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# REPORT from the CAPITAL

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THE  
**SCHOOL** IS THE LAST  
EXPENDITURE



UPON WHICH AMERICA SHOULD BE WILLING TO  
ECONOMIZE

## REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 36 No. 8 September, 1981

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## Work, Pray and Hope

In this month's correspondence Fred Hollomon expresses concern over the proliferation of articles attacking the religious right, and he is in good company with Martin Marty who in a recent *New York Times* column urges an end to what he terms a "holy war." Other religious leaders, Marty says, also sense a danger here and have "warned against confusions that result when leaders mobilize religious instincts for political causes."

That is one cloud of angels we all would like to join, although the Baptist Joint Committee wants to enter this demurrer: we are not at "war" with religious right groups which have become politically active, even though at times the differences between us take us in opposite directions. Yet, in the best sense of Marty's words, and with theological/biblical integrity we must "mobilize religious instincts" for engagement on issues of social policy. There is no path for retreat from our history.

Some church folk are livelier than ever following their last fall's political successes, while others are appropriately despondent. Max Stackhouse, Andover-Newton professor, cautions against excessive elation or despair, believing the situation to be far more complex than a surface reading might indicate.

In this edited version of his address before the Massachusetts Council of Churches, Stackhouse examines some evaluations of theology's relationship to contemporary life. He has detected among "progressives" a "pervasive religious insecurity", and traces it to despair over their failure to discover the locus of solid answers to questions of private and public morality.

He sees need, as does Martin Marty (*The Public Church*), for a "public theology," as a critical and systematic way of reflecting on the law, the purposes and the love of God. God centered, it would be "focused on what is holy. . . as a life and death-orienting question which links mind and heart, personal life-style and community building.

The Religious Liberty Conference planned for October 5-6 qualifies religious faith and witness in terms of freedom as evidenced in the noncoercive work of the Holy Spirit. At war with principalities and powers, the Holy Spirit convinces and persuades but does not smother religious conscience under state sponsorship or theological imperialism. If, as some claim, the name of the game today is *power*, then obviously groups such as the BJC—committed to freedom that is bounded and channeled by faith—can only work and pray, and hope.

Religion appeared before the Supreme Court in a wide range of cases, with separation of church and state a winner in three out of four. Stan Hastey has prepared a summary analysis which might be ample testimony to the dangers posed by stripping the federal courts of authority to hear certain cases. Jurisdiction is also the substance of American Civil Liberties Union testimony which we have included in question/answer format for clarity's sake.

Victor Tupitza

# Eighteenth National Religious Liberty Conference

Widely recognized authorities on evangelism and religious liberty will speak and lead discussions at the upcoming Religious Liberty Conference in Washington sponsored by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

BJCPA executive director James M. Dunn, noting that several invited personalities have yet to confirm, released a list of speakers from both inside and outside Baptist ranks to be featured at the October 5-6 conference. Theme of the meeting is "Faith and Freedom: Evangelism Rooted in Religious Liberty."

One public figure who has confirmed is District of Columbia delegate Walter E. Fauntroy, also pastor of Washington's New Bethel Baptist Church. Known in religious circles for his ability to blend evangelistic with social concerns preaching, Fauntroy is one of several government leaders expected to address a Capitol Hill luncheon during the conference.

Jimmy R. Allen, president of the Southern Baptist Convention's Radio and Television Commission, and Marc Tanenbaum, national director of inter-religious affairs of the American Jewish Committee, will focus on the legitimate limits of evangelistic outreach and the limits of religious liberty.

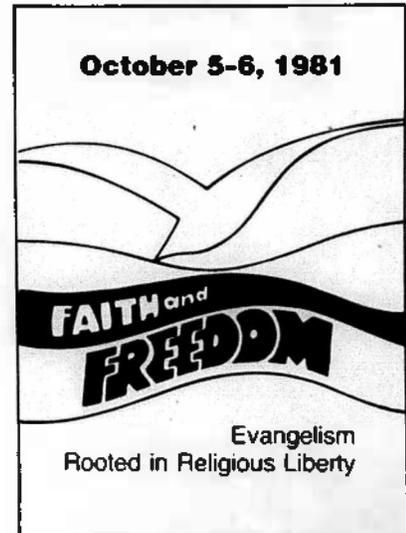
David O. Moberg, noted author and professor of sociology at Marquette University, will outline the role of evangelism in the context of American pluralism, while William F. Keucher, senior minister of Covenant Baptist Church, Detroit, and president of the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., will address the historical relationship of evangelism and freedom.

Jeffrey K. Hadden, a University of Virginia professor of sociology and author of the widely-acclaimed new book, *Prime Time Preachers: The Rising Power of Televangelism*, will survey the

current scene in media evangelism. *Sojourners* editor Jim Wallis, a leader among evangelical Christians committed to social action, will articulate a biblical view of evangelism in the light of concern for religious liberty.

A panel consisting of R.C. Puckett, John Swomley and a representative of the new group People for the American Way, will portray the role of organizations with a primary commitment to First Amendment freedoms. Puckett is executive director of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, while Swomley, who teaches Christian ethics at St. Paul School of Theology, Kansas City, Mo., will represent the American Civil Liberties Union on the panel.

Another program feature will consist of personal perspectives on the roots of freedom in faith. Among those making the brief personal observations will be A.C. Miller, 90-year-old social concerns veteran in Southern Baptist life, and Emmett Johnson, director of evangelism for the American Baptist Churches. Leon McBeth, professor of church history at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, is also expected to address the two-day conference.



SWOMLEY



PUCKETT



FAUNTROY



McBETH



MOBERG



KEUCHER



ALLEN



TANENBAUM



HADDEN



WALLIS



MILLER



JOHNSON

## Max L. Stackhouse

Dr. Stackhouse, theologian, prolific writer, lecturer and analyst of contemporary social/cultural developments, is professor of Religion and Society at the Andover-Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, MA. He is an ordained minister of the United Church of Christ. This article is an edited version of his address, "The Church and Political Life: Back to Basics?", before the Massachusetts Council of Churches.



# Theology: Checking the Demonic Pretense in Politics

We face a new political regime in this country. It represents, in several respects, a new cluster of political moods. The new mood is infected with the resurgence of a very old religious theme, now appearing in fresh garb. The core of this ancient religious theme is that politics should be the instrument of the righteous to enforce faithfulness. On close inspection, it turns out that what many contemporary advocates claim to read directly from the pages of the Bible is a strange combination of mercantile economics of the 17th century, a militant nationalism from the 18th, and a Victorian moralism from the 19th.

To those, who have hitched their religion to this new mood, it is a time of rejoicing. We have been saved, some say, from the brink of socialism. At the same time, others who have thought themselves most modern and progressive, who have understood their faith in terms of the progress of history, or the New Deal, or even the more recent liberation movements, are plunged into despair. Some think that we are now hovering on the brink of fascism.

The first main point I want to make is simply this: both moods are unwarranted. They are based on very dubious understandings of both religion and society in the American context. The elation of the Moral Majority and similar groups, is false. They soon will discover that most of their positions are neither moral nor majoritarian. The despondency of the "progressives" is false because they tend to see the present situation simply in terms of the power confrontation between left and right. The situation we face is a compound of many elements. No one seems to have a handle on the contemporary political economy. Higher percentages of the population receive more education than ever before, but ignorance of how

to make basic personal and social decisions does not seem to be improved.

Until quite recently, Americans have discussed and debated the issues of both public and private morality in religious and theological terms. They believed that deep theological conviction, linked with profound thought and directed toward practical engagement could serve as the yeast in civilization, a check against the demonic pretenses of the principalities and powers. It could shape covenanted communities of faith, and thereby shape both the character of persons and the structures of public institutions to upbuild, broaden, awaken, and guide the conduct of life. It could never utterly defeat the power of sin or the multiple attacks of satanic powers—only God could do that; but it could serve as a barrier against the most overt forms of inhuman exploitation, invite us into a deeper relationship with God, and provide the vision of God's righteousness in public affairs.

