case said they expect a formal written opinion in the near future.

O'Hair said she will appeal Judge Oberdorfer's decision, calling the announcement that she did not have standing to sue "incredible."

O'Hair sued the government last summer, arguing that employing and paying chaplains from the federal treasury violates the Constitution's ban on an establishment of religion. Both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives have been serviced by chaplains for more than 200 years.

Religion in Politics Risks Government in Religion

LAS VEGAS—Sen. Howard Cannon, D-Nev., warns that religious groups which engage in politics may jeopardize their tax exemptions.

Asked whether he felt the activities of religio-political groups like the Moral Majority violate church-state separation, the veteran legislator said, "The people who are involved should take a close look as to whether this is going beyond the bounds of the division of church and state."

The senator, who is ranking Democrat on the Senate Commerce Committee, warned that "if religious groups are going to get into politics we may have to treat them the same as political groups."

No. Dakota Prayer Bill for One-Minute of Silence

BISMARCK—Public school students could pray briefly at the start of each school day under a bill to be introduced in the 1981 session of the North Dakota legislature.

The bill, to be sponsored by Rep. William Gorder, would grant students a one-minute period of silence at the start of their first class.

Gorder said he will introduce the bill on behalf of Jim and Jenny DeMell of Cavalier, N.D.

Mrs. DeMell acknowledged the bill will probably meet with opposition, but said the measure does not outline a prescribed prayer or force any student to pray.

City Urged to Assess Institutions for Services

NASHVILLE—An 11-member municipal committee has urged the city of Nashville to assess all tax-exempt institutions, including churches, a fee for city services.

A similar measure, limited to water and sewer charges, was recently pro-

posed by New York City's Mayor Edward Koch. But for Nashville to assess such a fee on tax-exempt property, enabling legislation would first have to be passed by the Tennessee legislature.

Under the proposal here, tax-exempt institutions would be charged a fee equal to 50 percent of the normal rate per acre of land. Those within the downtown urban-services district would be charged \$207.70 an acre, and those in the outlying general-services district \$53.12 an acre.

Total acreage in metropolitan Nashville owned by tax-exempt institutions stands at 27,057, of which 2,036 acres is owned by churches.

Court Rules Hierarchies Retain Property Ownership

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Supreme Court reiterated the long-standing legal doctrine that hierarchical-type church bodies control the properties of local congregations, even when the latter secede from their denominations.

In a pair of cases involving Episcopal churches in New Jersey, the high court unanimously declined requests from local parishes to review lower court decisions holding that their properties belong to the mother denomination, the Protestant Episcopal Church. Both congregations had objected to changes in the denomination and withdrawn from membership.

By rejecting the appeals, the high court reasserted the principle, first enunciated in 1872, that church bodies controlled by a hierarchy have property rights over local congregations. On several occasions, the court has decided other church property disputes, but in each case the contending parties were Presbyterian.

Although no church property dispute involving congregational-type churches or denominations has ever been argued or decided by the court, virtually all church-state experts agree that in such bodies local congregations control their own property.

More Accountability, Not TV Censorship—Allen

WASHINGTON—Citing television's heavy shaping influence on society, Southern Baptist broadcast executive Jimmy Allen told the nation's religious

broadcasters here that television ministry in today's world is difficult but essential.

During a panel presentation at the National Religious Broadcasters' joint convention with the National Association of Evangelicals, Allen declared that the broadcast media "is fashioning the mindset of society."

Allen, president of the SBC Radio and Television Commission and a member of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, reminded the broadcasters of censorship's unacceptability and called for increased efforts to produce greater network and cable industry accountability as well as improved alternative programming from religious broadcasters.

Court to Weigh Interests In Hari Krishna Dispute

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Supreme Court agreed here to resolve the question of whether religious groups may be confined to booths and other restricted areas at state fairs.

Specifically, the justices will decide a case brought by the International Society for Krishna Consciousness against officials of the Minnesota state fair. The latter, acting under a state law, have denied repeated requests by the controversial religious sect to allow members to roam freely at the annual 12-day Minnesota state fair soliciting money, selling literature and proselytizing.

Attorneys for the sect, which claims to be a monotheistic Hindu religion dating back 5,000 years, argue that Krishna devotees were denied their First Amendment free exercise of religion right by the state.

Minnesota's attorney general, who filed a written brief asking the high court to take on the case after the state Supreme Court held for the Hare Krishnas, counters that lawful state interests dictate that religious and other groups selling merchandise or soliciting funds be restricted to assigned booths.

Among those interests, he argued, the state is to protect the health and safety of the public, preserve order and convenience for fairgoers, give all exhibitors and concessionaires equal access to patrons, and minimize the problems of theft, fraud and misrepresentation by solicitors and vendors.

The state's brief also contends that no religious group, including the Hare Krishnas, has suffered discrimination under application of the Minnesota law, a point not disputed by the sect.

