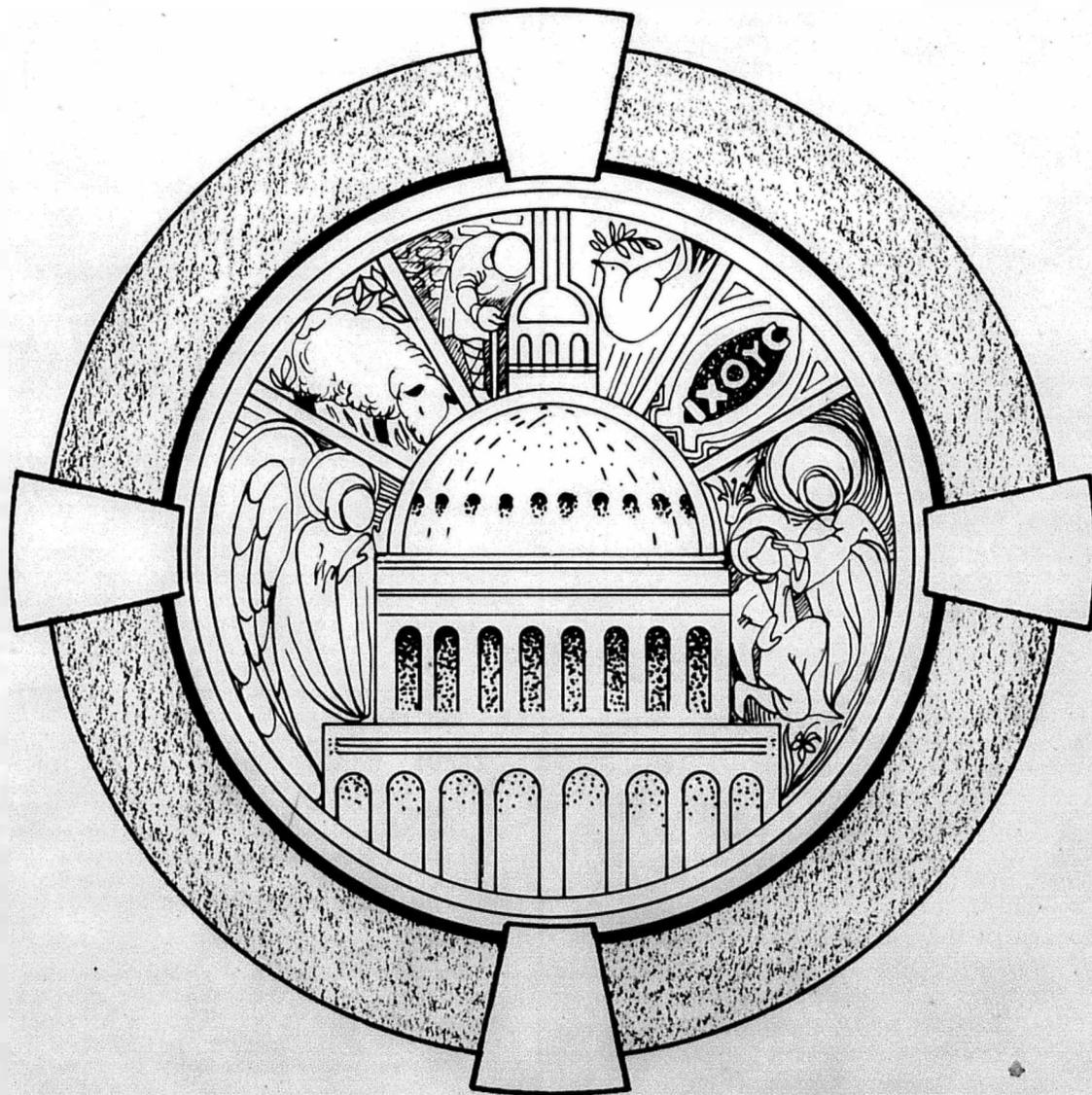


June 1981

ISSN 0346-0661

REPORT from the CAPITAL



Fundamentalism: Courting Civil Religion

REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 36 No. 6

June 1981

Articles

Fundamentalism: Courting Civil Religion 4
By Paul D. Simmons

El Salvador: An Interview 16

Features

Washington Observations 3
By Stan L. Hasteley and Larry G. Chesser

Comment

News in Brief 8
By Larry G. Chesser

Views of the Wall 10
By John W. Baker

International Dateline 12
By Victor Tupitza

Reviews 14

Reflections 15
By James M. Dunn

Cover: Metanoia, and Graphics, p. 4, by Sarah Helen Shira

Executive Director: James M. Dunn

Managing Editor: Victor Tupitza

Contributing Editors: John W. Baker, Stan L. Hasteley, Larry G. Chesser

Circulation Assistant: Gayl Fowler

REPORT from the CAPITAL is published 10 times each year by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, a denominational agency maintained in the Nation's capital by its nine member bodies: The American Baptist Churches in the USA, Baptist Federation of Canada, Baptist General Conference, National Baptist Convention of America, National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., North American Baptist Conference, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., Seventh Day Baptist General Conference and Southern Baptist Convention.

Subscriptions: Single, \$4.00 one year; Club Rate, (10 or more) \$3.00 per year each. Student Rate \$1.50 Foreign, please add \$2.00 postage.

**BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE
ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS
200 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002**

Testing The Spirit

As we put the finishing touches to the June issue the matter of "pistols and politics" becomes as volatile as politics and religion. There you have two topics guaranteed to prolong any conversation. In a recent Washington Post article Mary Thornton and Phil Gailey begin, "While pistols killed nearly 10,278 Americans in 1979, there were only 52 pistol death in Canada that year, 58 in Israel, 42 in West Germany, 48 in Japan, 34 in Switzerland, 21 in Sweden, and eight in Britain. . . ." The source is Handgun Control, Inc. Ironically, American deaths in bloody Vietnam fighting totaled about five times 1979 U.S. pistol deaths—but took over 12 years.

The involvement of religious fundamentalism with social issues is not entirely new, but its activity today raises the specter of civil religion. Fundamentalism's zeal in the company of similarly interested groups in the early part of this century brought about the 18th Amendment—better known as Prohibition. Lamentably, it has been unbiblically silent where the biblical concern for human justice and peace calls for prophetic utterance.

Paul Simmons provides insights into the nature of current fundamentalism, with its insistence upon codifying its brand of theological understanding. Nowhere is that more clearly evident than in its opposition to abortion. Should society enact legislation to deny women the right of choice, this victory would in itself be "Pyrrhic," dealing a serious blow to church-state separation and religious pluralism.

The Baptist Joint Committee filed an *Amicus curiae* brief to support a student group which has been denied permission by the University of Missouri, Kansas City, to use campus facilities for its meetings and events.

The brief supporting Cornerstone, prepared by John Baker, argues that the First Amendment does not prohibit all kinds of religious activity on a public university campus; that the regulation which restricts Cornerstone affronts the free exercise clause; and that this case exposes some of the tensions which exist between the religion clauses of the First Amendment and requires a balancing of rights and limitations.

REPORT introduces an occasional page, COMMENT,—culled from the stacks of magazines, newspapers, news releases and books that hit these desks. Meant to be provocative and to stimulate thought, these observations do not necessarily represent the opinion of the BJC. Still in any selection of material staff bias shows through. As Christians, can it be otherwise?

The 1981 Religious Liberty Conference scheduled for October 5,6 will be held in Washington, a stone's throw from Capitol Hill. We've arranged for attractive motel rates and are in the process of ironing out program details. Reserve those dates for the conference on Faith and Freedom—Evangelism Rooted in Religious Liberty.

Victor Tupitza

AS REPORT WENT to press May 18, the U.S. Supreme Court announced it has agreed to accept the friend-of-the-court brief filed by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs in Widmar v. Vincent, a case pitting the free exercise of religion claims of a group of University of Missouri-Kansas City students against school officials.

The University claims that to permit an evangelical group called Cornerstone to conduct scheduled worship services on campus would violate the no establishment of religion clause of the First Amendment. But the BJCPA contends in a brief written by general counsel John W. Baker that precisely the contrary is true: by banning worship from the campus, university officials have violated the no establishment provision and have denied the students their free exercise rights (see summary of brief, p. 10).■

A PROTRACTED DISPUTE over who should pay for a platform built by the city of Philadelphia, Pa. for a mass presided over by Pope John Paul II in October, 1979 ended here when the Supreme Court let stand lower rulings that the bill must be paid by the Roman Catholic archdiocese.

