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REPORT from the CAPITAL



Senator Jennings Randolph,

**Champion of the handicapped
Defender of religious liberty
Architect of programs for social justice
Practitioner of applied Christianity
Faithful laborer in his Seventh-Day Baptist Church**

**With appreciation from the
Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs**

REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 38, No. 10
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Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia honored by the Baptist Joint Committee upon the announcement of his proposed retirement from the U.S. Congress after 51 years of service.

Executive Director: James M. Dunn
Editor: Victor Tupitza

Contributing Editors: John W. Baker, Stan L. Hasteley,
Larry G. Chesser, Glenn Saul, Kenneth L. Smith

Circulation Assistant: Gayl Fowler

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



Feedback to go Forward

Response from those who gathered for the Nineteenth National Religious Liberty Conference says more to confirm the success or shortcomings of the conference than any staff evaluation. Overheard at a dining room table was the observation that it was the "quintessence of quality programming". Other excerpts from a few letters to staff:

"My only regret is that we did not have 10,000 present ..." [R. G. Puckett]

"You put together a heaven of a meeting—a wonderful, spiritually rewarding experience." [James Autry]

"I still haven't lost the euphoria generated by this conference." [David N. Duke]

"The quality of the personnel and the presentations and the rhythm and mix of the scheduling were splendid." [Deryl Fleming]

"... inspiring, stimulating, and how we enjoyed the 'fellowship of kindred minds!'" [Loulie Latimer Owens]

Good reasons kept many away, but thanks to electronics the proceedings of the 1983 religious liberty conference are available on audio cassette tape. The list is shown on page 14.

In this issue our coverage includes a wrap-up of the conference by Dan Martin, news editor of Baptist Press in Nashville, and an interview with Bill Moyers written by staffer Larry Chesser. There is also one of the many poems written and movingly read by James Autry, all to give some flavor of the way conferees reexperienced essences of our Baptist identity.

With the Senate voting to provide funds for establishing full diplomatic relations with the Vatican, Baptists and others who consider such an appointment a breach of church/state separation find themselves back at square one. Many recall the blistering controversy of the late 40's, when President Truman reintroduced the idea first proponented in 1867. Glenn Saul, one of two BJCPA scholars-in-residence, probes for understanding why once again the notion is before us, given our constitutional pattern of church-state relations and the lack of any obvious or urgent need for the U.S. ambassador to the Vatican.

Loving mankind is much like abstract problem solving—the first may have little do with caring for the countless individual human beings we bump up against each day, even as the latter cannot always factor in the ambiguities that shred even our finest theological/ethical constructs. James Dunn in his REFLECTIONS moves toward the heart of this dilemma—The Biblical insight that "nearness" exercises a transforming effect on individual and/or national conduct, thus commends itself as a positive influence upon global survival and the cause of peacemaking. □

Victor Tupitza



WASHINGTON OBSERVATIONS

news/views/trends

Contrary to information being distributed, mail order legislation pending in Congress will not permit the Postal Service to ban the Bible or its distribution. A Niagara Falls, N.Y. group calling itself Christian Inquirer Family and Freedom Ministries has distributed petitions opposing S. 450 and its companion House bill, H.R. 1342, because it claims they would "ultimately give the Service authority even to ban the Bible or other religious literature."

Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs general counsel John W. Baker said the bill's language could not be construed to permit such a ban. The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, which has cleared S. 450 for floor action, said in its report the bill would "significantly improve the ability of the Postal Service to deal with mail-order schemes which defraud the public through false representations." ●

Hearings by a House Education and Labor subcommittee gave little indication of what the panel will do with an equal access proposal (H.R. 2732) sponsored by Rep. Trent Lott, R-Miss. His bill would bar federal funds from schools which deny equal access to elementary, secondary and college students and faculty who want to meet for religious purposes.

While not offering testimony during the hearings, a spokesman for the Baptist Joint Committee said the agency would submit written comments to the House panel expressing opposition to provisions of the Lott bill. The Baptist office supports the specific provisions of the Hatfield bill (S.815) which applies the equal access concept only at the secondary level. ●

The Martin Luther King Jr. holiday has become a reality, and Americans will celebrate the third Monday in January starting in 1986. Senator Edward M. Kennedy, who helped lead the floor fight for passage of the bill, declared that "Presidents and Congresses will come and go, but Martin Luther King Jr. and his dream will go on forever, so long as there is an America." ●

Confidential conversations between church officials and a member of the Church of Scientology may become part of a court suit record. Jessica Marks, a member of the sect, is suing deprogrammer Ted Patrick for false imprisonment and conspiracy to deprive her of her right to practice her religion. The church had argued in its written appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court that a lower Oregon court ruling violated the free exercise of religion clause of the First Amendment, but the high court refused to disturb the lower court decision. ●

Legislation permitting President Reagan to appoint an ambassador to the Vatican gained quick approval from a House-Senate conference committee, but not before several legislators questioned its constitutional implications. Conferees working out differences in an authorization bill agreed to keep a Senate amendment overturning an 1867 statute which prohibits funds for a U.S. embassy at the Vatican.

A congressional aide told REPORT that the President would be authorized to appoint an ambassador to the Holy See at any time following completion of the conference report and final approval by both the House and the Senate. ●

The U.S. Senate rejected an amendment calling for a mutual, verifiable freeze on nuclear weapons but sponsors of the measure said afterwards they were encouraged by the vote. The Kennedy-Hatfield amendment went down on a 58-40 procedural vote as the senators sought to attach it to a bill raising the nation's debt ceiling. ●

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY CONFERENCE

Affirming Baptist Identity

The "twin wings" of tradition and conscience in Baptist life were examined, affirmed and authenticated during a two-day conference on Baptist identity.

The conference sponsored by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs took a long look at Baptist heritage, from the first Baptist dissenters in Seventeenth Century England to today and affirmed the basic principles of soul liberty, conversion, religious liberty and separation of church and state.

Along the way, participants looked at their own individual heritages, studied ethical and legal implications and pondered tradition and conscience in their personal, local, national and international ramifications.

A Harvard theologian spoke of conversion and the tension which should exist between church and society; a law expert reviewed recent Supreme Court decisions impacting religious liberty and an ethicist talked of soul liberty and the differing opinions today.

Two historians traced Baptist history—one from Anabaptist antecedents and the other from the Puritans—and a nationally known television newsman shared his personal odyssey.

Bill Moyers, award winning broadcast journalist with CBS News, quoted a statement "that tradition and conscience are the twin wings given to the human soul to reach for the truth," as he told of his experiences growing up in Marshall, Texas, attending Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, serving in the Senate and White House with Lyndon B. Johnson, and now as a nationally known commentator.

Moyers spoke of gratitude for Baptist influences on history and on his own life, citing a litany of things he learned in a Baptist church: democracy, equali-



ty of individuals, inviolability of the conscience, learning to listen, commitment and caring.

"But religion also is a record of schisms, heresies, lunacies, hypocracies, compromises, crime, controversies, division and ignorance. I also learned about all of these things in a Baptist church," he said, adding the "ugly things that happened in my Baptist church actually kindled my faith in democratic possibilities."