Parent's Complaint Halts Distribution of Scripture

GREENSBORO—Local members of the Gideons International have agreed to stop passing out New Testaments to public school students following a parent's complaint.

Guilford County Superintendent Douglas Magann said the businessmen's organization, best known for its distribution of Bibles in hotel rooms, had not been passing them out on school property but rather had made them available to pupils who wanted them.

He added that the parent of an elementary school child had com-

plained about the practice to the Gideons.

"Their position seems to be that they didn't want the issue to come up or it might hurt their distribution elsewhere in the state," Magann explained.

Maine Students Approve Textbook, Evolution Study

CARIBOU—Students in Caribou schools will continue to study scientific theories of evolution while debate over equal teaching of Bible accounts of creation continues.

The Caribou School Board voted to have school officials review the curriculum and teachers agreed to try to be "objective" in teaching theories of creation not taught in biology texts.

The Rev. Dana O. Craig of the Abundant Life Temple in Bangor had argued that "what is being taught in the schools now amounts to atheism and violates the Constitution as much as teaching religion."

School Supt. Gary R. Johnston said "We didn't want to polarize the community, so this was a very good result from the meetings held to resolve the matter. We've developed a system where we review our text every year."

A survey of 160 biology students by the Student Council before the meeting disclosed that 85 percent of the students did not feel the current texts should be changed.

PA Capital Ailing; May 'Pass the Hat'

HARRISBURG—Financially ailing Harrisburg soon may officially ask tax-free churches to "pass the plate" to help support municipal services.

Two city council members suggested asking churches to give a "fair-share" offering equal to what they would pay if their property were taxed.

The council members said the added funds probably would not amount to more than \$10,000 a year but would help make the public aware of the city's plight.

Several churches and other tax-exempt bodies have already made contributions.

City Solicitor Herbert C. Goldstein said he saw "no legal obstacle" to the plan as long as the requests were accompanied by a clear statement that the contributions were voluntary.

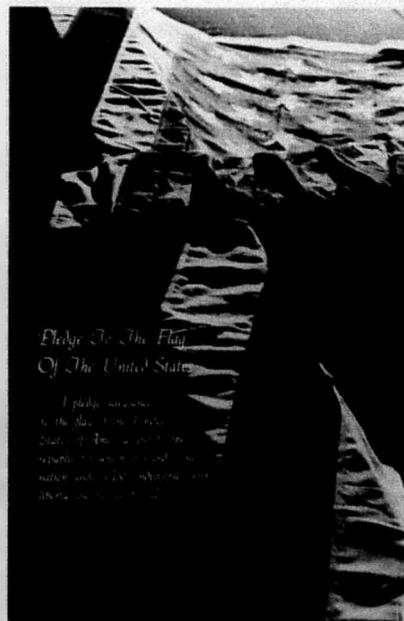
Ambiguities

"I never wrap the cross in the flag."

—Jerry Falwell,

at a Washington press conference

(This bulletin cover of his "I Love America [religious] Rally provides a conflicting statement)



William H. Elder, III

This article is an abridged and edited version of an address delivered at the annual meeting of state and national Christian Life Commissions staffs, and before the Inter-Agency Council of the Southern Baptist Convention. Dr. Elder is the director of Christian Citizenship Development for the Christian Life Commission of the SBC.

Politics and The New Right— Toward 1984

I believe the New Right won the election. The new Republican Party had embraced this New Right lock, stock and barrel. The old Republican Party's line was simply picked up in large measure by the Democratic Party, a tactic which produced substantial confusion for lifelong Democrats and narrowed the political choices considerably.

A great many people simply wanted a change. They wanted a new approach, a change, and best of all more take-home pay. They voted against perceived, albeit principled and moral, impotency. The New Right is now in power in Washington, and consequently we face a new day in almost every dimension affecting public policy.

In thinking about what a Christian social action agency ought to include, given the new prevailing political winds, it is imperative to understand the dynamics of the New Right. It now has a President, a Senate majority, and a strong likelihood of a bipartisan majority in the House. It has also succeeded in attracting the public imagination through a sophisticated communications network which it can easily and efficiently utilize whenever it pleases. This is no fly-by-night phenomenon.

The first thing to recognize about the New Right is that it is not a homogeneous movement. It is at least bipolar. William Safire of the *New York Times* has suggested two workable labels. On the one hand there are the Libertarian Conservative New Righters, abbreviated "Librights," and on the other the Traditional Conservative New Righters, or "Tradrights."

The Librights essentially have only two overriding concerns: a stimulated economy, and a beefed-up military. All other concerns are secondary. The Lib-

right economic philosophy is totally supply-side oriented—stimulate production and the rest will follow. Inflation will make a speedy retreat. That needed shot of economic adrenaline is equated with removing government from the marketplace. Government, the problem, not the solution, must step aside and let the people and the private sector go.

