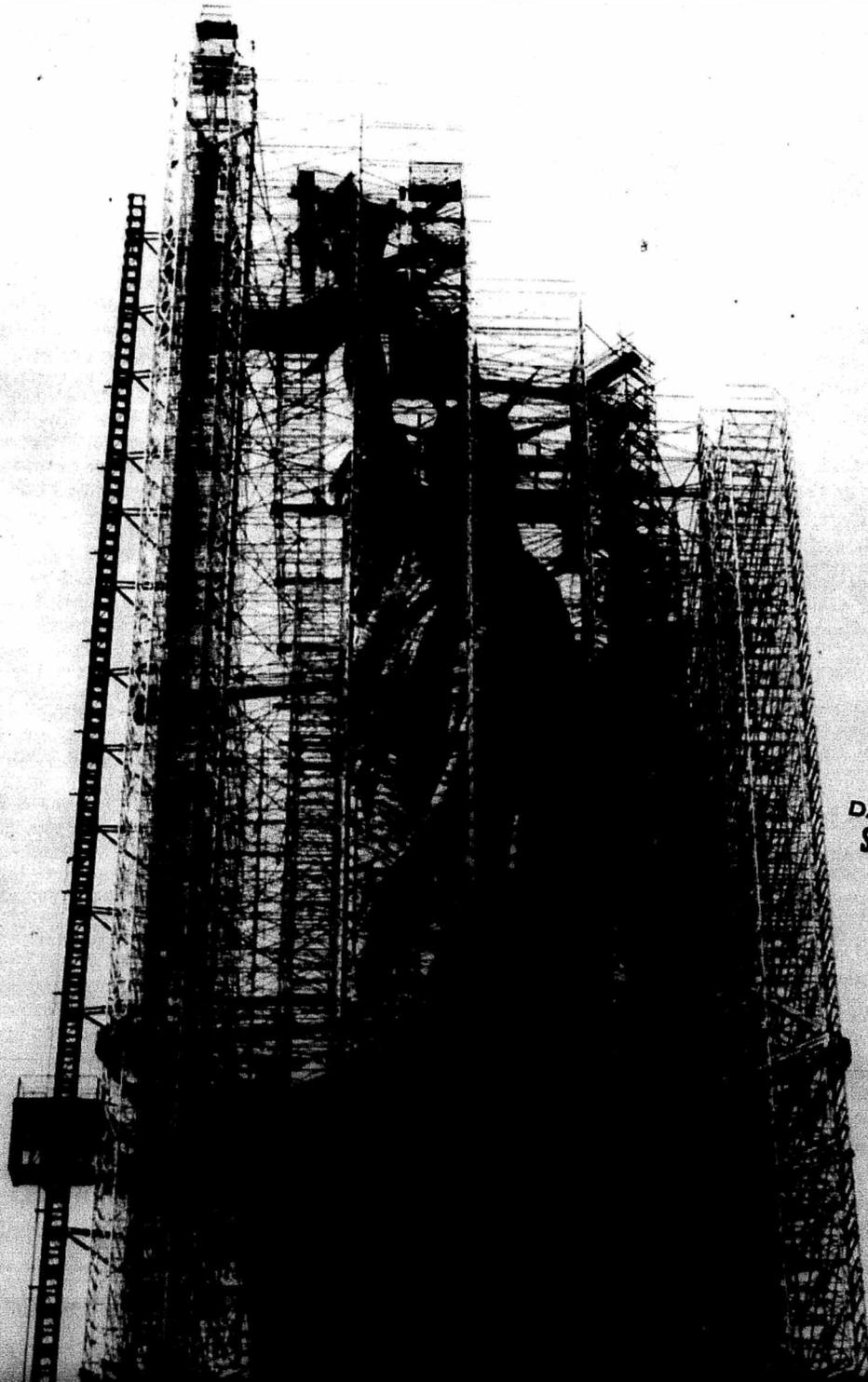


October, 1984

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REPORT from the CAPITAL



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REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 39, No. 9 October, 1984

Articles

Our Politics Needs Religion 4
By Harvey Cox

American Politics: Imprecise and Messy 10
By Olin C. Robison

Features

Washington Observations 3
By Stan Hasteley and Larry G. Chesser

Views of the Wall 6
By John W. Baker

Reviews 7

News in Brief 8
By Larry G. Chesser

International Dateline 12
By Victor Tupitza

Correspondence 14

Reflections 15
By James M. Dunn

Cover: The spectacle of the majestic Statue of Liberty, its torch temporarily extinguished and shrouded by the scaffolding of repair crews, reminds us that time brings decay to human artifacts. America as hope, opportunity and freedom requires no less care.

