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REPORT from the CAPITAL



DARWIN BARNER **Deportation**
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REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

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Cover: "DEPORTATION", by Joseph Richter, drawn in pencil in 1943 in the extermination camp at Sobibor.

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Public and Private Faith

One lesson to be carried over from the 1960 presidential elections, when John Kennedy's Catholic faith proved to be a central issue, is not that religion doesn't matter, but that it matters and Americans care enough to keep private religious faith free from public doctrinaire disputation. So that on the eve of another election, religion can be forthrightly discussed, as it is both on the hustings and in the Senate, and assume its rightful importance.

The President's Constitutional amendment on prayer in public schools currently shares media ink and electronic graphics with the intimate details of presidential candidate hopefuls among Democrats. Religion in the first instance is raised to high visibility, while in the latter it has been properly noted but low-keyed. RNS correspondent Charles Austin's backgrounder shows that a wide range of religious feeling exists among the candidates—from Jesse Jackson's passion to the "least fuss" attitude of Alan Cranston (who has since dropped out of the contest). Religious and moral values made public are significant information about a presidential candidate, yet personal faith reserves some privacy.

The absence of a "rubber stamp" at annual meetings of the Baptist Joint Committee was seldom more evident than when the Committee of denominational representatives recently discussed the President's prayer amendment. In voting against a motion to support the amendment, the Committee's attitudes were diverse but perhaps well expressed by the newly-elected chairman Donald Brewer. The Chicago attorney pointed out that "you don't solve social problems by amending the Constitution." Dan Martin's (Nashville's BP Press) news report quotes other leaders who supported or voiced opposition to the amendment. See **VIEWS** for an in-depth analysis of prayer legislation now in the fast lane of the Senate. (The situation may have changed by the time you receive this issue).

The **Founding Fathers** believed government to be the preserver of peace and safety, which explains the First Amendment's potential as an instrument to reduce discord by discouraging religious bodies from the temptation to vie for public favor. John Stevens raises the free exercise question that accompanies government's intrusion into religion—whose religion?

Finally, **James Dunn** gives insightful perspective to the search and practice of authentic religion. Religious liberty, he writes, keeps in tension three interlocking dimensions, without which the capacity to remain open to the leading of God's spirit is severely diminished. In a sense his article takes us full circle to our lead—and the conviction that elected officials must enjoy the liberties of conscience if they are to serve the nation and God. □

Victor Tupitza



The U. S. Senate handily rejected President Reagan's proposed Constitutional amendment to permit vocal, organized prayer in the public schools. After more than two weeks of relatively mild debate, 44 Senators voted against S.J. Res. 73; 56 Senators favored the proposal, 11 votes short of the two-thirds majority required to pass a constitutional amendment. Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, R-Conn., leading opponent of the prayer amendment, disputed claims that it would provide for "voluntary" prayer, contending it would result in "government" prayer. "The issue really is not prayer in schools for our children," Weicker charged. "They have that right today. No court case, no law, no Supreme Court ruling prevents any child or any adult in this nation from praying wherever or whenever they wish." •

Decisive rejection of the president's amendment marks a new watershed and potential turning point in the long and bitter debate over the proper role of religion in public schools. Despite the Republican majority in what is often called the most conservative Senate in a generation, he was unable to convince enough members of his own party to support his proposal. Because 18 of the president's fellow Republicans joined 26 Democrats in voting down the amendment, Reagan will be hard-pressed in the upcoming election campaign to pin blame on the opposition party. This amendment failed in large measure because as the debate unfolded over how the practice of school prayer would work out on the local scene, more and more Americans began to see its possible abuses.

The president repeatedly claimed that all he sought was a return to voluntary prayer, but too many senators and citizens came to realize that in many, if not most instances, the prayers to be recited would have been anything but voluntary. Nowhere in the amendment was the word "voluntary" included.

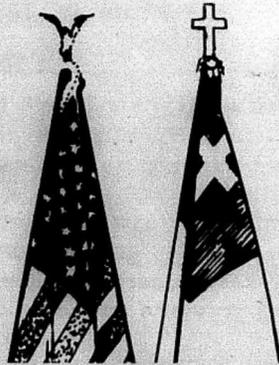
Sen. George J. Mitchell, D-Maine, pointed out during floor debate that Reagan's people purposely left out that key word because they feared its use "could be understood to mean only prayer initiated by students voluntarily." In fact, the president's amendment would not have excluded prayers mandated by state legislatures and written by local school boards.

The "voluntary" question has been at the center of the 22-year debate over the whole matter of religion in public schools. It was the central question in the U.S. Supreme Court's 1962 and 1963 decisions outlawing state-written, state-prescribed prayers and Bible readings.

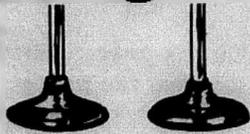
Although invalidating required religious exercises, the Court made these positive points: the Bible may be used as a reference for the teaching of secular subjects, studied for its literary and historic qualities, and in the study of comparative religion or the history of religion and its relationship to the advance of civilization. •

Positive actions by the nation's high court notwithstanding, some lower federal courts have appeared confused in some of their related decisions. Most notably is the checkered record of lower courts regarding the constitutionality of student-initiated religious groups that have sought to meet on school premises on the same basis as other student groups.

One case, Bender v. Williamsport Area School District, is very much alive. It involves the effort by a group of students at the Williamsport (Pa.) High School to hold religious meetings twice weekly during a period designated for extracurricular activities. A federal judge ruled last year that the local school board discriminated against the students' right of free speech when it denied them permission to meet. The case has been appealed to a federal circuit court where a decision is pending. If and when it arrives for a final resolution at the Supreme Court, many observers are hoping the practice will be upheld. •



Candidates and their Religion



God has never run for public office in the United States, but politicians have been symbolically putting the deity on the ticket beside them since the earliest days of the republic.

Until recently, however, it was a clearly Protestant God invoked by candidates for high national office. Even into this century, some smaller political parties had anti-Catholicism as a major tenet. Catholics might have held power in cities like Boston or New York, but it took John F. Kennedy's victory, in 1960, to convince the nation that a Catholic could be elected to the presidency.

In today's political climate, however, religious tolerance prevails to the extent that it is virtually impossible to characterize the religious beliefs of those running for the presidency in 1984.

There are no Catholics in this year's race and there have never been any Jewish candidates. Nonetheless, the range of religious views expressed by

the candidates reveals the various roles religion plays in American political life. The fact that some candidates make relatively little of their personal faith also indicates a greater tolerance in the nation for those willing to admit that they are less than active in spiritual activities.

Though not every president has held church membership, nearly all have expressed some form of religious belief, usually as members of a major Protestant denomination like the Presbyterians, Methodists or Episcopalians. Others held to "general Christian beliefs" without formal church affiliation.

President Reagan had relatively little formal contact with religion until he came to public life, but he considers himself an "evangelical" and has vigorously courted the votes of that segment of American Protestantism.

This year's presidential race contains the most overtly religious campaign in American history thanks to the Rev. Jesse Jackson, the first Black and the first clergyman to become a major candidate for the presidential nomination.

Responding as much to Mr. Jackson's preaching as to his policies, Black churches have proven to be a major source of support for the 42-year-old minister. Two major Black denominations have virtually endorsed his presidential bid and leaders of the churches have indicated that they would use their pulpits and their offering plates to propel Jesse Jackson toward the White House.

The Jackson campaign is unusual in its overt use of religion to win voters. The rest of the candidates in the Democratic presidential primary races are less eager to make their personal faith or religious imagery an integral part of their bid for office.

They have reason to be concerned about backing a candidate who might seem "too religious." Though there was not a great deal of anti-Catholicism during the Kennedy campaign, the candidate's advisers did take pains to make it clear that a contemporary American Catholic in public office need not look only to the Vatican for advice on moral and political issues.

As an active Southern Baptist, President Jimmy Carter was at ease talking about his personal faith. He read the Bible and prayed each day and occasionally led a Sunday School class. News stories occasionally misinterpreted the way President Carter spoke about his faith. At the same time, other

Southern Baptists occasionally denounced his views, which they considered too liberal for a fellow believer.