At a considerably deeper level, numerous scholars have turned, in the last decades, to the analysis of "civil religion." At best it is the awareness that there are universalistic principles which have developed in our common context, principles which we neglect or abandon to our peril as a social system. At its worst, "civil religion" is all sail and no rudder. It does not reach into the depths to steady us in troubled water. It doubts all metaphysical groundings for moral principles. It can easily shift in the winds of change or flutter in the breeze of contradictory gusts.

At a still deeper level, the ecumenically-oriented churches are custodians of a more profound tradition. In principle they hold that the symbols of scripture and doctrine grasp and convey something of the very being of God. Theology faithful to

these, and tested by reason and experience, provides the surest guide to both belief and action—in public and private matters. We know that it has tempered the viciousness of human hate, opened the horizons of whole peoples, evoked courage among the dispossessed, leaped over social, political, ethnic, and other barriers to form new and holy solidarities, and pressed society toward institutions of justice and mercy. In fact, we feel that reality now, within ourselves, as a hope; but we are unsure about it as a present reality.

In brief, we have come to doubt the normative character of religious thought. Whatever "good things" we stand for are not clearly rooted in basic theological principles. Even where we believe that religion does have something terribly important to say, we are influenced by a number of intellectual currents which make it increasingly difficult to say what needs to be said with force and clarity. Who among us has not been touched by one or another of these modern developments:

- Theology is all abstraction, having very little to do with real life.
- Our religious heritage is so tainted by racism, classism, and sexism that we have nothing to learn from it for today.
- Authentic religion is a matter of a pure leap of faith which is utterly beyond reason.
- The biblical record has to be understood in its own context and to take it as an answer book to today's questions is pure isogesis.
- All doctrine grows out of experience. Our experience so differs from that of other groups in other times that we can only tell our own stories.
- Ethics is a product of social development. Our ethics must change as our society changes.

There are four features of note in all these statements. First, each is *partially* true. Second, each casts doubt on whether we have anything fundamental to say at all. Third, each tends to relativize the basis of all perspectives on faith and morals. Fourth, none of these beliefs leave space for the possibility that the *object* of theology, God, can overcome the human subjectivity of bias and perspective.

Here, I believe, lies the core of the issue. It stands behind the present shifts of mood in the country; but it is of much deeper rootage than the election, the new regime, and the pessimism of much ecumenical church leadership. It is of much greater consequence for the longer future. The *question*, simply put, is this: do we have a fundamental rock on which to stand when we attempt, as church people, to address social and political questions? Or is the witness of the church merely the transcendentalized expression of social interest and political-economic preference?

It is not possible to set the full agenda for what is required here; but I do think we can set forth some of the preconditions for the larger task by focusing on three fundamental issues: we can clarify, on one hand, the basic principles of church and state that are intertwined with these problems; we can clarify the apparently contradictory idea that organized religion can and must be involved in social and political issues; and we can make certain suggestions as to how the churches can secure the theological bases for their mission.

Christians have it on very good authority that Christ's "kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36). Christians also know that we are to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's" (Luke 20:25). We are to be "subject to the governing authorities" (Rom. 13:1-4); yet we are to "obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29).

This cluster of teachings represents one of the most revolutionary social doctrines ever written. It is not a natural thing for people to draw a sharp distinction between religion and politics as autonomous realms, to demand responsible participation in both, and simultaneously to say that the object of one (God) is the criterion for the object of the other (the exercise of power).

The natural tendencies are toward a world-denying spirituality which views religion and politics as absolutely irrelevant to each other, or, the use of one by the other to give legitimacy to particular interests. The Christian view affirms the reality and necessity of the world of politics, but it demythologizes, deabsolutizes and relativizes its importance. The fact that

### ***The Christian view affirms the reality and necessity of the world of politics. . ."***

some governments, and some policies, are radical, some liberal, some conservative, and some reactionary does not make any difference at this fundamental level.

Yet Christians, and a number of other profoundly religious peoples, know that humans live under a sovereign reality beyond the control of any and every regime. Christians know this in a special way through the life, teaching, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Through Christ and the critical reflections of the church—the body of Christ—we have come to know that a living God alone is that sovereign reality, and that this God is to be understood as a community of persons—specifically as Trinity.

This reality, precisely because of its sovereign character, is at the same time independent of and directly pertinent to every aspect of personal, social and political life. All touched by this fundamental insight have a constitutional distrust of the powers of political authority and of governments, and a simultaneous urge both to engage in the life of public policy to transform society toward righteousness and to utilize the powers present there as instruments to serve humanity.

In recent years, ecumenically-oriented Christians have often allowed their distrust to degenerate into an anti-establishment anarchism in rhetoric and style, while the drive toward righteousness entailed support for programs which implied an unqualified confidence in the capacity of government to establish justice by central planning. Anti-ecumenical voices have attempted to counter these perceived directions by a new "American celebration" of "law and order" and a drive against social programs of nearly every description. Both sides seem trapped between contrary versions of anti-politics and total-politics.

The deeper theological tradition is not driven to such extremities. Instead, it takes its stand at two other points. At the institutional level, it presses toward "separation of church and state," at the ethical level, it attempts to articulate a "public theology." Both are seen as decisive ingredients for the mission of the church in the political arena.

Indeed, the most decisive indicator of the extent of human rights in society is the freedom of religion. Is it not true that where the state subverted and constricted religion—as in Stalin's Russia, Hitler's Germany, Amin's Uganda, Pol Pot's Cambodia, and Park's Korea, or contemporary South Africa, human rights have been subverted to pagan whims? And is it not true that where religion becomes merely the legitimizer of this or that political economic system, the deeper needs of the people are obscured?

Where religion is repressed, the freedom of speech is constricted; secret arrest, torture, and political imprisonment are unconstrained. Where freedom of religion is denied, the sharing at the communion rail has little chance of being translated into the sharing of bread and drink with the hungry and thirsty. Where religion is not independent of political alliance or control, people have no forum, no organizational base, and no fundamental philosophy of life beyond that fed to it by those in control, to challenge oppressors.

Perhaps the point is clear. The primary, positive result of our awareness that the ultimate Kingdom is not of this world, but that we live in the world whose powers are not to be negated, but are to be relativized, has been the separation of church and state. Christians hold to this position out of deep theological conviction, and it is on this basis that Christianity, in alliance with others, gave rise to the principles of the Bill of Rights and, indeed, the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.

**B**ut freedom of religion is not the end of the tale. The vigorous defence of the separation of church and state at the institutional level must be matched by a deep quest for an integrated view of life at another level. This is true for at least two reasons: All

(Continued on P. 7)

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*.

A conflict has long existed in the United States between the champions of public elementary and secondary education and those who argue the merits of private education. However, in the inflationary period being experienced, the cost of all education is going up rapidly and the private schools—almost 90% of which are church owned and operated and serve some 95% of private school students—have renewed their efforts to secure some form of public support to help meet those costs. The Supreme Court has not permitted direct or indirect aid to these private schools but, based on a child benefit theory, has permitted states to provide certain kinds of "aid to children" such as transportation to and from the schools and the loan of secular textbooks.

The private school lobby is now pushing hard on a plan to aid their schools through what might be described as a parent benefit theory. That plan, called a tuition tax credit, provides for a tax credit to parents or guardians who send their children to private schools. Several bills to provide for tax credits against federal income taxes have been introduced in Congress, a referendum on local tax credits was to have been voted on this fall in the District of Columbia, and several states are considering versions of the idea even though the Supreme Court in *PEARL v. Nyquist*, 413 U.S. 756 (1973), held a New York tax credit scheme to be unconstitutional.