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On the Campaign Trail

Heads keep shifting from left to right. All who listen to the two candidates and heed the political pundits who attempt to keep us informed, become spectators, the onlookers following the intense volleying for the presidential vote. **REPORT**, in this issue stays in season, follows the action of the McEnroe-Connors-like political counterparts, and reports the insights of experienced observers.

First, there is the dispute over religion's place, if any, in the political process, intensified by not so veiled appeals by the candidates for religious support. Many believed, incorrectly, that after Kennedy and the Houston inquisition, sectarianism had no afterlife as politically debatable substance. But here in 1984 the question again arises without much change in form: must private faith accommodate itself to public policy, and if such is the case are we not back to insisting upon a religious test for public office?

Harvey Cox looks at the Catch-22 element in all this. Political discourse that sidetracks religion or its values thereby imposes its own value structure. In contrast, American religious tradition encouraged public discussion, witness the well-known town meetings which often took place in New England churches. Cox explores opposition to religion's place in public debate but concludes the question is meaningless in light of American history and the contribution of religious tradition to ethics, justice and civility.

Viewing all politics with skepticism may lead to a cynicism that overcomes better judgment. Olin Robison, whose many years of non-partisan government service have afforded a clear view of public office and the public servant, takes us beyond such narrowness of spirit. The expectations of the voters following Watergate have led to the raising of the overall standards of political conduct. Yet, greater disclosure of information by active candidates and the investigative role of the media not only has informed voter decision but in some instances inhibited would-be candidates from running. Robison asks, however, whether in the process good people are not lost to the government because of this perceived cost to personal privacy.

We said "goodbye" this month to Gary McNeil. McNeil joined the staff of the Texas Christian Life Commission as a legislative representative. In his stint with the BJCPA, together with staff he aggressively worked with congressional aides in pursuit of the passage of Equal Access legislation. □



Victor Tupitza

President Reagan has endorsed the treaty to outlaw genocide, a 35-year-old treaty the U.S. helped write but has failed to approve. The 96 other UN member states completed their acts of adherence years ago. Under the separation-of-powers of the American government, the legislative branch has no obligation to follow the executive leadership; the endorsement has been held in the U.S. Senate by Jesse Helms (R-NC).

Third World and Soviet bloc nations have accused the U.S. of hypocrisy for saying that it champions human rights but has delayed adherence to the international agreement. The treaty declares that genocide (the deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, ethnic or religious group) is a crime. It calls for each adhering nation to provide punishment for persons responsible for acts of genocide. ●

Americans United, organized in 1947 by a group of Protestant leaders to monitor and act on church-state issues, installed SBC minister Robert L. Maddox Jr. as the fourth executive director of that body. Formerly a pastor and a speech-writer in the Carter White House, Maddox addressed an audience at the U.S. Capitol gathered for the installation banquet, declaring that the first task of AU is to "reeducate" the American people about the value of the First Amendment by promoting religious liberty and separation of church and state. ●

Organizations and individuals opposing diplomatic relations with the Roman Catholic Church filed suit in federal district court challenging the constitutionality of President Reagan's appointment of a Vatican ambassador. More than 15 religious bodies, headed by Americans United and including others ranging from the National Council of Churches of Christ to the National Association of Evangelicals and 77 individuals joined in the suit contending that the establishment of diplomatic relations with any church is a violation of the separation of church and state required by the First Amendment. The Baptist Joint Committee will file an Amicus Curiae (friend of the court) brief in support of the suit. ●

Congressman Don Bonker (D-WA) who was the author of the Equal Access bill in the House of Representatives has placed a preliminary draft of "Equal Access Guidelines" in the September 24 Congressional Record. Until the final draft is completed, the C. R. should be used by schools for implementing an equal access program. The Baptist Joint Committee was instrumental in getting religious and secular groups together to draft these guidelines. ●

