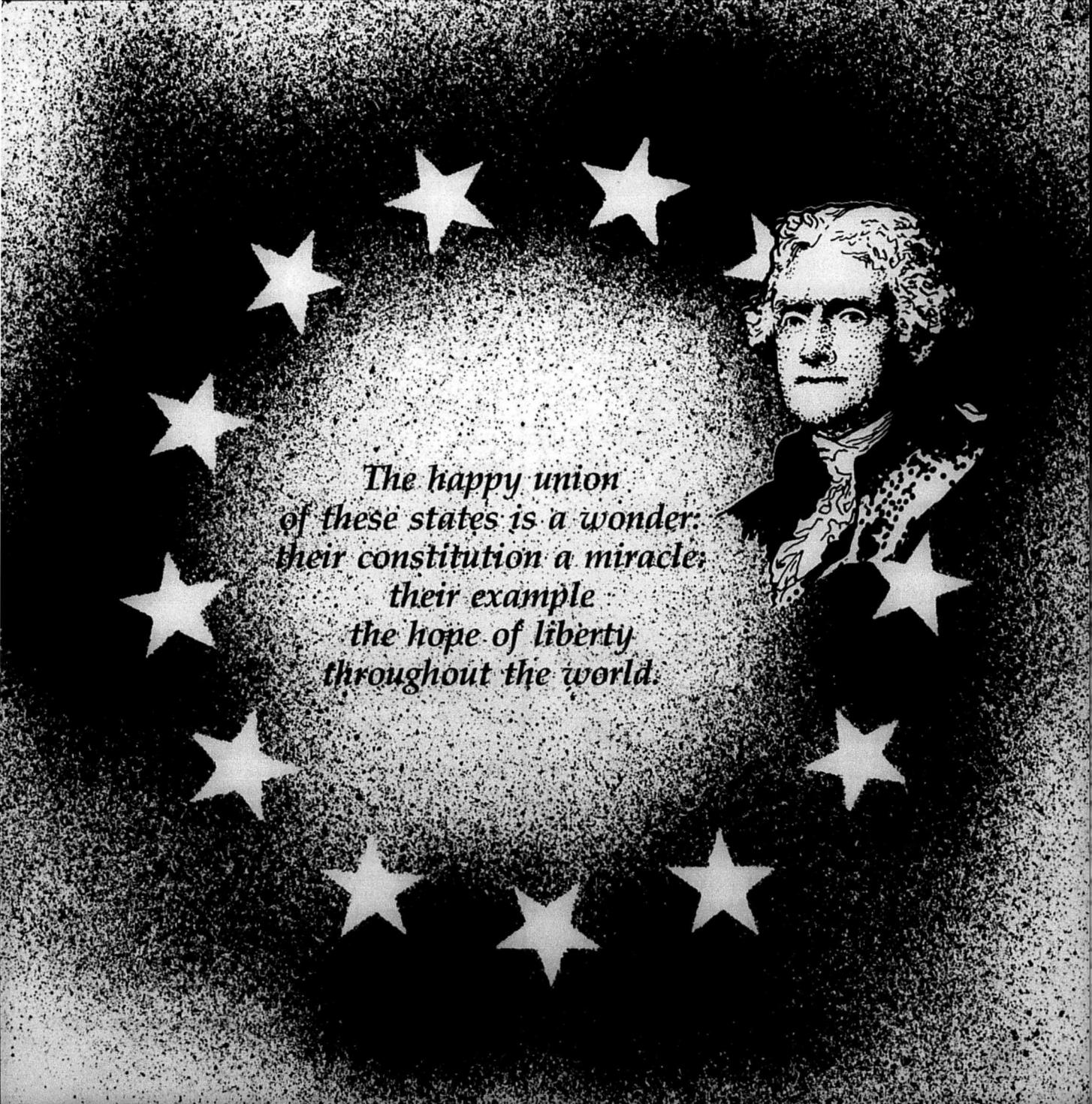


July-August 1981  
ISSN-0346-0661

# REPORT from the CAPITAL



*The happy union  
of these states is a wonder:  
their constitution a miracle:  
their example  
the hope of liberty  
throughout the world.*

## REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 36 No. 7 July-August, 1981

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## Off the People

What do they really mean by their promise to "get the government off the backs" of the people? What does it signify, particularly when we all agree that ours is a "government of the people, by the people, for the people"? Are we listening to a call to social insensitivity at the potential cost of a fragmented union, the one which James Madison refers to as the "hope of liberty"? (cover)

Political piety shapes the order of the day among many in and out of public office, who through some kind of incomprehensible ignorance seem intent on institutionalizing benign neglect in domestic affairs and patriotic paranoia in foreign policy.

In his understanding of today's imperatives, Senator Mark Hatfield will have none of that. Social trends are the occasion of new and overpowering pessimism, but Hatfield concentrates on reality and not the symptoms, with the situation in which the poor and oppressed find themselves, not with the rhetoric that debases their plight. He believes God's judgment will fall down upon a land which refuses to deal responsibly with that reality.

Calling the church to faithfulness in a time of great opportunity, Hatfield cites as a distinguished example of commitment, Mother Teresa. How does she surmount the squalor and death that comprises her mission? Her answer to his simply stated question about hope was, "we have not been called to be successful, but to be faithful." Hatfield helps us toward that vision.

Which one among us, lacking an MBA and wearied in our effort to balance our monthly accounts fully understands monetary policy or the implications of federal budgeting? A Washington-based group makes it a point to stay on top of such matters and to interpret them from a distinctly theological perspective.

Senior Fellow Ronald E. Pasquariello takes a look at the "heart" of the budget process as an instrument of social policy and studies its effect on societal wellbeing. Budget expresses priority in dollar signs, he says, and observes that with increased military spending the butter-guns problem again becomes a growing debate.

There is an irony in that the interests and activities of those who have made it their mission to decrease government involvement, through shaping the budget as they are doing, empower government in a way that may literally determine life and death in the U.S. and everywhere else.

Stan Hasteley covers the White House for the Baptist Joint Committee. He recently headed a small team of journalists down to Plains, Georgia to interview the former occupant of the White House, Jimmy Carter. A bonus for the group preceded the interview at Maranatha Baptist Church, where Carter taught the Sunday School lesson. "He was extremely well prepared," said Hasteley, "and was thoroughly at ease with some obscure passages in 1 Samuel." The interview was only the second granted by Carter, now immersed in the literary task of writing his presidential memoirs.

Victor Tupitza



## news/views/trends

TWO LENGTHY DAYS of Senate hearings here on tuition tax credits failed to produce a firm indication of how the controversial proposal will fare in the 97th Congress.

Educators, churchmen, politicians and parents lined up on both sides of the issue as the Subcommittee on Taxation and Debt Management heard testimony on a proposal sponsored by Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore., and Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan, D-N.Y.

Despite the fact that most of the witnesses favored the proposal, S. 550, none of its backers predicted passage or even full Senate consideration in the near future. Contributing to the lack of optimism over the bill's fate is Moynihan's recent admission that the legislation appears to be in trouble for a variety of reasons, including half-hearted support from the Reagan administration.

Both secretary of education T. H. Bell and treasury department assistant John E. Chapoton indicated that the proposal is not yet a top priority for the administration.

"Tuition tax credits will be at the top of our agenda at the appropriate time," said Chapoton, indicating such proposals will have to wait "until completion of legislative action on the economic recovery program." Bell added that implementing tuition tax credits "right away" might put "too much stress" on the efforts to balance the budget. ■

A GROUP OF Navajo Indians lost its bid to protect traditional religious shrines when the Supreme Court announced here it will let stand lower court rulings allowing the National Park Service to maintain control of a Utah site.