The provision of tax credits for those persons sending children to private schools has become a political as well as an educational and a church-state issue. The arguments on both sides of the issue need to be examined in some detail.

### Arguments of the Proponents

Professor A.E. Dick Howard, in a forthcoming publication of the Roscoe Pound Foundation of the American Trial Lawyers Association, has detailed the proponents' arguments. Briefly summarized, they are as follows:

1. Parochial schools are not churches but are institutions which perform a public function of education which would have to be performed by the state if there were no private schools. Thus, tax credit proponents reason, it would be proper for government to give aid in support of the secular func-

tions of a church related school.

2. Parents who choose to send their children to private schools pay for that schooling and are also taxed to support the public school system. This, they say, is unfair and inequitable.

3. It is also argued that the values of diversity and pluralism are well served by the alternatives which private schools provide. This, they affirm, is ample public policy grounds for some form of aid to parents or guardians to make it possible for them to choose an alternative to the public schools.

4. Proponents of aid to private schools assert that these schools have been able to maintain higher academic and disciplinary standards than have their public counterparts—even in urban areas. They point to a recent controversial study by sociologist James S. Coleman to verify this assertion. Coleman's conclusions as well as his methodology have been sharply criticized by equally prominent social scientists, but they do support an argument for aid.

5. Proponents of aid urge that private schools are especially valuable in assimilating minorities, the poor, and immigrants into the mainstream of American life.

### Arguments of the Opponents

There are both general public policy and church-state separation arguments which have been advanced in opposition to tuition tax credits and other aid to private secular and religious schools.

1. There are limited numbers of dollars which may be spent on education. Every public dollar which is channeled into private schools is, in effect, taken from the public schools. Public schools will be progressively weakened as students who are able to make the move will desert them, leaving them with fewer funds to educate the poor, the minorities, the handicapped, and the maladjusted.

2. The demands on the public funds would increase and set in motion potentially divisive struggles to increase tax credits to larger and larger amounts. Rather than schools serving a major "melting pot" function, education itself would tend to split Americans on religious as well as class lines.

3. Opponents of tax credits label the "diversity in education" argument as mythical. Backed up by substantial re-

search, they assert that, even though private schools provide an alternative to public schools, the selective admissions and retention policies of the private schools—based on religion, academic achievement, national origin, behavior, and socioeconomic status—result in elitism, not pluralism.

4. Opponents of tax credits or other direct or indirect aid to private and parochial schools also attack the "fairness and equity" argument. The cost of supporting public education must be paid by all people in order that a democratic system can continue in an increasingly complicated world. Should couples without children be given tax credits for not having children in schools? What of those whose children no longer are in school?

5. Parochial schools would be the chief beneficiaries of tuition tax credits. Parochial schools exist for religious purposes. As a result, tuition tax credits would constitute a diversion of public funds to support religion.

6. Tuition tax credits in the long run would tend to destroy the church related schools. Because the courts have held that the G.I. Bill and federally guaranteed student loans constituted aid to the schools attended by the student beneficiaries, programs such as tuition tax credits would probably be considered aid to schools. Under such a holding, the Bible reading, prayer, religious symbols, and religious services, as well as anti-discrimination, decisions would apply to parochial schools. Their reason for existence would largely cease.

### The Baptist Joint Committee

The above listing of the arguments for and against tax credits should not imply that the position of the Baptist Joint Committee on tax credits is ambivalent. The BJCPA considers that tax credits are unconstitutional under the decision in *Nyquist*, that they are divisive along religious lines, that they are deceptive in that they attempt to do indirectly what cannot be done directly, that they have a regional bias in that 2/3's of parochial school students are concentrated in the northeast, that they are regressive in that they aid the well-to-do and penalize the poor, that they are inflationary because they will tend to drive up the cost of education, and that they are unconscionable for those who believe in religious liberty.

(THEOLOGY, from P. 5)

profound theologies hold that God is the Lord over societal, economic and political systems and not only over churches and the hearts of persons. A religious ethic which speaks of interpersonal love, but never of social justice, is unbalanced. A spirituality which speaks of uplifted souls, but never of institutional righteousness, is lopsided. A Christian morality which speaks of the eternal verities but never of the historical context is no more balanced than one which always speaks of particular contexts, but never of universal principles. Thus, we are only faithful if we utilize the freedom we have by institutional separation of church and state to develop, preach and teach an integrated perspective.

A second reason for pressing in this direction is closely related. Freedom of religion at the institutional level protects nonsense as well as profound moral and spiritual insight. All profoundly religious people are gripped by a vision of reality which is not only beyond the state, but beyond the hard lessons of experience, beyond the realistic analysis of social forces and societal needs, beyond the prudential calculations of common sense, and beyond the fragmented bits of data we get from daily life. That vision of the beyond is the glory of religion; it is also its peril. A touch of madness is often shielded by this transcendent effect as well as by institutional freedom, a madness which if not checked discredits the fundamental insight of faith and destroys community in fanaticism. For this reason, too, we are in desperate need of a "public theology."

The term, "public theology" is not my own. (It comes from the prolific pen of Martin Marty.) I use the term as one that takes seriously the importance of systematic reflection on God. It is a disciplined mode of thinking that works, as the older generations used to say, with the "body of divinity." It is less inclined toward the psychology of religion or the sociology of religion than the theology of human personhood and the theology of society. This way of thinking understands theology to be a critical and systematic way of reflecting on the Law of God, the Purposes of God, and the Love of God as matters of earnest public import. It is focused on what is holy, not as an intellectual exercise, but as a life-and death-orienting question which links mind and heart, personal life-style and community building.

A public theology is not only God centered, it is "logos" centered. For Christians, this has specific meaning within the church; but it has a meaning beyond the faith community as well. Among other things, that entails an appreciation for logic, knowledge, wisdom and science. A public "theologos" can make its way in the world, for it makes fundamental sense. The only God worth worshiping does not require that we lie, sacrifice critical thinking, or believe nonsense to find salvation for selves or civilizations. At this point we have to make a very fundamental choice which can be stated historically. The early church utilized, embraced and transformed Greek and Roman philosophy, the best science of the day. Was that the "fall" of a truly Biblical faith, or the providential consolidation of a perspective which preserved Christianity from being merely another cult? A "public theology" holds to the latter view.

Finally, public theology will draw on Scripture, Tradition and Reason to set forth the first principles of personal and social ethics. A public theology will, of course, be engaged in responding to this or that particular issue which preoccupies the body politic. But it will not do so as if it were another interest group, opposition caucus, or government in exile. Instead it will focus on cultivating those basic orientations, those touchstones of ethical principle, which can edify the people. It enables the *laos* to carry out their vocations and to apply these principles to concrete decisions in specific areas.

I am haunted by the Old Testament sentence "Without a vision, the people perish," and by the early Christian contention that "the church is the soul of civilization." I think we are in for a longer and deeper struggle than we have yet recognized, for our vision is tarnished, and the message of the soul unsure. Without these, people decide things only according to their interests, and the interests of the powerful prevail. It is for these reasons that I call churches to face the nature of the crisis at its deeper levels, and to prepare to confront it by, at least, getting questions of the separation of church and state straight at the institutional level and gearing up our minds and souls for the slow, long-term, hard work of reconstructing a public theology. Both our mission under Christ and well-being of the body politic requires nothing less.

## Quoting

"An old woman was sitting alone—she was not in line for food because she was not a child or a nursing mother. She had only a handful of nuts which she was slowly peeling. I sat down beside her to watch . . . she peeled a nut and put it in *my* mouth. I learned about the meaning of sharing from these people who have so little."