Southern Baptist Annuity Board president Darold H. Morgan told a Senate Finance Committee panel that Congress should overturn a 1983 Internal Revenue Service decision (Rev. Rul. 83-3) which he called "an erroneous interpretation of the tax law and a usurpation of legislative power by the IRS." That ruling reversed nearly 30 years of official IRS policy which had allowed ministers tax deductions for mortgage interest and real estate taxes in addition to having the tax-exempt allowance. The new revenue ruling denying the deduction took effect at the end of June, 1983, except for clergy who owned or had a contract to purchase their houses by January 3, 1983. These clergy lose that deduction, effective January 1, 1986, unless proposals by Sens. John Warner (R-VA) and Jesse Helms to continue the benefit are adopted. ●

Representatives of religious and other voluntary organizations have urged a Senate panel to make permanent a 1981 tax change which would allow taxpayers who do not itemize deductions to deduct charitable contributions. The 1981 law provides for a phase-in of full deductions over a five year period. Senator Bob Packwood, (R-OR) held the hearing. ●

Our Politics Needs Religion

The root question raised by the current debate about the role of religion in American political life is surely not whether religious convictions should influence political choices. The answer to that is they always have; they do now; and they probably always will. The question rather is how the larger universe of religious and moral discourse can help to invigorate an enfeebled American political process, which has become so technical and so elite it has nearly ceased being democratic.

I believe the vigorous presence in the public arena of religiously motivated people (whether a Jesse Jackson or a Mario Cuomo or the Roman Catholic bishops or the evangelical preachers) should not be viewed as a nuisance but as an opportunity. These people and the millions of others they represent should be welcomed as sources of renewal in a critical conversation that had become jaded and effete, the privileged domain of experts and "policy makers."

Naturally, because we are a religiously pluralistic people, and because our governing institutions are so vast and intricate, the problem of how the religious, moral and political arenas can be brought back in touch will not be an easy one. Still, finding such connections is essential for three reasons:

1. Our politics needs it.
2. Our faith requires it.
3. Our people want it.

This article first appeared in the *Outlook* section of the *Washington Post* and is used by permission. Dr. Cox teaches at the Harvard U. Divinity School.

In Western political theory moral reasoning and political choice belong together. From Aristotle to Reinhold Niebuhr, from Thomas Aquinas to Abraham Lincoln, our sages have taught that when the two are separated both are diminished. Politics without a vision of the common good becomes something less than politics. It is reduced to the art of brokerage between power interests. It becomes war carried on by other means. In light of this tradition, the present high visibility of religious and moral terms in our political life must be understood as arising not just from some new assertiveness by religious institutions, but as an understandable response to the continuing impoverishment of American political discourse itself.

The thinning out of the discourse is not, however, just the result of bad theory. It stems from massive cultural changes that have subverted the Founders' idea of an "active and informed citizenry." One such change comes from the impact of a huge, bureaucratic state, which reduces citizens to clients. The other is the growth of an economy fueled by greed and acquisitiveness, which inevitably twists citizens first into customers and then into consumers. This transformation of sturdy citizens into suppliant clients and bemused consumers of campaign hype has been abetted by the detachment of political judgment from the religious and moral frames of reference within which it was once lodged, for most of our people, throughout most of our history.

Almost all American religious traditions stand in direct opposition to these citizenship-subverting forces.

Our religious traditions emphasize restraint. They teach that there are moral limits on acquisitiveness, which are not in keeping with the calculated stimulation of the need for ever more commodities. They deny that one can single-mindedly pursue private gain and yet somehow automatically contribute to the public good. Most important, American religious traditions emphasize the bringing together of citizens to discuss their policy choices in terms of their moral values. Remember the New England town meetings, which often took place in the church. This tradition rejects the notion of citizens as audiences to be researched, persuaded and cajoled.

These changes have produced the so-called "market model" of politics, and the result has been the trivialization of ethics. The "ethics commission" of a legislative body today is reduced to dealing with who is stealing the pencils. Meanwhile, the vital link between politics, morality and ultimate beliefs is lost sight of.