According to the Navajos, their ability to worship at the shrines has been hampered since 1910, when the federal government set aside land within a Navajo reservation for Rainbow Bridge National Monument. In earlier legal actions, both a trial court and a federal court of appeals denied Navajo demands to return the land. ■

THE HOUSE POST Office and Civil Service Committee voted here to minimize a Reagan budget proposal which would require sharp postage increases this October for Baptist publications as well as all other non-profit mailers.

Declining to follow the administration's recommendation to eliminate a postal subsidy which allows non-profit publications to move gradually toward paying full rates in annual steps, the committee voted to reduce it by 10 percent.

The action kept alive the hopes of non-profit publications that the projected doubling of their postage costs this October can be avoided, but the issue is far from settled. ■

## Mark O. Hatfield

Senator Mark Hatfield, himself a deeply committed Christian (Baptist) has long been a voice of conscience disturbing status quo Christianity and American citizenship. He accents their commonality without blurring the principle of separation, maintaining in his own service the tension between his Christian idealism and political reality.

# The Reconciling, Reconstructing Church

**T**he Babylonian captivity was coming to an end at the time of Nehemiah. The prophet felt great sorrow over the plight of his returning people as he saw the walls broken down around their home town of Jerusalem indicating fragmented relationships and vulnerability to the hostile world.

Americans, too, are facing a new era, a time of great change: our walls are broken down as a nation, as communities, and as families. Our vulnerability, however, is occasion for a new awareness and consideration of the laws of God.

Nehemiah said "... I and my people have committed the horrible sin of not obeying the Commandments you gave to us ..." In speaking to his friends then he asserted "You know full well the tragedy of our city; it lies in ruins and its gates are burned. Let us rebuild the wall of Jerusalem and rid ourselves of this disgrace." Nehemiah's message of reconciling and reconstruction is pertinent for today.

The identifications of the reconciling church are at least three. Initially, the reconciling church is disbursed, reconciling in the world, rather than merely perpetuating the gathered community of Sunday mornings.

There is a distinction between church work and the work of the church. Church work consists of what members do for the institution—serving on its boards, ushering, singing in the choirs, and teaching Sunday School. These require only a small percentage of members, less than 10%.

The work of the church, what the church does when it is scattered throughout the community, penetrating all institutions—educational, business, industry, medicine, law, con-

struction, government, farming and homemaking—requires every member.

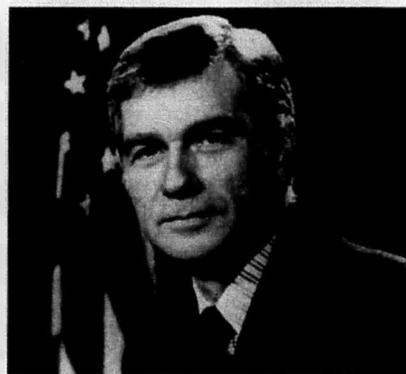
The reconciling church is proclamation, but more, it is living and personal community, and the gospel is more than filling the air with the correct words and spiritual laws. It must be the manifestation of the Spirit of God in the daily lives of His people.

Robert McNamara observed, "No form of media information is as effective as person to person communication. Messages can be sent electronically thousands of miles, but it is ultimately people talking to one another in a classroom, on the street, at the village market or in the home where the essential questions are discussed, and the essential answers are explored."

The Good News is that Jesus has come and that He is living out His life in His people. This is the incarnation, the heart of our faith!

Too many polar Christians, cold to one another because of dichotomization of the Biblical imperatives, are engaged in getting other people born again (586 million Americans converted in the last 15 years). Realistically, among the 50-60 million who claimed the new birth, there is not the powerful renewal you'd expect from having a quarter of our population committed Christians. Granted, a lot may be going on heaven-like behind the scenes, in small covenant groups and with faithful, saintly servants but, things are still deteriorating spiritually and physically.

On the other hand, there are many doing good works who continue to see that as a worthy end in itself. Giving the cup of cold water, being good to people by assisting them in the basic programs—still so many of these brothers and sisters are burning out



and giving up discouraged that programs are not bringing change. Both groups are needed. Neither is adequate on its own. The Gospel is both proclamation and action.

"All this is from God, who, through Christ reconciled us to Himself and gave us the *ministry* of reconciliation. That is God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself not counting their trespasses against them and entrusting to us the *message* of reconciliation.

These two words: Ministry of Reconciliation—to minister is to serve; message of reconciliation—ministry/mission equals presence, proclamation, program.

The reconciling church is composed of the witnessing people who reinforce the body into caring community. To find personal relationship with the risen Christ is a vital part of Christian experience but it is only part. The second more difficult part is to build a force of people available for God to use in one another's lives. To demonstrate the model of Christian community a whole new family is created. As the family of God it provides the replacement for the ascended body of Jesus in the local community. It is salt, light and leaven, a redemptive minority.

As the modern day gas station has abandoned commitment to service by being just a filling station, the modern church, is often only a filling station for individual members of the body of Christ when it should be a "service" station—a place where unique gifts are enhanced and complimented by others and where strengths are amplified and weaknesses made insignificant.

The Lord has called us to fulfill our role as servants and to do that we need each other. The Lord has called us to be obedient to our priorities and for

*... the refusal to deal with the millions of living needy and oppressed is bringing the judgment of God upon our land*

that we need accountability. The Lord has called us to personalism which cannot be done adequately over TV, radio or even from a powerful pulpit. So we have to touch and be touched for the power of forgiveness and healing to flow. (That is why the TV and radio preachers send out pins, prayer cloths, and inscribed books. Their supporters need to be touched!)

**R**econstruction must then follow reconciliation in the defining of the church. If personal change does not issue in social, corporate and institutional changes, it is no change at all. It is not reconstruction. Nehemiah (as he was the personal advocate for his people) knew that the walls would not be built without his personal presence and sacrifice. Corporate opposition was great from local political officials in Jerusalem—Sanballat and Tobiah heaped derision and threatened military police action against returnees. Further, disaffection was intense among the Jews themselves because of the lack of food and usury rampant, with the wealthy skinning the needy. Nehemiah defended the poor by instituting reforms and being their advocate before the authorities.

To be part of the reconstructing church we, too must move out into society to the aching ones and touch peoples' needs as Nehemiah and Jesus did—directly and one by one. We must stand with them as their advocates in the power structure to rebuild the broken down quarters of our society, wherever they might be. In urban areas, small country towns, and suburban communities, the servant church must relocate into the points of need.

These communities of need require our charity, but also our skills "on location" to enable people to organize their resources and maintain them in the community. The reconstruction church has been illustrated by John Perkins, Voice of Calvary, in Mendenhall, Mississippi. He established local owned shops, schools, banks, farms and conducted evangelistic efforts at the place where his mother had starved to death after his birth, and his brother was shot down in the street by Klanners.

Many programs have been developed by government and other

agencies' personnel who just do not know the needs of the people. They were insensitive and "nothing is more irritating than a Savior when you aren't ready to be saved".

John Perkins tells the story of the widow with five children who could not keep her house clean and appeared lazy and listless. Every week several women went to clean her house and check on her children. Each time they returned they were stunned by how awfully messy the house was and, finally, they left the drooping and discouraged lady to her own condition. It turned out that the woman had very high blood pressure and no energy to take care of herself. If those well-intentioned persons had merely listened to her need, and gotten her to a doctor for treatment, she could have cleaned her own house and cared for her children and been more attentive spiritually as well.