The suit leading to the May 18 high court action was brought by two Philadelphia women, the Board of National Ministries of the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., and the American Civil Liberties Union. One of the women, Mary Anne Forehand, is a communications specialist for American Baptist Churches.■

BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE executive director James M. Dunn, former congressman Robert F. Drinan and Methodist Church leader Beverly Jackson joined a growing chorus of protest against President Reagan's budget proposal to dismantle a federal alcohol abuse agency.

The three religious figures said the proposed slashing of funds to the National Institute on Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse (NIAAA) "could mean the end of federal alcoholism programs."■

OVER THE OBJECTIONS of four of its nine members the U.S. Supreme Court ruled here that Hustle Magazine publisher Larry Flynt must stand trial in Ohio on charges of violating a state obscenity law. The high court action brought to an end nearly five years of preliminary legal wrangling over whether officials in Cleveland went too far in singling out Flynt as an object of prosecution under an Ohio law forbidding pandering of obscene materials.■

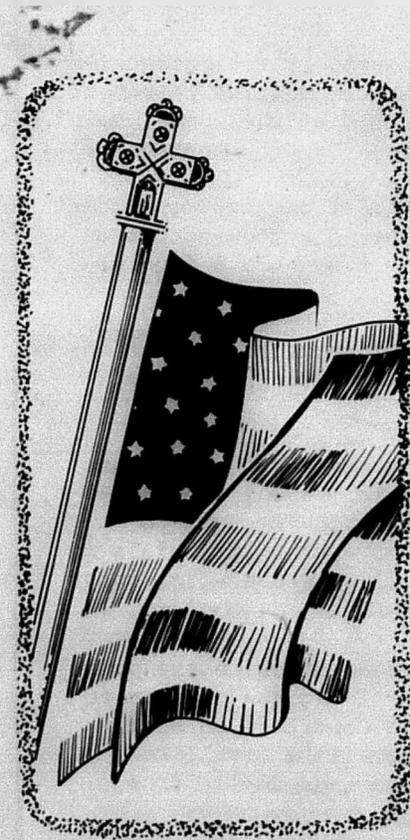
RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS AND other nonprofit mailers, appear headed for severe postage increases in October, the only apparent question remaining now relates to how severe the hikes will be. A spokesman for the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service told REPORT from the CAPITAL some cuts are "likely" in the subsidy which allows nonprofit organizations to move gradually from partial to full postage rates.■

Paul D. Simmons

Paul Simmons is Associate Professor of Christian Ethics at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and greatly in demand as a lecturer and conference leader. The author of numerous articles for religious publications, he has written two books on ethics and is in the midst of a third, titled, *The Bible and Biomedical Ethics*.

(From speech, edited by Report)

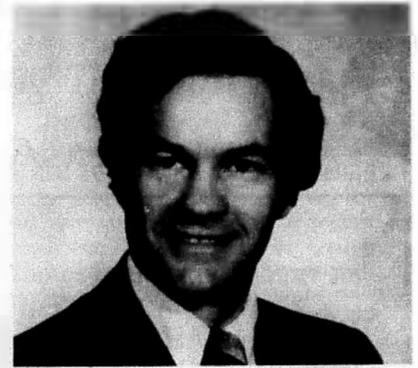
Fundamentalism: Courting Civil Religion



Fundamentalism must be described not only on the basis of doctrine but in terms of its spirit or style. Its five doctrinal bases were set forth in *The Fundamentals* published between 1910 and 1915. Central among them is the notion of Biblical inerrancy and infallibility which is the current test for orthodox belief and for Christian fellowship in this group. However, the spirit of fundamentalism is even more determinative of the nature of the movement. It is a mindset or temperament—a certain style of religious mentality or perspective characterized by an arrogance that considers itself normative in all matters of theology and morals. It is a type of Gnosticism. It is ideological, intransigent and inflexible, expecting and priding itself on doctrinal and moral conformity among its churches and their affiliated institutions.

Fundamentalism is a religious zeal that sees itself as God's movement or agent for the salvation of the world. Thus Protestant Fundamentalism finds kindred spirits in every religion of the world—from Torquemada to the Ayatollah Khomeini and various sectarian and cultic leaders of fringe movements in mainline religions.

Historically, fundamentalism is a product of Puritanism, frontier revivalism and the scientific revolution. Puritanism and revivalism shaped its moralizing and reformation-minded temper. Modern science provided Fundamentalism's reason for being by negation. It is profoundly biased against science and any world view that might be informed by scientific perspectives, such as evolution. Thus, its defining virtue is that of resisting modernism and secular humanism in all its forms.



Those persons or movements that do not conform to their standards of orthodoxy and orthopraxy are labelled "modernists" or "liberals" and become the subject of intensive opposition and resistance, even to the point of exclusion or banning—whether from church, denomination or politics. Fundamentalists take pains to outdo one another in being more orthodox than the other.

Fundamentalists are allied with New Right politics, which is a coalition of conservative political action groups dedicated to such goals as a drastic reduction in domestic government activity and a headline anti-communist foreign policy.

The wedding of New Right political lobbies to the efforts of fundamentalist electronic evangelists spawned a group of "Christian New Right" organizations. Largest of these is Moral Majority, led by Robert Billings but founded by Jerry Falwell. Christian Voice and the National Christian Action Coalition are others.

These openly political organizations make no attempt to pass as tax-exempt religious groups. They lobby vigorously in Congress and become involved in election campaigns. They are able to invest unlimited "independent expenditures" since they do not belong officially to a candidate's campaign organization.

It amounts to a coalition of ultra-conservative religion, laissez-faire capitalism and American nationalism. The result is a fervent religious movement that could equally pass for a reactionary political movement—a type of neofascism. They are equally committed to God, Adam Smith and George Patton—but not necessarily in that order.

The economic factor should not be overlooked. The fundamentalist ideology seeks an alliance with the powerful business and corporate interests of the country. Little wonder that Nelson Bunker Hunt is pouring millions of dollars into Bill Bright's Campus Crusade. Bright's group is developing seminars on American capitalism that wed Christian rhetoric with laissez-faire capitalist economic theory.

Civil religion is the emotional if not ideological commitment to American nationalism as the most concrete expression of God's will for governmental and political life. It is a simple identification of nationalism with Christianity—a "God with us, for us, all the way" mentality. This is a peculiar brand of Puritanism mixing religious zeal with political leverage to reform society. At stake is what fundamentalists regard as the central moral issues of the time—abortion being a primary concern. This gives it common ground for a coalition with traditional Roman Catholicism's anti-abortion stance and creates a powerful voting block. Never before have fundamentalists and Roman Catholics been allies in American politics.

Harold O.J. Brown stated the position in the following way: "law and public policy in our country should be in harmony with the fundamental Biblical principles of Judaeo-Christian civilization." Wrapped up in that statement are several questionable assumptions basic to civil religion: *that public policy should be based on religious perspectives; that the policies advocated are those taught in the Bible; and that America is and should be a Judaeo-Christian civilization, God's chosen nation.*

The problem is that this betrays a theocratic underpinning that does not build on the ideal of religious freedom. Church and state may remain separate institutionally, as the fundamentalists claim, while religious pluralism is being denied. The uniqueness of the American experiment lies not in religious toleration but in religious freedom. This means freedom of religion from political interference; freedom from religious tyranny or the imposition of religious dogma, and freedom for religion to exercise its prophetic and missionary tasks in society. Fundamentalists have strongly asserted freedom of religion. Their political activism was launched by their reaction to efforts by the Internal Revenue

Service to tax Christian Schools that did not set racial quotas for their student bodies. They rightly saw this as governmental interference in religious matters.

It is the second tenet that is violated by fundamentalistic fervor. Their advocacy of prayers in public school classrooms and placing the Ten Commandments in every classroom is the most serious point at which their church-state ideas may be challenged. Editor of *Christian Century* James Wall and Ellen Goodman, syndicated columnist, among others have wondered aloud whether an uneasy "toleration" in America may not be replacing a hard-earned, dearly-treasured right of religious liberty.

The threat of persecution and oppression in this country seems not to be so much from government toward religious groups as religious intolerance using the arm of government power to persecute others. Roland Hegstad, the editor of *Liberty* magazine, puts it strongly: "history tells me that persecution comes, generally, not from bad people trying to make other people bad, but from good people trying to make other people good."