The most prominent religious traditions in the United States, the Jewish and the Christian, are not accidentally or peripherally concerned about politics. They are essentially and intentionally concerned. They are religious world views in which the political arena is enormously important because they are religions of justice. Think of Moses confronting the Pharaoh; the prophets denouncing the wayward kings; Jesus before Pilate; the popes and the emperors; Martin Luther King at the March on Washington.

In the Jewish and Christian belief, God not only created the world but also built into it the foundations of public and private morality; not the specifics, but the foundations. Further, the God of the Jewish and Christian traditions does not dwell beyond history but is active within it as the One who vindicates the poor, comforts the sorrowing and brings peace to the nations. All this necessarily impels the people who believe in such a God to participate in politics.

The purpose of public policy, according to this religious tradition, is not merely to maintain rules of fair play. Its purpose is to seek a justice that is measured in concrete terms by how the most vulnerable and the weakest members of a society fare.

I am not arguing, as some of the "Christian America" advocates some-

The critics of those who make political choices on religious grounds often talk about the danger that some people will "impose" their beliefs on others. There is always such a danger. But the irony is that a public political discourse that debars religious values would also have to be an imposed one, since the majority of our people think about moral values on the basis of religious beliefs . . .

times do, that the biblical tradition is the only one we have in American history. There were and are others: the Enlightenment one, and the even older one of republican virtue among them. Still, the Biblical traditions are surely ones that deserve to be heard and, with the others, to have a share in the shaping of our common public life.

In the United States, a genuinely public political ethic will have to make room for discussions based on a religious vision of the good because—quite simply—that is the way the majority of our people envision it. Making room for this tradition does not mean allowing it to dominate all others. The critics of those who make political choices on religious grounds often talk about the danger that some people will "impose" their beliefs on others. There is of course always such a danger. But the irony is that a public political discourse that debars religious values would also have to be an imposed one, since the majority of our people think about moral values on the basis of religious beliefs nurtured in liturgy and doctrine, in sacred song and story.

Understandably, some people are afraid that the din of conflicting religious claims will inevitably shred the fragile tissue of civility. I disagree. The word "civility," before it acquired its current sense of politeness and decorum, once meant "that which has to do with the *civitas*," with the obligations and rights of citizens. Those who wish to protect civility in American political life should realize that genuine civility

rests on an authentic *civitas*. It requires a polity in which morally reflective persons debate and decide public questions on the basis of what they and their neighbors believe is just and right. This is something neither clients nor consumers can do. But it is something citizens must do.

Still, those of us who draw on religious traditions in the strengthening of the *civitas* should bear in mind that religious people have not always treated their adversaries with restraint and respect (if nonreligious people have been equally guilty, that is another question.) The fact is that when religion touches politics it enlivens us but also taxes our capacity for patience and fairness. Consequently, we have a special responsibility. We must demonstrate the kind of civility that reassures others that they are not being accused of bad faith. I doubt that President Reagan helped much when, speaking at the ecumenical prayer breakfast in Dallas, he described those who disagreed with his position as "intolerant of religion."

Reinhold Niebuhr used to say that the core insight of all religious faith is the belief that "there is a purpose beyond my purpose." I believe Niebuhr was correct. Against any merely technical view of politics, faith insists that there is a moral purpose that must inform political life. But against any kind of fanaticism it also insists that this purpose cannot be equated with my purpose or the purpose of my group.

Perhaps the most important thing faith does for politics is to dignify it: to invest it with a certain weight and seriousness, but not permit it to claim its own ultimacy.

In this, as in so many other things, Abraham Lincoln is still a trustworthy guide. Often attacked and harassed by religious groups, he remains the most profound theologian who has ever served as president. In 1862, during the worst hours of the national agony, when there was every political reason to demonize the South and to sanctify the cause of the Union, Lincoln wrote that "in the present civil war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party." Lincoln went far beyond a politics of brokerage. He saw the larger moral and religious purpose within which politics must proceed. But he refused to claim God for his side even in the midst of a bloody war. He was right on all counts then, and he is still right today. □

Quoting

Max Stackhouse
Andover-Newton Theological School

A distinction of levels has been lost in the current debate on religion and politics. When you say the words 'church and state,' you're talking about institutions. When you talk about religion and political philosophy, you're talking about ideas. Today the confusion between the two is enormous.