Liv Ullmann  
(Swedish actress)

My motivation for evangelism grew out of two different sources: one, the pure, simple manifestation of love I saw in the lives of those who came in the name of Jesus Christ into my life; second, that the person and teaching of Jesus Christ was precisely the medicine that our world needed, and that in order to participate in the reconstruction of the world, it was absolutely necessary to announce, to proclaim, to evangelize."

Emilio Castro  
WCC Commission on  
World Mission and Evangelism

"This Amendment is important to all Blacks. Because of the central role that Black women play in the economics of the Black family, we cannot do without ERA.

Fifty-two percent of our households are headed by women. Fifty-two percent of Black people are women and girls. For Blacks, the critical fight against discrimination must include sex discrimination if the conditions that have handicapped the Black community are to be overcome.

We have got to understand the importance of the Black female income, not just for herself, but for what it means to the total Black family. There has been too much avoidance of the subject and too little leadership; too many cheap shots and too little analysis."

—Eleanor Holmes Norton  
Ex Equal-Employment  
Commissioner

# News in Brief



## Family Protection Act Viewed as Intrusion

WASHINGTON—A revised "Family Protection Act" introduced in the 97th Congress prompted two Baptist leaders to express the concern that many of the provisions in the Jepsen-Smith Bill pose more threat than protection to the American family.

Modeled after a 1979 bill sponsored by Sen. Paul Laxalt, the new bill introduced by Sen. Roger W. Jepsen as S.1378 and Rep. Albert Lee Smith Jr., as H.R. 3955 contains a collection of social and educational positions which sponsors claim is designed to get the federal government off the back of the American family.

Jepsen and Smith contend that government policies interfering with family life have increased over the past decade under the guise of "solving" human problems in the areas of health, education and social services, and that their bill is a step toward removing government intrusion from the lives of American families.

Baptists John H. Buchanan and James M. Dunn disagree. Buchanan, former Alabama Congressman and presently a consultant to the Southern Baptist Convention's Christian Life Commission, said the bill would "extend the heavy hand of the federal government into the home and into the very personal and private lives of American citizens."

Dunn, head of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, described the measure as one which seeks to find loopholes in the pattern of guaranteed Constitutional liberties.

He found especially offensive, the "oblique attacks on church-state separation evident in the thinly-veiled attempt to provide aid for parochial schools while also offering permission for the exercise of religion in public schools."

The Jepsen-Smith bill provides for prayer in public schools and grants education savings deductions which would primarily benefit private and parochial schools. The controversial nature of these and many other provisions of the family protection legislation signals a slow legislative process and diminishes its chances of passage. Nevada Senator Laxalt admitted it "would be well into next year before we're ready for floor processing."

## Stripping the Court

Does Congress have the constitutional power to strip the Supreme Court of its authority to hear school prayer, busing and abortion cases?

This is the question facing House and Senate judiciary panels considering a cluster of bills designed to limit or remove Supreme Court and/or lower federal court jurisdiction from cases involving these emotionally-charged issues.

Admitting that their dissatisfaction with recent Supreme Court rulings prompted these proposals, sponsors contend that the approach is constitutional.

Opponents of the bills argue that the constitutionally valid method of checking Supreme Court decisions is through a constitutional amendment. That process requires a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress plus ratification by 38 states; it has been tried several times without success by anti-abortion, anti-busing, and pro school prayer advocates.

During hearings in both houses this summer, constitutional specialists clashed over the constitutionality of the court-curbing bills.

The House Subcommittee on Courts, Civil Liberties and the Administration of Justice, chaired by Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier, D-Wis., concluded hearings which focused on the broad question of jurisdiction limitation. However, a spokesman for Kastenmeier's panel indicated additional hearings may be scheduled if the Reagan administration decides to take a position

on the proposals.

In the Senate, the Separation of Powers Subcommittee, chaired by Sen. John East, R-N.C., has already reported out favorably a human life bill which limits lower federal court jurisdiction in abortion cases. The Subcommittee on the Constitution, chaired by Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah, held earlier hearings on the general question of congressional power to limit court jurisdiction and has begun hearings on anti-busing proposals. Consideration of the school prayer proposals is expected this fall.

Clearly, the strongest sentiment for these proposals lies in the Senate subcommittees where some members, including chairmen Hatch and East, are convinced that Congress has the power to limit federal court jurisdiction.

Even if one or more of the bills cleared the Senate, it is quite possible that they would meet the same fate as the Helms amendment in the previous Congress. The proposal by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to limit Supreme Court and lower federal court jurisdiction on school prayer cases cleared the Senate only to die in committee in the House.

Current members of Kastenmeier's subcommittee have "expressed grave reservations" about the proposals, according to a panel spokesman who added, "I don't think there is a single member who supports this legislation."

—Larry Chesser

## Graham Warns Against Partisan Politics Trap

KANSAS CITY—Billy Graham urged Christians to get involved in moral and social issues, but not in "partisan politics."

The noted evangelist acknowledged that he had fallen into the trap of partisan involvement during many of his relationships with American presidents, dating back to Harry S. Truman. Mr. Graham made his remarks at an American Festival of Evangelism which was organized to stimulate evangelism at the lay and local level of American churches.

But Mr. Graham could not accept the

frequent liberal accusation that conservative Christian political activism threatens the constitutional separation between church and state. "We have never been able to totally separate ourselves from Judeo-Christianity and the moral principles that are taught in political life," he declared.

## 'Mainline' Religious Groups Get White House Hearing

WASHINGTON—Representatives of mainline religious groups expressed optimism here that the Reagan White House is apparently willing to listen to their concerns as well as to those of the religious right after what they described as a productive meeting with



presidential assistant Elizabeth Hanford Dole.

At the same time, however, Protestants in the group of five which included John W. Baker of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs staff asked that someone in the administration other than the present staff member designated to work with Protestant bodies be assigned as their contact.

Charles V. Bergstrom, a Lutheran executive who arranged the meeting with Dole, said the group suggested that Morton C. Blackwell, assigned earlier to deal with Protestant groups, is too clearly identified with new right and religious right causes. "We need another contact in the administration," Bergstrom declared.

The meeting's main purpose, he said, was to acquaint members of the president's staff with the cooperative efforts of faith groups through their Washington offices. Christian denominations and other religious bodies maintain two basic cooperative organizations in the nation's capital.

One of these, the Washington Inter-religious Staff Council, meets twice a month to map out common strategy for influencing current legislation. By common agreement, some issues which divide the religious community are off limits.

The other organization, IMPACT, has as its main objectives the mobilization of a network of individuals across the country to lobby Congress at any given moment on an issue of common concern.

### **Anti-Cult Bill Clears New York State House**

ALBANY—An "anti-cult" bill that had been denounced by several religious organizations passed the New York State State Assembly by a one-vote margin after being defeated a week earlier.

A similar bill passed both the assembly and senate last year but was vetoed by Gov. Hugh Carey.

To try to avoid church-state problems, the 1981 version does not attempt to define a cult. Rather, it sets up criteria under which parents of an adult could have him or her removed from a group and given psychological treatment for up to 60 days.

The bill requires the parents to prove that the group deceived the individual into joining and that the person had

undergone substantial personality change and suffered the loss of decision-making ability.

### **Court Agrees to Rule on Church Financial Reports**

WASHINGTON—The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to decide whether a state can examine the financial records of a church which receives more than half of its income from public solicitations.

At issue is 1978 Minnesota law which held that charities and churches soliciting funds door-to-door and in public places had to file financial disclosure statements. Four members of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church challenged the law as unconstitutional on the grounds that it entangled the state in church affairs.