This year, Mr. Jackson speaks openly of trying to "save the soul" of the nation by his presidential bid. Though eyebrows are raised by those wary of preacher-politicians, he is rarely criticized by opponents for the religious tone to his campaign.

For one thing, he has taken pains to emphasize his tolerant views, and his liberal stance on most issues dispels fears of a theocratic approach to governing America. Those who hear him proclaim his "soul saving" campaign message from a Baptist pulpit are energized by the spiritual imagery, and non-religious voters dismiss the language as colorful campaign rhetoric.

The other candidates have not tried to match Mr. Jackson's religious fervor, though several of them are also schooled in biblical language. Two of the candidates are sons of preachers, and three, including Mr. Jackson, went to a theological seminary.

George McGovern, the son of a Wesleyan Methodist minister, attended Garrett Theological Seminary in Evanston, Ill., and was a student preacher at the Methodist church in Diamond Lake, Ill., before turning to political science.

Walter Mondale, once the front runner, also grew up in a Methodist parsonage, though he is now a Presbyterian.

Gary Hart is also the product of strict evangelical upbringing in the Church of the Nazarene and graduated from Bethany Nazarene College in Oklahoma. His religious interest was strong enough to take him to Yale Divinity School, which he attended until he transferred to the law school.

Ernest Hollings, a Lutheran from South Carolina, comes from a state packed with Southern Baptists who would be suspicious of anyone who didn't sprinkle some familiar Bible quotations in campaign addresses.

Florida's former governor, Reuben Askew, has been on the crusade platform with both Billy Graham and Bill Bright of Campus Crusade for Christ.

John Glenn, who says that the major influence in his life has been his years in the military and the space program, exudes an old-fashioned American patriotism that posits faith in God and traditional Judeo-Christian values as essentials of American life. Though tending towards conservatism politically as well as religiously, he, nonetheless, endorses Democratic Party

policies denounced as "liberal" by the religious right wing.

But the religious and social positions of the candidates prove that people of similar religious upbringing do not necessarily hold the same political views or argue that their position on an issue is the only stance that could have God's approval.

Candidates like Sen. Hart, Mr. McGovern, Sen. Glenn and Mr. Askew come from conservative Christian homes not unlike those so highly praised by contemporary fundamentalists. A strict morality, prohibition against such "pleasures of the flesh" as smoking, drinking, or dancing went along with firm belief that the Bible was the inerrant, inspired word of God. Prayers in school were assumed, not debated.

Though these candidates started out on the same religious path as the fundamentalists of contemporary right-wing political movements, they have let the trail widen considerably and recognize that there may be many highways to a just, humane, even "Godly" society. Rarely has a national political candidate of staunchly conservative religious views been successful because a "thus spake the Lord" religion cannot be translated into the compromises and negotiations required in practical politics. None of the Democratic contenders is a religious hard-liner.

Of all the Democratic candidates, Sen. Alan Cranston of California, the darkest of horses in the 1984 race, made the least fuss about his religious faith. His family has ties to Congregationalism, since his grandfather was a minister in that denomination, but the senator does not belong to any church.

No matter which candidate gets the Democratic Party's approval, his personal faith will contrast sharply with the kind of conservative Christianity often spoken of by President Reagan. But, because the nation has learned to live—sometimes reluctantly—with religious pluralism, the faith of the candidates is not likely to be a campaign issue.

But Americans also like to believe that their presidents believe, and all the candidates will, therefore, attempt to build a moral base under their party's platform, calling upon vaguely defined Eternal Truths in support of their policies. And the victor in November's election will take his oath of office with his hand laid upon the Bible as a symbol of the Judaeo-Christian heritage the nation prizes. □

Committee supports equal access bill; affirms opposition to school prayer

Dan Martin

Members of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs reaffirmed their opposition to President Reagan's proposed constitutional amendment on school prayer during their annual meeting March 5-6.

The committee defeated 18-2 an effort to put it on record supporting the amendment currently being debated in the U.S. Senate. In so doing, the committee reaffirmed opposition to "any and all proposed constitutional amendments" which would allow "state-mandated prayer and Bible reading in public schools."

The statement opposing the constitutional amendment was adopted unanimously by the committee in 1982.

The committee also adopted a statement to support Equal Access proposals currently pending in Congress. The legislation would require secular and religious non-school-sponsored student groups be granted equal access to any limited open forum created in a public school when the students meet on their own initiative and without any official encouragement or sponsorship for religious discussion and prayer.

The effort to put the BJCPA on record favoring the proposed constitutional amendment was made by two fundamentalist Southern Baptist members attending their first meeting of the committee.

Samuel T. Currin, chairman of the Southern Baptist Public Affairs Committee, moved that the "Baptist Joint Committee go on record endorsing the proposed constitutional amendment being presented in the Senate on behalf of the president."

His motion was seconded by Albert Lee Smith, a former one-term congressman from Birmingham, Ala., also elected to the Public Affairs Committee in 1983.

Commenting "I don't see how anybody can be opposed" to the "beautifully phrased" amendment, Currin said the committee's failure to "get behind this thing will be a real slap" at Draper and the Southern Baptist Convention. Both Currin and Smith expressed the belief the amendment will improve the moral climate of the United States and have an influence on problems in the classroom.

James M. Dunn, executive director of the BJCPA, said that while the SBC adopted a resolution supporting the constitutional amendment at the 1982 annual meeting, 11 state conventions subsequently passed resolutions on the issue, and 10 of the 11 were opposed.

He also cited an action taken at the 1983 annual meeting which cited the First Amendment to the Constitution as "adequate and sufficient guarantee" to protect religious liberty.

Donald R. Brewer, a Southern Baptist attorney from Chicago, opposed the motion, noting most constitutional authorities "say you don't solve social problems by amending the Constitution. Most constitutional authorities and scholars are opposed to it."

Elizabeth Miller, a representative of the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., questioned who will compose the prayers allowed under the constitutional amendment, an issue she said is left very hazy in the language of the amendment.

Dunn said the amendment "does not satisfy the staff" about who would write a prayer and cited a White House position paper which says if "groups of people are to be permitted to pray, someone must have the power to determine the content of such prayers."

Charles G. Adams, pastor of Hartford Avenue Baptist Church in Detroit, representing the Progressive National Baptist Convention, also questioned whether Muslims, Jews, Christians or Eastern Meditation religions would impose their prayers.

"Nobody can stop me from praying whenever or wherever I wish," he said. "I think it is interesting the president who wants prayer in the schools is pulling the money out. He is using religious issues for political gain."

Dennis Kee, a pastor from Cornwells Heights, Pa., representing the North American Baptist Conference, commented on "attempts to reduce prayers to watered down prayers. I am doubtful that any meaningful prayer could be said in my community. There would be a lot of pressure to reduce prayers down to nothing."

Continued on page 16

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

VIEWS OF THE WALL

John W. Baker



When the President's proposed prayer amendment, S.J. Res. 73, appeared to be in trouble in the Senate, Senator Howard Baker suggested a number of changes which he thought would make it more acceptable. Two Senators called this office asking for a critique of Baker's new wording. What follows is what I sent to them.

On May 6, 1982 when the President made public his proposed prayer amendment, the White House issued a paper entitled "Questions and Answers on the President's Proposed Voluntary School Prayer Amendment." In that paper is the following colloquy:

Q. Will state governments or local school boards be free to compose their own prayers if this amendment is ratified?

A. Yes. Since the voluntary school prayer amendment will eliminate any federal constitutional obstacle to voluntary school prayer, states and communities would be free to select prayers of their own choosing. They could choose prayers that have already been written, or they could compose their own prayers. If groups of people are to be permitted to pray, someone must have the power to determine the content of such prayers. The amendment will accept the premise that communities are a more appropriate forum than federal courts for decisions about the content of school prayers. Of course, no student or any other individual will be required to participate in any prayer to which he objected for any reason.