This is an ancient and sordid story in Christian history—a mentality based upon what historian Roland Bainton called the crusade ethic. Whether the "war" is fought against foreign enemies of state or domestic enemies of morality, it has four characteristics: 1) it is a holy cause; 2) it is fought with God as leader; 3) the crusaders are holy and the enemies are unholy; and 4) the war is to be prosecuted unsparingly.

Falwell is a good example. "I have a divine mandate to go right into the halls of Congress and fight for laws that will save America," he says. "He [God] has called me to take this action." This zeal also leads to morally questionable tactics. The ethic espouses a "win at any cost" or "the end justifies the means" mentality, including moral accusation and political assassination. Thus, Falwell could fabricate a story about Carter's defense of homosexual rights in an effort to discredit the Democratic candidate among fundamentalists. Unethical tactics have also been used in the anti-abortion campaign from misrepresenting the Supreme Court's 1973

decision as totally permissive toward abortion on demand at any time before birth, to the guilt-by-association tactics of identifying Christian silence about abortion with Christian acquiescence over the Nazi atrocities.

We cannot fault them on efforts to be politically involved. They are right in saying that separation of church and state does not mean separation of God and government. A great deal of criticism leveled at them is either misguided or motivated by jealousy of power and influence. The fundamentalists have heard the liberal message that Christians should be involved in politics. They are doing so with a vengeance.

The problem is that fundamentalist civil religion allies itself with the most fervent forms of nationalistic pride. For them, America is God's chosen nation of all those on the face of the earth. Her special place is one of election and grace but her task is to be the leader in world commerce and strength. A positivistic reading of history has traced God's movement among the nations from Israel, the Roman Empire, Germany, Great Britain and now the United States. The decline of nations in the past is related to their moral disintegration and loss of the sense of "manifest destiny" in God's plan for their country. That America might be bypassed as the bearer of the torch of God among the nations of earth is a genuine fear of fundamentalism.

This helps to explain their commitment to a strong military and hawkish foreign policy. America's enemies are God's enemies and they are to be resisted with all the ferocity of Old Testament holy war. Those enemies may be internal as well as external. Secularists, humanists, modernists and liberals as well as atheists, agnostics and others who support (fundamentalists' definition of) immoral policies are a danger to the country and are the enemies of God.

Serious objections need to be raised concerning fundamentalist civil religion.

1. *America is not a Christian country but a country in which many Christians happen to live. America is called of God to seek justice and serve the common good of humanity. That is not a place of special privilege, however, but a special responsibility. Civil religion is idolatrous precisely because it substi-*

tutes temporal loyalties for eternal verities. Identifying the Judaeo-Christian posture with American nationalism is to lose the transcendent and absolute nature of the Christian faith. For Christians and Jews, loyalty to God must transcend any earthly loyalty (Acts 5:28).

2. The crusade ethic is foreign to the teaching of Jesus and contrary to a Christian commitment to the lordship of Christ. God is the creator of all the people of the earth and wills the redemption of every nation. God sides exclusively with no country on the basis of ideology or national identity. It happens that some political ideologies are more influenced by Christians than others. But none perfectly embody the will of God. To decide that our enemies are God's enemies is to substitute nationalistic ideology for Christian theology and proclaim a pagan god over the nation who is not the God of all nations. Luke declared that God has made all nations (Acts 17:26) and Paul said that in Christ we are all one (Eph. 2:11-18).

3. The integrity of strategy and the moral acceptability of means is as important as the desirability of certain goals or ends. Those who willingly distort the truth to pursue their moralistic objectives need to be reminded that "the Lord is the father of all lies" (John 8:44) and Jesus calls his followers to truth (John 16:13, I John 1:6). Bearing a false witness violates a fundamental command of God (Exodus 20:6). We cannot be saved as long as we have no regard for the truth (Prov. 6:17). The kingdom of God cannot be built on the shifting sands of deceit and falsehood; it is present only where there is integrity. We are reminded of Niebuhr's warning that "the temper and integrity with which the political fight is waged

is more important for the health of the society than any particular policy."

4. *Lack of concern for justice.* The fundamentalist stress on moralistic issues such as abortion misses the great moral problems of the day such as racism, injustice, the threat of nuclear war and world hunger. Christians are called to work for peace and justice (Matt. 5:9, Rom. 14:17; John 14:27). They are to pray for enemies (Matt. 4:44-48) not attempt to destroy them. The opposition of Fundamentalists to the Panama Canal Treaty betrays more interest in power and dominating the oppressed than aiding and not exploiting the less developed countries of the world. Their opposition to SALT II shows a blind disregard for the ominous threat of world nuclear war and the potential for destroying God's good creation on this earth. Acceptance of nuclear destruction is a sign of moral decay. Further, the specter of racism casts its shadow on many of the strategies and policies supported and advocated by fundamentalists.

At stake in the political arena is nothing less than the type of society we understand ourselves to be—whether an oppressive society that denies the personal rights of women or a society that respects and protects various religious, moral and personal points of view. Unfortunately, the New Right forces have set up a win-lose situation in which one group of citizens battles another group in a fight to the finish. Should they win, it will be a Pyrrhic victory. The losses to our national life will be significantly greater than whatever gains might be achieved.

Returning to the arms race (escalating the probability of nuclear war and the annihilation of the human race); retreat-

ing from gains in securing human rights at home and abroad; developing an oppressive system regarding women's access to medical care and the denial of choice regarding family planning; growing toward a repressive police state where individual rights are sacrificed in the name of law and order; cutting back on funds for human resources; and escalating the depletion of natural resources—such is hardly the country envisioned by those whose sweat, blood, tears, hopes and dreams founded "on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all persons are created equal."

I believe that the fundamentalist-New Right movement will come to the same end as the McCarthy era. It will be exposed for what it is. A house built upon the shifting sands of deception, falsehoods, character assassination, willful distortion of the truth, a power-crazed authoritarianism, a win-at-any-cost ethic and a total disregard for personal values or religious freedom has the seeds of its own destruction already sown. Americans have a history of being whipped into a frenzy for reform based on fears exploited by misguided demagogues. The frenzy is usually short-lived, however. In the end a cooler, better wisdom prevails and the American sense of justice and fair play returns to establish normalcy in domestic political affairs. The problem is—as in the Salem witchcraft and McCarthy eras—many good people will be hurt before the scaffolding of this house without foundations begins to fall.

Let us resolve to resist the efforts of those who would destroy the soul of this country. By proclaiming the truth shall this country be kept free.

OCTOBER 5-6 1981

National Religious Liberty Conference

FAITH and FREEDOM

Evangelism Rooted in Religious Liberty

BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS 200 MARYLAND AVENUE, N. E. WASHINGTON, D. C. 20002

COMMENT

I don't believe that the nation's public school system, which has been built so carefully and so expensively for decades, can survive in viable condition if Uncle Sam suddenly makes it very easy for the moderately wealthy and the near wealthy to pluck their kids from the (public) schools and send them to institutions insulated from the social problem they perceive.

I do not object to the presence of private schools. But . . . as a taxpayer, I'm concerned that education of all children be pursued not only economically but with some hope for success. Schools left with only those children whose parents cannot afford any extra costs or those whose parents simply don't care are not my idea of a system with any chance for success under today's stresses.

—Joe Brown
The High Point Enterprise
North Carolina

The time has come for action by the American conscience.

The recent assassination attempt on President Reagan confirms the widely-accepted view that America is a violence-prone society. No one is exempt from the tragedy caused by the seeds of violence, hatred and selfishness being sown in America. Not the children in Atlanta, not the young ladies on the 1-5 corridor from Bellevue, WA to the California border, not even the president of the United States.

Congress needs to enact controls on the use and ownership of handguns in America.

Yes, we know that 99 percent of all privately-owned handguns are never used in a felonious act. Yes, we know that humans kill—not guns. But yes, we also know, statistics indicate that a disproportionate number of the crimes committed involve handguns.

No, controlling and limiting the use of handguns will not stop attempts on a president's life. No, gun control legislation will not likely temper the violent-prone temper of American society. But no, doing nothing, is not a better alternative.

It's time to "hang-up" handguns.
—Herbert V. Hollinger, Editor
Northwest Baptist Witness

If society feels compelled to ban abortion, then let it be through a constitutional amendment. But don't ask science or medicine to justify that course, because they cannot. Ask your minister, your priest, your rabbi or your God, because it is in their domain that this matter resides.