They favor slashing government spending and instituting a big tax cut. Let the people keep the money. They'll spend it, and business will receive its crucial inflation/recession antidote.

This economic radicalism won friends in the blue collar, traditionally democratic community, which liked its promises of more pocket money, less protection for management, and less interference from "Big Brother." The Librights presented this approach as a return to good old American capitalism and, therefore, an expression of true patriotism.

Who are the Librights? They're the New Right intelligentsia in blue serge suits with ivy league credentials. David Broder in his recent book, *Changing of the Guard*, offers an excellent treatment of this group. The engendering organization seems to have been Young Americans for Freedom, begun at the home of William F. Buckley in Sharon, Connecticut in 1960. Probably the most influential Libright organization today is the Heritage Foundation which contributed a major plank to the ideological platform of the Reagan transition team.

Libright leaders include Buckley, Jack Kemp, William Roth, Phil Gramm (TX), and David Stockman who said not long ago, "I don't find there's any intellectual substance in the moderate Republican view." Also on the list are Barry Goldwater, senior and junior; Pat Buchanan; the new Richard Schweiker; just about all of the Reagan



cabinet; and at least two of the new Senators, Danny Quayle (IN) and Paula Hawkins (FL).

The other face of the New Right, the Tradrights, [are] genuine twentieth century anachronisms. If a comparison could be drawn to our own theological camps, the Tradrights would be the fundamentalists and the Librights the liberals. The Librights are the intellectuals, the "slightly" creative thinkers, and the Tradrights the anti-intellectuals of the Flat Earth Society variety. The Tradrights want to see government use its power to engineer, the kind of society in which abortions are outlawed, the death penalty is federally instituted, busing for racial balance is eliminated, state-sponsored prayers are institutionalized, and ERA is interred once and for all, etc., *ad nauseam*.

The Tradrights developed sophisticated political weapons: mailing lists, campaign law loopholes like independent expenditures, media expertise, etc., as they went to war for Reagan and other New Right candidates. The 1980 victory was for them only a preliminary one. They are looking down the road for a purebred, true-believing, exclusively Tradrightist to occupy the Oval Office. Reagan is merely a step in the right direction.

Who are the Tradrights? They are the technicians, whose leadership can be compiled easily by simply listing the executive directors and legislative directors of the noncongressional organizations. At the top of that list would be Richard Viguerie, Paul Weyrich (CFSEFC), and Terry Dolan (NCPAC).

Although there are Tradrights in the House, it is in the Senate that their influence is most likely to be centered. The card-carrying Tradrights are: Jesse Helms, Gordon Humphrey, Bill Armstrong, Jake Garn, Alan Simpson, Jim McClure, Roger Jepsen, Paul Laxalt, Orrin Hatch, and Malcolm Wallop. Newly elected members of the Senate who appear to be pledges in the Tradright fraternity include Republicans Don Nickles (OK), Jeremiah Denton (AL), John East (NC), Al D'Amato

(NY), Steven Symms (ID), and Charles Grassley (IA).

A third group, the New Religious Right, is really a subgroup of the Tradrights, and is led by Christian Voice, the Roundtable, and Moral Majority. They have received far more press than their election impact seems to merit. Nevertheless, in 1979 and 1980, their novelty and inherent controversiality brought with it media infatuation. The situation has changed. The press appears less interested, and these groups cannot survive without high visibility. Internally, the honeymoon is over.

A few months ago *Christian Voice* was covered by "60 Minutes." Richard Zone was shown basking in his newly found Washington prestige. It was Richard Zone who took the position that liberalism and Christianity were mutually exclusive. The exuberant and daemagoguish Rev. Zone is no longer with Christian Voice. Robert Grant, Voice's founder, is not very visible either. He resumed leading tours to the Holy Land. What is left of the operation rests on the shoulders of Gary Jarmin, who oversees a small office not far from Capitol Hill. Voice's most recent embarrassment has been the resignations of several of their Congressional Advisory Board members, many of whom objected to Voice's moral issues' report card which rated Richard Kelly of Abscam at 100 and Paul Simon, "Mr. Ethics" of Congress, at zero.

The Roundtable is the smallest of the three groups. For the most part it is a one-man operation with a public relations person out front. That man is Eddy McAteer, assisted by the central workhorse, Ed Rowe. James Robison once active in Roundtable, has either severed relations or decreased his profile considerably. Roundtable's big splash last year was the National Affairs Briefing in Dallas, a religious Reagan rally.

The Cadillac in the New Religious Right's garage, the *Moral Majority*, has its own building four blocks from the Capitol, lots of lobbyists, membership in both the Republican and Democratic luncheon clubs, and a \$5 million budget. If press reports are correct, the entire Falwell enterprise is a financial house of cards, demanding enormous cash flow to remain standing. Moral Majority's long-term objective is to become a powerful political force.