This explanation brought protests even from some of the people who were natural allies of a prayer amendment. As a result, when the Senate Committee on the Judiciary considered the President's proposal—now S.J. Res. 73, it added the sentence, "Neither the United States nor any State shall compose the words of any prayer to be said in public schools." This sentence needs to be examined carefully as do the other amendments which Senator Baker has indicated will be added to S.J. Res. 73 at the appropriate time.

"Neither the United States nor any State shall compose the words of any prayer to be said in public schools."

These words do not solve the problem created by the White House's explanation of the President's proposal. In the first place the term "State" is subject to interpretation. Does it mean simply that neither a governor, nor a state legislature, nor a state board of

education may compose a prayer? If so, as a Senator and a television evangelist were quoted as saying, "This would leave the writing of prayers with school boards or with teachers, where it belongs."

However, even if the Court holds that the act of composing prayers is denied to the states and their agents and employees, the sentence still has serious problems. The state will still be able to supervise and control the content of prayers which would be said in public school classrooms. The state would be permitted to require recitation of a prayer which was composed by someone who was not an agent of the state. For example, the state, school boards, or teachers could decide that the Lord's Prayer would be used. They could even choose which version of that prayer would be recited. They could choose a prayer from non-Western religions or a prayer which would be blasphemous to some or all students. Prohibiting the government from composing the prayer does not eliminate possible government abuse of this the most intimate of all communications.

Senator Baker has proposed that the sentence be changed to forbid the national or state governments to "compose or mandate" the words of any prayer to be said in public schools or other public institutions." This would not eliminate government involvement in the selection of a prayer "to be said." The state could still control the entire process. It could determine the pool of prayers from which students could choose or it could require that the prayer be picked by lot from prayers which others had written. The choice by the individual student would, of necessity, be lost or group oral prayers would result in bedlam.

The phrase "or other public institutions" appears in the original S.J. Res. 73 and Senator Baker proposes to add it to this sentence written by the Judiciary Committee. The phrase is not defined in S.J. Res. 73 and was not the subject of discussion at the hearings. It has no legislative history and would be subject to unguided judicial interpretation. The mischiefs which lurk in adding undefined phrases to the Constitution are legion. Does "other public institutions" refer only to government buildings or does it include churches

and businesses to which the public is clearly invited? Can there be any limit on invitees' vocal prayers in public institutions even if they interfere with the normal activities which take place within those institutions? The negative wording of this sentence contrasts to the strong affirmation "Congress shall make no law . . ." of the First Amendment. When "or other public institutions" is added to the negative beginning, confusion has to be the result.

The original Judiciary Committee amendment, even with Baker's additions, offers no protection against government involvement in and sponsorship of prayer. The simple truth is that when someone chooses a prayer for another person to recite, the one who recites suffers a loss of autonomy and an interference with his or her personal relationship to God.

"Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to prohibit individual or group, vocal or silent prayer in public schools or other public institutions." (emphasis indicates Senator Baker's proposed addition.)

By adding these words it is assumed that Senator Baker hopes to reach a compromise. If so, he has failed. Those who assert that oral prayers alone are real prayers . . . will not be satisfied if a government decides to allow only silent prayer. Furthermore, the entire sentence is an affront to the religious liberty of all students and teachers in public schools and of the public at large in "other public institutions."

Any amendment to the Constitution must be measured by the maximum impact it can have rather than by its minimum effect. This is particularly true of an amendment which changes the fundamental liberties involved in the First Amendment. The wording of this sentence permits government to require individual or group, vocal or silent prayers. The fact that the government is permitted to do this is not necessarily a limit on what it can do in the arena of religious exercises. It constitutes the opening of a Pandora's box of litigation to redefine the metes and bounds of the religious liberty guarantees of the First Amendment.

"No person shall be required by the United States or by any state to participate in prayer. Provided, however, when time is set aside for vocal prayer a sepa-

rate and equivalent accommodation must be made for those who wish to pray silently or reflect on any subject of their choice." (emphasis indicates Senator Baker's addition)

This addition is an attempt to provide "separate but equal" facilities for those who do not want to pray the prayer selected "to be said." The "separate but equal" approach to solving individual rights issues was discredited in the 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. It should not be restored now in the context of prayer in the public school.

This wording may also require that school facilities be made available on a "separate but equal" basis for all types of religious groups who want to pray aloud but in a way different from others. The problems which schools "or other public institutions" would have in providing separate but equal facilities for a multiplicity of religious groups could be monumental.

"The authorization by the United States or any State of equal access to the use of public facilities by voluntary religious groups shall not constitute an establishment of religion." (emphasis indicates Senator Baker's addition)

These words could drastically change the American tradition of religious liberty and the separation of church and state. In essence the sentence mandates a homogenization of church and school. The only limit on this amalgamation would be self-restraint exercised by the local government and the churches. In many parts of the country—whether a part which is religiously highly pluralistic or one in which a particular religious body dominates—that would be little solace.

What is meant by "voluntary religious groups?" This wording could mean that staff/teachers/students could evangelize and recruit those in the school to their own religious group. It

could also mean that outside "voluntary religious groups"—such as The Way, the Hare Krishnas, the Unification Church, etc.—would have carte blanche to use the schools before, after, or during school hours to recruit members and to conduct religious exercises. In short, this wording could make public schools an extension of the broad spectrum of religious organizations found in the community.

Further, this language is essentially an emasculation of the establishment clause of the First Amendment as far as the public school system is concerned.

Senator Baker's language, at a cursory glance, resembles pending equal access legislation proposed by Senator Hatfield, S. 815, and Representative Bonker, H.R. 4996, but it lacks the even-handed protections of religious liberty those bills contain. □

Flexible view of "wall" discerned in High Court

The U.S. Supreme Court last month continued its examination of the boundaries between church and state. Some observers are convinced the decisions made in February and early March reflect the court's increasingly more flexible view of the "wall of separation" between religious and governmental institutions.

Nativity scenes

In a 5-4 decision March 5, the court ruled that cities and towns may erect Christmas nativity scenes without violating the Constitution.

The high court upheld the practice of including scenes depicting the birth of Christ as part of larger Christmas displays under sponsorship of municipal governments, ruling that such a practice is not inconsistent with the First Amendment's ban on an establishment of religion.

The opinion filed by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger relied heavily on a decision last term upholding the practice of state-paid legislative chaplains in which he held that the nation's founders did not intend to divorce religion from public life. Burger called the three-part test used by the court since 1970 as the litmus test for Establishment Clause disputes, "useful" but not mandatory.

Private colleges

On Feb. 28 the court ruled private colleges and universities—including church-related schools—must indicate compliance with federal anti-sex discrimination laws or see their students lose federal financial aid.

In a unanimous decision that surprised some observers, the high court ruled that the U.S. Department of Education acted within the law by stripping students at Grove City (Pa.) College of Basic Education Opportunity Grants after the school refused to submit forms indicating it does not discriminate against women.

Attorneys for the college had argued that because the school does not discriminate against women and receives no direct financial assistance, it should be exempt from the Department of Education's compliance rule.

The case involves the increasingly critical question of whether agencies of the federal government have statutory or constitutional authority to regulate the internal affairs of private institutions that receive no direct federal assistance.

Of particular concern to church-state attorneys such as John W. Baker, general counsel of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, is whether the decision will encourage the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to

seek to enforce federal hiring practices on administrative and support-level employees at theological seminaries.

Shared time

The court announced Feb. 27 it will decide if local school districts may lease classroom space from parochial schools to provide special education programs to nonpublic pupils.

In specific dispute is an eight-year-old policy of the Grand Rapids, Mich. public schools of leasing such space from parochial elementary and secondary schools to provide services such as remedial and enrichment reading and math courses, as well as art, music and physical education courses.

Lower courts concluded the policy runs afoul of the First Amendment's prohibition of an establishment of religion, because it has the effect of aiding religious schools and excessively entangling state officials with parochial school administrators.

Sabbath law

The court will decide next term if state legislatures may order employers to give their workers a day off each week for religious observances.