Are we truly listening as individuals, churches and as a country before we impose our solutions on the poor and oppressed of the world, whether in S.E. Washington or El Salvador? If we do listen it is likely the needy will minister to us and evangelism will flow in both directions.

I am convinced that it is not sex on marquees or the millions of aborted babies, as concerned as we must be about these issues, but the refusal to deal with the millions of living needy and oppressed that is bringing the judgment of God upon our land.

The voracious military-industrial complex which misdirects our nation's resources is now even making inroads into the academic world and stealing away professors from their classrooms. Our war machine has now become the military-industrial-academic complex.

No matter how advanced and powerful our defense capability a political-economic-social system that leaves minorities enslaved to inordinately high unemployment leaves us hopelessly insecure. The deaths of the young people in Atlanta can be attributed to their need to be on the streets hustling dimes. And as long as youngsters are driven by their needs to precarious situations we are all threatened. As long as we must protect international corporations and American big business at the expense of infant children in Third World Nations the greatest threat to our security is our lack of moral fiber.

The brazen cuts in human services while our spending for war is scheduled to be \$1.5 trillion over the next five years is one urgent opportunity

for the church to be the church. Not only to call for a more just system of allocating resources, but also to reevaluate where in the scale of priorities stewarding the needs of people comes when compared to property development.

Biblical stewardship is central to the reconstruction efforts required of us. We are called to act as faithful administrators of all that is entrusted to us. Especially this is true when the prevailing ethic is shaped by a consumer oriented economy and fueled by a throw away mentality.

"Let us rebuild the walls of (our own) Jerusalem and rid ourselves of this disgrace" by being a reconciling and reconstructing church.

Let us acknowledge our sin so that we can be reconcilers/rebuilders. We will then experience anew the power of the Resurrection as reconciliation occurs across all barriers and the Body of Christ is embued with new saving and healing power.

Mother Teresa is a model for me in this process as the odds against success appear to be so great. When I visited her in Calcutta I was overwhelmed with the needs which surrounded us in the dispensary, the orphanages, and the House of Dying. I asked her how she continued with such a buoyant spirit when surrounded by human despair. Her response was unforgettable. She said with that familiar joyous expression on her face, "We have not been called to be successful, but to be faithful."

May it be that we would be faithful to our calling as Christians in this era of such great need and opportunity.

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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.*

**"R**eligious liberty" is a term which is essentially theological rather than legal. It has meaning in terms of individuals acting alone or acting corporately. But what does it mean? In words having meaning to some people, "religious liberty" may be equated to "soul liberty" or the free conscience. It is a simple concept which involves freedom for an unfettered search for religious truth and liberty to believe in and respond to what one sees as religious truth.

In the Christian frame of reference, religious liberty is demanded by the scriptures. One's relationship to God is the primary relationship and must be free and uncoerced. Christians have always demanded for themselves freedom to preach and follow the Gospel, even when it meant defying the powers of government ("We must obey God rather than men!" Acts 5:29). Baptists have been particularly active in demanding soul liberty for themselves and, usually, for all others. They were important in the "education" of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison to the extent that, when a Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution, freedom of religion headed the list of fundamental rights to be guaranteed.

The religion clauses of the First Amendment—"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof..."—are not the only parts of the Bill of Rights dealing with religious liberty. Freedom of speech and of the press and the right to assemble have important religious liberty connotations as do many of the procedural rights in the Bill of Rights.

Despite a heritage of religious liberty for Christians in the United States, some of those Christians have not always been ready to concede a like freedom to unpopular Christian or non-Christian religious movements. In the past few decades, however, there have been some ecumenical statements which have sought to expand the idea of religious liberty to embrace all people.

### The Bill of Rights

In the United States the theories of rights found in our two major govern-

mental documents are the natural law/natural rights theory and the legal positivist theory.

The former, included by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, holds that there are natural moral laws as well as natural physical laws. People acting rationally can determine those laws and from them determine the rights which follow from them. Problems arise in determining who may declare what, in fact, are the natural rights and in finding ways to enforce them.

The legal positivist position is basically that rights are not universal and that they spring from the constitution of a state. It is this theory of rights which is embodied in the Constitution of the United States.

Though civil rights and civil liberties are usually considered as synonymous, a technical legal distinction exists between them. Rights are generally considered as protections against actions by the state. A few rights are included in the main body of the Constitution. For instance, treason against the United States is carefully defined as consisting "... only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court." (Article III, sec. 3). This restriction against the power of the state carries with it the derived right of a person to participate in other unpopular or even other illegal activities without the danger of conviction of the high crime of treason. Such limitation of the power of the state creates a right.

The Bill of Rights begins with the phrase "Congress shall make no law..." The Supreme Court has held that the rest of the Bill of Rights should be read as containing the same injunction against Congress. In like manner, Section 1 of the 14th Amendment limits the separate states by declaring that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State de-

prive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law..." Through a series of cases the Supreme Court has held that the 14th Amendment has "nationalized" most of the Bill of Rights. That is, the powers of the states are limited in the same way that the Congress is. In the 1940 case of *Cantwell v. Connecticut* the Supreme Court specifically made the strictures of the religion clauses of the First Amendment applicable to the states.

These particular limitations on governmental power were considered so fundamental that they were included in the Constitution and can be removed or modified only by an extraordinary majority. These limitations then constitute rights of individuals against the state.

Civil liberties are the liberties which we have within the state that are provided for through statutes or, in the case of the United States and other common law systems, through judicial development of legal precedent. A change in these liberties may be brought about by less than an extraordinary majority. One does not have a right to drive an automobile; the state grants him the liberty to do so if he meets legal specifications and does not violate legal restrictions. Within the last two decades the federal courts have decreed that state laws defining some of these liberties (as in "separate but equal" schools and facilities) were contrary to constitutionally protected rights. As a result of these cases, the affected states were thereby required to restate the civil liberties of their citizens.

### The Fourth of July

As we approach the 205th birthday of our nation, we may reflect with gratitude and natural pride that in our country more people have enjoyed a high degree of religious liberty, civil rights and civil liberties than ever before in history. However, it behooves us to also examine searchingly our personal and national commitment to the continuing extension of liberty and justice to all.

## NATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY CONFERENCE

**F**aith and Freedom," the theme for the upcoming National Religious Liberty Conference, will focus attention on a cardinal Baptist distinctive, soul liberty, and its relationship to evangelism.

Sponsored biennially by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, this year's conference is scheduled for Washington, D.C., October 5-6.

Among speakers already confirmed to address the gathering are William F. Keucher, president of the American Baptist Churches, USA; Jimmy R. Allen, president of the Radio and Television Commission, Southern Baptist Convention; David Moberg, professor of sociology and anthropology, Marquette University; and A. C. Miller, former executive secretary of the SBC Christian Life Commission.

Numerous other potential speakers have been contacted as well.

Primary among the purposes of the conference is reaffirmation of the New

Testament concept that authentic evangelism is rooted in religious liberty, particularly in the freedom of every individual to respond to the entreaties of a gracious God.

Related concepts to be explored in the conference include the ideas that the Holy Spirit convinces and persuades but does not coerce, that faith requires nothing less than voluntary response, that the seedbed of religious freedom is largely responsible for the unique flourishing of the gospel on American soil, and that authentic evangelism can thrive only when the church is free from either government sponsorship or intrusion.

At a time in American history when the historic arrangement between church and state is under reexamination and even attack, no themes are more crucial than those to be considered in October at the conference.