### **Approved Practices Listed In Educational Guidelines**

ST. PAUL—Guidelines recommended by a task force of the Minnesota State Department of Education would ban 11 religious-related practices and approve 11 others in public schools in the state.

"Schools may not promote or indoctrinate any religion including theism, atheism, agnosticism, humanism, secularism, sectarianism, yoga or transcendental meditation," says one guideline.

Also forbidden would be prayers composed, authorized or sanctioned by school officials; programs of religious worship or indoctrination; compulsory Bible reading "as part of a non-instructional activity"; official posting or display of religious documents such as the Ten Commandments and other religious symbols; celebration of religious holy days; and the distribution of sectarian literature, including Bibles and religious tracts.

Students would have the right to pray "at any appropriate time"; to recite such documents as the Declaration of Independence which contain references to God; and to sing the national anthem and other patriotic songs which contain assertions of faith in God.

The guidelines will be voted on by the state education department and sent as an advisory document to local boards of education if approved.

### **Broadcasting Reform Bill Called 'Bad Precedent'**

WASHINGTON—A House-Senate conference on the budget has voted to extend license periods for radio and television stations while rejecting a far-reaching deregulation scheme opposed by a number of public interest and religious groups.

A spokesman for the opponents said the groups viewed the conferees' action as a partial victory, but denounced as a "bad precedent" the legislative tactic of repealing basic laws through money bills.

Joe Waz, deputy director of the Ralph Nader-affiliated National Citizens' Committee for Broadcasting, called it "a shame that the First Amendment rights of the public at large have to be determined through a process of horse trading."

Senate conferees went to the bargaining table with a request to extend radio licenses indefinitely, repeal Federal Communications Commission regulations requiring stations to keep program logs, award radio and television licenses by lottery and issue TV station permits for five instead of three-year terms as at present.

But fierce House opposition forced the senators to settle for extending radio station permit review periods from three to seven years, lengthening TV permits from three to five years, and allowing the FCC to use the lottery method of awarding permits under certain conditions. Final FCC regulations have yet to be drafted, but, in the case of radio and low-power television stations, the commission still would be required to give more weight to minority and non-commercial applicants.

### **AI Asks Protection For Church Workers**

NEW YORK—The U.S. section of Amnesty International called for public appeals to the Guatemalan government to protect clergy and church workers after the murder of an Italian priest, the eighth priest to be killed or abducted in 15 months.

An Amnesty International report published in February of this year attributed torture, "disappearance" and murders to official security agencies. It said some 3,000 people were found murdered after being seized in the first 10 months of 1980.

## Government Regulation of Religion Single Big Issue for Supreme Court

During a year when prickly church-state issues figured less prominently than in other recent years, the U.S. Supreme Court nevertheless handed advocates of church-state separation several gains in its recently-concluded 1980-81 term.

In three of the four church-state cases decided by the high court in written opinions, separation of church and state came out the winner. The one setback involved restrictions on an unpopular sect, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, known also as Hare Krishna.

In that decision, the court ruled that state fair officials may restrict religious sects and all other groups to booths for the distribution and sale of literature and solicitation of funds. The ruling upheld a regulation imposed by Minnesota fair officials applying to all persons, organizations and commercial firms. But the regulation did not forbid individuals from communicating their views, religious or other, in face-to-face encounters.

Besides the Hare Krishna decision, one of the most publicized church-state rulings came last November, when the court struck down, 5-4, a Kentucky law requiring the posting of the Ten Commandments in public-school classrooms.

Deciding the case in a brief, unsigned opinion without hearing oral arguments, the slim majority held that the 1978 statute failed the First Amendment test that such a law must have a secular rather than religious purpose.

The two other church-state cases that received written opinions were the unemployment compensation rulings.

In another case, the justices ruled unanimously that church-related schools with no legal existence apart from a church or association of churches were exempt from paying unemployment compensation taxes. The decision overturned a ruling by the Department of Labor, based on a

1976 amendment to the Federal Unemployment Tax Act, that religious schools were required to pay the taxes.

Mississippi College, an institution owned and operated by Baptists in that state, lost its high court battle when the justices agreed unanimously that the school must provide employment data to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The federal agency wanted the information to help determine whether the college has engaged in systematic sex and race discrimination in its hiring policies.

Navajo Indians lost in the court when the justices let stand lower court rulings allowing the National Park Service to maintain control of a site in Utah the tribe considered sacred. The Navajos claimed that their ability to worship at shrines in Rainbow Bridge National Monument, formerly part of a reservation, have been hampered since the Park Service took over in 1910.

The court also sided with the government when it agreed with the Internal Revenue Service that individuals who try to avoid paying income taxes under the guise of establishing their own "churches" can be stripped of their previously granted tax exemptions.

Similarly, the court agreed with local authorities in Oregon that municipalities may impose zoning ordinances forbidding churches using private residences from also running parochial schools in the same locations.

State governments, the court agreed, may regulate other types of religious institutions as well. The court upheld a Kansas ruling that a church-operated home for unwed mothers must be licensed by the state, while in North Carolina, it held that the state may also require church-run day care centers to be licensed.

In other cases where the basic issue concerned government regulation, the court let stand a lower court ruling that a Catholic high school in New York was exempt from National Labor Relations Board jurisdiction; agreed with



Stan L. Hasteley

the Mississippi Supreme Court that the state may require the vaccination of school children whose parents object on religious grounds; rejected efforts by an unincorporated New Jersey church to avoid producing church documents for a grand jury; and denied a request by a Coptic congregation in Florida to lift an injunction barring the use of marijuana as an aid to worship.

The high court also reiterated its longstanding legal doctrine that hierarchical-type churches control the properties of local congregations, even when the latter secede from their denominations.

The court took action in a pair of other cases involving controversial sects. The justices left standing a Minnesota ruling that parents who detained their 21-year-old daughter in an effort to "deprogram" her were not guilty of false imprisonment. The daughter had sued after being held captive for 16 days in the effort to remove her from a group called The Way Ministry.

And in the latest round of its continuing legal war with the federal government, the Church of Scientology failed to convince the justices to review its charges against four federal employees accused of violating the group's constitutional rights.

Public funding for church-related causes, while not figuring prominently this term, did surface in a pair of disputes. In the better known of the cases, the court let stand rulings that the Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia be required to pay for a platform used during a Mass presided over by Pope John Paul II during his October 1979 visit to the United States. The city of Philadelphia had sought to pick up the tab.

(Continued on P. 16)

# Restriction on Federal Courts Threatens Constitution

## What is "court jurisdiction?"

Before a court can hear a case it must determine whether it has authority, or "jurisdiction", to do so. This authority is generally granted by statute and, if the case involves a constitutional right, by the Constitution itself.

## Can Congress take away the jurisdiction of federal courts to hear certain categories of constitutional cases?

No. Since the earliest day of our country, the Supreme Court has had the final authority in matters of constitutional interpretation. Although Article III of the Constitution gives Congress the authority to "establish" the lower federal courts and some authority to "regulate" Supreme Court jurisdiction, Congress cannot bar federal courts from hearing certain types of constitutional cases under the pretense of "regulating" court jurisdiction. This would discriminate against particular rights and would violate the Constitution itself.

Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution reads, *In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.*

**Why should the federal courts have the ultimate power to interpret the Constitution?**

Our system of government is based on "checks and balances." Each of the three branches—the legislative, executive and judicial—has a separate function in the system. The legislative function is to make the laws; the executive function is to carry them out; and the judicial function is to interpret the laws and the Constitution. For this system to work effectively, it is essential that the judicial branch be entirely independent of the legislative and executive branches.