The dispute involves a Connecticut department store which refused to excuse an employee from work on Sundays to worship at his Presbyterian congregation. □ **Robert Dilday**

News in Brief



BJC defers action on Moon, staff associations

WASHINGTON
A decision on whether to enter the Sun Myung Moon tax evasion case as a "friend of the court" was postponed for further study by members of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs during their annual meeting.

The committee—and its Southern Baptist component, the Public Affairs Committee—also spent more than two hours discussing the involvement of BJCPA Executive Director-Treasurer James M. Dunn with People for the American Way, a First Amendment rights coalition.

In other business, the committee elected Donald Brewer, a Southern Baptist attorney from Chicago as chairman and adopted a \$505,919 preliminary budget for 1984-85.

Committee members, by a 15-6 vote, requested the staff to study BJCPA involvement in the Moon tax evasion case, and to consult with committee officers before making a final decision on whether to file a motion with the Supreme Court on behalf of the controversial Korean head of the Unification Church.

John W. Baker, general counsel of the Baptist Joint Committee, reviewed the case for the committee, specifying that to join would in no way indicate any agreement with the church but would only be because of the "significant religious liberty issues involved."

Baker said the major concern "is not Moon's guilt or innocence in the tax evasion case, but whether the church or the government determines what is religious and non-religious in the expenditure of church funds.

Parties asking the court to review the case, said Baker, "are a remarkable collection of people who normally wouldn't talk to each other," ranging from the National Association of Evangelicals to the National Council of Churches.

The issue of Dunn's recently expired term on the advisory board of PAW was raised by Albert Lee Smith, from Birmingham, Ala., a frequent critic of Dunn's relationship with PAW and of one of PAW's founders, television producer Norman Lear.

During a miscellaneous business session of the joint committee Smith voiced complaint over the involvement of Lear, a \$40,000 grant from the Playboy Foundation to help PAW get started in 1980, and a free advertisement which appeared in *Playboy* magazine.

Dunn reiterated he has declined a second term on the PAW advisory board and that his only involvement with PAW is as "one of 105,000 people who receive its newsletter." He told the Committee that not one penny of Cooperative Program money ever went to People for the American Way.

Dunn, who was executive director of the Texas Baptist Christian Life Commission prior to coming to the BJCPA in 1981, told Smith: "I will not take a back seat to anyone in my commitment to moral causes... I have been very visible in these efforts, even to the point of having death threats made against me and my family."

Smith, before the entire meeting, finally moved that "no staff member shall be involved in or participate in any activity with or have any identification with Norman Lear and the People for the American Way."

After a discussion which lasted more than an hour and a half and featured a parliamentary tangle of substitute motions and a suspension of the rules, the committee finally voted 18-2 to "table indefinitely" the matter. □

Dan Martin

Vatican mission approval overlooks religious issue

WASHINGTON
The Senate voted March 7 to confirm William A. Wilson as United States Ambassador to the Vatican.

The 81-13 vote in favor of confirming the California land developer and long-time personal friend of President Reagan left only informal funding approval by House and Senate appropriations panels standing in the way of completing congressional action on the administration's decision to establish full diplomatic ties with the Holy See.

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., told colleagues he opposed the action on church-state separation grounds and "because we should not be sending a political representative to politicize that church."

A similar note was sounded by Sen. John P. East, R-NC, who said he feared "that in making this fundamentally a political relationship we lessen the potential moral persuasion of the papacy and all of the other great Catholic leadership we find in the world today."

Meanwhile, Baptists continued their strong opposition to an ambassador to the Vatican as a Senate appropriations panel considered a State Department request to reallocate funds for a full U.S. diplomatic mission to the Holy See.

Three Southern Baptist witnesses, including Baptist General Association of Virginia president William L. Lumpkin, joined other religious representatives in urging the Senate Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary to deny the reprogramming request.

Despite acknowledged opposition to the Vatican mission by members of the panel, chances that the funding committee might reject the reprogramming were sharply diminished by the Senate's confirmation of Wilson.

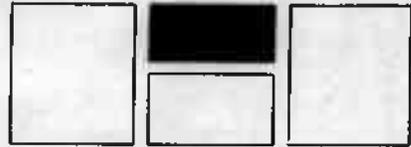
Lumpkin, pastor of Freemason Street Baptist Church, Norfolk, Va., was joined at the hearing by Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs general counsel John W. Baker and Americans United for Separation of Church and State executive director Robert L. Maddox, a Southern Baptist minister. □

Judge calls deprogramming false imprisonment

MINNEAPOLIS
In a surprise development that could have national significance, a federal judge has ruled that Bill Eilers was falsely imprisoned in 1982 by religious deprogrammers who abducted and held him against his will.

U.S. District Judge Harry MacLaughlin said his decision will not be a popular one. "Being the father of two college-age sons, the court has substantial sympathy for the feelings and reactions of the parents" of Mr. Eilers and his ex-wife, he said.

"However, this court is sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States. If the basic constitutional rights of an American citizen are not recognized in a federal court by a federal



judge, where will they be recognized?"

The defense was constructed around the fact that the families of Mr. Eilers and his former wife, Sandy, had arranged the deprogramming because they feared Mr. Eilers was suicidal and that the couple was under mind control in the religious fellowship known as the Disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Under the law, the deprogrammers were required to show three things in order to establish that the abduction was justifiable: that there was a danger of "imminent physical injury" to Mr. Eilers or others; that Mr. Eilers was kept only as long as was needed to get him to proper authorities; and that the means used was the "least restrictive means" available.

The Judge said in his decision "The defendants' failure to even attempt to use the lawful alternatives available to them is fatal to their necessity defense." □

Carter gives firm 'no' to questions on prayer

MINNEAPOLIS

Former President Jimmy Carter responded with a firm "no" when he was asked whether he favored a school prayer amendment.

He gave three reasons: The Constitution should not be tampered with during an election year; there are opportunities now for students to pray if they feel so inclined; and "as a Baptist," he said he believes strongly in separation of church and state.

The former president said teachers should not require students to worship or embarrass those who choose not to. □

NY refuses exemption to anti-bias order

NEW YORK

New York City Mayor Edward Koch has refused to grant the Salvation Army a religious exemption from his executive order barring job discrimination against homosexuals.

As a result, the Salvation Army will lose \$4.4 million in 10 social service contracts with the city for day care, foster home and family care services.

In denying the exemption, Mayor

Koch said that, while religious groups were free to follow their beliefs, they must comply with city laws when they receive government money to provide services.

Col. Wallace C. Conrath, divisional commander of the religious organization, said it doesn't practice discrimination. He said "we reserve the right to be discriminatory in who we hire for positions in which values are transmitted." □

Witness bled to death; hospital found negligent

NEW YORK

A New York Supreme Court jury has awarded \$1.25 million to a man whose wife, a Jehovah's Witness, bled to death in 1975 at a city hospital following the Caesarean birth of her fourth child.

Bessie Randolph had ordered physicians not to give her blood because of her religious beliefs. However, her husband Howard Randolph, not a Witness, said he supported the procedure and sued the hospital for negligence in delaying the transfusion and let her bleed to death after the child had been delivered. □

Church, State Department at odds over rights abuses

WASHINGTON

The State Department has sent members of Congress a classified analysis challenging the methods used by the Catholic archdiocese of San Salvador to calculate human rights violations in El Salvador.

The analysis also defends the methods used by the department which yield much lower human rights abuse estimates.

Bringing the dispute to light was a report issued by Americas Watch, regional affiliate of the Helsinki Watch Committee, which defended the archdiocese against the U.S. criticism.

Civilian deaths counted by the archdiocese are those it has determined through eyewitnesses occurred illegally, the report said. Included are civilians killed fleeing battle, pulled from their homes and killed, and those thought by the authorities to have

aided the guerrillas in some way.

In the U.S. embassy cable the death squads were identified as the chief source of human rights violations—not the U.S.-funded army, which, according to the archdiocese, is responsible for most of the deaths.