—Dr. Leon Rosenberg
Chairman of Human Genetics Dept.,
Yale U. School of Medicine

The selection of Ernest W. Lefever as Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs is at best a cruel joke and at worst an appalling insult to the large community in this country concerned with human rights. Lefever's public record indicates that he is a man dedicated to the eradication of human rights as an important policy concern, except where it can be used against our adversaries as an ideological weapon. Lefever's selection is a case of the fox being called upon to guard the chicken coup.

—Polly Pittman
Washington Report on the Hemisphere

I spent the last Monday in March glancing over some fifty of sixty letters from *The American Baptist* readers who insisted on their constitutional or religious right to own hand guns. That day a man took a hand gun and wounded the President of the United States and three others.

This would be a good opportunity to say, "I told you so," but, frankly, I'm in no mood for it. For one thing, it would only result in more letters from people who would insist presidents can be shot whether we control hand guns or not. For another, I think the fact so many people in the U.S. think we *should* be allowed to carry guns indicates a spiritual malaise which goes far deeper than the debate itself.

We seem to be a violent people. There is a sizable body of opinion in the world that people in the U.S. are among the most violent on earth. When the wife of the president of France was asked if she feared her husband would be threatened by the same violence as President Reagan, she exclaimed, "In France? Never!" And CBS correspondent Walter

Cronkite, visiting Moscow at the time of the shooting, expressed sadness that he would have to face countless Russian citizens who would ask with their eyes, "how can this happen in your democracy?"

For most U.S. Citizens, there is a deep and abiding pain that such things can and do happen here. We ask ourselves, "why?" and we seem unable to discover the answer. The answer may be hard to find, but I think we could look for it by acknowledging two difficult truths about ourselves:

- 1) *We are raised to be violent.*
- 2) *Many of us Christians have so lost touch with our faith that we think it endorses violence.*

—Philip Jenks, Editor
The American Baptist

I support the Moral Majority and the National Council of Churches! What do they have in common? One important thing: They both attempt to address important issues in our world from what they believe to be a Christian perspective. By support I mean that I will defend the right of both groups to speak to issues and to organize action to achieve their goals. Furthermore, by support I mean that I advocate a pro-active posture on the part of Christians and Christian institutions and other groups. From my perspective the church has been too otherworld, individualistic, and private for too long.

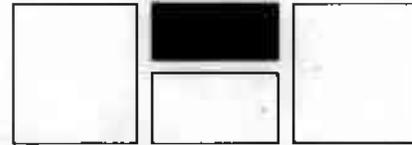
By support I do not mean that I endorse the perspective which these groups have on particular issues; I have my own perspective. And by support I do not mean that I necessarily advocate the methods these groups choose to achieve their goals.

When it comes to active participation in such groups, I tend to cast my lot with the one which broadens my perspective rather than narrows it.

Furthermore, I am suspicious of groups which reduce life to a few issues and make issues a simple choice between black and white. Life is more complex than that and the "Christian" solutions are not that simple. Sometimes the simple solutions are the least Christian of all.

—Robert E. McQuaid, Exec. Minister
ABC of Michigan

News in Brief



'Exhaustive and Extensive' Hearings Called One-Sided

WASHINGTON—During two days of predominately one-sided testimony on a controversial anti-abortion bill here, the chairman of a Senate Judiciary subcommittee repeatedly emphasized that the hearings would be "exhaustive and extensive."

Sen. John East, R-N.C., warned critics not to judge the fairness of the hearings on the basis of one or two sessions.

At issue is a bill sponsored by fellow North Carolina Republican Senator Jesse Helms which declares that "actual human life exists from conception," and would thus provide fetuses with constitutional protection of life as persons under the 14th Amendment.

During the testimony before the Separation of Powers Subcommittee, seven witnesses from the medical-scientific field stated that human life begins at conception while only one, Leon Rosenberg of Yale University Medical School, disagreed. [See p. 7]

Both the structure of the hearings and the legislation itself drew criticism from within and without the Judiciary panel.

Right Report Card Lists Reagan Budget

WASHINGTON—A religious lobby which calls itself Christian Voice and whose criteria for rating members of Congress have to date uniformly paralleled New Right political positions, announced here in advance of the House vote on the Reagan budget proposal that it would be included in the lobby's annual Congressional "Report Card."

The budget vote "may well turn out to be the most important moral issue considered by Congress in 1981," contended Robert Grant, chairman of the organization which claims to have distributed more than two million Report Cards to church-goers just before the 1980 elections.

Members of Congress who voted against state-mandated prayer in public schools and in favor of the SALT II treaty or establishment of the Department of Education stood on the wrong side of these "moral" issues according to the Christian Voice Report Card for the 96th Congress.

'Advance Notice' Bill Burdens Free Speech

PORTLAND, Ore.—A federal appeals court has struck down a Portland airport regulation which led to the brief detention in 1976 of Moishe Rosen, founder of Jews for Jesus.

The Port of Portland had required that any group wishing to hand out literature register a day beforehand and give the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of sponsors.

When Rosen went to the airport five years ago to buy a ticket, he handed out leaflets for Jews for Jesus. Port officials asked for his permit, and he said he did not need any because he had a constitutional right to hand out literature. He was detained about 30 minutes.

In its 2-1 ruling, the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals said that "advance notice or registration requirements drastically burden free speech. They prevent speech that is intended to deal with immediate issues."

Will Delay State Bill Until Federal Ruling

RALEIGH, N.C.—A bill to exempt church school employees from provisions of the state's Employment Security Act and to free churches from paying unemployment-insurance payroll taxes cleared the North Carolina Senate by a 41-4 vote.

The bill went to the House, but the Rev. Kent Kelly of Southern Pines, one of the chief proponents of the measure, said he and other fundamentalist Christians plan to seek a delay there until the U.S. Supreme Court rules on a challenge to former U.S. Labor Secretary F. Ray Marshall's interpretation of federal law that both public and private schools must pay the unemployment-insurance tax.

Father Awarded Child in Lifestyle Dispute

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Supreme Court has let stand a Kentucky court's ruling that removed a young girl from her lesbian mother's custody, placing her instead in the home of her remarried father.

When Luann and Gary Ray

Stevenson of Louisville were divorced in 1977, custody of their infant daughter was awarded to the mother. More than a year later when Mrs. Stevenson disclosed her new lifestyle, her former husband went to court seeking custody.

A trial court heard conflicting testimony over the question of whether Mrs. Stevenson's lesbianism had affected or would in the future adversely affect her daughter's development. The trial court ruled, among other factors, that because Mrs. Stevenson did not openly display her lesbianism in the child's presence, she was entitled to retain custody.

That ruling was reversed by the Kentucky Court of Appeals. When the Kentucky Supreme Court refused to review that decision, Mrs. Stevenson asked the nation's high court to intervene.

Can Post Commandments as Historical Code

SANTA FE, N.M.—New Mexico's Gov. Bruce King signed into law a bill that will allow public schools in the state to post the Ten Commandments and other religious codes.

The measure, which received wide support in both houses of the state legislature, seeks to "promote an appreciation . . . for the heritage of our civilization through the posting of historical codes."

It defines "historical codes" as the Ten Commandments, the code of Hammurabi, compendia from the Koran, excerpts from the Bhagavad Gita, teachings of Confucius and the Buddha or any others "representing disparate ethno-cultural or religious backgrounds."

Teaching Genesis Account Held Religious in Nature

NEW YORK—Teaching of "scientific creationism" in public schools has been criticized by the American Jewish Committee on the ground that it is really the teaching of religion.

In a statement, the agency asserted that "the 'scientific creationism' movement seeks to teach in public-school science classes the story of creation, as depicted in Genesis, alongside the theory of evolution. Since this view-

point is essentially religious in nature, rather than scientific, its advocacy should have no place in public-school education."

Religious Sincerity Not Subject to Proof—AU

WASHINGTON—Courts should not require defendants in jury trials to prove the sincerity of religious beliefs and claims, says Americans United for Separation of Church and State.

The organization makes the point in a brief filed in the case of *Christofferson v. Church of Scientology of Portland*, in which the church is appealing a \$2-million judgment rendered against it by a Portland court in 1979.

During the original trial, Circuit Judge Robert Paul Jones told the jury that the church had to prove that "if the acts and representations complained of were held out as religious in nature, that they were held out by defendants as good faith religious beliefs and doctrine."

The Americans United brief, filed by attorney Lee Boothby, asserted that "when a defense founded upon the religion clauses of the First Amendment is raised, aided by presumptions of innocence, honesty, and good faith and the presumption of the absence of fraud, a defendant who presents a minimal showing that his acts were religious-based must be deemed to have made a prima facie showing that casts the burden of evidence upon the plaintiff.