Harvard theologian, Harvey Cox, spoke of conversion and said the Baptist emphasis on personal conversion "somehow makes us different from the world." Encapsulated in that notion, he said, "is a very sophisticated view of human nature and human history.

"If we can be born again, we can change; and if we can change, then human nature is not determined," he said, disputing the contention of international politicians, psychiatrists and others that things are preordained.

Cox claimed conversion, "the Baptist experience of God through Jesus Christ, arises from a tension with regnant values of the world," noting when the distinctives between Christians and the world begin to blur, the tension slips away and conversion lessens in importance.

"In other words, when we are at ease in Zion, then conversion is endangered for what do we have to be converted from? What do we have to be converted to?" He added Baptists "have always been at our best when characterized by a resistance to outrage" and urged participants to work at "reviving that tension between being a Baptist and the rest of the world."

Foy D. Valentine, executive director of the Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission, said perhaps no other denominational group in America more accurately reflects the subcultures within which they work than do Baptists.

"A lot of our Baptist pulpits during political elections sound ominously like the Republican Party gathered for prayer," he observed.

Valentine warned too many Baptist pastors have lost their prophetic role because they have become captives of American culture. "It is a fearful thing that much of the current moral outrage regarding the great social and moral evils of our day have been registered by journalists, jurists, editors and lawyers rather than by the people of God in general and Baptists in particular," he said.



"... the U.S. Supreme Court has "backpedaled" from a strict interpretation of church-state separation."

Law professor A.E. Dick Howard told participants the U.S. Supreme Court has "backpedaled" from a strict interpretation of church-state separation to a more fluid stance.

Howard, professor of law at the University of Virginia and often mentioned in speculation as a potential Supreme Court nominee, commented on the decision upholding the Internal Revenue Service's revocation of Bob Jones University's tax-exempt status for racial bias in its admissions policy.

The court held that the elimination of racial bias from the whole of society is sufficiently important "public policy" to deny tax exemption to a religious institution basing its biased practices on religious conventions. Howard said while he did not object to the result in the Bob Jones case, "I'm not comfortable with the reasoning."

Another attorney, Earl Trent, general counsel for the American Baptist

Churches' Board of National Ministries, disagreed with Howard on the ruling.

Trent, a black, said even though Baptists might not agree with the stand of Bob Jones University, they should support the right of the group to dissent and object when court rulings trample on their right to be true to their own belief.

W.R. Estep Jr., professor at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, said for Baptists "freedom is inherent within the gospel itself. Therefore, the demand for freedom is not assumed for a stance of religious indifference or neutrality, but from a concern for authentic Christianity, for which a freedom to proclaim the gospel and the freedom either to accept or reject that witness without fear of legal reprisals are the essential ingredients."

Some Baptists, he said "have had difficulty balancing the divine compulsion to share the Good News," and "the rejection of all forms of coercion in seeking a positive response."

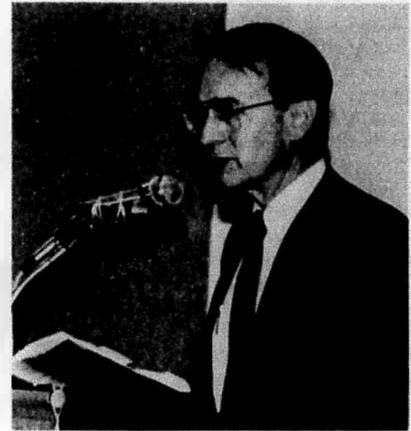
In response to a question, Estep said proposals to restore state-sponsored prayer in the public schools were "utterly against" the Baptist idea of religious liberty and raise more problems "than chiggers in a blackberry patch."

Stephen Brachlow, associate professor of church history at North American Baptist Seminary in Sioux Falls, S.D., said early Baptists were a "powerless persecuted people" who issued "eloquent pleas for unrestricted religious freedom.

"If we are to be true to our heritage, we need continually to rediscover a deep sense of compassion and a solidarity with the powerless, persecuted people of this world," Brachlow said. There is, however, he said "a subtle temptation to move away from identification with the powerless once we find ourselves in a position of prominence, once we are in league with the powerful.

"As a majority religious movement in America today, I pray that we will not lose sight of that particular identity which is ours to preserve," he added. □

Dan Martin



Prayer for a Country Preacher

Oh God
let him go dreaming when he goes
let him go preaching a revival meeting
with the congregation eager
beyond discomfort
on a wet and insect laden night

let him go singing bass
on a Sunday morning
his head above the others
his voice bringing power beyond
power in the blood

let him go walking the river bottom
leading the lost fishermen through
the storm
breaking saplings to mark the trail

let him go wading the shallows
his boots sucking mud in the dawn
calling the green headed mallard
shooting quick and sure

Not bad for a country preacher

let him go praying
at a table of summer Sunday food
fried chicken and sliced tomatoes
and peas and cornbread and tea
with his family around him
like disciples

Oh God if he must go
let him go dreaming

—James A. Autry

The First Amendment built "a wall of separation between Church and State."—Thomas Jefferson

VIEWS OF THE WALL

John W. Baker



Recently we received a request for information on the *amicus curiae* briefs which the Baptist Joint Committee has filed. It was determined that the BJC has filed some twenty of these briefs either on its own or in conjunction with other religious groups.

What are *amicus curiae* briefs and why has the BJC filed them?

Amicus curiae briefs are simply those filed by "a friend of the court." Because the courts believe that persons who have a genuine stake in the outcome of a case and yet are not parties to the case may have knowledge or understandings which will assist them in reaching a just decision, the courts provide for the filing of *amicus* briefs.

One of the reasons the BJC has filed these briefs stems from the adversarial nature of the judicial process. Cases must involve a real controversy in which one party brings an action against another party. In settling cases courts may reach decisions which heavily impact outsiders who are not direct adversaries. Hence, if the interests of the non-adversaries are to be protected they must either seek to become parties or they must file *amicus* briefs.

As an example, consider *Walz v. Tax Commission of the City of New York* (1970). *Walz*, a property owner, sued the Tax Commission asserting that his property taxes were higher because the city exempted from taxation property used exclusively for religious purposes and that the establishment clause of the First Amendment forbids the state to grant tax exemption for church property. The churches were not a party to the case, but their interests were clearly at stake. A large number of religious organizations, including the Baptist Joint Committee, filed *amicus* briefs.

Another reason the BJC files *amicus* briefs rests on the isolation, at least in theory, of the courts from the political processes. Legislators, administrators and their staffs are lobbied directly by interest groups. In contrast, a judge will not discuss a pending case. He cannot be lobbied directly. However, interest groups can file *amicus* briefs which indicate their position on specific issues before the courts. Judges read not only election returns but also the weight of the arguments in an *amicus* brief and the number of people the

amicus purports to represent. Religious organizations are among the interest groups which seek to lobby the courts.

The first *amicus* brief which the BJC filed was in 1947 in the Supreme Court in *Everson v. Board of Education of the Township of Ewing*. The Committee supported *Everson's* claim that the establishment clause forbade the Board of Education from paying for busing children to parochial schools. The Court, after an opinion which sounded like it could only support *Everson's* contention, held the payments to be constitutional. The BJC's point of view did not carry the day on this its first venture into the judicial processes.