The cable points out that if only the death-squad killings are counted, the figures on murders compiled by the archdiocese are "remarkably similar" to approximately 1500 deaths reported by the U.S. embassy. It emphasized that death-squad murders have declined under U.S. pressure, and said most of those killed should be considered "something more than innocent civilian bystanders." □

Students' faith thrives but school obeys the law

POWDER SPRINGS

Every morning, the 1600 students at McEachern High School in suburban Atlanta, get out of their seats, pledge their allegiance and listen to a thought for the day. Sometimes the thought comes from the Bible, sometimes it doesn't.

That is the extent of this school's official involvement in religion, according to its principal Ralph Williams. "We try to follow all the federal laws. We want to make sure everyone feels good about their beliefs," he said.

Unofficially, however, the school could qualify as one of the most evangelistic public schools in the nation, through after-school programs that attract half its student body.

The high religious interest at the school is due to coaches and head coaches "who are committed to Christ," Mr. Williams said. One Cobb County school official also noted the conservative and rural heritage of the area. □

Observe Religious Liberty Day • June 1984

Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs
Washington, DC

As the United States searches for ways to restore its economic prosperity, its social stability, and its respect for its political institutions, it needs to look to the time when these institutions were formed and not all the way back to the Puritans and Pilgrim Fathers who merged church and state. That Pilgrims and Puritans merged them can be understood, because they did not know any other kind of government. It would take the colonies more than a century and a half (1607 to 1787) to learn the most valuable lesson in political science—that merging church and state is bad for both institutions. When the state dominates the church, free exercise of religion is lost. When the church dominates the state, religion becomes established, and free exercise is denied to all who do not fall into line.

Desperate Confusion

The present national desperation is perhaps best mirrored in the results of a poll *Good Housekeeping* conducted a while ago to discover the people Americans admire most. President Ronald Reagan, Jerry Falwell, Billy Graham and Pope John Paul II headed the list. The latter three are religious leaders, who are becoming increasingly vocal in political areas. The one politician has become almost as vocal on religious matters. Do Americans want church and state to merge again? Many seem to be crying out for supernatural solutions. When will they learn that the solution to a nation's ills is not found in having their government promote God, but in having individuals receive God voluntarily?

Stephen D. Swihart, author of *Armageddon 1982?*, writes, "In a democracy the land is preserved by people who do these things: believe, pray, vote, witness, and become active in school boards, church boards and government activities. If the land is to be run by Christian standards, then Chris-

John Stevens lives in southern California, where he is president of the Church-State Council. This article is used by permission of *Signs of the Times*, a Seventh-Day Adventist publication.

Free to Exercise Whose Religion?

tians must run the land—from the PTA to the sessions of the federal government." Sadly Swihart seems to have missed the significance of Christ's statement, "My kingdom is not of this world." John 18:36.

There is a growing wistfulness in America for the strong autocratic rule of religious tyrants that was unfortunately typical of the early colonies, where Quakers were banished because of their religion, "witches" were burned as convenient scapegoats, and Sunday desecrators were put in public stocks and, in some instances, executed.

At the time the Revolutionary War broke out in 1775 nine of the thirteen colonies had established religion, in spite of the fact that fewer than 10 percent of the population professed any formal church affiliation. While many of the colonists believed in God, they chose not to be part of organized religion. Its autocratic control certainly did not recommend it. The first six Presidents held no formal church membership. The new nation had broken with the past. It wanted a government without a king, free of the dominating influence of established religion.

Everyone Equal

Some zealous Virginians had sought to have the name of God or Christ placed in official Virginia documents, but such moves availed nothing. Thomas Jefferson's *Act for Establishing Religious Freedom*, adopted by the Virginia Assembly in 1785, did not satisfy some religious leaders.

Jefferson recorded the incident: "Where the preamble declares that coercion is a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of religion, an amendment was proposed by inserting the words 'Jesus Christ,' so that it should read, 'a departure from the plan of Jesus Christ, the Holy Author of our religion;' the insertion was rejected by a great majority, in proof that they meant to comprehend within the mantle of its protection the Jew, and the Gentile, the Christian and Mahometan, the Hindoo, and infidel of every denomination."

A growing element in contemporary society not only seeks special standing for Christians over non-Christians, it is actively claiming that this is exactly what the Founding Fathers had in mind, that they wished to continue the colonial Christian confederacy. They claim that Christians were given privileged status by the nation's founders. They insist that national and state laws be enacted to reflect Christian teachings, not only in the area of social morality, but also in the area of religious morality.

In this, they are very far from the true spirit of the Founding Fathers.

When the thirteen original states were asked to ratify the proposed constitution, it was opposed partly because it had no reference to God, but chiefly because it did not have a Bill of Rights. Only after assurance that such guarantees would be forthcoming was it ratified. Madison's opening words for the bill were, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." They constituted a seal of approval rather than a repudiation of the absence of a reference to God in the Constitution. It should be noted that the first guarantee was that there would be no establishment of religion, for this was of far greater concern than the necessary free exercise. By nature, government must be neutral in matters of religion. But in a representative form of government, the founders knew that religious special-interest groups could influence elected representatives to establish their form of religion, and they wisely sought to prevent it from ever happening.

When the state dominates the church, free exercise of religion is lost. When the church dominates the state, religion becomes established, and free exercise is denied to all who do not fall into line.

Spiritual Tyranny

This same James Madison, who later became the fourth president of the new nation, had objected strenuously in 1785 against legislation that would have levied taxes in Virginia for the support of religious teachers. In his famous *Memorial* he had pointed to the danger of religious supremacy in law. "If religion be not within the cognizance of civil government, how can its legal establishment be necessary to civil government? What influence in fact have ecclesiastical establishments had on civil society? In some instances they have been seen to erect a spiritual tyranny on the ruins of civil authority; in many instances they have been seen upholding the thrones of political tyranny; in no instance have they been seen the guardians of the liberties of the people. Rulers who wished to subvert the public liberty, may have found in established clergy convenient auxiliaries. A just government instituted to secure and perpetuate it needs them not."

Madison received overwhelming support against Patrick Henry's Virginia establishment bill which sought to justify intervention in society, not on any theocratic ground but on what today would be called police or welfare power. The Founding Fathers saw the role of government as one to preserve peace and safety, not as one to promote the kingdom of God on earth.

The First Amendment was foremost in seeking to protect people from religion and to guarantee freedom of religion—specifically in that order. Today revisionists are defining religious free exercise as the right to impose certain religious exercises into public institutions and to require private behavior to conform to certain religious doctrines—the very thing the founders recognized to be an establishment of religion.

Religious discord is a perplexing problem that can easily get out of

hand. In times past, even in the American colonies, death was often the price paid for religious dissent. Madison wrote: "Torrents of blood have been spilt in the old world, by vain attempts of the secular arm, to extinguish religious discord, by proscribing all differences in religious opinion. Time has at length revealed the true remedy. Every relaxation of narrow and rigorous policy, wherever it has been tried, has been found to assuage the disease."

How grateful this nation should be that when the crisis came and a new nation was born, it was men like Jefferson, Madison and Washington whose religion dictated their behavior in loving their neighbor as themselves. It could have been the Cotton Mathers, who thought God called on them to stamp out heretics. Evidence is clear that God has smiled on this nation's concept of freedom. The nation embarked on a new experiment: it was not founded on religious establishment, and God blessed.

It appears our nation is headed the way of the once proud and successful Roman Empire, whose justice, prosperity and good will become just a memory of the past. When Constantine merged the empire with Christianity, its decline accelerated until it fell to the ravages of barbarian tribes. The medicine proved to be more deadly than the disease. Shouldn't the United States learn from history and avoid self-destruction? The rise of Rome came under a secular government. Its fatal decline occurred when Rome became a Christian empire.

To use Patrick Henry's words spoken in another context, let us "profit from their example." □

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What mean these

Testimonies Deut. 6:20

PROGRESSIVE BAPTISTS: ON PAROCHIAL AID AND STATE RELIGIOUS EXERCISE IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Progressive National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc., organized in 1961, has addressed crucial issues facing the nation—black economic self help, family life, unemployment, health care, El Salvador and South Africa. They have also taken strong stances on religious liberty questions. Below are two resolutions relating to parochial aid and state religious exercises in the public school.