To do that it must have abundant resources, and to garner those resources requires high, secular press visibility. Its leadership has accurately seen the signs of diminishing coverage and clout and has wisely turned to a less

controversial but publicity fertile immediate objective: cleaning up TV. Thus, the formation of the Coalition for Better TV, a coalition of Tradrights and religious Rights.

All in all, the old interlocking harmony has gone. They are disassociating themselves from each other, searching to get individual attention. Their political threat is minimal, but the threat they pose at the point of civil religion—sacralizing traditional rightism—is enormous. Our agenda needs to respond accordingly.

What should Christian citizens and Christian institutions have on their agenda for the near future in response to the status, faces, and dynamics of the New Right? There is need to continue to speak of the dangers of civil religion, which work not only against authentic discipleship, but reduce sensitivity to factors that undermine principles of religious liberty and the separation of church and state.

The answer to the broader thrust must come on two levels, i.e., the ideological and the organizational; challenging the Right's simplistic placebos by clearly pointing out where their blueprint for society departs from the normative American values. Christian citizens must also evaluate the rightist prescription in light of the biblical norm.

This response, however, must go beyond the analytical to the practical, from countering ideas to alternative organizations. Citizens often follow the path of least resistance. They docilely respond to those who keep on cajoling them through the electronic media, the press and the mail, who simplify and emotionalize everything, and who facilitate the desired action through clear, easy steps.

Shaping and orchestrating public opinion does not happen without organization. The Right Wing has aggressively seized the initiative at this point, while progressives have had no answering mechanism to speak of. Moral Majority's critics tried to check them with logical disapproval, but the masses were not then and are not now tuned in to the dialogue, especially not when they so easily fit into a fully functioning organization. The organizational advantage can only be overcome by alternative organizations.

To develop alternative organizations obviously requires either extensive funding or the adapting and development of already existing organizations. If Baptists can be attracted to their own mechanisms, through which their legitimate citizenship concerns can be

expressed, then the Right-Wing parachurches will face organizational and financial trauma. But until that alternative is forcefully presented we can expect more Baptist resources to be diverted, depleted, and diluted.

Our agenda with regard to the political Rightists is largely one of dealing with the value ramifications of their having enshrined marketplace and battlefield competition. This prioritization suggests that many of the biblically-mandated ethical causes in the arena of public policy are in jeopardy. The Rightists continue to say "economics is everything." They promise that when business prospers, all people benefit. But they are also willing to admit that in this kind of game there have to be winners and losers.

We need to stand firmly against this line, to sound the note of our corporate identity, our interrelationships, and our mutual responsibilities. We must help restore confidence in the legitimate self-regulating function of government.

In short, we need to be advocates for the powerless and for the complex of values associated with the powerless, while at the same time working realistically within a more conservative public opinion.

Our challenge is to develop structures and mechanisms wherever possible to transform rhetoric into reality. What I am suggesting is a better understanding of the reigning conservative national psyche; not for compromise and accommodation, but in order to provide the crucial values sensitization, challenge, and corrective from within a tradition that is basically representative of Middle America.

So, to recap, I think we have to work on behalf of Christian citizenship on at least three levels.

(1) Rather than providing the Religious Right with any more attention and clout by painting them as the enemy, we can hasten their discomfiture by assisting our people in discerning and eschewing civil religion, inauthentic discipleship, and those factors which undermine religious liberty.

(2) We need to step up our own efforts to channel and give legitimate expression to the political commitments of Baptists.

(3) We need to find ways to sensitize our people to biblically prioritized human values. We need to do some fresh thinking about how to speak persuasively, powerfully, and ethically to the widespread anxieties as to economic and military security.

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Protest US Military Aid; Selective Killing Charged

MANAGUA—More than 40 American residents of Nicaragua occupied part of the U.S. Embassy here to protest the resumption of American military aid to neighboring El Salvador.

In another development, the staff of the Salvadoran Embassy in Managua, including the ambassador, resigned, saying they could no longer support their country's military-civilian junta.

The American protesters had been among some 300 people demonstrating peacefully outside the compound against what they said in leaflets was the planned "Vietnamization" of El Salvador.

In an interview, Dr. Harvey Cox said "Our government just has it wrong. It will cost more bloodshed and pain, and the people of El Salvador will eventually win. I just can't understand our making the same mistake again so soon in Central America after continuing to support (the late former President) Somoza so long in Nicaragua."

Right-wing violence in El Salvador is not indiscriminate and the killings of four U.S. Catholic missionary workers and two labor activists were more the rule than exceptions, say members of an American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) team that recently visited Central America and the Caribbean.

"What's really going on is a war against the people," said Phillip Berryman, AFSC representative for Central America, at a press briefing at Quaker House.