For pastors and denominational leaders alike, no more important subject matter is likely to be featured on a



conference program anywhere this year.

A major logistical improvement in this year's conference will be excellent hotel rooms and rates at the brand-new Capitol Holiday Inn, located in the Federal Center Plaza. The hotel is within easy walking distance of the U.S. Capitol and Smithsonian Institution museums on the National Mall. Also close at hand is the fabulous Metro transit system.

Registration fees have been kept to a minimum, with the basic charge set at \$35. Spouses accompanying regular registrants may register for an additional \$15. The same low \$15 fee applies to all students. The proper forms are located elsewhere on this page.

### Application for Registration

#### FEES

Conference Registration .....	\$35.00
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Students .....	15.00
Part-time attendance (1) meal .....	10.00

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# News in Brief



## Senate Further Restricts Federally Funded Abortions

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Senate has voted to deny federal funding of abortions for poor women who become pregnant due to rape or incest.

By a 52-43 vote, the Senate defeated an Appropriations Committee recommendation to delete a restrictive anti-abortion amendment added by the House to a supplemental appropriations bill.

Sponsored by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and Rep. Henry J. Hyde, R-Ill., the amendment permits federal payment for abortions only when the life of the mother is threatened.

Because the appropriations bill to which the rider is attached provides supplemental funds to run the government only through the end of the current fiscal year, the restrictive amendment would be in effect only a few months if it is signed into law.

However, the key vote may have set a precedent or signaled the direction for future abortion votes in the Republican-controlled Senate.

Sen. Robert Packwood, R-Ore., charged that the Hyde-Helms amendment says "tough luck" to poor women who become pregnant due to rape or incest.

Helms maintained his anti-abortion views came from "a little set of instructions, ten of them, that came down from Sinai."

Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., R-Conn., later responded, "We are not running this country by divine commandments or instructions from Sinai. We are running this country by virtue of a constitutional process which has nothing to do with any divine commandments or instructions from Sinai."

## Baker Voices Opposition to Limiting Federal Court

WASHINGTON—A Baptist constitutional specialist joined other religious and civic leaders in denouncing as "dangerous" and "unconstitutional" proposals before Congress to remove federal court jurisdiction in cases involving abortion, school prayer and busing.

John W. Baker, general counsel and director of research for the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, told a press briefing that he was concerned about the constitutionality of the proposals as a "quickie" way of changing the Constitution without going through the constitutional amendment process.

Citing Baptist commitment to church-state separation, Baker noted opposition by the Baptist Joint Committee and its member bodies to efforts in the last Congress to remove federal court jurisdiction in school prayer cases.

Baker said the emotional volatility of such issues has "clouded" constitutional questions involved.

Though more than 20 proposals to limit or remove federal court jurisdiction on controversial issues are pending, the method of attempting to overturn Supreme Court decisions is not new. Sixty such bills were introduced between 1953 and 1968.

## Benefit of Law Neutral; Tuition Credit Upheld

ST. PAUL—A federal judge has upheld the constitutionality of a Minnesota law which allows parents to make tax deductions for the education of their children.

Although most taxpayers use the deduction to send their children to religious schools, District Judge Robert Renner rejected arguments that the law violates church-state separation.

Under the law, taxpayers are permitted to make deductions from their gross income for tuition, textbook and transportation expenses in connection with their children's attendance at public or non-public schools.

In his ruling, Judge Renner said the defendants had demonstrated that the law provides widely distributed tax relief. "Such relief is available to all parents with dependents attending elementary and secondary schools," he said. "This is a critical element since a law does not advance religion when its benefits are neutrally and widely distributed and from which religious institutions benefit only incidentally and indirectly."

## 'Balanced Treatment' Bill Imposes Constraints

BATON ROUGE—The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) has urged the Louisiana legislature to reject a bill that would require "balanced treatment" of creation-science and evolution in public schools.

Testifying on State Senate Bill 86, AAUP President Henry T. Yost and Rufus Tyler Lincoln, professor of biology at Amherst College, said they felt "the intent of this legislation is to impose religious constraints upon the teaching of science."

They commented that "religions differ enormously among themselves in explaining life's origins and changes. Bringing to students the variety of religious explanations may be quite valuable, but prescribing one such explanation as true is impossible for academics."

## 'Integrated Auxiliary' Issue in Baptist Homes

BRENTWOOD—Tennessee Baptist Children's Homes, Inc., has decided to fight an Internal Revenue Service (IRS) demand that it file a form listing all sources of income and all expenses.

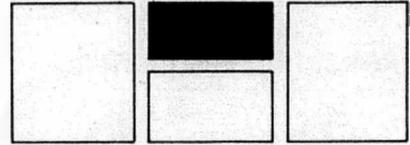
It has refused on the grounds that it receives no government funds and that the requested information is available from other sources.

The basic issue is whether the homes constitute an "integrated auxiliary" of the Tennessee Baptist Convention, meaning that it is an integral part of the mission of the church. If so, the agency would not be required to file a form with the information.

The Tennessee Baptist Convention has voted to support the homes and take the case through the courts if necessary. When some convention members objected that such a process could be costly, Raymond Boston of Dyersburg said, "This is a principle that is worth whatever it costs."

## Tax Avoidance Plays Lead to Indictment

SAN DIEGO—William E. Drexler, Sr., 49, who calls himself an archbish-



op, has been indicted by a federal grand jury on criminal charges of selling ministerial degrees and church charters to help people avoid paying taxes.

His son, William, Jr., 27, and two associates, William Sumption, 33, and Randall Jensen, 29, were also indicted on the charges.

The indictment said the Drexlers sold packets of ministerial documents and church charters for fees ranging from \$1,000 to \$4,000 through the 'Life Science Church.' The grand jury also charged that for added amounts they would backdate documents to try to give purchasers tax advantages for previous years.

### Religion Not Primary; Moonies Lose Exemption

NEW YORK—An appellate court has ruled that religion isn't the Unification Church's "primary purpose," and the church isn't entitled to tax exemption on three properties here.

However, the five-judge panel declined to hold that the primary purpose of the Unification Church was political, as argued by the New York City Tax Commission.

The Appellate Division of New York State Supreme Court in Manhattan ruled on two issues—whether the primary purpose of the church founded by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon is religious, and whether three church properties here should be tax exempt. They voted 3-2 that the church's main purpose isn't religious and 4-1 against allowing tax exemption on the buildings.

"We conclude that political and economic theory is such a substantial part of petitioner's doctrine that it defeats petitioner's claim that its primary purpose is religious," Judge Harold Birns said in the majority decision. "Although religion is one of petitioner's purposes, it is not its primary purpose."

Offered in evidence against the church were background on its aggressively anti-communist political activities, and its varied business ventures financed by the network of young people soliciting on behalf of the church.

The Unification Church, which has been paying the disputed taxes, is expected to appeal the decision to the New York Court of Appeals, the highest court.

Justice Leonard H. Sandler, dissenting from both findings by the court's majority, said the church's "principle doctrines" were "indisputably religious in character, constituting a religious creed analogous to that of several well-known churches."

The Unification Church had argued that its political and economic activities are not different from those of other religious organizations. The church unsuccessfully tried to obtain records of the Catholic Archdiocese of New York dating back to 1931, which it claimed would prove that the Catholic Church was also political.

### School District Policy Said to Discriminate

GREENFIELD, MA—A high school teacher has protested to the state Commission Against Discrimination that his school district refused to give Christian teachers Good Friday off this year.