Boothby acknowledged that "this may seem to present a difficult burden of evidence on the plaintiff where a religion defense has been raised," but he asserted that "the special protections of the First Amendment require this burden."

R.G. Puckett, executive director of Americans United, said as a Southern Baptist minister, I would not want the sincerity of my beliefs handed over to a jury lightly. The First Amendment protects us from this sort of ill-considered Inquisition.

"Though Americans United takes no position on the merits of the Oregon case, we must realize that a precedent in one case allowing a jury decision on religious sincerity of one religious group inevitably sets a precedent for such actions in other cases." (RNS)

Failure to Aid Infant A Felony in R.I. Bill

PROVIDENCE—Failure to provide aid to an infant born alive during an intended abortion would be a felony under a bill which passed the Rhode Island House, 48-30.

The bill specifies that if the baby survives after a doctor or nurse fails to provide aid, the penalty is a fine of up to 5,000 and up to five years in jail.

If the baby dies, the physician or nurse would be charged with manslaughter, with a penalty of up to 20 years in jail.

The measure was rewritten by Rep. Keven A. McKenna, its sponsor, before it reached the House floor. As approved earlier by the House Health, Education and Welfare Committee, the bill classified the offense as a misdemeanor.

A Providence Democrat, Mr. McKenna rewrote the bill after some House members said the original bill might be lessening the penalty rather than accomplishing his intention of increasing it.

An attempt to kill the bill on the House floor failed by about the same margin as its passage. All 10 women representatives endorsed the move to kill the measure.

High Court Will Review Law In Paternity Suit Case

WASHINGTON—Does the mother of an illegitimate child have a constitutional right to initiate a paternity suit more than a year after giving birth to a baby? Or do states have the power to impose such a restriction in the interest of fraudulent claims of paternity?

Those are among the questions the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to face in announcing it will review a Texas law imposing a one-year statute of limitations on paternity claims. Three Texas courts have already upheld the law.

Despite losing in the lower courts, including the Texas Supreme Court, Lois Mae Mills, the mother, maintained in documents filed with the nation's high tribunal that the Texas law denies illegitimate children their due process and equal protection rights under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. (BP)

Sale of Liquor Restricted Near Churches, Schools

BOSTON—A federal appeals court has upheld a Massachusetts law allowing church and school officials to veto the siting of a bar or liquor store within 500 feet of their property.

The law had earlier been ruled unconstitutional by U.S. District Judge Joseph L. Tauro, who said it was an improper delegation to churches of veto power over liquor licenses.

But in a 2-1 decision, the U.S. Court of Appeals said the state had "unquestioned and broad" power to regulate the dispensation of liquor and that the law was a "reasonable means of regulation" of liquor.

Chief Judge Frank M. Coffin dissented from the majority arguing that to give facilities dedicated to "divine worship" such power constituted an establishment of religion.

SBC Urges Changes in Overseas Income Law

WASHINGTON—The Southern Baptist Convention's Foreign Mission Board urged a Senate finance subcommittee here to increase the amount and scope of the current overseas income tax exclusion.

In written testimony to the subcommittee on taxation and debt management, the FMB asked the panel to increase the amount of the current \$20,000 tax exclusion and to make it applicable to all foreign countries, not just lesser ones covered under current tax law.

The Senate subcommittee is considering several legislative proposals which would liberalize tax treatment of Americans working abroad.

Bill Requires Teachers To Hold Certification

ST. PAUL.—A bill drafted by state education officials would require all teachers in Minnesota schools, public and private, to be certified.

It also would require that private schools report their students' and teachers' names, that teachers stick to subjects they have been trained in, and that all schools cover certain subjects.

John W. Baker

VIEWS OF THE WALL



STATEMENT OF THE CASE

Cornerstone, of which respondents are student members, is an organization of Christian students which is an officially recognized student organization at the University of Missouri, Kansas City campus (UMKC). Cornerstone has a nucleus of about twenty students who bring speakers to the campus and conduct on-campus meetings and events which have been attended by as many as 125 students. From 1973 until 1977 Cornerstone sought and obtained permission to use University facilities for its weekly meetings and events. In 1977 this use of facilities was terminated on the grounds that

A summary of the brief *amicus curiae* of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs filed with the Supreme Court in *Widmar, et al., petitioners v. Vincent, et al., respondents*, No. 80-689. The BJCPA filed the last week in April on the side of respondents.

regulation 4.0314.0107, which had been adopted by the Board of Curators of UMKC in 1972, forbade the use of campus facilities "for purposes of religious worship or religious teaching by either student or nonstudent groups." The University later refused a request by Cornerstone that permission be given to hold small group Bible studies on the University

Eleven student members of Cornerstone initiated this action. UMKC's motion for summary judgment was granted by the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Missouri. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit reversed and remanded.

ARGUMENT

The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, made applicable to the states by the Fourteenth Amendment, is a limitation on the powers of the government and may not be read as a limitation on the rights of the people. Thus the establishment clause forbids direct or indirect actions by government which establish a religion according to the tests enumerated by this Court in *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602 (1971) at 612, 613. But the establishment clause was not intended, and must not be read, to give the state the power to use that clause to limit the religious liberty of the people. In the case at bar the Board of Curators of UMKC has read the limits on government found in the establishment clause as bases for actions which limit the religious rights of students. In doing so the Board misused the establishment clause.

It is true that in some instances the state may limit or proscribe certain religious activities—i.e. the free exercise of religion—of individuals and groups, see *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 406 U.S. 205 (1972), but the state may not bootstrap on its legitimate free exercise powers to achieve an unconstitutional power over religion.

Amicus argues below that the state has misread, misapplied, and misused the First Amendment in this case.

1. *The action by the Board of Curators, as agents of the state, to ban the on-campus religious worship and religious teaching by Cornerstone on establishment grounds is, in itself, an affront to the establishment clause.*

This Court enumerated its tests for determining if state action conforms to the establishment clause in *Lemon*, 403 U.S. at 612, 613:

First, the statute must have a secular legislative purpose; second, its principal or primary effect must be one that neither advances nor inhibits religion . . . ; finally, the statute must not foster "an excessive government entanglement with religion."

There is a rebuttable presumption that state actions are a reflection of a secular purpose. It is the contention of *amicus* that the purpose of the Board of Curators in enforcing regulation 4.0314.0107 was to prohibit the student members of Cornerstone from exercising important parts of their religious liberty. Even if the Board's issuing of the regulation appeared on its face to have a secular purpose, it does not follow logically that the unconstitutional purpose of the Board in enforcing regulation 4.0314.0107 is cured by asserting a secular purpose for the issuing of that regulation. *Amicus*, therefore, asserts that the enforcement action by the Board fails the first establishment test.

The principal or primary effect of regulation 4.0314.0107 on its face and in its application is the inhibition of religion. The regulation results in hostility of the state toward religion. The neutrality toward religion which this Court has held is required by the First Amendment was ignored or defied by the Board of Curators in putting the regulation on the books and then, after a period of time, enforcing that regulation. The argument raised by the Board that the absence of such a regulation would constitute state action advancing religion is without merit. Restraint from action in this case would be well within the required neutrality of the state toward religion.

Finally, if the regulation restricting religious worship and religious activity is to be enforced, the state must be committed to a program of continuous monitoring of any activities of Cornerstone or of any other religious group which might be allowed on campus. This would be a classic example of the degree of entanglement of government with religion which this Court decried in *Waltz v. Tax Commission*, 397 U.S. 664 (1970) at 674.

2. *The nature of a university and of student life in a university implies the presence of on-campus religious activities.*

If a public university is to be true to its nature—genuinely pluralistic, diverse, free, and open to intellectual inquiry—it logically follows that religion has a proper place in the curriculum and in the exchange of ideas that make for a full education. As this Court has pointed out, the American college classroom and the college campus are peculiarly the "marketplace of ideas." *Healy v. James*, 408 U.S. 169 (1972) at 180. That marketplace of ideas must include ideas concerning religion as well as ideas concerning irreligion. Under the religion clauses as well as the free association and free speech clauses of the First Amendment, the state is forbidden to set arbitrary limits on the content of speech or on who can associate with whom when—and perhaps if—the content of speech or the reason for association is religious. The state is not devoid of powers in this area, but its powers are circumscribed.

In *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District*, 393 U.S. 503 (1969) at 506, this Court said,

It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers

shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate. This has been the unmistakable holding of this Court for almost 50 years.