## What legislation is Congress now considering that would bar constitutional cases from the federal courts?

Bills pending before the Judiciary Committees in both House and Senate would restrict jurisdiction of the federal courts, including the Supreme Court, over cases involving school prayer, school desegregation, abortion and draft registration. In each of these areas the federal courts in recent years have interpreted the Constitution to prohibit certain actions by the legislative or executive branches because they violate constitutional rights. The express purpose of the pending legislation is to overturn these judicial interpretations of the Constitution and to bar the federal courts from making any further rulings in these controversial areas.

## Wouldn't state courts still be permitted to rule on these constitutional issues even if the federal courts are barred from doing so?

Yes, but that would only compound the problem. Instead of one "law of the land," there would be fifty different interpretations as state judges wrestle with these issues. Passage of a federal court jurisdiction bill would send out a clear signal to state judges and officials that rules and principles which the federal judiciary has crafted to give national meaning to the Constitution are to be respected only when convenient.

## Is this an issue that pits "liberals" against "conservatives?"

No. The independence of the federal judiciary is of crucial importance to everyone. If this legislation passes, any special interest group unhappy with Supreme Court interpretations of the Constitution need only find a simple majority in Congress willing to enact jurisdiction legislation in order to achieve a "back-door" constitutional amendment. Robert Bork, former Solicitor General in the Nixon Administration and a critic of the Supreme Court's decisions on busing and abortion, has stated that this legislation would trigger a "constitutional crisis."

(Courtesy ACLU)

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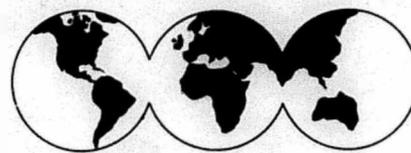
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# INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



## Leadership an Issue for Growing Cuban Churches

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

Southern Baptist journalist James Newton visited Cuba and reported that Baptists there are quietly debating among themselves whether they can or should cooperate with the humanitarian and social goals of the Marxist government. They are concerned not to compromise their own theological integrity.

Although many churches are small and suffer from leadership drains caused by the exodus of thousands of Christians, more than 16,000 Baptists in Cuba belong to three groups: the Baptist Convention of Western Cuba, affiliated with the SBC; the Baptist Convention of Eastern Cuba, affiliated in the past with American Baptist Churches, USA; and a smaller independent group, "Baptistas Libres," (literally, 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 immigrate to the U.S. during the Freedom Flotilla, a cry arose from the churches pleading with them to stay. Only a few eventually left. (BP)

## Ministry Must Continue

SAN JUAN—The church in a revolutionary society must continue to minister to those in the revolutionary situation as it did in a non-revolutionary society, international missions secretary A. Clark Scanlon told a Baptist World Alliance audience.

The executive assistant in the office of overseas operations for Southern Baptists said that the gospel can prosper and grow in any kind of society. Rather than withdraw from revolutionary situations, the church must face challenges to minister in nations facing the prospect of revolution, those already experiencing revolution, and those caught in its aftermath.

"The gospel can bring about change that can provide a peaceful alternative to violent revolution by speaking in word and deed to the conditions of poverty, injustice, corruption, racial

discrimination, cruelty and suffering that often trigger revolutions," he said.

## Situation Unyielding

MOSCOW—Seven Pentecostal Christians seeking to emigrate from the Soviet Union have begun their fourth year of refuge in the U.S. embassy here.

Describing themselves as victims of religious persecution, the "Siberian seven" were granted "humanitarian refuge" in the embassy, and have been housed ever since in a basement room.

The seven—Pyotr Vashchenko, 54, his wife Augusta, 51, their daughters Lidiya, 28, Lyubov, 24, and Liliya, 21, and Maria Chmykalov, 68, and her son Timofei, 18—spend much of their time praying, study English and working on handicrafts.

They are also allowed to perform odd jobs on the embassy grounds, including caring for embassy children. They are permitted to take walks around the compound twice daily.

U.S. embassy officials assume there is only one realistic way the Siberian seven's dream of emigration could come true: if the Soviet authorities say they may go.

That is viewed as highly unlikely, however, since the Soviets could then be faced with a flood of applications for exit visas from more than 30,000 disaffected Pentecostals, who have refused to accept state authority over their religious practice.

The consensus among U.S. officials in Moscow is that the most the embassy can do for the Siberian seven is to let them stay.

Chaplain to the American Community in Moscow, the Rev. Alphonz Lamprecht, reports "we visit them and often sing hymns together," but "we do not get involved in the political aspect of their remaining at the embassy." He said the embassy staff attend to their regular needs.

## Marcos Stifling Religion

MANILA, Philippines—Roman Catholic Cardinal Jaime Sin says the Philippine government of President Ferdinand E. Marcos is stifling religious freedom in the country.

Addressing a meeting of the Philippine Catholic Bishops Conference in the northern city of Baguio, the cardinal accused the government of

conducting "a deliberate, finely orchestrated campaign to throttle the freedom of the church to speak on matters of Catholic morality."

The speech was read for the cardinal, who was recuperating from surgery in a Manila hospital.

Cardinal Sin referred to a series of newspaper articles, mostly based on presidential press releases, that accused him of "political agitation" for issuing a statement on the morality of election boycotts on the eve of the June 16 presidential election.

All the principal opposition figures and political parties boycotted the June 16 election, charging that Mr. Marcos's absolute control over media and the election commission made an honest vote impossible.

Referring to the newspapers' "frontal attacks" leveled against the church "and against certain church leaders," Cardinal Sin said: "Considering the distortions and the falsehoods that are being spread, can we still say there is freedom of religion in our beloved country?"

## Violence Hits Churches

LYONS, France—A gunman fired into a Baptist congregation in suburban Vaulx En Velin after the showing of a Billy Graham film attended by some Muslim young people.

The incident, which left no injuries and little damage, illustrated both the dangers and accomplishments of several evangelical Protestant congregations in the Lyons metropolitan area.

Southern Baptist missionary Mark Sutton, pastor of the church, said four evangelical churches there were recently destroyed by fire. Several have been the targets of vandalism and Mr. Sutton's own church has had three plate glass windows broken, the front door and two small rear windows shattered, and a metal security door in the rear crushed.

But despite these perils, there have been positive developments in Christian-Muslim relations in the area. Mr. Sutton says this has been due in part to the sensitive attitude shown by evangelicals working with Muslims.

## Swiss "ERA" Approved

GENEVA, Switzerland—An amendment to the Swiss Constitution guaranteeing "equal rights" to women has



won approval in a nationwide referendum.

Similar to the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the Swiss measure guarantees that "men and women have equal rights," with the law ensuring their equality "above all in the family, education, and work," and with men and women accorded "the right to equal pay for equal work."

Opponents of the referendum, like their counterparts in the United States, argued that if women have equal rights, they must also have equal responsibilities: women must do compulsory military service.

However, the Swiss federal government, which supported the amendment, contended that "the question of equal rights cannot be made dependent on women serving in the military. The services which women render to society during the military service of men is equal to the male military service."

### Refugee Policy Expanded

WASHINGTON—All persons fleeing from Indochina for any reason will be considered as legal refugees by the United States, the Justice Department has ruled.

The continuing exodus of the Vietnamese "boat people" and other Indochinese had raised the argument that large numbers of the current flow were fleeing for economic reasons and therefore don't qualify as refugees under the new U.S. Refugee Act of 1980.

Under the former U.S. refugee policy, anyone fleeing from Communist countries or the Middle East was eligible for admission to the United States as refugees. No reference was made about specific reasons for fleeing.

The 1980 Refugee Act expanded the definition of refugees to include persons fleeing from any repressive regime. But the law further defined refugees as persons who left their country "because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion." No mention is made of persons fleeing for economic reasons.

U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) officials interpreted the 1980 refugee law to mean that Indochinese judged to be fleeing mainly for

economic reasons weren't eligible for admission as refugees to the United States.