George Jonelunas, 54, said he showed up for work on Good Friday because he couldn't afford to lose a day's pay. He said he was a Catholic and that the district "discriminated against Christians" by not giving him Good Friday off with pay while giving Jewish teachers two paid days off last fall for Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur.

### Good Friday Sales Ban Held Unconstitutional

HARTFORD, Three days after Good Friday, the state Supreme Court ruled that the ban on liquor sales on that holiday was an unconstitutional establishment of religion.

The Connecticut law had banned the sale of alcohol in bars, liquor stores and restaurants on Good Friday. North Dakota is now the only state with a similar restriction. The Connecticut suit was filed by a restaurant owner.

In its unanimous ruling, the state court described the liquor law as being biased in favor of "Protestant and Catholic forms of Christianity."

### Church Schools Exempt From Jobless Tax

WASHINGTON—In a unanimous ruling, the U.S. Supreme Court has declared that church-related schools that have no corporate identity apart from a church or association of churches are exempt from paying unemployment-compensation taxes.

In its ruling, the high court did not address the constitutional question of whether the government may apply the tax to employees of religious schools. Rather, it based its decision on its interpretation of the intent of Congress in passing a 1976 amendment to the Federal Unemployment Tax Act.

In 1978, U.S. Labor Secretary Ray Marshall ruled that the congressional amendment required religious schools to pay the tax. Several conflicting federal and state court rulings on the matter followed.

The case before the U.S. Supreme Court involved a preparatory school operated by St. Martin Evangelical Lutheran Church in Watertown, S.D., a parish of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod, and Northwestern Lutheran Academy, a school operated directly by the synod. Writing for the court, Justice Harry A. Blackmun noted that the schools were "not separately incorporated" from the church.

According to the ruling, the "only reasonable" interpretation of the tax law "is one that exempts petitioners' church-run schools, and others similarly operated, from mandatory state coverage."

Agreeing that the language of the tax code exempted the church-related schools from unemployment tax coverage, the justices found it "unnecessary" to consider the First Amendment issues raised by the Lutheran schools.

Arguing that mandatory payment of unemployment taxes would require excessive entanglement of the state in church affairs, the church-run schools contended that Mr. Marshall's ruling violated both the free exercise and the establishment clauses of the First Amendment.

## Ronald D. Pasquariello

The author is a Senior Fellow in Urban Policy at the Churches' Center for Theology and Public Policy, Washington, D.C. A member of the Marist Brothers order, he holds a doctorate in theology, taught at the university level, and has pursued interests in the area of urban affairs.

*Much of the flurry of activity we call balancing the budget seems to be ritual activity.*

# Theology and the Federal Budget: Priorities Forge Social Reality

Much of recent American theology has taken as its point of departure the investigation of the social conditions of life in the United States, with special stress on economic analysis. There has been a dearth of reflection, however, on American political realities, and particularly on the very interaction between social reality and political reality, and the extent to which public policy shapes social reality. It is not surprising then that there are few, if any, stray references to the federal budget in the literature. Because of the federal budget's instrumentality in shaping the social well-being of the nation and of the poor in particular, rudimentary reflections will be undertaken here. Three points about the prominence of the federal budget in our national life are demonstrative of the social and political salience of such an analysis.

In the first place, the federal budget is one of the few instruments of economic and social consequence in the national tool chest, so much so that, to a large degree, as the budget goes, so goes the economy. It is accepted policy in this country to alter the level and character of public expenditures in order to influence the economy. For example, the Reagan administration proposes to increase economic growth and productivity by across-the-board tax cuts, increased defense spending outlays, and off-setting reductions in non-defense programs. The intention of these maneuvers is to reduce our economic ills—inflation, unemployment, productivity decline—by the end of Mr. Reagan's first year in office, and balance the budget by the fourth year.

In the second place, the budget expresses and sets our national priorities. Limited federal resources make it impossible to support everything on the national menu. Choices must be made, often not between the necessary and the superfluous, but among programs of pressing moment to our national life. Their budgetary choices express the judgment of Congress and the President on the policies that should become operative, and the level of activity for each policy. The budget, thus, forces federal budget makers to display their priorities in dollar terms.

Another testimony of the importance of the budget to our national well-being—and this is the third point—has to do with the fact that in a sense "the buck starts there." Without appropriated funds, many legislative actions—some of which were dearly won by social activists in tough battles armed with slim resources and minimal clout—have little effect.

It is in light of this—the federal budget's instrumentality in forging American social reality—that talk of theology and the budget makes sense.

On the one hand, the budget is not a neutral list of expenditures and outlays which simply details how our national finances are to be distributed. It is a tool for dealing with and changing social conditions to the advantage or disadvantage of American citizens (and, indirectly, of the citizens of many other countries). On the other hand, theology understands itself as directed to that same social situation, not merely to reflect on it, but to be part of the process through which it is transformed. This is why American theo-

logians need to turn to the budget, as well as to other strictly American political and social realities. Theology, when it speaks of the budget, attempts to consider the meaning which the budget does and ought to take on when viewed in the light of contemporary Christian self-understanding, namely as one intent on creating a society that is just, sustainable, participatory.

It should be self-evident that a concern for justice and charity inform budgetary decisions. Unfortunately Christian conceptions of both these virtues have been basically atomistic and nonproductive. Within the context of a theology of creation, an emphasis that is especially suited to American social reality, their point of emphasis is altered.

In the creation stories, the biblical authors put humans into a web of mutual relationships and responsibilities with the Creator, other humans, and the world of nature. The Creator shares life with them, bracing them with the responsibility of being the divine representative, co-shapers in the continuing process of creation. This dignity requires that, while humans draw sustenance from the natural and created world, they be accountable for preserving it and nurturing its life. Their potential, and therefore their nature, is to be productive humans, creative beings in control of their own future, free to shape the world within its own possibilities.

Within the context of a theology of creation, justice means more than the distribution of goods. It demands participation in deciding what is produced and how it is produced. Charity is

more than service, which itself perpetuates dependency. It is inseparable from justice and calls for changing the structures that create the need for service. For our purposes justice and charity are served by evaluating and reshaping the federal budget to contribute to social and economic productivity.

Social productivity is more subtle and elusive to definition than economic productivity, and is a qualitative rather than a quantitative measure. It has to do with the capacity of persons, individually and as a member of a group, to take charge of their own independent and corporate lives, and participate in shaping their future.

Some citizens may well believe that peace is achieved through strength, and that the way to achieve security is to increase expenditures for defense, but they should be aware that military spending is highly inflationary and neither economically nor socially productive. Federal dollars are inflationary (and thus not economically productive) when they increase the money supply without producing goods and services. Federal dollars are socially productive when they increase the capacity of American citizens to participate in shaping the social, political and economic life they experience as Americans. Defense salaries for a standing army go to individuals who do not produce consumer goods or services, but merely engage in non-productive (from an economic and social perspective) training. Basic research is essential to the long term vitality of the nation. The skewing of the disposition of those funds, as has been occurring, away from research and development in social areas to military technology, has put a severe drag on the amelioration of the domestic economy.

Since military spending is the largest category of congressional appropriations, a theological perspective on the budget requires that we count the cost of our defense budgetary policies to our economic and social health.

Because a large portion of defense procurements are included (among the annual budget's "controllable" expenditures) these expenditures are the focus of the "guns or butter" controversy. This means, to put it quite baldly, the budget is so organized that each new gun means one more hungry

baby, which is an untenable trade-off. This also means that built into the budget process is an element that continually catalyzes controversy and waters the seeds of division and discontent.