Further, this Court has made distinctions between elementary, and secondary schools and post-secondary schools. While *amicus* has not always agreed with these distinctions, they exist and this Court has held that adult students are different from students in elementary and secondary schools. If, as in *Tinker*, this Court has held that the constitutional rights of speech and expression do not stop at the gate of an elementary or secondary school, it must be assumed that rights of at least this magnitude are available to university students.

3. *As a legally public place, a state university may not exclude certain religious activities.*

A public university, such as UMKC, may make some restrictions as to access to and use of facilities and grounds, but when First Amendment rights are involved the nature and scope of those restrictions are severely circumscribed.

4. *The issuing of regulation 4.0314.0107 was an unconstitutional state action under the free exercise tests established by this Court.*

In *Wisconsin v. Yoder, supra*, tests were given for determining whether state action unconstitutionally limits the free exercise of religion guaranteed by the First Amendment: (1) The court must determine whether or not a legitimate religious belief is held and whether the activity affected by state action is pervasively religious. (2) The court must inquire as to whether the state action places a burden or inhibition on free exercise rights. (3) Assuming an affirmative to these two, the court must decide if the burden is justified by a compelling state interest which cannot be served by less restrictive means.

The facts in the case at bar clearly reveal that Cornerstone is a recognized student religious organization. Its beliefs appear to be legitimately held. No testimony has been offered to the contrary. Similarly, there is no doubt that the Board of Curators of UMKC in issuing and enforcing regulation

4.0314.0107 not only burdened and inhibited free exercise rights but also specifically proscribed the exercise of some of the most important of those rights.

Having, hereby, established that free exercise rights have been violated, we must apply the third prong of the test: Does the state have a compelling or paramount interest which requires or permits limiting the free exercise of religion by the student members of Cornerstone because said interest cannot be served by less restrictive means? The record in this case does not indicate that the state has even attempted to demonstrate a compelling interest in this limitation of the free exercise of religion except to assert that it was compelled to this limitation by the establishment clause. Such an assertion is a *non sequitur* and does not take into account the primacy given by this Court to First Amendment rights generally and, for present purposes, the free exercise clause particularly.

5. *The tensions between the religion clauses of the First Amendment may require a balancing of constitutional rights and limitations.*

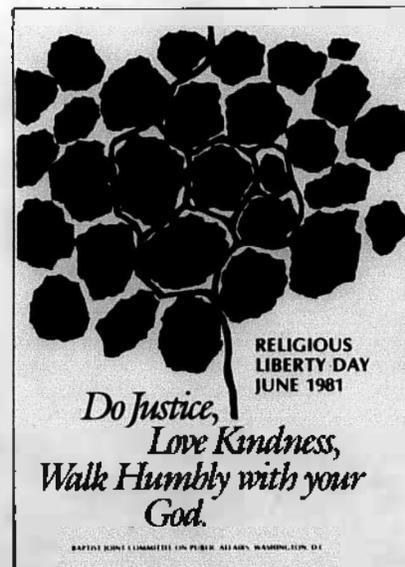
Amicus submits that the Board of Curators of UMKC, in the absence of regulation 4.0314.0107, would not be sponsoring religion and further submits that the Board, in enforcing the regulation, is certainly interfering with the free exercise of religion by the student members of Cornerstone.

Though *amicus* denies that the Board of Curators acting under the establishment clause was compelled to issue regulation 4.0314.0107, even if it concedes, *arguendo*, that the absence of that regulation could be read as having an effect, as opposed to the primary effect, of establishing a religion, *amicus* asserts that the "play in the joints" makes it necessary to balance the students' free exercise, free association, and free speech rights against such an infringement of the establishment clause. In the case at bar the balance is clearly in the favor of student rights as against the assumed duty of the Board of Curators.

CONCLUSIONS

Amicus clings to the traditional Baptist firm support of the constitutional

requirement of the separation of church and state, and *amicus* holds that this is not the issue in the case at bar. The Board of Curators has not disestablished religion by its action but rather has gone contrary to all the establishment tests set up by this Court. The financial support, promotion, preferment, etc. of religion, forbidden by the Constitution—and forbidden by Baptist concepts of religious liberty—are not at issue here. Interference with the free exercise of religion, free association, and free speech are at issue. For these reasons, *amicus* respectfully requests that the actions of the Board of Curators of UMKC in establishing and enforcing regulation 4.0314.0107 be declared unconstitutional.



Order this 17" x 24" two-color poster without charge for June observance

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Amnesty International Sticks by its Charges

GUATEMALA CITY—The military government of Guatemala has reacted angrily to an Amnesty International charge that it rules by a program of "political murder." But the London-based human rights group has stuck by—and elaborated on—its charges.

Saying that Amnesty was "headed by Communists," a government spokesman declared that "only those with unhinged minds and with obsessive ideological aberrations" could claim that "tortures and murders are part of a deliberate and longstanding program of the Guatemalan government."

Amnesty made charges in February in a 26-page report, "Guatemala: A Government Program of Political Murder."

Replying in a statement in a Guatemalan newspaper, *El Imparcial*, published Feb. 16, the Guatemalan presidential secretary for public relations called the Amnesty report "ridiculous and tendentious," and accused Amnesty International of leading an "orchestrated international campaign to damage Guatemala's image."

The government spokesman also said that Amnesty's "well-known partiality" and "Soviet-like character" was once again revealed because it down-played the violence and killings carried out by leftist guerrillas in Guatemala.

In a reply to the Guatemalan attack, which Amnesty International itself circulated, the human rights group released a new document listing the names and occupations of 615 Guatemalans who, Amnesty said, have "disappeared" since July 1978, after being seized by Guatemalan security forces.

A note accompanying the document said that Amnesty International was aware that there were armed confrontations between government and guerrilla forces, with lives lost on both sides, as well as assassinations carried out by guerrilla forces.

But, said the note, Amnesty International "continues to hold the Guatemalan government responsible for the deaths of 3,000 people found

murdered after being seized in the first 10 months of 1980, and for the hundreds of others still missing." (RNS)

Seminarians Expelled

VIENNA—In what was described as a stepped-up "anti-religion" campaign, authorities in Czechoslovakia expelled 11 Roman Catholic seminarians from their Bratislava seminary, Vienna Radio reported.

Citing reports from across the border, the radio said the authorities accused the 11 of having led a hunger strike last October against "increasing state interference" at the seminary in the heavily Catholic Slovak region and in the affairs of the church.

The Czech government keeps a tight rein on all the churches. All of them, Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox, are government-controlled. All priests and pastors are paid by the government and all appointments, transfers and dismissals are made by the government.

Cuban Churches Growing

HAVANA—Baptist Churches in Cuba are alive, well and growing, but are troubled by a shortage of trained leaders and a thorny question of church-state relations.

Southern Baptist journalist Jim Newton who visited Cuba in April reported that Cuban Baptists are quietly debating among themselves whether they can or should cooperate with the humanitarian and social goals of the Marxist government without compromising their theological integrity.

Although many churches are small and suffer from leadership drains caused by the exodus of thousands of Christians, there are more than 16,000 Baptists in Cuba belonging to three groups: the Baptist Convention of Western Cuba, affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention; the Baptist Convention of Eastern Cuba, affiliated in the past with the American Baptist Churches, USA; and a smaller, independent group, "Bautistas Libre," (liberally, "Free Baptists").

Baptist leaders estimate that about 4,000 members from the three conventions have left since the revolution began in 1959. When 25 pastors indicated a desire to leave during the Freedom Flotilla,

a cry arose from the churches pleading for them to stay. Only a few left.

Polish Church Thanked

WARSAW—As Soviet troops made ominous moves near Poland's borders, Polish Communist authorities took the unusual step of expressing gratitude for the help of Pope John Paul II and leaders of the Polish Catholic Church in averting a general strike.

The crisis was eased when Solidarity called off a threatened general strike, following an agreement with the government. The agreement reportedly included a pledge by the government to prosecute the police responsible for the beating up of three Solidarity leaders in Bydgoszcz on March 19—the incident which precipitated the crisis.

U.S. Pledges Refugee Aid

GENEVA—The United States has pledged \$285 million as part of an international effort to aid African refugees, and said it will admit up to 8,300 such refugees for resettlement.

Jeanne Kirkpatrick, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, made the pledges at a two-day UN conference here on the African refugee problem. The money, which must be authorized by Congress, will be part of \$470-million aid package pledged by Western nations.