"Whereas, the public school system is one of the basic foundations for the preservation of a democratic society;—our school system is now threatened because of pending legislation which would have the Federal Government fund parochial and private schools,

We denounce any attempts and legislation that would divert federal dollars from the public school system to support parochial and private schools . . .

Be it therefore resolved that the PNBC urge that there be a greater Federal tax support of public school education . . .

—August 6-13, 1976, Los Angeles

"Whereas Baptists have always opposed the forced taxation of a person to a form of religion which he/she does not freely embrace, and

Whereas Baptists believe that a Gospel informed conscience is inviolable and that home and worship places are the proper citadel for its nurture, and

Whereas Baptists maintain that the Spirit expressed in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is necessary in a religiously pluralistic society, and

Whereas the phrase 'legislating voluntary prayer in public schools' is a linguistic contradiction and a political and religious 'trojan horse',

Be it resolved that this Convention record its opposition to efforts to place prayer in public schools by whatever means."

—August 5, 1982, Cleveland

Gary McNeil

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



New agreements modify status of religion in Italy

ROME

The Italian parliament has given the go-ahead for the signing of a new bilateral accord with the Vatican, replacing the one made 55 years ago with fascist dictator Benito Mussolini.

The pact will modify Rome's status as a "sacred city" and bring far-reaching changes in Italy's formal relationship with the Catholic Church.

The old accord was reached on Feb. 11, 1929 between Mussolini and Pope Pius XI. It was part of the so-called Lateran Pact that established the 108.7-acre Vatican City as an independent state. It ended a half-century of church-state conflict that began when Italian troops stormed into Rome in 1870, unifying the country and ending the temporal rule of popes over one-third of Italy.

Under the new agreement, Roman Catholicism will cease to be "the only religion of the state."

Rome will no longer be described in law as the "Sacred City." That status made possible the banning of books, plays and films considered offensive to the papacy or to the church. Instead, the Italian state will recognize only Rome's "particular significance" for Catholics.

A joint Vatican-Italy commission will be given an extra six months to formulate new tax policies before the entire concordat returns to parliament for final ratification.

Three days later, the government signed a church-state treaty with Italy's tiny Methodist and Waldensian Protestant communities to end discrimination against Protestants. The new agreement guarantees them full religious freedom. A similar treaty with the Jewish community is being negotiated. □

Guidelines on cults debate scheduled by Europeans

BRUSSELS

The European Parliament is scheduled this month to debate possible guidelines for religious cults after a two-year investigation of such bodies in the European community.

Proposed guidelines include guaranteed access to members of cults by families and friends at all times, the

open identification of religious movements during recruitment, no encouragement to break the law, and the right of recruits to seek independent advice and medical help.

The two-year survey was a response to anxieties expressed in some member communities about the Unification Church, and information from members of the European Parliament that they were receiving more mail about religious cults than on many other subjects. □

Niemoller dead at 92; rebelled against Hitler

WEISBADEN

Dr. Martin Niemoller, the Lutheran churchman who led the World War II Protestant resistance to the Nazi regime in Germany, died March 6 at his home here. He was 92.

The leading German pastor spent eight years in concentration camps for his resistance to Hitler. It was during his pastoral years that he rebelled against Hitler's invasion of church affairs and commands on the Christian conscience. □

Church leads campaign to protest forced relocation

CAPE TOWN

A major church-led campaign against the government's policy of forcibly relocating black South Africans was launched on Feb. 8, after a two-day meeting of Christian leaders in Johannesburg.

"We are basically saying this is an evil and iniquitous practice. It is a cornerstone of apartheid policy," said Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

In a study sponsored by the Dutch Protestant churches, the Surplus Peoples Project reported last year that 2.5 million South Africans, most of them black, had already been moved under the relocation policies, and that another two million were under threat of removal. These removals have taken place as part of an attempt by the government to put people in 10 racially segregated tribal homelands where African people are to exercise their political rights. □

Public dependency brief, says CWS refugee survey

NEW YORK

The vast majority of refugees resettled in the United States since 1980 are becoming self-supporting and most of those receiving public aid use it only as transitional assistance, says a report by Church World Service, the relief and development agency of the National Council of Churches.

"Refugee use of public assistance is significantly lower than is commonly believed," the report said. The survey found that the most commonly used public assistance programs are food stamps and medical assistance. □

Baptists worldwide ask prayer, letters for Lebanon

BEIRUT

Another Baptist church member has been killed in the Lebanon strife. The death of Mr. Samuel Atweh on February 6 brings the known total of Baptist believers who have died since last September to three.

Mr. Atweh was killed when he left a shelter of the Badarro Street Baptist Church to return home to procure some needed items for his family who remained with a group staying in the church basement.

The Rev. Finley Graham, a Scotsman who is associate Middle East director for the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board, said there are small funds on hand for relief which are used as distribution movement in the area is possible.

Baptist World Alliance figures showed 525 baptized believers in Lebanon for 1983. There are about 16 Baptist churches and mission points. A number of Baptist missionaries from South Africa, England, Australia and other countries work with the Middle East Christian Outreach. MECO international director Douglas Anderson is a Baptist from Australia, and the national leader in Lebanon is a Baptist church deacon.

European Baptist Federation General Secretary Knud Wumpelmann urged prayer for Lebanon, saying "Christians everywhere should not only pray, but should let believers in Lebanon know they are praying. Rev. Wumpelmann suggested sending such letters to the



Rev. Ghassan Khalaf, President, Lebanon Baptist Convention, Box 11-5232, Beirut.

However, since air mail deliveries are not going into Beirut for the time being, the letters may be addressed to Khalaf in care of Box 5058, Nicosia, Cyprus. □

Namibia renews call for end to guerrilla war

CAPE TOWN

The Council of Churches in Namibia has renewed a call to end a guerrilla war in the territory illegally occupied by South Africa since 1966, while welcoming South Africa's announced plan to withdraw its forces from neighboring Angola.

Observers said the statement might imply a new effort by the insurgent South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) to achieve a negotiated settlement with South Africa to end nearly two decades of fighting in Namibia.

The agreement between South Africa and Angola, reached with the assistance of U.S. diplomats, involves a phased withdrawal of both South African and Cuban troops from Angola, U.S. recognition of the Angolan elections, and the implementing of the UN resolutions for a cease-fire and elections in Namibia. □

'Protest of heart' leads to church attendance in China

GENEVA

The attraction of Christian worship for non-believers in China "is that it is different from whatever there is in daily life in China," says the evangelism secretary of the World Council of Churches.

The Rev. Raymond Fung, a Baptist minister from Hong Kong, writes about evangelism in China in the January issue of the World Council's "Monthly Letter on Evangelism."

"In a highly uniformed society and totally authoritarian, the only regular corporate life experience different from what the state and its apparatus can provide and yet easily accessible to the people is the Christian church," Dr. Fung says.

He asserts that people "do not come for the intellectual strength of the sermons. The sermons are generally long, smattering and moralistic, given by people deprived of biblical tools and burdened with memories. Chinese preachers would be the first to admit their own inadequacy."

Non-believers coming to church in China, the WCC official says, "contains an element of protest—not protest of an articulate, organized political nature against specific government policies, but a protest of the heart against an uncaring bureaucracy whose mighty decrees often come on people's lives unexplained and unexplainable."

In China today, Dr. Fung says, "Christian identification with people leads to people's identification with the Christians, and with it, the faith which challenges and the strength which sustains." □

Priest leaves parliament at request of Vatican

OTTAWA

When the Canadian Parliament opened its latest session at the end of January, the Rev. Bob Ogle took his place as the last Catholic priest in national political office in North America. But with an election expected to be called in the next few months, Father Ogle resigned his party's nomination on orders from the Vatican.

He disclosed that a letter from the Pope's envoy to Canada said the Vatican had asked that Father Ogle leave public office, saying that "just and reasonable cause had not been proven" for his being a candidate.