It is difficult to uncover the moorings of the almost obsessive belief in balancing the budget. It seems that it holds sway in American political thought because it functions as a dogma: it exerts a coercive power because it is invested with the authority of tradition, the respectability of certain economic theories, and the moral connotation that indebtedness is bad. Much of the flurry of activity that we call balancing the budget, however, seems to be ritual activity.

The most recent example occurred in February, 1980, when President Carter called a synod of the high priests of the budget process—congressional and administrative budgeteers. They gathered together in a chamber apart, took the American fiscal dogma that commands the budget be balanced, and applied it to a central document of the republic, the federal budget. They did this with much fanfare, conservatives their cheerleaders and most of America crowding the sidelines.

In retrospect it seems clear that the action was intended to be largely expressive. It is questionable whether or not many believed that the budget cuts would eliminate the deficit. All hopes, it seems, were directed towards reducing the inflationary psychology throughout the nation. This means that the ritual was intended to impress the citizens with the idea that inflation was under control and therefore with the need to spend less, thereby decreasing demand and lowering inflation. The ritual proved ineffective. The wait for the lowering of inflation turned out to be a widow's watch.

In addition to its ritual-aspects, balancing the budget is a time-conditioned dogma. Its cogency gives way to historical change and political manipulation. During the Depression, for example, the balancing act proved impossible, and it ceded the economic arena to necessity and the compensatory fiscal theory associated most prominently with the name of John Maynard Keynes. Indeed, it appears that the pressing need for balancing the budget depends less on historical circumstance than on the particular

school of economists and fiscal theorists with which one associates; and it is becoming more and more apparent that no two economists agree on the theory of fiscal policy.

There are some sobering facts which question the exigency of balancing the budget. In the first place, what budget needs to be balanced? The federal budget is only part of the fiscal picture. Taken together the budgets of the federal, state, and local governments, the total government budget, is balanced. Does this not fill the bill? Secondly, is there actually a causal relationship between the size of the federal budget deficit and inflation? The experience of other countries seems to indicate otherwise. In nine out of twelve industrial countries with inflation rates lower than ours last year, government spending was higher in relation to their Gross National Product. But this is the most pressing question: Why is the deficit given so much priority in comparison with problems of poverty, pollution and unemployment? The public credit of the country has remained secure through repeated deficits. Those other problems have strained our productivity, and distorted our national well-being.

The federal budget is complex, multifaceted, labyrinthine. It reflects the pure light of our national well-being among dozens of categories, functions, policies, needs, demands and actors, some conflicting, some complementary. For those intent on laboring for systemic change, the lesson of the preceding analysis is that it is insufficient to focus efforts on legislation, supreme court decisions or individual budget allocations. Because of the power of the budget to regulate social conditions, because of its structural importance in American political, social and economic life, the churches, and persons of good intention, need to take steps to assure that the budget and its process is responsive to the empowerment needs of its people. Budget analysis and the reform that it can generate is one way of shifting the gears of the political machinery that moves the republic, and of transforming capital and power to its people, so that those who pay the cost of life in these United States can decide for themselves what indeed should be bought in the first place.

# INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



## Timmerman says 'Scandal' Brought Prisoners Release

WASHINGTON—The appearance of Jacobo Timmerman at the Senate confirmation hearing of Dr. Ernest Lefever here was like a well-timed stage entrance in a mystery play.

In the first day of hearings, Mr. Timmerman's name was invoked reverently—by Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Charles Percy (R-Ill) in contesting Dr. Lefever's preference for the "quiet diplomatic" approach to preventing human rights abuses. He illustrated by citing Mr. Timmerman's rescue from an Argentine jail.

Mr. Timmerman, the Jewish former editor of the Buenos Aires newspaper *La Opinion*, was arrested in 1977 without charge by an extremist faction of the Argentine army. For 30 months he was tortured and interrogated while held isolated in a succession of jail cells. In September of 1979, he was stripped of his citizenship and expelled from the country after a personal trip to Argentina by Pat Derian, then assistant secretary of State for Human Rights, which is the post to which Dr. Lefever aspires.

The second day of testimony Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif), in a break in the questioning, recognized Mr. Timmerman in the crowd. The former prisoner was in town publicizing his new book "Prisoner Without A Name, Cell Without A Number," and to meet with Jeane Kirkpatrick, ambassador to the United Nations. After rising to acknowledge Sen. Cranston's greeting, he met reporters in the hall.

There he had few words for Dr. Lefever but several for the Reagan administration's recent "retreat" on human rights issues. "Silent diplomacy is silence," he said, "Quiet diplomacy is surrender."

He credited to Ms. Derian's efforts to create "a scandal" in Argentina both his own release and the release of many fellow prisoners.

Not asked to testify in the Dr. Lefever hearings, Mr. Timmerman re-

marked wistfully that he looks forward to the day when hearings like these on the topic of safeguarding human rights could be held in Argentina. (RNS)

## Government Frees Youths

VALLEY FORGE—Officials of American Baptist Churches, USA were notified that the government of El Salvador has released three Baptist youths who were arrested by the Salvadoran National Guard on Jan. 12.

The three are Jaime Ernesto Castro, Alberto Mendoza Alcantara, and Alberto del Cid—all members of Emmanuel Baptist Church in San Salvador. They were delivering Red Cross supplies in a van belonging to the Baptist Association of El Salvador when they were arrested.

According to information received from the Association, a high-ranking officer of the military brought the three young people to the church. On behalf of the security forces, he apologized to members of the church for the mistaken arresting of the three. He also indicated that the vehicle of the Baptist Association which is still being held by the security forces will be returned to the Association shortly.

Following their arrest in January, a cable requesting an immediate investigation and the release of the three young men sent to Salvadoran President José Napoleon Duarte from Dr. Robert C. Campbell, general secretary of American Baptist Churches. Church organizations in the USA and around the world made similar appeals.

Dr. Campbell has sent a communication to President Duarte, expressing appreciation for the release and safe return of the three. (ABNS)

## Silence Condemns

WASHINGTON—A visiting Brazilian cardinal has urged U.S. peace, labor and church groups not to stand docilely by while the Reagan administration keeps silent about human rights abuses around the world.

Defending human rights crosses all lines—cultural, political and eco-

nomie—because "this is human, this is universal," said Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns, the archbishop of Sao Paulo.

The 59-year-old Cardinal Arns has met here and in New York City with labor, human rights and peace groups as well as with church leaders and Congressmen.

"The church has the support of the people. When they ask for our support, we will go in, but we do not go in first," Cardinal Arns said at a news briefing in U.S. Catholic Conference headquarters here. He added that there was an active dialogue between priests and parishioners about the church's particular role.

Part of Cardinal Arns' mission here is to gain further support from American labor leaders for union organization in Brazil. Right now, the trade unions are largely controlled by the ministry of labor.

The cardinal spoke of his church's involvement at a meeting in New York with American union leaders, whom he praised for being "critical of the position of your government."

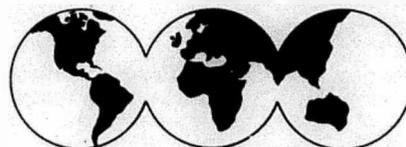
"You cannot have a quiet or silent human rights policy," he added, referring to President Reagan's policy of not publicly criticizing human rights abuses by friendly nations.

He also attacked the administration distinction between totalitarian and authoritarian regimes. "Both have a fever," Cardinal Arns said. "A fever can go higher or lower, but it's always a fever, a sign that something's wrong."

By contrast, the first two years of former President Carter's outspoken human rights policy provided "a great hope for all" in Brazil, he said.