However, church groups including the National Council of Churches, have complained that most of the refugees admitted to the United States are still those fleeing Communist regimes.

The churches are especially critical of the INS's refusal to grant refugee status to Haitian arrivals in Florida. The churches hold that the Haitian boat people are fleeing a repressive dictatorship and are just as eligible for admission to the United States as the Indochinese. The INS says Haitians are largely fleeing for economic reasons.

### Warns of Criminal Silence

MOUTIER—"It all begins with the youthful smile of misled joy while burning another's emblems or writings; it all ends in the pits of Auschwitz and Buchenwald," declared a Swiss pastor after the burning of Bernese cantonal and Swiss federal flags recently at Moutier.

The Rev. Alfred Gudel of Delemont, who is also a substitute deputy to the Jura parliament, told a Reformed Church Assembly, "Fifty years later, we are reliving these same beginnings under the criminal silence of political chiefs and under the applause of the crowds," reported Service de Presse Protestant. (EBPS)

### Political Asylum Denied

AMSTERDAM—Despite pleas from the Dutch Council of Churches, the government decided not to grant time for the churches to find foreign refuge for some 600 Syrian Orthodox Christians from Turkey.

Council sources here claim the Turkish Christians are subjected to religious persecution in their homeland.

Protestant and Roman Catholic parishes have been providing shelter for the Syrian Orthodox Turks. More than 100 of them have been living in the chapel of the Calvinist Free University in Amsterdam since the end of April.

### Bias Feeds Neo-Naziism

HAMBURG—Protestant religious education in West Germany still presents the Jews so often as "Christ Killers" that it can be considered one of

the roots of neo-Naziism in the Federal Republic.

This assertion came at a Christian-Jewish dialogue during the recent Evangelical Kirchentag, held biennially in Hamburg.

Bible comics, which have become popular in the Federal Republic during the past three years, came in for special criticism from the Cologne Journalist, Guenther Bernd Ginzel.

"Like the old Nazis of the National Socialist period, neo-Nazis, identify everything that they hate and fear—socialism or communism or capitalism—with Judaism," he noted.

### Spain Lifts Divorce Ban

MADRID—Despite strong opposition from Roman Catholic bishops, the Spanish parliament approved a bill to end a 40-year-old ban on divorce.

The regime of Generalissimo Francisco Franco in 1940 abolished a liberal divorce law enacted by the short-lived Second Republic in 1932.

The new law, one of the most controversial in nominally Catholic Spain since the death of Gen. Franco in 1975, permits divorce by mutual consent following a period of legal separation.

The law's passage was a defeat for Spain's bishops, who declared only last year in a pastoral letter that divorce was "a source of social evil" that could "never be accepted by Catholics, either those in power or not."

Earlier this year, the Spanish Catholic Bishops Conference proclaimed that divorce was not a right and that divorce by mutual consent was "unacceptable."

### Want Study of Family

SHEFFIELD—A consultation held under the auspices of the World Council of Churches urged that body to recommend to member churches and to the UN that a whole decade be set aside to examine family concerns.

Rather than making a special issue of "alternate lifestyles", the report called for broader discussion of the "changing patterns of family life" and the needs of the single parent family and the single person in churches.

(REFLECTIONS, from P.15)

motley mix of supporters and deserves far more attention, the idea of a National Peace Academy. Give dollars and days of work to those few public figures who have effectively preached peace: to those on the hit lists of all the hate and fear mongers. If only there were a national network of positive peace promoters as active and generous with their dollars as the apostles of anxiety who descended on us in 1980.

As members of local churches, we must return peace and peace concerns to the high level they occupy in the Scriptures and in the ministry of Jesus. This requires great peace literature (Rutenber's *The Dagger and the Cross*) on the shelves of our church library, pithy quotations in our Sunday bulletins and newsletters, and attractive posters hung where compellingly they call for commitment to peace. The pastor must be encouraged to immerse himself in the theology of and to deliver with some regularity sermons on the great peace themes, while through worship the congregation focuses on God's will for peace among nations and individuals. The great peace

hymns of the centuries, sung heartily and played with fervor, will lift our spirits, and our prayers the desire of our souls for the attainment of the Old Testament vision in which lamb and lion lie down together. Let us encourage one another in letter writing and public witness, sometimes perhaps using letters as an educational/worship experience. Education for peace also calls for curriculum of various age-graded study levels which focus on peace and on our Baptist heritage where it has promoted peacemaking.

□

As churches, we are compelled by the sincerity of our quest to search the local community for other likeminded peacemaking Christians with a view to cooperation. The smallest, struggling outpost of the kingdom has two or three others who would not turn down an invitation to join in prayer for peace, and the presence of at least one other is promised.

Bishop Johnson observed that what the church needs to do is "tangibilitate." Maybe so, generally; but absolutely regarding peace.

## CORRESPONDENCE

**To the Editor:** I can understand why you printed an edited version of Professor Paul Simons' speech, "Fundamentalism: Courting Civil Religion". But the proliferation of such articles attacking the so-called "Christian New Right" causes me some concern. This is especially true when the author (or speaker) indulges in the same kind of overkill and sweeping generalizations which he seems to deplore in others.

As the battle heats up on the political scene between the fundamentalists and the moderates or the conservatives and the liberals (depending upon who's doing the labeling), I can't believe I'm the only one who sometimes feels like he's caught between a gang of intellectual bullies on the left and a gang of moralistic bullies on the right.

While I happen to hold the same position as the Moral Majority on most issues, I am not happy with some of the unbecoming tactics used. But I find it hard to believe that Dr. Simmons enhances the credibility of his cause by calling them "a type of Gnosticism", "neo-fascist" and comparing them to the Ayatollah Khomeini, Joe McCarthy, and Salem witchcraft.

In my opinion, if Professor Simmons

were to win his argument, it would be a "Pyrrhic victory".

Fred S. Hollomon,  
Lawrence, Kansas

**To the Editor:** I am amazed and disappointed that you printed Paul D. Simmons edited speech regarding fundamentalism. It was personally offensive to me and I should hope [it] is not the position of the Baptist Joint Committee.

Fundamentalists, and I do not classify myself as one but as a conservative evangelical, do not deny the right to family planning but insist on securing the right of the innocent unborn. How can people crusade for human rights and deny the rights of an innocent child?

Herman L. Effa  
Benton Harbor, Michigan

Reader response to the actions taken by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs and to the feature material found on these pages contributes to dialogue and helps sharpen our understanding of the issues. Letters, signed and with full address, should be kept to 200 words. Editors reserve the right to edit for length.

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Making for peace requires . . . learning to get the message out by any means honorable and honest, using signs and symbols.

## REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn  
Executive Director



Woodrow Wilson Phelps was my pastor when I was a teenager. He had low blood pressure. When it got low, he got hyper-sensitive, downright irritable. One Sunday he preached his heart out. Our big ole people's church was unresponsive—blank stares. So as he stood at the door of the church shaking out the congregation as pastors are want to do—he pressed his luck as he pressed the flesh—dangerously impolitic—folks said awkward things as folks are want to do—"you sure told 'em," "nice sermon," "sweet talk," "I agree with most of what you said." He clasped each hand firmly, and then unexpectedly pulled a stunned member up close and asked with urgency, "What are you going to do about it?"

"Peace has one thing in common with its enemy, with the fiend it battles, war. Peace is active, not passive. Peace is doing, not waiting. Peace is aggressive—attacking. Peace plans its strategy and encircles the enemy. Peace marshalls its forces and storms the gates. Peace gathers its weapons and pierces the defense. Peace, like war, is waged." (Walker Knight, *Home Missions*)

It's o.k. to ask "what are we going to do about it?" The gates of hell will not ultimately stand against the peace wagers. May I suggest some presuppositions and propositions for peacemakers.