As late as February it had been expected that Father Ogle would run again, but he said that the decision [that he not stand for office] seemed to be a change in the direction of the Roman Curia toward tighter central control. □

Dom Helder to retire

BRASILIA

Latin America's best known populist churchman, Dom Helder Pessoa Camara, offered his resignation as bishop of Olinda and Recife on Feb. 7, his 75th birthday. □

NEWS-SCAN

Pierre Trudeau, Canadian Prime Minister, has been asked by the World Council of Churches to "do whatever is necessary to redress past injustices" to an Indian band in Alberta. The director of the WCC's Program to Combat Racism said the situation of the **Lubikon Lake Indian Band** is "desperate, crucial and urgent," cautioning the prime minister that it is "clearly and unavoidably in your hands, and . . . disastrous consequences can be avoided only by your immediate action. Oil companies invaded the band's area but made no effort to seek equitable or just settlement of their land claim. . . . About 4 percent of the world population—some **197 million people consciously call themselves atheists**, says the president of the Vatican Secretariat for Non-believers. Archbishop Paul Poupard said the trend represents a "great challenge" to the churches. He says atheism was the official state doctrine in 30 countries, populated by more than one-third of the world's people. . . . Of the **150 million persons** on the continent of Africa who are starving, some 4 million in Mozambique were suffering from the country's worst drought in history and an estimated 40,000 already have died. Ironically, the solution—water—arrived but in such tremendous quantities that rushing waters washed out roads and rail lines, so relief operations were slowed or stopped entirely. Growing crops and trees bearing nuts coconut and fruit were uprooted by flooding. **BWA's Archie Goldie** arranged channels for sending food into Mozambique but that has been held up by red tape. Baptist World Aid immediately sent \$10,000 to the National Baptist Churches to provide food, medicines and shelter to stricken communities in Swaziland. . . . Blame the **iconoclasts** in every denomination in Britain for the increasing closure and demolition of many of the nation's historic churches. A report, "Deserted Sepulchres," gives case histories and states that while there are various external factors at play, the "churches have also been deeply affected by attitudes which, in their unhealthy blend of the throw-away mentality of contemporary society and of supposedly early Christian primitivism, attempt to provide a rationale" for doing away with church buildings. □

CORRESPONDENCE

Confidence in Separation Principle

Your continued concern and diligent work for religious liberty is so appreciated. Just today I listened to the Reverend Jerry Falwell strongly encouraging a group of Atlanta area ministers and laypersons to support the prayer bill and tuition tax credits endorsed by President Reagan. I observed no evidence of logic or clarity in his presentation.

Yet, obviously, this large group of influential community leaders was moved to support these glowingly presented, yet dangerously faulty, issues of legislation. Your strong clear voice of truth and understanding is so needed. Our religious freedom cannot continue to be threatened by well-meaning, yet misled, religious and community leaders.

The former mayor of an Oregon town (now controlled by the cultic followers of the guru, Bhagwan) was asked if there was any hope for continuing to live in religious freedom there. She responded, "Yes, separation of church and state is our only hope." Must we all face such a situation before we see clearly?

John D. Pierce
Marietta, GA

Honor Integrity

[Re: a motion to disqualify a Baptist leader from an official position because of his membership in Moral Majority and/or judgement of James Dunn's service with People for the American Way] ... what I do find antagonistic and ominous is any attempt to shackle the mind or diminish the freedom of any fellow Baptist or set up a code of good or evil associations among Baptists. This to me is the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not to stand... we are all Baptists and must honor in good faith the integrity of all.

W. W. Finlator
Raleigh, NC

All too often we write to a publication only when we are displeased with what it is doing. Let me help start a trend—that of writing to praise you and your work. You represent me and my viewpoints well. ... Baptists should be proud to have a man of Mr. Dunn's ability represent them. I for one am quite tired of and have had more than enough of a vocal ten percent minority throwing rocks at anything they disagree with. Please keep up the good work.

Stephen P. Rowles
Wake Forest, NC

Not the same

Please do what you can about Equal Access Bills now in the legislature. This has gotten completely out of hand, and, if an amendment is what it will take to straighten it out, so be it.

It is a shame to have people fighting over this in a free country. If someone doesn't wish their child to pray, they

could sit in the hall while others exercise their right to pray.

Irene Morris
Atwood, TN

[Ed. Note: It is important to keep in mind the distinction between Equal Access legislation and the President's Constitutional amendment on prayer in public schools. The constitutional amendment would have allowed school sponsored prayer periods. Equal access bills provide that when a school allows non-school sponsored student groups to meet on their own initiative and without any official encouragement, no such group may be excluded because their activity includes prayer or religious speech. The Baptist Joint Committee supports the Hatfield Bill, S. 815 and its companion H.R. 4996. The prayer amendment proposes government-sponsored daily, audible prayer, written or approved by local school boards, administrators, teachers, or students. The Joint Committee opposes this and all other amendments, believing that currently voluntary prayer is not prohibited by the U.S. Constitution. See **VIEWS**, page 6]

Thank you for carrying the battle re: prayer in schools. When we count out the people who support the prayer amendment for political reasons, we have left those who want school teachers to do for children what they ought to do at home. The present administration is lacking in knowledge of religion and history.

R. Dean Goodwin
Norristown, PA

Ambassador to the Holy See

Keep up the good work. It is hot under the gun, but keep shooting! We have to hear what you have to say...

Dearl L. Bunce
Lexington, NC

...admire your way of handling the ambassador (to the Vatican) issue, and hope that those who believe in separation of church and state will join you in the fight to get such exchange of ambassadors cancelled.

We urge you—millions [of Southern Baptists]—urge you to continue the fight, through all political channels and the courts, if necessary...

K. P. Walker
Midland, TX

Learning from Dunn

I take **REPORT** from the **CAPITAL** and enjoy Dr. Dunn's editorials, and from these I see a concern for love, peace, and freedom of choice.

We find ourselves as Christians talking about freedom in Christ, but we seldom practice it in our daily lives... I know I have been blessed by Dr. Dunn and have grown in the Lord because of him.

Dubbie Truitt
Sterling City, TX

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Complete addresses of all participants at the 1983 National Religious Liberty Conference. Tapes (unless noted) include one major and one minor address, plus one poetry reading. Order these tapes, at \$6.00 each, postpaid.

COX, Harvey: Baptist Identity as Experiential Religion; HOWARD, A.E. Dick: Baptist Identity and the Bill of Rights and EDELMAN, Marian Wright: My Baptist Heritage and Compassion for Children; ESTEP, William R.: Our Anabaptist Roots and HARRIS, LaDonna: My Baptist Heritage and Native American Identity; 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; MOYERS, Bill and Judith: Baptist Identity as a Family of Faith; AUTRY, James A.: Readings from *Night Under a Tin Roof* (Poetry)

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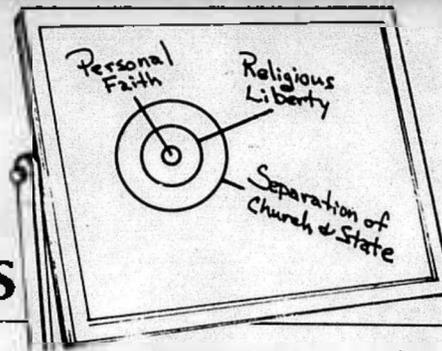
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REFLECTIONS



James M. Dunn
Executive Director



There's danger in using line drawings to illustrate ideas. Theological truth does not lend itself passively to simple charts. Even the best analogies break down when pushed a bit beyond the insight that birthed them.

Yet, for one who sketches the whole history of philosophy on a blackboard, charts Kant's categorical imperative in a cloud of chalk dust and draws the meaning of Greek prepositions in a picture plainer than the plays for Saturday's football game, the temptation is great.

There is a relationship between my personal faith, the concept of religious liberty and its corollary, the separation of church and state, that begs for a drawing.