The BJC, for various reasons, has not filed *amicus* briefs in all of the cases dealing with aid to religious education which followed *Everson*. When it has filed, the position it supported has prevailed in three out of five cases.

In 1973 in *Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty v. Nyquist*, the Supreme Court agreed with our contention that the New York law providing tuition tax deductions to parents of children enrolled in secular private and parochial schools was unconstitutional because the parochial schools accounted for some 95% of the students involved and thus the state was advancing religion. The BJC's firm stand against public aid to parochial schools was again sustained in 1975 in *Meek v. Pittenger* and in 1977 in *Essex v. Wolman*. However, we lost this summer when the court ruled in *Mueller v. Allen* that tax deductions for expenses of students in all schools were constitutional even though more than 90% of the deductions were generated by expenses in parochial schools.

We also lost when the Court in *Roemer v. Board of Public Works* (1976), distinguishing elementary and secondary students from students in higher education, decided that public funds could be used to aid students to attend church-related institutions of higher education if those institutions were not permeated with religion.

Our entry into the field of more general religious liberty cases was in 1948 and was successful. In *McCullum v. Board of Education* we opposed the sending of religious teachers into public schools. This so-called "shared time" was declared unconstitutional.

After a long hiatus in filing, we were on the winning side in a series of decisions beginning with the *Walz* case mentioned above. The Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit agreed in *Anderson v. Laird* (1972) that compulsory chapel attendance at the federal military academies was unconstitutional. (The academies had the gall to claim in court that they were merely "using religion for purely secular purposes"!)

However, when we asked the Supreme Court to grant a petition for certiorari in *Christian Echoes National Ministry v. U.S.*, it declined to do so. It also denied our requests in *United Methodist Church v. Barr* (1979) and *Worldwide Church of God v. California* (1980). The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit also denied our request that it hear a 1980 tax case.

When the courts did hear the arguments on the merits, we were generally successful. In *McDaniel v. Paty* (1978) the Court agreed that a minister could not be banned from becoming a state legislator simply because he was a minister. The Court held that the National Labor Relations Board did not have jurisdiction over Chicago parochial school employees in *NLRB v. Catholic Bishop of Chicago* (1979). In 1982 it held that states may not place restrictions on solicitation of funds by religious groups except for nondiscriminatory time and place limitations (*Larson v. Valente*). This decision followed *Village of Schaumburg v. Citizens for a Better Environment* (1980), which, though not a religious case, was important to churches in that it limited state powers over fund raising by charitable groups.

In *Widmar v. Vincent* (1981) the Court agreed that college students' religious free speech was protected by the First Amendment and that religious groups have the right to meet on campus. We have recently filed a brief in *Bender v. Williamsport Area High School* which is pending before the 3rd Circuit and which seeks similar rights for secondary school students.

The U.S. Supreme Court will probably have five new members during the next presidential term. The success of our future efforts to defend religious liberty by filing *amicus curiae* briefs will largely depend on who fills the vacancies on the Court. □

AMBASSADOR TO THE VATICAN- A BREACH IN CHURCH-STATE SEPARATION

Establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, long resisted by Protestant and other evangelical church leaders, once again has been introduced in both houses of Congress.

Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN), proposed an amendment to an authorization bill to fund the diplomatic mission and thus repeal an 1867 bill that cut off funds for the legation to Rome. Twenty Senators joined Lugar as co-sponsors.

In the House, similar legislation was introduced by Rep. Clement Zablocki (D-WIS), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Before an exchange of ambassadors can take place, however, Senate and House conferees must agree to the measure, both houses of Congress agree to the conference report, and the President must sign it.

President Reagan could proceed with nominating an ambassador only after the funds have been appropriated by both the House and the Senate. In 1977, a similar measure to repeal the 1867 ban on funds for a diplomatic mission failed.

Lugar said that the passage of this amendment would allow the President to proceed with the establishment of diplomatic relations to the Vatican: an action which he believes would be forthcoming. "Diplomatic relations with the Vatican are consistent with American tradition," according to Lugar, "and... should be regularized."

The rationale for such ties is that the Vatican under Pope John Paul II has become a significant political force for decency in the world. Senator Quale (R-IND) suggested that a recognition of the Vatican as a sovereign state would improve the exchange of information and establish more formal and effective channels of communication.

The 1867 measure was passed during a time when the Pope was losing control over the central states of Italy. Anger over the closing of Protestant places of worship prompted Congress' action. Another factor was American sentiment with the attempts to unite Italy under a civil government.

The Senate's action raises an issue that has been divisive among Christians, especially between Catholics and Protestants. Most Baptists and organizations such as the Baptist Joint Com-

mittee on Public Affairs, Americans United for Separation of Church and State, and the National Association of Evangelicals have opposed formal ties to the Vatican. The basis for opposition in the past has been that such a representative violates the constitutional principle of separation of church and state.

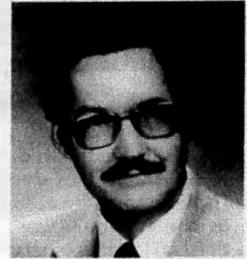
Part of the problem has to do with the Vatican's claim to be both a state and a church. Even though the Vatican City State is small (108 acres) it demands to be thought of as a state. In actual functioning, however, it is more visible as the headquarters of the Catholic Church. This curious church/state amalgam which the Vatican represents adds confusion to the issue. There is little doubt that most people perceive the Pope to be a religious leader and not the sovereign head of a nation. Establishing diplomatic ties with the Vatican can be seen as nothing less than an official tie with a church.

James Dunn, Executive Director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, has raised the question about the precedent which such action represents. "It is a terribly dangerous precedent. Who knows where recognition for religious leaders by the government could lead? Dunn has also protested the fact that the Senate amendment was passed without a hearing, discussion or a debate on the issue.

Several U.S. Presidents have appointed personal envoys to the Vatican. This practice began in 1939 when Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Myron Taylor as his special representative. He called Taylor a special envoy to avoid having to submit his name to the Senate for approval. This practice was continued by Presidents Truman, Nixon, Ford, Carter and most recently by President Reagan.

American envoys to the Vatican have been housed in an office separate from the American embassy in Rome. While the post has remained unsalaried, a foreign service officer and a secretary are provided for at an expense of approximately \$40,000 per year. The envoys have normally made two or three visits each year to Rome.

John F. Kennedy, the first Roman Catholic to hold the office of President, did not see the necessity of appointing either a personal envoy or an ambassador to the Vatican. He explained that



Glenn Saul

the existing methods of communication were adequate for whatever contact might be desired.

The question that surfaces is, why raise the issue now? A cynic might point out that an election year is approaching and this could be a way to court votes for the Reagan administration. If so, then the words of J.M. Dawson are appropriate: "It is a deplorable resort to expediency which utterly disregards the historic, constitutional American system of separation of church and state." The official reason reported by the *Washington Times* is that the President wishes to thank the Pope for his work on behalf of world peace.