People in politics making hard decisions do at certain times have to rely on values and meanings that transcend political interests. At this higher level the relation between ethics and religion is not only inevitable but necessary in the integration of persons who are believers and citizens and the integration of civilization.

For a couple of generations, we thought politics was only a matter of pragmatic interests, accumulation of power, bucks and guns. These are important, but we have begun to re-enter the mainstream of history . . . [to] pay attention to the governing values people articulate in their religious beliefs.

We have the peril of obscuring the important separation of church and state. If you get political structures enforcing faith, it leads to a lie in the soul. If you get church groups attempting to become the political rulers, it also corrupts the political welfare. □

Ray Vickery
Royal Lane Baptist Church
Dallas, TX

The churches and religious shrines of Europe offer ample evidence that the mixture of church and state is a deadly one. Martyrs' graves and statues dominate every square in every city. They were political figures whose presence could not be tolerated by the state church, or they were religious leaders whose criticism of the government could not be tolerated by the civil authorities. . . .

As long as Baptists were a minority group we fought hard for the rights of the minority, others as well as our own. It seems now that we are a powerful group we are not particularly concerned with those minorities any more. We have become insensitive to the plurality of religious persuasions within our American society. We have become so ineffective in our evangelistic efforts (using one dimensional and dated methods and in not perceiving what we are about) that we now try to get laws passed to do our work for us. . . .

Let the stone monuments of Europe serve as a solemn warning of the danger of a state church or a church state. Let us take again the mantle of our Baptist forebears. □

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

VIEWS OF THE WALL

John W. Baker



After consideration over a two year period, The Equal Access Act became law on August 11, 1984, passing the Senate 88-11 and the House 337-77. The final version reflects the usual give and take of the legislative process. This brief explanation of the Act is designed to help school administrators, teachers and student groups who must live under the Act in real school situations to understand what this new legislation means.

The congressional intent in passing The Equal Access Act was to develop legislation that strikes a balance between the Establishment Clause and the Free Exercise and Free Speech Clauses of the First Amendment, so that secondary school students may organize meetings. While Congress recognized the constitutional prohibition against state-prescribed religious activities in public schools, it also believed that student religious speech should not be excised from the school environment. At the same time, Congress affirmed that it is local school boards and administrators who have the right and responsibility to implement equal access in conformity with the Act.

The title—The Equal Access Act—explains the essential thrust of the Act. There are three basic precepts.

The first basic precept is equal treatment. If a public secondary school permits student groups to meet for student-initiated activity not directly related to the school curriculum, it is required to treat all such student groups equally. This means the school cannot discriminate against any students conducting such meetings "on the basis of the religious, political, philosophical, or other content of the speech at such meetings." Sec. 802(a). This language was used to make it clear that religious speech was to receive equal treatment, not preferred treatment.

The second basic precept is protection of student-initiated and student-led meetings. With respect to religious activities in the public schools, the Supreme Court has held unconstitutional state-initiated and state-sponsored religious activities. (This Act leaves the "school prayer" decisions undisturbed.) The Court has not ruled on student-initiated and student-led religious activities that are not state-sponsored but merely given equal ac-

cess with other noncurriculum related student activities.

The third basic precept is preservation of local control. The Act does not limit the authority of the school to maintain order and discipline or to protect the well-being of students and faculty. It only marginally limits other authority to make policy about student meetings.

While the Act does not specifically cover every situation, an understanding of the three basic precepts of the Act should be a sufficient guide in addressing most situations.

THE EQUAL ACCESS ACT GUIDELINES

[A group of interested religious and civil rights groups—some of which supported The Equal Access Act and some which opposed it—drew up these guidelines for implementing the Act in accordance with law. For situations not addressed in this explanation, write the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, 200 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D. C. 20002, or call (202) 544-4226.]

Here are some questions and answers which indicate how the Act is intended to work:

Q. What is meant by "limited open forum"? Sec. 802(a) and (b).

A. A limited open forum is created when a secondary school provides an opportunity during "noninstructional time" for students to organize meetings to discuss subject matter not directly related to the school curriculum and permits those meetings on school premises. The forum created is said to be "limited" because it is only the school's own students who can take advantage of the open forum. Outsiders are not granted any affirmative right of access by The Equal Access Act.