Mr. Berryman asserted that in El Salvador, "the extreme right and the government are just nuances of the same thing." As evidence, he noted that "no one on the extreme right has been brought to justice for anything."

John A. Sullivan, associate executive secretary for information and interpretation of the AFSC, said he found that there is a difference "in the volume and method of the violence on the right and the left" in countries like El Salvador and Guatemala. He said the rightwing violence "has no respect for religion," and that rightist guerrillas generally torture their victims before killing them, while this is not true of leftists. (RNS)

Dissent Groups Hard-hit

LONDON—Soviet courts have imposed tough prison terms on more than 200 people in the past 15 months in a new crackdown on dissent, says Amnesty International (AI).

Amnesty International said that three types of dissenters seemed to have been especially hard-hit: members of unofficial groups trying to monitor Soviet observance of human rights agreements reached at the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; national rights campaigners in the non-Russian Soviet republics, including Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, and Armenians; and religious believers, particularly "unregistered" Baptists, Seventh-day Adventists, and Pentecostals, but including some Russian Orthodox believers.

Marcos Ends Martial Law

MANILA—President Ferdinand E. Marcos announced here that he was ending the state of martial law under which he had ruled this nation of some 45 million people for eight years and four months.

At the same time, however, he signed an order providing that all decrees and orders by which he has ruled under martial law remain in force.

Mr. Marcos also released 341 prisoners in an amnesty and transferred many crimes from military to civilian jurisdiction.

Cults 'A Threat to Freedom'

PARIS—Calling some religious cults "elitist and totalitarian" and "a threat to freedom," 10 theologians and 50 lay persons from 14 countries have formed a new international association to deal cooperatively with cults worldwide.

The action was taken at a recent conference here sponsored by the Association for the Defense of the Family and the Individual (ADFI), a French organization of parents of youths who belong to these cults.

The conference called for more widespread information about "the dangerous implications" of such cults, "because some of these groups pose a threat to the democratic political base."

The conference also said that government health authorities should be alerted to the hazards involved by membership in the cults, "because evidence shows that some of them damage their adherents both physically and mentally."

Never 'as well off'

SAN DIEGO—Jewish fears of an alarming new wave of anti-Semitism in the United States may be largely exaggerated or unfounded, says Leonard Fein, editor of Moment Magazine, a national Jewish monthly based in Boston.

"Around the world, Jewish safety is endangered," he told 400 delegates of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC). Cited were Argentina, the Soviet Union and France as countries currently suffering from violent anti-Semitism.

But Jews have never in their history been as well off socially, politically or economically as they are in America today, Dr. Fein said.

USSR Frees Pentecostal

NEW YORK—Sources here report that Alexander "Sasha" Vashchenko, a member of one of the two Soviet Pentecostal families now residing in the US Embassy in Moscow, was released from a Soviet labor camp in early December.

Vashchenko was imprisoned in November, 1977, for refusing to serve in the military. He was to be paroled last June, but authorities refused to release him at that time.

The young Pentecostal believer is now looking for a job, but, because of the government's attitude towards his family in the embassy, he will undoubtedly face considerable difficulty in finding a position.

Both of Vashchenko's parents and three sisters have been staying in the US Embassy in Moscow since June 27, 1978. (EWNS)

From 'Cruel Logic' to Jail

JERUSALEM—A 19-year-old Israeli man has been sentenced to 18 months



in prison for conscientious objection by a military tribunal here.

The youth, Gadi Algazi, was one of 27 students who announced their decision to refuse conscription on December 26, the day before their induction, because they did not want to serve in the occupied West Bank territories. They were critical of the military authorities, pointing out that a compromise could have been achieved if Mr. Algazi had been offered the terms given several of his fellow students who were assured they would not have to serve on the West Bank.

Mr. Algazi reportedly told the court that he was unable to serve as an "occupier" because it was contrary to the education he had received and so was refusing the "cruel logic" of the struggle between "the occupation and the resistance."

Law Less Than Enchanting

JOHANNESBURG—The South African government has published draft legislation that would allow owners of hotels, bars and restaurants to decide for themselves whether to serve non-whites.

Under current law, proprietors in most cases must get explicit government permission to serve any but white patrons.

South Africa's Liquor Act of 1977 excepts major hotels, motels and restaurants with so-called "international licenses." These are the only establishments in South Africa where people of all races may legally drink and dine together, without further ado.

Nthato Motlana, a community leader from the black ghetto of Soweto, outside Johannesburg, said he was less than enchanted by the draft legislation, and called on the government to "write race out of the Constitution."

He said it only "nibbled away" at the 30-year apartheid system segregating the 4.4 million ruling whites in South Africa from the 22 million non-whites.

Appalled by Talk of War

INDIANAPOLIS—An East German clergyman visiting here said he was appalled by the casual way Americans talk of war.