Apart from the violation of the principles of separation of church and state, such a tie with the Vatican seems unnecessary. One of the reasons given for the need for ties to the Vatican has been that the Vatican has valuable sources of information from various parts of the world. There are two responses to consider in replying to this. In the first place there already exists a U.S. embassy in Rome through which the Vatican can communicate its concerns. Further, the Vatican has an apostolic delegate in Washington through which communication can be made if needed.

Second, any desire on the part of the government to use any church to further its foreign policy should also be resisted on principle. It is no more correct to solicit information from Roman Catholics behind the iron curtain than it is to use American missionaries for CIA purposes.

Stiff opposition to a Vatican diplomatic mission can be expected from a number of sources. Baptists who feel strongly about the issue will voice their concerns. Other Christians and citizens who value religious liberty will likewise be sure to challenge this infringement on the separation of church and state. □

News in Brief



Legislation to restrict IRS on church audits

WASHINGTON

A bill, sponsored by Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa) and drawing firm backing from such diverse groups as the National Council of Churches, the National Association of Evangelicals, the Moral Majority and the New York Civil Liberties Union, would curb Internal Revenue Service investigations of religious activities of churches.

The legislation, in particular, would change current IRS practices by forcing the agency to explain why it is investigating a particular church, provide time for a conference with the church, place a one year limit on investigations and allow churches time to challenge decisions in court.

Although the Reagan administration supports "the general objectives" of the bill, it will oppose those parts which allegedly make it difficult for the government to investigate "sham" churches set up by "tax protestors." Support for some change in IRS procedures has grown recently as a result of the growth of "new religions."

The Rev. Dean Kelley, director for religious and civil liberty of the National Council of Churches, said that while the churches "appreciate the efforts of the IRS to try to cope with mail-order ministries pretending to be churches," they are "even more deeply concerned to protect real churches from recurrent efforts to use the tax code to punish behavior unpopular with the public or the incumbent administration."

Other critics of IRS claim that it has gone on "fishing expeditions" to try to uncover violations of groups "viewed as enemies" of an incumbent administration. □

New SEC rules inhibit use of shareholder resolutions

VALLEY FORGE

The Securities Exchange Commission has issued new guidelines for shareholders resolutions that will make it more difficult for church groups to use this method to influence corporate policy on such issues as toxic waste, investment in South Africa and development of nuclear weapons.

The new guidelines are: 1) A shareholder must hold at least \$1,000 or 1

percent of a company's stock, whichever is less, for at least one year prior to filing an appeal; 2) a resolution must receive at least five percent of the vote, instead of three previously, in order to qualify for resubmission the following year; 3) a proposal, dealing substantially with the same subject matter, cannot be placed on a proxy unless similar resolutions have received the necessary votes in previous years.

"The new guidelines," explains Dr. J. Andy Smith, III, director of American Baptist Churches' National Ministries' Social and Ethical Responsibility in Investments program, "has made it considerably more difficult for the shareholder," and "the new rules favor the corporation and not the shareholder." □

US and voluntary agencies at odds over lobbying

WASHINGTON

Many non-profit organizations, ranging from Catholic charities to wildlife groups, say they agree with the Reagan administration that federal monies should not be used for "lobbying," but they do not agree with its recent proposals to broaden what "lobbying" means.

The new proposals would bar non-profit agencies from using federal funds for such activities as soliciting public comment for proposed regulations, providing technical advice to Congress without a written request, gathering information on pending legislation and holding conferences which include sessions on advocacy. The administration, defending the proposals, argues that some charities, receiving monies from the federal government, use those funds to rally support for specific legislation.

The Independent Sector, an umbrella group for more than 500 non-profit organizations, claims that the new proposals "go too far in restricting the rights and obligations of many voluntary organizations to represent their clients... in the public arena." "The new rules," adds a spokesperson for the National Conference of Catholic Charities, "would have a chilling effect" on the willingness of social service groups to engage in advocacy."

Critics of the administration agree that government should deal with "violators," but since it has not "come forward with more than scant exam-

ples" it should not respond "to possible abuse by pressing for fundamental changes in the ways most voluntary organizations function." □

Missouri high court rules Baptist store must pay tax

JEFFERSON CITY

The Baptist Book Store in Kansas City, Mo., according to a recent ruling of the Missouri Supreme Court, concluding that "a Baptist book store is not substantially different from other retail book stores" since it sells "to all members of the general public and the literature sold is not purely denominational," should not be exempt from paying taxes.

The court made this ruling while acknowledging that two-thirds of the store's sales is to churches and fifty percent of the store's materials is not carried in competing stores.

The Southern Baptist Sunday School Board, claiming that the court did not see the store as "an outreach arm of the religious agency," and that the ruling seems to be in conflict with another Missouri court ruling that "a business is taxable only for the part of the business that is non-exempt," has decided to petition the court to rehear the case.

The counsel for the Board will probably use the argument of Albert L. Rendlen, Chief Justice of the Missouri Supreme Court, who wrote the only dissenting opinion: "the fact that the store sells materials to others indicates the reason for being of the book store is to spread the religious message of the Southern Baptist Convention."

"The Chief Justice," says Sunday School Board President Grady C. Cothen, "has given a good interpretation of the board's objective, to assist churches in their efforts to bring men to God through Jesus Christ. That's why... we operate Baptist Book Stores." □

Christian Science church sued over infant death

DETROIT

A Michigan couple, Douglas and Rita Swann, is suing the First Church of Christ, Scientist, Boston, and two Christian Science practitioners for damages as a result of the death of their 16-month-old son in 1977.

When the couple's son became ill, they employed two Christian Science practitioners to pray for him before



taking the child to a hospital where he died a week later.

The Swanns claim that the practitioners were negligent in failing to report the child's illness to local health authorities and that the Christian Science Church, as a health-care system, "should be held responsible for not properly training practitioners to diagnose and report severe illnesses." □

Recent surveys confirm gap between leaders and laity

NEW YORK

Recent surveys by many groups seem to confirm a trend increasingly noted by observers of American churches: there are widespread differences in outlook between national church leaders and grassroots members, on the one hand, and between pastors and laity, on the other hand.

Although there are no major divisions on the basic tenets of Christianity (e.g., the Bible as the word of God and Jesus Christ as Savior), laity are less inclined than their leaders and pastors to include the struggle for social justice as part of their Christian commitment. Moreover, many laity, especially Catholics, do not follow the teachings of their churches on such issues as artificial contraception, abortion, divorce, premarital sex and homosexuality. "Christians," comments Dr. Martin Marty, "are taking their religion a la carte. They pick and choose what they would believe and how they would act without too much concern for what 'the church' thinks about it."

Marty's conclusion is one of many included in a recent book, co-authored with Sister Joan Chittister. This book presents the conclusions of a five year, \$200,000 study of Minnesota Christians. Although Minnesota has long been known as politically progressive on social issues, the survey shows that Minnesota Christians are sharply divided over the public mission of churches. Half of those polled would like to see their church exert influence on public policy as an element of mission, and half do not. While more than two-thirds believe that the church should seek to better conditions for the elderly who are poor and discriminated against, less than half are willing to see the church take leadership on social issues like racism, sexism and economic concerns.