When asked whether a strong labor movement might jeopardize what has been a gradual opening up of the political system, Cardinal Arns said, "it seems we need both the political openness with several parties and trade unions for social programs."

He said that liberation theology, in which Scripture has been used to justify political action against Latin American regimes, always must be judged by the standards set in the Gospel.



"You must go through the world as Christ did and he was always threatened," he said. The only protection the pope or anyone else has is "the love of the people and of God."

### Tractor Detonates Bombs

VIENTIANE—A "bombie-beating" tractor designed to safely detonate small bombs dropped on Laos by Americans has run into some snags in testing, say Mennonite staff involved in the project.

The tractor was given by the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) to Xieng Khouang Province in north central Laos, where vast tons of bombs were dropped between 1964 and 1973.

Before the tractor can be used, however, a number of flaws have to be corrected, said Fred and Jan Swartzendruber of Washington, D.C., the MCC representatives who delivered the tractor in 1980.

The British-built International Harvester 674 tractor is equipped with a custom built chain-flail device and special shielding. It is intended to safely detonate the BLU-24, a tennis ball-sized American bomb, also called the "guava" bomb or "bombie."

A Ministry of Defense ordnance expert said the most serious problem with the tractor is that it might run over a buried mine, which might be detonated by the tractor's weight rather than the flailing of the chains. A second problem was the tractor's vulnerability to bombie shrapnel.

The MCC said provincial officials have expressed hope that a machine exists which could detect bombs buried as deep as 12 meters below ground and explode them by remote control. The Mennonites, who have researched this problem since 1974, said they have never heard of such a device. A Laotian ordnance expert reasoned that since Americans made the bombs, "they must know how to take them away."

### Food for Polish Camps

HAMBURG—Some 600 children and teenagers expected at six Baptist camps in Poland will have an adequate food supply this summer because of efforts by their counterparts in the Federal

Republic of Germany. "Gemeindejugendwerk," the Baptist youth organization here, announced that it is sponsoring a special offering by its Sunday School and Children's groups, which will be used to purchase food for the camps in Poland. This is the third effort in recent weeks by Baptists.

The World Council of Churches launched an appeal earlier for US \$500,000 to provide food and other material aid to Poland after assessing the serious shortage in the country. (EBPS)

### Urgency Demands Strategies

RUSCHLIKON—Warning that the time for missionary and evangelistic activity in Europe "may possibly be short," a Baptist pastor-evangelist called for renewed emphasis upon Christian mission work throughout the continent.

The Rev. Hans-Gunther Sachse, pastor of the Weissensee Baptist Church in Berlin (DDR), was speaking to more than 50 persons from 19 countries attending the annual Evangelism and Education conference of the European Baptist Federation. He urged them to develop strategies for reaching special groups. (EBPS)

### Investment Hinders Justice

SWANWICK, DARBY, UK—The argument that investment in South Africa helped the blacks came in for a scathing rebuttal from Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, when he addressed the spring assembly of the British Council of Churches.

"Those who invest in South Africa should please do so with their eyes open," he said. "They shouldn't delude themselves that they are doing anything for blacks. At least they ought to get rid of the humbug and know they are buttressing one of the most vicious systems since Nazism."

Bishop Tutu said a crisis was approaching in South Africa, with growing hostility to be found among young blacks. He appealed to the international community to act while there was still time. (EPS)

### Appeals Go Unanswered

NEW YORK—The U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee in a letter to Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Leonid Ilichev, deplored the wave of arrests and trials of a wide variety of human rights activists which has continued unabated during the Madrid conference to review compliance with the 1975 Helsinki Accords.

More than 65 imprisoned Soviet and Czechoslovak human rights activists have been singled out, to no avail, in speeches by Western delegates at the review conference.

Not even the forceful positions taken by the West have resulted in positive movements. Appeals have been made in behalf of Andrei Sakharov, Yuri Orlov, Mykola Rudenko, Anatoly Shcharansky and more than 40 other Helsinki monitors either in exile or in prison.

### Bishop's Dilemma

STOCKHOLM, (RNS)—Male pastors who oppose women's ordination in the (Lutheran) Church of Sweden must cooperate with their women colleagues or resign, says a draft government proposal.

The government recommendation poses a difficult choice for Archbishop Olof Sundby, the head of the church, who favors women's ordination but is uneasy with government legislation in church affairs.

### Call for Family Planning

NEW DELHI—Voicing alarm over a huge increase in the population of India, leaders of most major political parties have called for a strong new national birth control program.

How the call for a national birth control program can be carried out, however, is not clear. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has tended to soft-pedal family planning programs since she took over the government again in January 1980.

It was widespread charges of forced sterilizations that helped drive Mrs. Gandhi from power in 1977.

**REFLECTIONS, from p. 15**

head." (*Dallas Times Herald*, February 27, 1978) Carl Rowan fears that if such a scheme were made law, "The public school system will become a crippled outpost for children of families so poor that, even with tuition tax credits, they can't send their children to private schools." (*Dallas Morning News*, March 1978)

8. Still, it's *undemocratic*. There would be a sort of taxation without representation if tax credit maneuvering prevailed. The decisions regarding private and parochial schools would be made beyond the reach or influence of the taxpayer. Public schools have their problems responding to the 16,000 local school boards. But, that's democracy at work.

9. Penultimately, it's *dishonest*. To use the parents' tax credit for a conduit to get tax monies into private and parochial schools is a tad shady. The constitutional tests have made it clear that it's not right to try to do something indirectly that is directly forbidden. Such a subterfuge is unworthy of the U.S. Congress.

10. Finally, it's *intrusive*. Government regulations would inevitably and

legitimately follow an alternate school system in which the public had such a vested interest. Thomas A. Shannon, Executive Director of the National School Boards Association contends that, "without strict regulation, there would be no way to prevent the subsidies provided through tax credits from helping schools that endorsed values of communists, the Ku Klux Klan or other groups." (*New York Times*, April 23, 1981) Andrew Greeley, noted Catholic sociologist, and others oppose tuition tax credits because of increased government control of parochial schools.

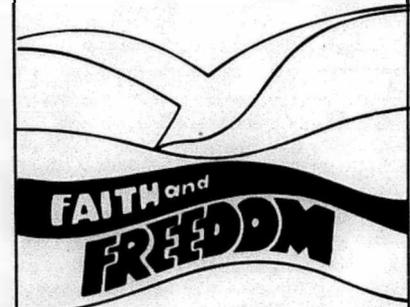
One of the great strengths of private and parochial education is found in the freedom from government intervention. It would be sad to see that freedom swapped for a mess of tax credit pottage.

President John F. Kennedy understood the perils of public support for private and church related schools. He said, on September 15, 1960, "I believe in America where the separation of church and state is absolute . . . where no church or church school is granted any public funds or political preference."

Government's duty is to leave private schools alone.

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One of the great strengths of private and parochial education is found in the freedom from government intervention. It would be sad to see that freedom swapped for a mess of tax credit pottage.

## REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn  
Executive Director



"Public money for public purposes" is not a bad motto. The failure to meet that test of public policy is the greatest fault with tuition tax credit plans now before the United States Congress.

Delegates to the National Catholic Education Association meeting in New York in late April were read a telegram from President Reagan that said, "This administration will support tuition tax credits for private education." (RNS, April 24, 1981) More than a dozen tax credit plans have been introduced in Congress, most allowing a taxpayer credit on his income tax for a certain amount of his private or parochial tuition costs.