□

**Peacewaging is a biblical calling.** The Bible does not present the pursuit of peace as an option. It is demanded by discipleship of those who follow the Prince of Peace.

Baptists believe in the authority of the scripture. If we move pastorally, with patience and deliberation, we can move, lead, nudge, challenge, and gradually see change in the dedication toward peacemaking. We must earn and deserve the right to be heard on such a fundamental, pervasive, litmus-test ethical issue. Folks have the right to expect an irenic spirit from a peace pusher.

There's plenty of room in the biblical framework to proclaim peace. People will come nearer listening, hearing, and heeding not only if the words ring true both to the Bible but also if they come from a believable practitioner of peace.

We live in a culture, a country, a day, in which there is a massive ignorance about everything we need to know to be a peace advocate. The Bible, the teachings of the church through the ages, the sharp, clear insights of Christian ethics are virtually unknown. The risks, the threat, the nature of what's at stake is deliberately distorted and obscured by this and previous national administrations. We all need dramatically and urgently to expose this blindness for all to see.

For instance, every 12 days the world spends approximately \$17 billion on military expenditures, which is the amount believed necessary to provide adequate food, water, education, health, and housing for everyone in the world. The world rate of military spending is running at about \$1 million a minute. The essentials of effective citizenship are neither understood nor practiced.

Everything ethical is connected to everything else. We can't be concerned about peace without caring about human rights, and world hunger, economic justice, and citizenship, and religious freedom, and church-state relations. Practically and pragmatically working for peace also implies and involves interest in family, racial justice, and you can stretch out this list in your own image.

Making for peace requires the same grasp of Christian social ethics that other struggles have demanded—maintaining tension toward the biblical ideal, accepting our limitation to proximate solutions, building coalitions with anyone who shares even a part of our vision or understands even imperfectly our motivation, building awareness and working at consciousness-raising, learning to get the message out by any means honorable and honest, using signs and symbols.

The local church is an ideal vehicle for delivery of the gospel of peace. The obvious shouldn't surprise us. Brooks Hays likes to say: "As Jesus said, and he was right." Don't be a lone wolf howling about peace. It's a matter of concern for the fellowship. In the fellowship of believers there is great strength. Saul Alinsky, the organizer cautioned, "never go up against a people who sing together." Like Luke's description of Jesus, let's begin "to teach and to do," remembering that most of our converts to waging peace will come from those who work at it. Doing often precedes learning, prompts it. That moves me to some propositions.

□

**I propose that as Baptists** we lobby the leadership of our denominations (elected and employed) for peace building content in the literature, speakers in denominational meetings at every level, higher visibility for Baptist peace fellowships, and creative implementation of the statements of concern which we approve.

As citizens we give attention to our public responsibilities. In ancient Greece the word *idiotes* (it's cognate *idiot*) meant "one who neglects his public duties. Write letters to the editor and letters to Congressmen; take part in party politics (as flawed as the parties are they're still the only game in town); join coalitions and special interest groups, such as Bread for the World, that have a good track record at working for peace; stay informed by reading *REPORT from the CAPITAL*, *Baptist Peacemaker*, the *Friends Committee on National Legislation* newsletter as a bare minimum beyond newspapers and magazines; target one or two special concerns of your own and do the homework necessary to be an expert.

The hunter who shoots at everything hits nothing. Maybe it's the draft, MX missiles, the Hunger and Global Security bill. May I suggest one worthy project that has attracted a

(Continued on P. 14)

## REVIEWS



### PRISONER WITHOUT A NAME, CELL WITHOUT A NUMBER

by Jacobo Timerman, 164 pp.  
New York: Alfred A. Knopf

Jacob Timerman offers a poignant portrayal of his abhorable experience involving two and one-half years of torture and imprisonment by Argentine officials without ever being charged. One should not, however, be deceived for a single moment by the book's rather melodramatic title. This story does not belong to that endless barrage of sensational prison accounts which gloriously illustrate the oppressed inmate as a hero who successfully conquers overwhelming adversity. Neither does he attempt to whet ghoulish appetites with an over-emphasis upon each lurid detail of his incarceration. Instead, Timerman challenges readers to explore the mystery of his persecution:

**How can a nation reproduce in every detail, though employing other forms, in every argument, though employing other words, the same monstrous crimes explicitly condemned and clearly expounded so many years before? That is the Argentine mystery: the fact that the world has been unable to avoid something seemingly destroyed forever in 1945, in the ashes of Berlin, in the gallows of the Nuremberg Trials, and in the United Nations Charter.**

Timerman provides both hero and horror of a radically different sort. The horror lies in the terror of a Jew in a society rife with anti-Semitism. He is indeed a hero, but only by virtue of the courageous critique of his own Jewish tradition, whose complicity through silence is partially responsible for the constant resurfacing of the irrational scapegoating of Jews. This is an account bathed in struggle and devoid of simple answers. Timerman's struggle invites us to strive with him in confronting the reality of recurrent racism. We are forced to ponder, indeed to relive the tragedy of our own frail humanity which refuses to learn from the costly lessons of its past.

—Terry G. Proffitt

Baptists are joining a host of American and international groups in sponsoring the first World Food Day on October 16—the anniversary of the founding of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

With activities planned in more than 120 countries, World Food Day will offer persons throughout the world an opportunity "to demonstrate their commitment to ending the scourge of hunger," according to the event's coordinators.

Baptist groups among the sponsors in the U.S. are American Baptist Churches, USA; American Baptist Women; the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs; SEEDS Magazine (SOUTHERN Baptist), and the Southern Baptist Convention's Christian Life Commission and Home Mission Board.

(ANALYSIS, from P. 10)

In a parochial school funding dispute, the justices declined to disturb a lower court ruling that public funds administered under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act may go for remedial education of parochial school students when the services are provided by public school teachers.

Another pair of cases faced by the high court dealt with free exercise of religion. Public schools may continue to observe religious holidays, the court held, thereby putting to rest a two-year-old controversy in Sioux Falls, S.D.

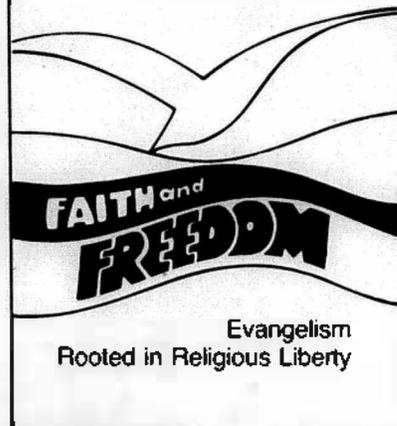
But the high court agreed with a lower court in its decision to strike down a North Carolina state highway policy of printing a "motorist's prayer" on official maps.

While its recent term can hardly be considered a banner year in the church-state field, the upcoming 1981-82 session promises to be highly significant.

Already the justices have taken on five church-state controversies for the term beginning the first Monday in October. Easily the most publicized is

## National Religious Liberty Conference

October 5-6, 1981



the challenge of students at the University of Missouri—Kansas City to a school policy banning religious worship on campus. That case shapes up as a classic constitutional clash requiring the high court to decide between the students' free exercise rights and the university's claim that to allow on-campus worship would unconstitutionally establish religion.

The court will also decide if officials of Americans United for Separation of Church and State have a constitutional right to sue the federal government for transferring public property in Pennsylvania to a church-related college.

In other cases to be heard, the court will decide whether religious groups receiving more than half their income from soliciting the public should be exempt from registering with and reporting to the state; whether Old Order Amish employers must pay social security taxes and withhold such taxes from the wages of their Amish employees; and whether a Jewish immigrant from Poland claiming he was the victim of religious and ethnic discrimination must be given back his job.

—Stan Hastey

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