Thus, the gap between leaders and laity, pastors and pews, seems to widen on social policy issues! □

Court decisions suggest new trend toward religion

WASHINGTON

The U.S. Supreme Court in its 1982-83 term "rearranged the lines of demarcation between church and state" with a series of "blockbuster" decisions which Stan Hastey and other court observers believe indicate the court's heretofore stringent prohibitions against church-state overlap have been modified and a major turnabout may be underway.

Hastey has covered the high court for over the past decade for the Baptist Joint Committee, and suggests the trend may continue in a case the court took up as it began its new term.

It heard arguments in *Lynch v. Donnelly*, a controversy over the constitutionality of government sponsored nativity scenes as part of Christmas displays.

The First U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled last year that Pawtucket, R. I., breached the First Amendment's prohibition on "the establishment of religion" when it sponsored a creche as part of its municipal holiday celebration.

On the second day of the new term the attorney for Pawtucket argued that Christmas has become "a secular folk festival" and that "the nativity scene is interwoven with a secular celebration." On the same side, Solicitor General Rex E. Lee, presenting a friend-of-the-court brief for the Reagan Administration, added: "to exclude the creche from our national consciousness... was never the purpose of the framers of the Constitution..."

On the other side, the lawyer arguing against Pawtucket, Amato A. DeLuca, described the creche as "a profoundly religious symbol, second only to the cross. Pawtucket has violated the Constitution by aligning itself with a universal Christian belief."

Lynch v. Donnelly is considered by these observers to be an important test of whether the court will maintain its historic restrictions on governmental involvement with religion or whether a major reevaluation is underway. □

Connecticut sabbath law said to 'advance religion'

HARTFORD

A Connecticut law that gave workers the right to designate a Sabbath Day on which they could not be compelled to work has been struck down by the state's supreme court. While acknowledging that the law did not promote one religion over another, the court said "it gave benefits to employees on a religious basis" and thus had "the effect of advancing religion. "Workers who do not observe a Sabbath," the court explained, "may not avail themselves of the benefit... and are not entitled to take a specific day off with impunity." □

Church leaders denounce vote on Vatican ties

WASHINGTON

Many Protestant leaders, representing such diverse groups as the National Council of Churches, the National Association of Evangelicals and the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, have denounced as "unnecessary and discriminatory" a recent vote in the U.S. Senate to authorize funds to establish official U.S. diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

With a surprise vote the Senate approved in September an amendment to the State Department authorization bill, proposed by Senator Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.), to fund a diplomatic mission to the Vatican overturning a ban imposed in 1867. Senator Lugar's proposal was supported by 20 co-sponsors, including Southern Baptists Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and J. Bennett Johnson (D-La.).

At an October press conference, spokesmen for five Protestant organizations voiced alarm that the Senate vote was by unanimous consent and that no hearing had been held. James M. Dunn, speaking for the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, whose executive committee had reaffirmed the agency's longstanding opposition to diplomatic recognition of the Vatican, declared that "any attempt to show preferential treatment to one particular church or religious body violates separation of church and state." □

Baptists—'Something profound to say'

— Bill Moyers

Baptists "cannot turn away from politics just because it is not the place where souls are saved," television journalist Bill Moyers declared at a two-day conference focusing on Baptist identity.

Moyers, correspondent and senior news analyst with CBS Evening News, told participants at a Religious Liberty Conference sponsored by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs that Baptists have inherited a rich tradition with a passion against any "unholy yoke of church and state."

Nonetheless, he declared, "for Baptists, possessed of a civic self, politics, like tolerance, is desirable because it is necessary. Here is where liberty will be saved or lost, laws deliberated, issues decided, justice mediated and values defended.

"Leave politics to others," he warned, "and you will wake up one morning governed by three-pieced theocrats wearing shiny shoes, saintly smiles and the head of a pin in their lapel," or by "pious politicians" who espouse "sweet and sickly civil religion."

Moyers, who within months following his graduation from Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary joined Lyndon Johnson's vice presidential campaign staff and later worked as close advisor and press secretary for President Johnson, dismissed the notion that Baptists have nothing to contribute to democratic politics.

"The fact is," he said, "Baptists have something profound to say in the streets where democracy does its business."

Suggesting that Baptists bring a "special gift" to that arena, Moyers said "the realities of the world are enormous—misery, injustice, poverty, bigotry, and cruelty. But there is no way to change these realities without changing people first so that they will want to do the right thing."

Political solutions become more essential, he said, in the face of church inactivity.

"Sometimes politics is all we have," he said. "I believed in the 60s that government must fight a war on poverty

because our churches had declared their neutrality. I believed that government must champion, in the 60s, the civil rights of black Americans because our churches had not and many had joined the enemy."

"But in the long run," Moyers continued, "I know as a Baptist, it is not legislation, laws and programs that lead men and women to want the right thing. It is a change of heart."

... Baptists have inherited a rich tradition with a passion against any 'unholy yoke of church and state.'

Moyers, whose public life in politics and journalism rendered him more visible and controversial than most Baptists, described himself as a "prodigal."

He told conference participants of falling "if not from grace, at least from the goodwill of many of my brethren" during a career which led him down a road dissimilar from the one traveled by most Baptist seminary graduates.

One experience he recalled was the reaction to a 1965 wire service photograph appearing in newspapers across the country showing him "imitating a frenzied voodoo rainmaker of the now extinct Watusi tribe."

Afterward, Moyers said, "I was engulfed in the billowing smoke of a thousand pulpits whose occupants mistakenly thought I was dancing, a clear violation of the Sunday School Board's prohibition of the public display of enjoyment."

One telegram he received following the incident which typified the response of many Baptists read: "First, with your popish sentiments for Kennedy and now with your pagan rituals for Johnson, you have sullied

the parchment of your seminary degree and proven yourself destined for eternal damnation unless you return to the Cooperative Program the investment we made in you, plus interest."

In the intervening years, Moyers said, much was forgiven "thanks to the tendency of Baptists to forgive prodigals in general and those in particular who are strategically placed."

Baptists are "congenitally prodigal," Moyers said and suggested the roads traveled by prodigals are not without value.

"One almost has to go off to a far country to live on his inheritance, drawing from it extravagantly... in order to appreciate fully what it is that's being spent and from whence it came," he said. "We owe far more to many more than I ever realized in my youth."

Moyers reminded participants of Baptists in history who paid a heavy price for the heritage of tradition and conscience passed on to their followers. Though he was born into that Baptist tradition, he said, the "day came when I had to claim the tradition as my own, or lose it. It doesn't travel second hand."

It was in a Baptist church, he said, that he learned about democracy, equality of individuals, inviolability of the conscience, commitment and caring. But it was also there he learned about "schisms, heresies, lunacies, hypocrisies, compromises, crimes, controversies, division and ignorance.

"And the ugly things that happened in my Baptist church actually kindled my faith in democratic possibilities," he added.

Surveying his Baptist inheritance, Moyers said, "You're grateful for what others have given," naming Baptists from history and from his own experience who link him with Baptist heritage.

"Indeed, in such a company, you have been born on the wings of tradition and conscience where you see the whole world, past and present and waiting." □

Larry Chesser

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INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Severe handicaps a result of forced abandonment

BUENOS AIRES

The political repression and economic crisis that has plagued Argentina for the past decade has begun to crop up in growing mental, nutritional and psychological disturbances among the children of the 20,000 or more citizens who disappeared during the regime's war against the left.