Bruno Schottstaedt, director of the Grossner Mission at East Berlin for 25 years, believes it partly is because Americans never have been attacked on their own soil.

"Americans do not know the suffering of having war on one's homeland," Mr. Schottstaedt said. "My wife grew up in Magdeburg, where suddenly, one night, in one minute, 17,000 people died under Allied bombs and 70,000 were left homeless."

Mr. Schottstaedt said that, of a total population of 17 million in East Germany, nine million are Christians.

"The Bible teaches us a commitment to peace," he said. "Christ did not give His life against others, but for them."

Rights, Not Politics, Aim

VATICAN CITY—Polish labor leader Lech Walesa told Pope John Paul II here that his new worker's movement would not become a political organization.

"Political affairs do not interest us," said the leader of the independent trade union syndicate, Solidarity. "We are interested in the rights of man, the rights of society, the rights of faith."

Mr. Walesa said the worker's movement was concerned only with human rights. "Men must help each other," he said. "We are trying to act on this basis. On the basis of justice, we are trying to build a future for ourselves and our children."

CWS Relief Tops 1980 Goal

NEW YORK—Church World Service, the international relief and development arm of the National Council of Churches, reports receipts of almost half a million dollars in 1980 for its program to aid Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

The final figure was \$455,937, well over the \$375,000 CWS asked for in the two 1980 appeals it sent to its 32 member organizations. CWS works through an international coalition in Pakistan called the Inter-Aid Committee, which has funded a medical program and distributed tents, blankets, clothing and medicine in the refugee camps.

At last count, according to the

Inter-Aid Committee, roughly 1.4 million Afghan refugees had registered with the Pakistani government, while others had simply entered the country without official notice. (NCE)

Albanian Arrests Mount

BELGRADE—Refugees fleeing across the border into Yugoslavia from Albania report intensified measures to stamp out the last vestiges of religious belief there.

Communist Albania, which in 1976 proclaimed itself "the world's first officially atheist state," has outlawed all forms of religion in a determined campaign to root it out completely.

Recently, however, say the refugees, a new wave of arrests has been aimed at underground believers and at people who possess Bibles or other religious literature.

Death Sentence Lifted

SEOUL—President Chun Doo Hwan has commuted to life imprisonment the death sentence of Kim Dae Jung, South Korea's leading dissident and a former presidential candidate.

The action came after the Supreme Court upheld the death sentence imposed on Mr. Kim four months earlier for allegedly plotting to overthrow the military-supported government.

Mr. Kim, 56, a Roman Catholic, denied all charges of sedition at a military trial. The United States at the time called the charges "farfetched."

Scientology Not a Religion

MELBOURNE—Scientologists intend to challenge a decision of the Victoria Supreme Court that Scientology is not a religion.

In the Victoria court ruling rejecting the application for tax exemption, Mr. Justice Crockett said Scientologists had not always described their movement as religious. He pointed to a statement, summarizing the purpose of Scientology as being "to increase the efficiency and well being of the individual person, using those terms in the widest sense, and in so doing to increase the efficiency and well being of society as a whole."

Symbol Of Access



This is the international symbol of access. The symbol tells a handicapped person, particularly one using a wheelchair, that a building or facility is accessible and can be entered and used without fear of being blocked by architectural barriers. For more information on the proper use and display of this symbol, write for the booklet "People are asking about . . . displaying the symbol of access", National Easter Seal Society for Crippled Children & Adults, 2023 W. Ogden Ave., Chicago, IL 60612. □

(REFLECTIONS, from p. 15)

church preach its gospel and stay out of politics." Hitler has some unwitting apostles today. We come closer to identifying with Archbishop William Temple's view of the church's responsibility in politics. He said, "we cannot deny the existence of (the church's) power therefore we must be good stewards of it."

Our Christian faith offers humane goals, a passion for justice, the sustaining power to get the job done. Religion functions best teaching, persuading, setting an example, holding up ideals. We are agents of reconciliation, bridges over troubled waters.

There are three basic approaches to this reconciling mission. To some degree they are determined by personality and the particular situation. There are those who

sit back . . . and those who leap out . . . and others who inch forward.

The ones who *sit back* are in danger of being thought part of the furniture. "Not to decide" is itself a decision and inaction casts a vote for the force that happens to be winning. People of faith have special problems with passivity. Failure to work for constructive change, justice says either 1) I'm satisfied with things just as they are or 2) The Christ whom I follow is powerless to bring progress toward the ideal.

Those who *leap out* are in danger of being on a limb, all alone, well-known but ineffective. If the sitters-back seldom lose (nothing ventured, nothing lost) the leapers-out seldom win. They remind us of goals and dreams and ideals and in doing so make us uncomfortable and themselves unpopular.