Personal Faith

The towering statue of Thomas Jefferson stands in his memorial overlooking the tidal basin and the White House. His words ring the Grecian monument and resound with the judgment of justice: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Authentic religion is found essentially in the personal and spiritual relationship of the individual with God. The story of the ancient Hebrews reveals beautifully the acceptance of this axiom. Sacrifice, law, nationhood, strong leaders, wisdom, the force of arms, ritual, ceremony, false gods and idols all took their turn as counterfeit approaches to God. But the Lord called for heartfelt, inward religion. "If from thence thou shalt seek the Lord thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou seek him with all thy heart and with all thy soul." (Deut. 4:29)

Creatures made in God's image and therefore able to respond to God are responsible to their Creator. Early in the story sacred to Christians and Jews, God's children are reminded that "to obey is better than sacrifice, and to harken than the fat of rams." (1 Samuel 15:22)

The words of Jesus call for a religion of personal integrity: "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." (John 4:24) Times and places and trappings are inconsequential to true worship. The message of the early church calls for a religion of personal accountability: "So then, every one of us shall give account of himself to God." (Romans 14:12) Only some fiendish demon in hell would hold us accountable for that over which we had no choice or control. We are free and responsible in our personal faith.

Religious Liberty

If we are personally liable for our belief and behavior then we must be free to choose them for ourselves. If we share the good news with others in mission venture and personal witness then we surely expect the hearers to be free to accept or reject the proffered message. If we unashamedly identify as followers of the living Christ then we resist any intrusion in that most sacred and immediate of relationships. (1 Timothy 2:5)

Those who major in experiential religion, who insist upon the priesthood of the believer, who believe in missions and evangelism, and who claim a personal

relationship with Jesus Christ will be the first to see the close connection between the inner circle of personal faith and the next, religious liberty.

The center represents the ultimate, lonely, one-to-one intensity of an individual's encounter with the Holy. But we are social beings. We do not practice a lone wolf religion. Since that's the situation, what are the social implications of my personal faith, its nature and content? Of course, my relationship with God shapes all other relationships. This second circle of the social, the interpersonal, the ethical, the moral sphere of life has many facets. Together, we are in the same small boat on a stormy sea and we owe each other a terrible loyalty.

To be just and fair we extend to others the same freedom we claim for ourselves. The golden rule and the love commandments form a firm foundation for religious freedom. There is no hope for genuine religious experience without freedom. This involves respect and sensitive, empathetic, love-thy-neighbor-as-thyself acceptance. The center circles interact.

Without the freedom to say "no" to God all the world's "yesses" are a hissing mockery. Unless our freedom of religion goes all the way to include possible freedom from religion, we are guilty of toleration, a sin of smugness.

We hear much about traditional values today. One of the most slighted is liberty. Is it not ironic that some would impose by force of law their values upon all Americans and in doing so deny the value so central to the American experiment: liberty?

Separation of Church and State

Just so, the separation of church and state is an institution, a codified public policy, a distinctly American device for protecting religious liberty. It does not represent hostility toward religion, nor separate believers from their citizenship, nor rule religion out of the common life of the community.

The practice of and need for separation of church and state in this country is based on a realistic estimate of human nature. One could say of church-state separation what Reinhold Niebuhr said of democracy, "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

The history of church-state relations in the United States offers the most persuasive argument of all for our arrangement. It has been best for the church and best for the state. The history of the human race reveals the need for checks on religious zealotry as much as for restraints of state tyranny. One need but glance at the Crusades for the Holy Grail, Northern Ireland or listen to the rantings of civil religionists today proclaiming this a "Christian nation" to shudder at the cracks in the wall of separation between church and state.

I know that it is only one way of looking at individual belief, this society's commonly accepted rubric for dealing with religion and the structural buffer zone of separation that we use to protect us from ourselves. It's only a chalkboard doodle. I know. □

REVIEWS



THE SOVIET VIEWPOINT

By George A. Arbatov and William Oltmans, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, \$13.95, 240 pp.

George A. Arbatov, known as the leading Soviet expert on the United States and the Soviet Union, has coauthored with William Oltmans, a noted Dutch author and journalist, *The Soviet Viewpoint*. After a Foreword by Oltmans, an introduction by former Senator J. William Fulbright and a brief preface by George Arbatov, the rest of the book consists of an interview of Arbatov by Oltmans.

A wide range of topics is covered by Mr. Oltman's questions. The first chapter deals with detente and the value of accurate perceptions. The history of Soviet-American relations is the theme of questions in Chapter two, while "Peace and War, the Arms Race and Arms Control" is the title of the third chapter. Chapter four explores the issues of ideology, human rights and dissidents, and Chapter five looks at US and USSR relations with the rest of the world. A concluding chapter has Arbatov speculating, somewhat reluctantly, about the future.

Mr. Arbatov is a very articulate critic of US policy and the book is most instructive when he is speaking of US foreign policy and how it can be and is being construed by the USSR. He points out that detente is really the only alternative in USSR/US relations since the continuing tension and hostility brings such a high risk of war. He suggests that detente may be the dominant spirit even when both sides are doing things against the interests of the other; e.g. the era of detente during Nixon's tenure occurred while the US was fighting a war against Soviet allies in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Arbatov, on the other hand, is less than convincing when he attempts to explain Soviet behavior; for example, in Afghanistan or on human rights. Having just read *On Sakharov* it is apparent that the perspective of Arbatov, as director of the Institute of the United States and Canadian Studies, and that of Sakharov, as a dissident in exile in Georgi is quite different. Sakharov was at one time, too, a significant figure supporting the "establishment" in the Soviet Union and his current exile is testimony to the

closed nature of Soviet society. It is this closed character that makes the Soviet Union so difficult to deal with even though it is vitally important that we do so. Mr. Arbatov speaks rather optimistically about the possibility that East and West can narrow the gap in their understandings of human rights.

During the Cuban Missile Crisis President Kennedy was reading Barbara Tuchman's classic study about the beginnings of World War I, *The Guns of August*, which showed how misunderstandings led to war. President Kennedy wanted to guard against making such mistakes and so should we all. Perhaps *The Soviet Viewpoint* can help us establish a dialogue that will lead to lessened tension.

This book is especially significant in part because we are living in a time of hostile rhetoric and increasing tension between the two Superpowers. It is also important because of Mr. Arbatov's influential position as a consultant since 1964 to Yuri Andropov. □

Larry Pullen

THE LIFE EXPERIENCE AND GOSPEL LABORS of the Rt.

Rev. Richard Allen

By Richard Allen, Nashville: Abingdon, 1983, pp. 96, \$3.95 (paper)

In this era of budget cutting on the backs of the poor, Richard Allen's persuasive address on the necessity of practicing Christian charity could still put the modern reader to shame with such statements as "Shillings and

Reviewers

Larry Pullen heads the office of peace concerns for American Baptists and is active in speaking out for peace in churches and conferences.

pounds upon our vanity and folly, but scarce a few pence upon doing good!" It's good sermon material!

This slim autobiography provides an engaging although brief glimpse at one of the giants of the Black church best known as one of the founders of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. His early years spent as a slave and his struggles as a young preacher walking through several states until his feet had blisters are inspiring pages. He also raised a Black legion of troops during the War of 1812.

Supplementary historical documents give an inside picture of heroic efforts by the Black community of Philadelphia to provide nursing assistance and bury the dead during the epidemic of 1793. □

(GF)

Committee, from page 5

Donald Graffius, an attorney from New Enterprise, Pa., representing the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference, said he had served on a local school board and commented, "Whoever is in the majority could have the privilege of deciding on a prayer which could put the minority person in a humiliating position."

C. Welton Gaddy, campus minister at Mercer University in Macon, Ga., representing the SBC, said he finds it "theologically abhorrent for a community to decide it can only pray when the government allows it."

John Binder, of Oakbrook Terrace, Ill., and executive secretary of the North American Baptist Conference, said "assumptions" such prayers will be Christian are false assumptions.

He added "Baptists who believe they can go roughshod over everybody else means they really aren't concerned about religious liberty anymore." □

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