Africa's 5 million refugees, said to account for more than half of the world refugee population, include people from Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Zaire, and Ethiopia. Ambassador Kirkpatrick said the United States is prepared to take 3,800 African refugees this year and 4,500 in 1982.

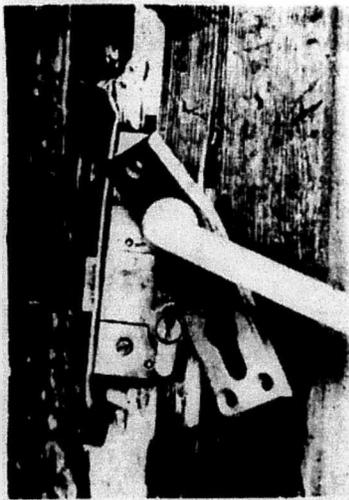
Other pledges of financial aid made by Western countries included \$15.6 million from the European Economic Community, \$45 million from West Germany, and \$22.4 million from Canada.

The conference was delayed by a dispute in which several Arab countries said they would not take part if Israel were seated. When the U.S. delegation threatened to leave if Israel were barred, a compromise was reached under which Israel was seated but did not participate in the discussions.



Police 'Bust-up' Service

RIGA—A peaceful meeting of about 30 men and women in this capital of Soviet occupied Latvia was broken up by the CHEKA (Secret Police) who surrounded the group as it met to read the Bible, pray, and discuss moral problems.



The Seventh-day Adventists had asked to be permitted to observe their sabbath in peace. All participants were photographed by the police, who went on to ransack the house, shattering mirrors, furniture and even the door to the house.

Nine members were finally arrested, during which time the entire neighborhood was blocked from public access to the house. (ALA)

Peace Flows from Creation

CARDIFF, Wales—Christian churches have no choice but to overcome their divisions in the face of nuclear age challenges and threats.

This was the consensus at a recent assembly here of the Conference of European Churches (CEC), which represents 112 Protestant denominations from every country in Europe but Albania.

The Rev. Paul Ballard, Baptist minister and lecturer in theology at Cardiff University, saw the churches' concern

for peace and ecological protection both flowing from a proper doctrine of creation.

"The terrifying thing is that unbridled attention to developing military strength, and security by weight of arms not only threatens in a nuclear age the existence of life, but even without war is a destructive force on nature," he said.

Frenetic searching for ever-rising living standards also was driving mankind "ever more rapidly and blindly down the road of technological exploitation and manipulation of nature."

Sheltered in Basement

BEIRUT—Approximately 100 people are sleeping in the basement of Badara Street Baptist Church to escape the violent shelling in the eastern Christian section of Beirut, Lebanon. The group began to gather in the shelter after severe fighting the first weekend in April.

In west Beirut, the Beirut Baptist school temporarily suspended classes because of the risks of transporting children. SBC missionaries continue their work despite difficulties encountered in travelling between the sectors of this city. (FMD)

Perverted Values Scored

JERUSALEM—The Christian culture of the Republic of South Africa is based on a perverted notion of Christian values that makes the notion of confessing Christ in one's cultural context suspect, Dr. Wolfram Kistner told a consultation here.

Dr. Kistner, a Lutheran theologian and the director of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) Division of Justice and Reconciliation, said the current appeal to "national security" in South Africa is covering up the apartheid problem as is the terminology that refers to "disqualified people" when what is meant is "blacks." In this situation, he said, the Christian churches call for justice but their own silent compact with the status quo makes their statements sound hollow.

Contributions Asked

UTRECHT—The heads of six major oil companies in France, Britain, the

USA and the Netherlands have been asked by Church leaders from these four countries to contribute to the reconstruction of Zimbabwe, as reparation for supplying the former Rhodesian regime with oil.

In a letter to Total, Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum, Mobil, Standard Oil and Texaco, more than 50 church leaders say they have been encouraged by the birth of Zimbabwe but add "we are deeply concerned to support its efforts toward reconstruction."

The churchmen, representing national Christian councils, inter-church aid agencies and many denominations including Roman Catholic bodies, say: "We were writing to you because of our concern about the way oil products were exported to Rhodesia during the period of the illegal government of Ian Smith. For all or part of this period, the Smith regime and its military forces were dependent on oil supplied by your companies or their subsidiaries. It has been persuasively argued that the war was prolonged and destruction increased by the continued supply of your companies products." (EPS)

Trade, Apartheid Linked

LONDON—A Quaker official has called for a comprehensive ban on U.S. trade with South Africa's government to halt the import of technology being used for military purposes.

Although the U.S. Commerce Department imposed an embargo on the sale or lease of military equipment and technical data to South African security forces, the continued sale of computers has provided an easy loophole, said Thomas Conrad, a military affairs researcher for the American Friends Service Committee.

"Technology in South Africa plays a critical role in keeping the apartheid system working and in the preservation of white minority political control," he reported to a recent session here of the International Seminar on the Implementation and Reinforcement of the Arms Embargo Against South Africa.

REVIEWS



THE TOTALITARIAN TEMPTATION

By Jean-François Revel, 332 pp.
New York: Penguin Books, paper,
\$2.95

The author of *Without Marx or Jesus*, Jean-François Revel is a widely respected political analyst, editor, and critic who writes out of the dynamics of international political thought and action.

He is careful to note at the outset of this volume that *The Totalitarian Temptation* is not a book about communism or the French left (with which he is insightfully acquainted); nor a eulogy of capitalism, although often he writes most encouragingly about the U.S. and the free West.

The pertinent questions he undertakes to answer: "Why are democratic societies, inside and outside their area, vilified much more than totalitarian states?" And, why is the philosophy of the less attractive and less affluent of the two systems becoming more and more popular?

This book, he points out, is about

the "temptation, not about its object." In general, this book can be read profitably along side Jacque Ellul's *Betrayal of the West* (Continum). Samples from Revel:

"The ideology of worshipping the past found mainly in rich countries with advanced technology, feeds, like any worship of the past, on forgetting what actually happened in that past. It is disturbing to see, at a time when a university education is available to an ever larger proportion of youth, when students determine an increasing proportion of political orientations, that ignorance of history, though there is less excuse for it than ever, is still at the root of so many opinions."

"There again America has been a laboratory for the best and the worst, like Athens in the fifth century B.C. and Paris in the nineteenth century A.D. Revolution can be broken down into two words: crisis and innovation. America invented the idea of the future. Until then, every society chose its models from the past: the French in the eighteenth century wanted to imitate the English in the seventeenth; the

French revolutionaries wanted to imitate the Roman Republic; the national liberation movements of the nineteenth century wanted to imitate the French Revolution; the Russian Revolution wanted to imitate the Paris Commune and the French Left. The models were always in the past. The United States is the first society whose model has become the year 2000, by asking: toward what goal are we heading? That is revolutionary behavior. (VT)

To the Editor: The material found in REPORT from the CAPITAL has been quite helpful to me as I attempt to keep abreast of the current political developments in our nation.

I am grateful to groups such as yours who dare to speak out prophetically on the issues of our days. I look to the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs and The Christian Life Commission (SBC) to help me stay on the "growing edge".

—Michael B. Oliver
Owensboro, KY

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, \$3.00; 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

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

- Religion in the Public School Classroom (Single copies free; \$1.25 per dozen; 100 for \$7.50)

Please send me ___ subscription(s) to **681**
REPORT from the CAPITAL

- Individual Subscription, \$4.00 per year, \$7.50 two years
 - Club Rate (10 or more), \$3.00 each per year
 - Bulk Rate (10 or more to single address), \$3.00 each per year
 - Student Rate \$1.50
- Please add \$2.00 for foreign postage

Publications

- Amount Enclosed \$___
- Bill Me

Name _____

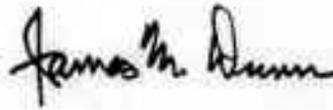
Organization _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Can we act out our belief in the divine institution of government, at least in a democratic order, with less than vigorous attempts to right wrongs and influence policies?



James M. Dunn
Executive Director

REFLECTIONS

Lobbying isn't necessarily a dirty word. The dictionary defines lobbying as attempting to influence legislation. The ones who hover in the foyer of the legislative halls ready to pounce on the people's elected representatives gave us the word.

The popular image of a lobbyist is that of a sleazy character engaged in illegal or immoral activities to buy votes for narrow-gauged legislation that benefits a few. Such characters outnumber legislators in Washington and in state capitals. Few if any of them are self-consciously sleazy, sold-out crooks. Most of the directors of "governmental relations" that I know are good ole boys just trying to make a living.