This was the conclusion of a recent study here of children whose parents were victims of political kidnappings. Information from other sources likewise testifies to the dramatic plight of children suffering hunger, malnutrition, inadequate medical attention, or those who dropped out of school due to economic privation.

A report of 62 case studies of such children, presented recently at the fourth annual Symposium of Social Pediatrics, asserted that children who had survived the abduction of their parents showed the marked effects of abandonment, permanent and prolonged stress, alienation and—in some cases—abuse. The condition was widespread enough, the pediatricians found, to require a label, and they have tentatively called it "the forced abandonment syndrome."

According to human rights activists, between 20,000 and 30,000 persons were kidnapped over the past decade by right-wing or paramilitary bands used by the military junta to combat an alleged subversive threat by leftist guerrilla groups. Often children or infants were whisked away with their parents, only to be handed over for "adoption" by friends or relatives of the kidnappers. In other cases infants were born of mothers pregnant at the time of their abduction.

But the effect suffered by children goes far beyond those who have physically witnessed the kidnappings of their parents—such cases inevitably affect the entire family structure, as well as friends and schoolmates. Furthermore, the fear and threat of "disappearance" which has hung over all Argentines for nearly a decade has been also felt by children not directly victims of political repression.

In fact, in a symposium on the study by the pediatricians it was asserted that the greatest pressure on children is their constant doubt about the fate

of their parents—something which often becomes a strong obsession. Often relatives tried to cover up what had happened to children's parents: in one such case a girl was told her parents were working in the south of the country. When she found out the truth, her behavior at school and home changed dramatically.

The abandoned children commonly have repeated illnesses and disturbed mental and physical development. But the gravest psychological damage apparently affects children less than a year old when their mother was abducted. A number of cases were cited. □

No political designs back flourishing fundamentalism

SAN JUAN

Catholic Bishop Enrique Hernandez of Caguas said he does not believe U.S. political designs lie behind the flourishing spread of fundamentalist Protestant denominations in Latin America.

Suspicion that the denominations may have a political purpose stems in part from the heavy emphasis their ministers place on spirituality, an attitude critics charge tends to keep exploited masses passive. This contrasts, with the efforts of "Christian base communities" sponsored by Catholic activists seeking to change existing economic and political structures.

Bishop Hernandez said the hypothesis that Washington fosters these fundamentalist denominations is far-fetched because "there are many good Catholics in the U.S. government" who would oppose such a policy. □

Church group told of gap in Africa's food production

NAIROBI

Although Africa has the potential to feed itself and the whole world, 60 percent of Africa's children remain hungry today, an interreligious world conference was told here.

Meeting under the theme, "Religion for peace in emerging Africa," the delegates examined development opportunities and challenges facing Africa and the role the church can play. Participants observed that 22 of the 36 poorest countries in the world were

African, and that more than half of the arable land that was idle in the world was in Africa.

Some 150 delegates from various faiths attended the meeting organized by the Africa region of the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP). Based at the Church Center for the United Nations in New York, the WCRP is an independent group formed in 1970 with chapters in some 57 nations.

Delegates here examined the role religion could play in the realization of "fuller and more wholesome human lives" for the African people. They also focused on the many "demonic forces" prevailing in Africa, which they said militated against justice and peace.

The meeting noted that Africa as a continent reflected the problems of the world. It cited poverty, refugees, tribalism, corruption, arms importation and militarism, exploitation of natural resources, malnutrition and violation of human rights. □

Violence mars elections; politicians use religion

GENEVA

Twelve Nigerian church leaders, acting on behalf of the Christian Council of Nigeria, denounced the violence that accompanied the country's national elections in August, in which at least 70 people were killed.

Two weeks after a peaceful election in which President Shehu Shagari was reelected, state elections were held in which his party won 13 out of 29 governorships. Opponents in the presidential elections charged "blatant daylight robbery" in the state elections.

A report from the World Council of Churches' Ecumenical Press Service quoted the Nigerian church leaders as urging all political leaders to "restrain themselves, forthwith, from making any statement capable of inciting their followers, particularly youth and children, to deplorable and devastating acts, such as arson, killing, breach of peace and other forms of iniquitous behavior."

Another point in the appeal called on political leaders to "stop using religion as an instrument for achieving their political goals, since such a practice is fraught with perilous and disastrous consequences." □



Marcos takes hard line; against sharing power

MANILA

President Ferdinand Marcos rejected in the television speech to the nation a proposal by Roman Catholic Cardinal Jaime Sin to share power with a "national reconciliation council," saying he was ordering riot troops to put down all unauthorized demonstrations.

The Filipino president warned businessmen, Catholic clergy and anyone else that his troops would use force to break up the type of anti-government rallies occurring with increasing ferocity in the month since the assassination of opposition leader Benigno Aquino.

A spokesman for the Manila Archdiocese said the cardinal felt his proposal was "the last feasible alternative to avoid the violent confrontation and bloody revolution made possible by the temper of the times." □

White clergy split over role for colored, Asians

CAPE TOWN

South Africa's proposed new constitution which would admit mixed race people and Asians to a share of political power has caused a major split among members of the influential white Dutch Reformed Churches.

The white electorate will have to accept or reject the new constitution in a special referendum in November. But the proposed basic law's acceptance of a political role for coloreds, as those of mixed race are labeled, and Indians, has caused a major split on political lines inside the three pro-apartheid Afrikaans churches—the influential Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), and the two smaller white churches, the Nederduits Hervormde Kerk (NHK) and the Gereformeerde Kerk (GK).

Meanwhile, a number of leading black church personalities, Protestant, Catholic and Anglican, have participated directly or indirectly in the launching of the non-racial United Democratic Front (UDF) and the black-consciousness-oriented National Forum—two new political alliances specially established to oppose the new constitution.

A recent statement of 193 Dutch Reformed Ministers condemning the new constitution symbolized the inner Afrikaner church conflict. It was issued after a three-hour closed meeting at Silverton just outside Pretoria attended by some 230 pastors and theologians of the three Afrikaans churches—nearly 10 percent of all their ordained ministers. □

Question of racism posed over Israel's Arab policy

VANCOUVER

An Arab Anglican and a Canadian rabbi disagreed here on whether Israel's policies toward Arabs on the West Bank are "racist."

At a program for visitors at the World Council of Churches' assembly, Rana Shehadeh, an attorney and author who lives in Ramallah near Jerusalem, said the discrimination against Arabs could be called "racist" because they are based on religion. But Rabbi Jordan Pearlson, of Toronto, president of the Canadian Jewish Congress, who was in the audience, called the charge "nonsense" during the question-and-answer period.

"When a Turk and a Greek are at each other, it is not racism," he said. "Similarly, when an Israeli and an Arab are at each other, I would suggest that 'racism' has overtones that go far beyond the enmity that exists between them." □

Rabbis affirm law ruling emigration is idolatrous

JERUSALEM

Chief Rabbis Mordechai Elaiahu and Avraham Shapiro, the nation's supreme Jewish religious authorities, have affirmed a religious law ruling that emigration from Israel amounts to idolatry.