The best-known 1981 version of the recurring bad idea is the one introduced by Senators Daniel P. Moynihan (D-NY) and Robert Packwood (R-Ore.). It would return to the taxpayer by means of a tax credit 50% of his tuition up to \$250 for starters.

What's wrong with this approach to education aid?

**1. First, it's unconstitutional.** As Senator Ernest F. Hollings says, "in 1973 the U.S. Supreme Court's *Nyquist* decision reaffirmed the position of our Founding Fathers by striking down a New York State tuition tax credit plan because it violated the First Amendment's 'establishment clause.'" (*Washington Post*, March 14, 1981)

No one can escape the conclusion that public funds benefit the sponsoring church. The net result is that the taxpayer is forced to subsidize religion, and overwhelmingly one brand of religion at that. Thomas Jefferson wrote, "To compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical."

Senator Moynihan does not deny that the Constitutional problems exist, but with an attitude beneath the responsibility of the U.S. Senate says, "pass the suspect legislation, let the courts decide."

**2. Then, it's regressive.** It would offer aid to the people who need it least. The poor who do not want their children in available church schools or who cannot afford them, even by supplementing the tax aid, must fall back on public schools. Many parents do not have enough income to benefit from a tax credit. The half of the population with more modest incomes would be left out in the cold.

The Reverend Paul Schetelick, co-pastor of Blessed Sacrament Parish in Newark says, "We can fool ourselves and say we are serving the poorest of the poor, but people on welfare can't afford our schools." (*New York Times*, April 24, 1981) Sharing this view is Dr. James S. Coleman, author of a new report praising parochial schools. He "fears that tuition tax credits would mostly aid wealthier families, who pay substantial income taxes, and do little or nothing for disadvantaged minority students." (RNS, April 24, 1981)

The result of such welfare for the well-off would be free choice for those with money and compulsory miseducation for the rest.

**3 Next, it's expensive.** Estimates vary from \$4 billion to \$6 billion annual costs, depending upon the exact plan

passed, the extent of private and parochial school benefit. A tax credit is labeled a "tax expenditure" and is just as much a cost to taxpayers as any other budget line item. Odd, isn't it, that at a time of slashing federal aid to education some senators are pushing for this sort of spending. As Senator Everett Dirksen once said, "You spend a billion here and a billion there and before long you're talking about real money."

**4. Further, it's inflationary.** Such an incentive from federal policy would make for wild escalation in the cost of private education. A Father Bredeveg of the National Catholic Education Association testified for tuition tax credits before the last Congress indicating that "it would enable us to increase tuition."

Moynihan admits that tax credits might lead to higher tuition. *The New York Times* predicts that the "cost of this uncontrollable entitlement could rise spectacularly." (*New York Times*, March 10, 1981)

**5. Also, it's unfair.** The larger rather than the smaller church schools would be favored. The parochial systems already in place would have a distinct advantage. There is even a regional warp for the Northeast quarter of the country. Six of the seven cities with the largest percentage of school children in church schools are Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

To appeal for fairness because "parents of private and parochial school children pay both taxes and tuition" is to advance an odd principal of tax equity. The elderly, singles and couples without children support public services in general and don't whimper for tax credits to evade supporting public education.

**6 Beyond that, it's divisive.** This sort of state support for church schools would arouse the competitive worst in church folks. They'd be rooting for tax credit advantage like an overlarge brood of hungry piglets. The fellow who doesn't think Christian leaders would come to that needs to re-examine his understanding of original sin.

Americans are already sharply divided on the issue. A Gallup-Newsweek poll (March 1981) reveals that 34% favor an income tax credit, 52% oppose it and 14% are undecided. Legislative flim-flam that codifies the will of a vocal and pushy minority never makes for tranquility.

The divisiveness would cut far deeper in the social fabric than competition between church schools. Some of the troubles in Northern Ireland today stem from the school systems which have prevented children from mingling and knowing one another.

**7. Again, it's destructive** of the public schools. The future of public education is at stake. A government subsidy would place a bounty on the head of school children for their withdrawal from the public schools. Joseph A. Califano, Jr., former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare described tuition tax credits as a "devastating blow to public school education in this country," a proposal that "stands the American tradition of public education on its

Concluded on p. 14

PLAINS, GA.

## Restoration of Confidence First Task of Presidency—Carter

Acknowledging that the Religious Right had "a very profound effect" on last Fall's elections, former president Jimmy Carter predicted that its leaders will soon have to modify their positions or be "bypassed" by the people.

Carter said that the Religious Right's "measuring rod" criteria for politicians last year, including their positions on issues as the Panama Canal Treaty, diplomatic recognition of Taiwan, SALT II and establishment of a Department of Education, did not come from the Bible.

"These were the kinds of things that were put forward as a measuring rod for whether or not a person was a genuine, born-again Christian," Carter said. "I think that there is too much wisdom present in the collective body of Christians for that sort of distortion to prevail for more than a short period of time."

At the same time, the former president declared that he harbors no "bitterness or ill feeling" toward leaders of the movement, some of whom denounced Carter and campaigned for Ronald Reagan in 1980. "I think they are deeply committed Christians . . . who are sincere in their belief, who let prejudice get the best of them for awhile," he said.

He explained further that larger questions such as racial equality, control of nuclear weapons and world peace are the kinds of issues which "ultimately, I think, will be seen as compatible with the Christian experience."

Carter's remarks came during an interview with three Baptist writers following Sunday morning services at Maranatha Baptist Church here May 24. The 45-minute session with the reporters marked the second interview he has granted since leaving Washington in January.

Although he pointedly declined to criticize any Reagan policy or decision, Carter's answers to questions about his administration's achievements left no doubt that his priorities conflicted with those so far announced by his successor.

Noting that he came to office following the scandals of Watergate, the disillusionment of the Vietnam War, and abuses by the Central Intelligence Agency, Carter said his first task was

to help restore confidence in government and its leaders. "The people were looking for a restoration of basic truthfulness in press conferences, openness in government, the answering of any allegation," he said.

On the foreign front, he went on, "we had the constant threat of war," particularly due to the continually volatile conditions in the Middle East. Among his priorities in seeking to defuse the situation, he said, were working for peace between Israel and Egypt, restricting the sale of military weapons and trying to control nuclear weapons.

"I felt that in our foreign policy in the past we had played a little too much (the) role of using intrigue and power in forming alliances for temporary advantage with leaders who represented principles contrary to our own nation's basic commitments," Carter elaborated.

Primary among those commitments, he said, was that to human rights.

"I tried to raise the banner of human rights in its broadest sense," he said, adding that among the tests of honoring the principle were "basic integrity of government," "human dignity," "alleviation of suffering and pain," and "elimination of torture" and "unwarranted arrests."

In domestic matters, Carter said his primary objectives included protecting the environment, conserving and developing new sources of energy, and making government more accessible to women and minorities, especially Spanish-speaking and Black citizens.

He said he was aware of "how damaging some of those commitments were, politically speaking" and cited as "one of the worst things I did politically" was to push for ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty. But the decision to seek the treaty was worth it, he declared.

I think it kept us from war and it was the right thing to do. It was the honorable thing for the nation to do and has the potential still in the future of reaping great benefits for our nation and its relationship with not only countries of this hemisphere but (with) others around the world who admired an end to colonialism."

—Stan Hastey



Former President Jimmy Carter meets with (l-r) Al Shackleford, editor of Baptist & Reflector (Tenn.), Bob Maddox, former presidential liaison to the religious community, and Stan Hastey, Baptist Press (Washington bureau chief). Joe Thompson photo

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