The persons whose strategy it is to *inch forward* are in danger of being caught in the crossfire, homeless in the middle. The compromiser, accommodator, reconciler also finds a lonely road as a political practitioner. For the conservative he's too liberal. For the liberal he's too conservative. For the ideologue he's wishy-washy. For the wheeler-dealer he won't stay bought. For the uninitiated he's incomprehensible. For the professional he's an amateur. For the Christian he's responsible. That's good!

Christians and Jews share the belief that all human beings are made in the image of God. Through the centuries we've never completely decided exactly what that means. Yet, there seems to be a high consensus that it means at least that mankind is capable of responding to the Creator, response able . . . responsible.

That's our objective then, to be responsible reconcilers, bridges, inchers-forward.

After brokenness . . . reconciliation.

Please send the following:

STAFF REPORTS

- Baker, John W. *Nontheistic Religions and the First Amendment*—The courts, . . . have equated nontheistic systems of ethical and moral thought with theistic systems of thought and have included both under the rubric of religion. . . . Single copies free. \$3.00 dozen, \$20.00 hundred copies
- Wood, James E., Jr. *Government Intrusion into Religious Affairs* (Single copy, \$.30; dozen copies, \$3.00; one-hundred copies, \$20.00)

FREE PAMPHLETS

- Religion and Public Education: Some suggested Guidelines
- The American Tradition and Baptist Insights
- Religious Liberty and the Bill of Rights
- Religion in the Public School Classroom

Register Citizen Opinion (Single copies, \$.35 each; ten for \$3.00, 100 for \$25.00, 1000 copies \$195.00 plus shipping).

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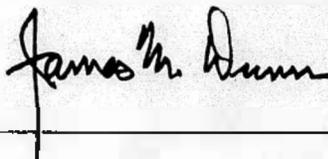
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REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



Poor ole Harry Truman was close to the essence of all politics when he said: "I'm tired of all these two handed fellars, it's always 'on the one hand, but on the other hand'."

We're all tempted to look for simple, easy, one-handed answers. We don't enjoy heated battles that have folks on the one hand fighting those on the other tooth and nail.

Most of us have trouble making peace, making progress, getting both hands working together for the common good after a bitterly fought election.

This difficulty does not reflect upon the character or integrity of a political person. In fact, the more deeply dedicated to goals and ideals, the more sincere, the more ethically committed to practicing what one preaches, the more the agony in the aftermath.

After brokenness . . . reconciliation.

If I had a text it would be II Corinthians 5:18-19 which reads in part: "From first to last this has been the work of God. He has reconciled us men to himself through Christ, and he has enlisted us in this service of reconciliation." (New English Bible) Another translation reads "we are agents of reconciliation."

The flashing lights on the tally board revealing how legislators have voted on a particular issue tell only a tiny part of the story. Imagine three green lights in a row. Three representatives have voted the same way on bill number 666. For each of them their final vote was the result of a balancing act, a trade off, a judgment call.

For the first it was a matter of conscious *compromise* that finally led to a "yes." He'd made a deal. It was expedient to cast this vote. Hey! Don't get uppity about a dirty politician who would compromise. That's what it's all about. I give a little, you give a little, we arrive at a workable solution to the seemingly insolvable.

For the second solon, a bit more thoughtful person, her "yes" vote represented *accommodation*. She had evaluated carefully the ideal, the options open at this moment in the realistic political situation and had determined that this "yes" vote was the best she could do under the circumstances, lesser evil, half-a-loaf and all that.

For the third lawmaker, compromise and accommodation are involved. More than that, he sees his vote as *reconciliation*. Each vote is part of a consistent pattern. Votes maintain tension toward an ideal not yet realized. This vote is purely motivated. All religions have the common task of combatting the cancers of an amoral, materialistic, success-centered world. Religion in a democracy has the added burden of maintaining a focus on what happens to individuals, considering the spiritual dimension that takes the long look and staying ethically sensitive to justice for all.

The three votes were all the same, well, not exactly the same even though they counted in the same column.

One was a reconciling, bridge building act of faith.

Without an awareness of polarities there can be no deliberately reconciling role. We've grown up in a world of Greek dualism, "It's gotta be this or that," remember that old song?

Christianity officially conquered Gnosticism in the 4th century, yet we still follow the practice of dividing all that is into opposites, with the ancient Greeks, and the modern Persians whom we're having so much trouble understanding, all the cosmos is split between the forces of Light and Darkness

Good and Evil
the spiritual and the material.

Why do you think *Star Wars* was so popular?

Legislators are sorely tempted to do the same thing. It's handy convenient, saves thinking. Everyone is Republican, or Democrat

Urban or Rural
Liberal or Conservative.

But our day is full of paradoxes. When we try to deal with our world in these simple terms it won't work. What happens is that we get impaled on both horns of our dilemmas.

Two conflicting viewpoints may be contrary without being contradictory. I'm not saying that there are no true contradictions, no unreconcilable concepts.