Their response was to a government official charged with discouraging yerida, or "down-going"—the term used to describe Jewish emigration.

"We find ourselves obliged to point out the Torah's serious prohibition against emigration," the rabbis said. □

NEWS-SCAN

Foy Valentine, executive director of the Christian Life Commission (SBC) and **Robert C. Campbell**, general secretary of the American Baptist Churches/USA, joined other U.S. religious leaders in an appeal to the UN's Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to help arrange a ceasefire in Ethiopia so famine assistance can reach stricken areas. Conditions in Ethiopia have been deteriorating rapidly due to drought, famine and war, most seriously in parts of the country where fighting between anti-government guerillas and Ethiopian troops obstructs distribution of food and medicine. . . . Soviet authorities seized 49 of the more than 1,000 books brought for exhibition to the Moscow Book Fair by the U.S. Association of Jewish Book Publishers. This compares with only two books censored when more than 10,000 Jews passed through the booth at the fair two years ago. Thousands of copies of specially printed Russian-language catalogues were distributed. . . . The Latin American church seems to be "so absorbed in its surroundings, especially in the ruling class, that it's hard to find the perspective represented by Jesus Christ—the perspective of the poor," claims Brazilian pastor **Arturo Spellmeier**. With this apolitical attitude, the churches are becoming a "shock absorber of social opposition in the society," delivering cheap ideological justification for the maintenance of the present condition. "The use of the Christian message by proponents of its contradictory ideologies to make injustice and oppression innocuous, to cover it up, to repress it, and to make it legitimate, is a question that churches must confront," says **Spellmeier**. . . . Voicing opposition to support for the UN secretary general's initiatives for resolving the conflict in Afghanistan, World Council Assembly delegate **Archbishop Kirill** of Leningrad said the amendment would "present a terrible difficulty and be a challenge to our loyalty to the ecumenical movement." The WCC approved the resolution which called for immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in the context of an overall political settlement. □

CORRESPONDENCE

Conference

I never cease to be amazed at the competence, affability, and influence of the Baptist Joint Committee here in Washington. We are privileged to know you.

But I write in particular to thank you for your recent conference on Baptist identity. Its topics were well chosen and executed, and they had relevance beyond the Baptist community to us who are admirers and who love liberty. The poignance of the final meeting was intense. [Mr. Ross serves Seventh Day Adventists as Legal Counselor.] □

G.M. Ross
Washington, D.C.

How in the world the Committee can come up with such outstanding leadership for the Conferences, and especially this one, continues to amaze me.

I find the format of "lectures" etc. much more valuable to me, a parish minister, than the workshop format. Too often the workshop, by its nature, must limit the opportunity to get as much from the leadership as is possible in a short conference. Having the Moyers and the others available for sharing in informal conversation was very valuable.

The 4H Center is about the best environment we have had, from my perspective. There was a togetherness about the whole thing.

Lewis M. Blackmer
Norwalk, CT

For the record let me say that the National Religious Liberty Conference was one of the best events I've attended in the past ten years. My faith was renewed, my spirit was uplifted and my Baptist identity was genuinely affirmed. □

Clay Price
Nashville, TN

Nuclear Holocaust, from Page 16

ing this relevant apparently presupposes that we surrender to the Russians and learn to eat borscht, which is difficult to envisage.

It is a brave book and deserves serious study, which, one hopes, will lead to action. Peace is too important to be left to generals, congressmen, and presidents. We all must proceed in hope. Who would have thought a few years ago that Catholic Bishops would overwhelmingly embrace the Nuclear Freeze? For that matter, who would have thought back in the Sixties, that Billy Graham would get religion and join the Peace Movement? If the entire evangelical Chirsitan community were added to the list, including the Baptists, the President and Congress might be sufficiently frightened to join up! □

O. Carroll Arnold

Thank you for your excellent programming and hosting of the Nineteenth National Religious Liberty Conference. I appreciated much too, . . . the tour of the Capitol.

May God affirm you often in your ministry on behalf of all of us who are grateful for the liberty that is ours. □

Willis Potratz
Oakbrook Terrace, IL

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When I was in seminary I wondered how I would stay on the cutting edge of what was occurring in life and remain sharp and continue to learn after I got out of the classroom. I have been able to do that by attending seminars at various times and places. Certainly one of the best I have ever attended was the one that the Joint Committee sponsored on Religious Liberty this year.

I especially benefited from LaDonna Harris and Bill Moyers. That is not to diminish the others but to express my specific appreciation for these two. □

Howard W. Roberts
Temple Hills, MD

Kudos

[Re: Report from the Capital] This is a fine piece of work!! You're doing a great job.

Richard Pierard
Terre Haute, IN

AUDIO CASSETTE TAPES

Order the complete addresses of all participants at the 1983 National Religious Liberty Conference sponsored by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. Each tape includes the addresses of the session plus one poetry reading by James Autry—six tapes in all, plus one tape of poetry from Autry's new book.

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 - BRACHLOW, Stephen: Religious Liberty in Baptist History: A Study in Contrasts and HARRIS, LaDonna: My Baptist Heritage and Native American Identity
 - VALENTINE, Foy: Baptist Identity as a Soul Freedom Ethic and PARKER, Barbara: My Baptist Heritage and Caring about Free Inquiry
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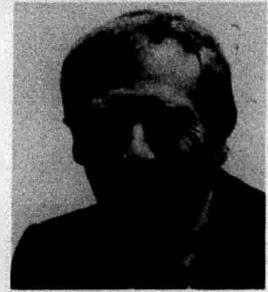
11/83

Bill Me

The threat of extinction and the accompanying despair make the most eloquent appeal imaginable for hope.

REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



An Israeli soldier in Lebanon said of the people he was ordered to kill, "It's so hard when I'm up close. When I can see their faces, I can't bring myself to kill them. But when I'm farther away and I'm just shooting artillery shells, then I can do it.

"But now in Christ Jesus you who once were far off have been brought near in the blood of Christ. For he is our peace." (Ephesians 2:13,14)

If we could understand what it means to be "brought near" in the blood of Christ, it would make all the difference in waging peace.

We must attempt to bring near emotionally, understandably the pursuit of peace.

Senator Hatfield says the nuclear standoff between superpowers is like standing in a room waist-high in gasoline arguing over how many matches you and I have.

Edna St. Vincent Millay put in poignant words her feelings about war, bringing very near the personal confrontation with death: I shall die, but that is all I shall do for Death/I'm not on His payroll/I do not tell Him the whereabouts of my friends—I Am I a spy in the land of the living?

The Russian destruction of the Korean airliner has brought near to all of us who ever fly on commercial airliners a sense of impending hostility, a personal identification with passengers encapsulated helplessly in the tomb hurtling through the sky into the Sea of Japan.

The New Testament makes clear that, like it or not, individual accountability is the biblical standard. At Nuremberg after World War II the government of the United States told the German people that each one had a personal responsibility to stand up and say no to a great evil.

It is precisely this sense of accountability for citizenship that has brought Americans who care about peace into an active peace waging.