Yet, our entire culture has slid into such a sorry state that it is entirely possible to find social approval and affirmation for pushing vested interests of those who pay your salaries without a hint of conscience for the public good. The ground rules for governing today allow massive campaign contributions, thinly veiled manipulation of the public policy process and blatant political terrorism with "hit lists," threats, and character assassination becoming the standard weapons in the lobbyist's arsenal.

With that backdrop you understand why I flinch when I'm introduced as our "Baptist lobbyist in Washington." A good many folks still think the words "Christian" and "politician" are mutually exclusive, and that "Baptist" and "lobbyist" are a contradiction of terms. I'm not apologetic, however, about the governmental relations aspect of Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs work.

First, 95% (maybe 99%) of our hours and energies are spent in doing things that could be tagged "lobbying" only by the wildest stretch of a distorted imagination. Stan Hastey and Larry Chesser grind out press releases keeping Baptists informed (and anyone else who gives a hoot about the religion-politics intersection). Getting out the facts on the Congress, the White House, the Courts, and the agencies of government is an important function of BJCPA. They are telling the truth about events that affect everyday life.

Victor Tupitza and Gayl Fowler do a magnificent job of ongoing education. They put out this magazine and respond to hundreds of teachable moments as individuals, churches, and denominations ask for help on church-state relations.

John W. Baker, Rosemary Brevard and Fatima Cherry dig away at research tasks. They find what we need to know and with legal and political science skills and years of experience they analyze and interpret laws, court decisions, and events for Christians. An excellent illustration of their work is reported in this issue beginning on page 10.

Karen McGuire and Helen Dunnam find their days filled with helping implement the overall work of the agency and with a wide range of helping errands for those who call on the Baptist Joint Committee.

We all work at maintaining relationships with those in

government, with our fellow religious representatives in Washington, with the Baptist bodies whom we serve. We want to stay on speaking terms, even a first name basis if possible, with those who are serving the public and serving the Lord. You can participate in that process by joining us in the National Conference on Religious Liberty, October 5 and 6, 1981, in Washington, D.C.

It takes more faith to work at some of these jobs than it does to do more traditional ministries, because one does his best, leaves the results with the Lord and seldom gets any positive feedback. It's faith from beginning to end.

It takes more hope to engage the gears of government with a distinctly Christian assignment than it does to proclaim the Gospel from the pulpit because one does not offer an invitation to see a visible response.

It takes more love to stay at public witness than to serve in a local church, and I've done both. One gets few strokes from amorphous bureaucracies. But, then "if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same?"

It takes more patience. I frequently pray "Lord, thou knowest I have need of patience and thou knowest I need it right now!"

Evangelical Christians have been faithful to admit that government is ordained of God. It is imperative, then, in a free society that those who claim the name of Christ enter into a real partnership with him who "is the minister of God to thee for good" (Rom. 13:4), the public official. Can we act out our belief in the divine institution of government, at least in democratic order, with less than vigorous attempts to right wrongs and influence policies?

The New Testament Christian understands that in the Incarnation the Word became flesh. He who thought it not robbery to be equal with God "took upon him the form of a servant and was made in the likeness of man" (Phil. 2:7). How can believers shy away from "dirty politics" in the name of the one who was ultimately involved?

Churchmen care about the machinery of justice in society. They want all to be treated fairly. God requires that they do justly and love mercy (Mic. 6:8). The state becomes one instrument for that justice.

Followers of Christ bear witness corporately as well as individually. Through the churches they remind society that they serve a Christ who sets one free. They must do this by finding ways to translate the doctrines, believed so deeply, into concrete political action. It is a difficult but rewarding task.

So then, if we are to lobby, brethren, let's lobby well. The how, why, and spirit in which we lobby are all important. God's children dare not adopt the techniques and attitudes of the "sons of men."

Lobbying is not necessarily a dirty word.

EL SALVADOR:

Up-date/Evaluation

The following interview conducted by the American Baptist News Service, Valley Forge, Pa., is intended to provide both current information and an evaluation of the situation from the perspectives of denominational staff members. Victor Mercado is area secretary for Latin America; Roger Velásquez served for 18 years as pastor of First Baptist Church, San Salvador; and Robert Tiller is headquartered in Washington, D.C. at the Office of Governmental Relations.

Q. How have recent events affected the Baptist Association of El Salvador?

Mercado: In early January, three members of the Emmanuel Baptist Church of San Salvador were taken into custody by government forces while they were delivering Red Cross supplies in a vehicle belonging to the Baptist Association. After some weeks of not being able to discover their whereabouts, we learned from the Red Cross they had been imprisoned and tortured. I was also told that the minister of defense ordered the three released, but that a judge has refused to carry out that order. As far as we know, they are still in prison.

Then, late in February, we were notified of the murder of Pastor Salvador Rodríguez Castro of the Chapelrique Baptist Church, and of Nelly de Montesino, a member of that same church who has been active in the work of the Baptist Association. We discovered that they were two of four people whose names were on a list of people to be eliminated. The other two are in hiding.

Q. What information or opinions do you have about who is responsible for the killing?

Velásquez: My experience of living in El Salvador for 18 years leads me to believe that the government forces are responsible for most of the bloodshed going on. This has been the case for many years, but particularly now when the government feels threatened by a group of what I would call "freedom fighters"—the same term President Reagan used for the Afghan rebels. According to Monsignor Rivera y Damas, the Catholic church administrator in El Salvador, the killing done by these "freedom fighters" is discriminate and is done in order to carry out a specific military objective. On the other hand, the killing done by

the government has been indiscriminate.

Mercado: I think we cannot isolate El Salvador from the whole Latin American context. Situations similar to El Salvador have developed in Brazil, in Argentina, in Chile, in Paraguay, Uruguay, Honduras, Nicaragua. All have been the result of government security forces.

Q. We are told that masses of Salvadoran people support the ruling Duarte junta.

Velásquez: I was in El Salvador when Duarte was elected as president in 1972, by a coalition of political parties. That democratic expression of the people of El Salvador was thwarted by the military people who kept Duarte from coming to power at that time. He has now been invited back to El Salvador by the military. Duarte has no power; he is just a puppet, and the people know that.

Q. The present junta is characterized as a "centrist" government, as opposed to "rightist" or "leftist."

Velásquez: I think that is a term coined by the State Department to confuse international opinion. There is no fight between the right and the left with the government in the middle trying to pacify both sides. It is, as Monsignor Romero once put it, a fight between the government and the people. The people of whom he spoke are the poor, the peasants, the disenfranchised, the exploited.

Mercado: In Latin America, "centrist" government means "status quo." It means: Do not disturb business, do not disturb USA interests.

Q. The popular perception in the United States is that we have become involved in El Salvador in order to fight communism.

Mercado: Since 1929 the United States has been fighting what it calls communism in Latin America. Only one country has turned to communism in the last 20 years. I don't think the problem in Latin America is communism. Latin America has a Christian background, either Catholic or Protestant. The peo-

ple are uneasy about communism. They don't care much about whether the political doctrine is communism, capitalism, or socialism. . . The alternative they are seeking is not communism, it is to live a more decent life.

Velásquez: I arrived in El Salvador in 1960. Shortly thereafter, the military government launched a campaign against communism in El Salvador. They invented a series of stories about weapons and spies being imported from Cuba. About every two years the government would launch another campaign to combat communism and would accuse Cuba and the Soviet block of trying to take over El Salvador. My perspective on this is that it is only a convenient excuse or pretext whenever the military wants to gain more power in El Salvador. It is a very convenient way to guarantee that the American government will escalate more military aid.

Q. What about land reform?

Velásquez: True land reform is not merely land redistribution or relocating people to areas where there is no water, where the land is barren, where transportation is non-existent. This is what the junta has tried to do instead of studying all of the factors which are involved in true land reform.

Mercado: The land was bought from the landlords. Some of that land was distributed to the poor, but without the creation of any infrastructure so that those poor peasants would develop their land. They ended up selling the land back to the landlords at a cheaper price than that at which the government had bought the land. The landlords ended up with the money provided for the land reform and with their land as well. This time the land is in the hands of the military.

Q. We often hear that people should write to their representative or senators. Is that really effective?

Tiller: Most members of Congress do not read all of the mail that is sent to them. They delegate that task to staff aides. But the members of Congress do receive reports about the contents of that mail, and they are heavily influenced by their mail.

Nonprofit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Riverdale, MD
Permit No. 5061