One must choose between democracy and dictatorship, one or the other, not both.

We can't have peace and a small war at the same time, and it's still impossible to be slightly pregnant. But most of our day-to-day work involves reconciling polarities.

The sort of polarities of which I speak are those that need to be held in creative tension

freedom and security
conserving old values and forging ahead with new ideas;
protection for the individual and concern for the public good; taking the long look and meeting immediate needs; stewardship of tax dollars and putting people ahead of things.

Yes, Harry, it's always those two-handed people causing trouble. . . on the one hand, but on the other hand they challenge us to be reconcilers.

Readers of *REPORT* are particularly concerned with the tension between church-state separation on one hand and the involvement of religion in politics on the other.

We refuse the formula set out by the Third Reich: "We claim this earth, let the church have the hereafter. . . let the
(Continued on opposite page)

REVIEWS



THE SOVIET TRIANGLE

By Donald R. Shanor, 288 pp.
New York: St. Martin's Press,
\$13.95

The picture of the world divided into two camps, one American and one Soviet, is not accurate. Western Europe, especially France, acts with greater independence of United States interference in shaping its foreign policy than at any time since World War II. The Third World, which controls much of the world's natural resources, cannot be dominated by either of the "superpowers". China draws tremendous benefits from its position independent of Soviet domination. Japan benefits from playing the Soviet Union and China against one another as potential trading partners. All of this results in a complex world of varying interrelationships between nations.

The Soviet Triangle is an attempt to explain these complex interrelationships, particularly those between the three major power blocs: Russia, China, and America and Western Europe, and their impact upon current world problems and future world relations. Shanor offers insight into many major questions facing the world today such as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its motivation; the future of detente; and the effect of the election of Pope John Paul II upon the politics of Eastern Europe. Shanor does away with myths of past American power and present Soviet power, painting a picture of a world in which no single nation dominates. The United States is shown as a nation unable to control world events even at the height of its power following World War II. The Soviet Union is pictured as a military superpower, but a second-rate nation economically, surrounded by enemies but without any real allies.

Shanor succeeds in giving a clear and objective picture of the interrelationships between the three power blocs which should prove fascinating to the interested layman. In a day in which we are besieged by military-industrial complex propaganda about the Soviet threat, *The Soviet Triangle* is essential reading for anyone desiring

to learn the real story of Soviet/American relations.

—William Underwood

TOWARD STEWARDSHIP:

An Interim Ethic of Poverty, Pollution and Power

By William Byron, 89 pp.
New York: Paulist Press, \$1.65
(Paper)

Here is splendid depiction of stewardship in the modern world, relaying a distinctively wholesome and practical message of responsible Christian stewardship in this era of economic injustice and exploitive relationships. His call for a Christian commitment includes an economic approach to the solutions of our social problems. Byron asserts that "part of the toll American Christians should certainly be willing to pay, here at the crossroads of the future, is an expenditure of intellectual effort to understand theologically the problems of poverty, pollution and the scarcity of resources." He carefully examines each of these particularly devastating problems facing the 20th century, and shows how we as Christians, living in this land of opportunity and wealth can be a part of the solution.

Byron writes to the conscientious audience in an attempt to create an awareness of the responsibility before us. "Much has been given to America and Americans. Much is now required." He explores the scriptures and articulately applies them to today. His ethic is not simplistic nor comfortable for most. Rather, he calls for an honest commitment to a genuine Christ-like stewardship. This, Byron concludes, may not only benefit the poor and protect our environment for the generations to come, but would bring about a strong awareness and "sensitize" Christians to the destruc-

tive consequences of such things as a greater population density. "The task of the church," he explains, "is to get conscientious Christians concerned about the right things."

—Joseph T. Dean

(Frontiers, from p. 7)

tist Joint Committee in the area of religious liberty. They are grateful for the assistance of fellow Baptists in helping to maintain the tradition of separation of church and state. They value the strength that comes by having fellow Baptists stand with them in such matters as employment opportunities without discrimination because of seventh-day Sabbath observance.

The "right application of Christianity to the life of a nation" is a goal to which we commonly subscribe. We are challenged to be informed regarding issues; to base our judgments and actions upon conscientious study and prayerful decision making. The call is for renewed vitality and commitment and action among Baptists. The new frontiers in the struggle to maintain cherished rights and freedoms make it imperative for us to reaffirm our belief that religious liberty is the keystone of human rights.

'Christian' Lawyer Ad Flaunts Profession

DALLAS—The American Jewish Congress has asked the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to investigate an ad in the Texas Bar Journal seeking a "Christian attorney."

The ad, placed by the El Paso firm of Craven & Craven, carries a special meaning for Jewish lawyers, Mr. Gutow said, because it was "not that long ago that many of the nation's most prominent law firms excluded Jews from employment or partnership."

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Report from the Capital