We enjoy democracy in theory only until we engage the gears of these abstract possibilities. No issue demonstrates this anomaly more clearly than the gap between the public will for peace and the persistent push of policy makers for the arms race. Jim Wallis' "What about the Russians?" continues to be the question most often asked whenever the subject of nuclear weapons come up, even in the churches.

I think the question is the right one. "What about the Russians?" But we have been asking the questions tragically in the wrong way. What about the Russian people and their children? What about the Russian Christians and their churches? What would become of them in a nuclear exchange? What about the hundreds of millions of God's children that we seem quite ready to destroy in the name of freedom, national security and democracy?

Surveys indicate that by a margin of 3 to 1 Americans see that we've reached a point where it doesn't matter about the relative more or less of bombs and bombers between the United States and Russia.

Another reflection from the polls: the large majority of Americans feel that without public pressure the United

States government cannot be trusted to make the right decisions. We should deny the comforting but false assumption that when things get bad enough governments will automatically do the right thing. On the contrary, as things get worse governments often adopt wrong policies.

How do we engage the political process in peacemaking? What will it take to get the politicians to catch up with the people? First, it seems we must understand the well nigh insurmountable barriers we face. No Old Testament prophet ever needed stronger more dramatic thunderbolts than those required to cut through the layers of deceit about "defense."

Intractable ignorance constitutes the greatest challenge. When the average American reads one book a year but watches 35 hours of television a week, that raises questions. When 54% of the American electorate cannot even name their own United States Congressman, that's evidence of political ignorance.

The people become sitting ducks for every well-financed political operator, passive targets of massive public ignorance which becomes the "access to eyeballs" merchandising of television producers.

Over 20 years ago, President Dwight D. Eisenhower in his Farewell Address to the American people (January 17, 1961) spoke prophetically to the problems we face today especially in the arms race equation.

"There is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties. A huge increase in newer elements of our defense... may be suggested as the only way to the road we wish to travel.

"The conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience... we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence by the military-industrial complex and never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together." We approach 1984.

The threat of extinction and the accompanying despair make the most eloquent appeal imaginable for hope. Could it be that only when we must find a message of authentic hope can we distinguish between the apocalyptic vision of the New Testament and the counterfeit eschatologies on sale at the corner newsstand and packaged for television.

Could it be that nothing less than the life-or-death urgency of the peace movement will provide the impetus necessary for us to realize the promise of a democracy?

Can it be that the church alone, dying to itself, shall perform the catalytic role needed to bring together the people of peace? □

REVIEWS



THE ORIGINAL REVOLUTION

By John H. Yoder, Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1977, \$5.95.

The problem of war is at the heart of much of the sickness of modern society, and traditional Christian approaches to the problem, the just war and the crusade, are increasingly inadequate as sources of moral guidance. The seven sermons and lectures which comprise this book, are a compendium of thinking about how a pacifist commitment can fit within the wider axioms and commitments of Christian thought.

Dr. Yoder, professor of theology and ethics at the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries, Elkhart, Indiana, and at the University of Notre Dame, underscores Jesus' instruction to his disciples, "In the world, kings lord it over their subjects... not so with you." The author affirms that Jesus was not urging his followers to a withdrawal from society out of concern for moral purity, but an active missionary presence within society, a source of healing and creativity after the pattern of his own suffering servanthood.

Combining both biblical and ecumenical perspectives, Yoder describes Jesus' strategy for social change in terms of a gathered, voluntary society, mixed racially, religiously and economically, and challenged to a new way of life. Jesus gave his disciples a new way to deal with offenders (forgive them), with violence (by suffering), with money (by sharing it), with problems of leadership (drawing upon the gift of every member), and with a corrupt society (building a new order). The church is God's people to put into practice this "new order," this new and impossible task except by the miracle of the Holy Spirit.

Peace is the pacifist's hope. Nonresistance is a matter of discipleship. Holy warfare in the Old Testament is interpreted in its own cultural context. The doctrine of the "just war" is critiqued in terms of its being a legitimate response to any political authority or offense. Jesus is claimed as the only source and content of ethical obligation.

Though most of these essays on Christian pacifism were initially written in the '60's, the biblical, theological, historical and ecumenical insights and claims are clear, thoroughly researched and adequately discussed.

The book is a useful, scholarly tool in shaping a current pacifist position, and provides for all important insights into Christian ethics. □

Gary L. Reif

NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST AND CHRISTIAN HOPE

by Ronald J. Sider and Richard K. Taylor, Ramsey, N.J.: Paulist Press, Paper, \$6.95.

This is a theological book, rather than another tract on the nuclear danger, and it is important and stimulating.

The writers, Ronald Sider, of Eastern Baptist Seminary, and Richard K. Taylor of the Sojourners Community, and Evangelicals for Social Action, address themselves primarily to the evangelical Christian community, whose language they speak fluently. Evangelicals, by and large, have always been hawks and flagwavers, and these two writers, recognizing the war-like, red-white-and-blue propensities of their readers, cross all the evangelical "tees" and of all the fundamentalist "eyes," (Satan is frequently mentioned) in order to reach them with the urgent message of peace and peacemaking.

The book begins with the usual litany of horrors of nuclear war. While those horrors are not so precisely or comprehensively delineated here as, say, Jonathan Schell does it in his seminal *The Fate of the Earth*, they are powerfully and factually rehearsed with sufficient intensity to scare all of us,

REVIEWERS

Gary L. Reif, senior minister of The Federated Church (ABC/USA—Disciples of Christ) in West Lafayette, IN, leads his congregation toward greater sensitivity and action in areas of social ministry. Author of the church/state volume, *Religious Freedom on Trial*, O. Carroll Arnold writes on theology, law, history and the relationship of religion to culture and government. He last served the First Baptist Church, Ann Arbor, MI.

and especially the evangelicals, into solid nuclear pacifism.

It was not clear to me why the authors exhumed the arcane doctrine of the "Just War," which has rested uselessly in peace and war since the Middle Ages. But they do, and the casuistry involved in that resuscitation is tedious.

But the chapter on "Jesus and Violence" is excellent, and it explodes, whether intentionally or not, the whole idea of the "just war." For the only efforts I know of to resurrect the theory of the just war comes in our times from the revolutionaries, of one sort or another, who try to make Jesus out to be a flaming insurrectionist and purveyor of violence. Sider and Taylor give short shrift to this notion as they insist on an honest exegesis of the Gospels, and show that Our Lord's rejection of the Zealots and their violence was not only good religion but also good politics.

Perhaps the most valuable segment of the book is the practical instructions and suggestions given for operating a peace program within a local church, or at the association or state level. All manner of schemes and strategies are delineated, including even the telephone numbers of the White House, the Senate, and the House.

Another chapter on disarmament, faces honestly the difficulties involved but offers hope to those who work and persevere. A valuable list of disarmament treaties in US history is included. It is significant and hopeful that all but two of them have been negotiated in the last 25 years. The writers do endorse and urge the Nuclear Freeze, and offer suggestions for its advancement.

The last chapters have to do with theoretical, not to say fanciful, ideas of non-military defense, including CBD (civilian based defense). An impressive description of the successful use of non-military resistance, creative non-cooperation, and civil-disobedience shows what courage can do. But mak-

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