Q. Does a school have to provide a limited open forum for students?

A. No. The school or local policy-making body has the exclusive authority to determine whether it will create or maintain a limited open forum. If a school has a limited open forum, it may not discriminate against a student group because of the content of its speech. If a school does not have a lim-

ited open forum, the request of a single student group to organize a meeting or a club which is not directly related to the school curriculum requires the school to determine whether it wants to create such a forum.

Q. Do meetings of curriculum related student groups trigger implementation of The Equal Access Act?

A. No. Only allowing meetings of noncurriculum related student groups triggers implementation of the Act.

Q. What is meant by "noncurriculum related student groups"? Sec. 802(b).

A. A noncurriculum related student group is a group or club which is interested in a subject matter not directly related to the school curriculum. The math club, the Spanish club, the drama club, and athletic teams would normally be curriculum related. A religious club, political club or service club would be considered noncurriculum related.

Q. Who determines which student groups are curriculum related?

A. Local school authorities. However, a school cannot defeat the intent of The Equal Access Act by some all-encompassing definition that arbitrarily results in all but one or a few student clubs being defined as curriculum related.

Q. When can noncurriculum related student groups meet?

A. A limited open forum requiring equal access may be established during "noninstructional time." Sec. 802(b). The Act defines "noninstructional time" as time set aside by the school before actual classroom instruction begins or after actual classroom instruction ends. Sec. 803(4). It includes time before an individual student's school day begins or after it ends even though other students may be receiving classroom instruction at the time because of split sessions or staggered school schedules.

Q. Can noncurriculum related student groups meet during the school day?

A. The Act is silent on whether a limited open forum requiring equal access may be established for student clubs during the instructional day. The constitutionality of equal access for religious clubs during the school day is currently being litigated in the Federal courts.

Q. May a school establish regulations for meetings which take place in its limited open forum?

A. Yes. The Act does not take away a school's authority to establish time, place and manner regulations for its limited open forum. For example, it may establish a reasonable time period on any one school day, a combination of days, or all school days. It may assign the rooms in which student groups can meet. It can enforce order and discipline in the meetings. The key is that regulations must be uniform and nondiscriminatory.

Q. Can a school require a minimum number of students to form a noncurriculum related club?

A. No. Care must be exercised that the school not discriminate against numerically small student groups which wish to establish a club by setting a requirement of a minimum number of students to form a club. Sec. 802(d)(6). The key is to be flexible in dealing with small student groups and to accommodate student groups that want to meet. For example, one teacher could monitor several small student groups meeting in a large room.

Q. Should a school formulate a written policy for the operation of a limited open forum?

A. If a school decides to create a limited open forum or if such a forum already exists, it is strongly recommended that a uniform set of regulations be drawn up as soon as possible and be made available to administrators, teachers, students and parents. The importance of having such a document will become clearly evident if the school either denies a student group the opportunity to meet or is forced to withdraw that opportunity. When the rules are known in advance, general acceptance is easier to obtain.

Q. What does "student-initiated" mean? Sec. 802(c)(1).

A. "Student-initiated" is one of the key precepts of the Act. It means the students themselves are seeking permission to meet and will direct and control the meeting. It means that neither a teacher or other employee of the school nor the school itself is initiating the meeting. Further, nonschool persons may not direct, conduct or control student meetings. Sec. 802(c)(5). This does not mean that students are forbidden to seek advice from nonschool persons.

Q. May teachers be present during student meetings?

A. Yes, but there are limitations. For insurance purposes or by local policy

or state law, teachers are commonly required to be present during student meetings. However, the Act permits teachers only a custodial role (acting in an emergency or to preserve order). In order to avoid any taint of state sponsorship of religion, teachers or employees are to be present at student religious meetings only in a "nonparticipatory capacity." Sec. 802(c)(3). The Act also prohibits teachers or other school officials from influencing the form or content of any prayer or other religious activity. Sec. 802(d)(1).

Q. May outsiders attend a student meeting?

A. Yes, if invited by the students, unless the school adopts a policy barring all "nonschool persons." However, the nonschool persons cannot, in fact, be running the student group. "Nonschool persons may not direct, conduct, control, or regularly attend activities of student groups." Sec. 802(c)(5). A school may decide not to permit any outside resource people to attend any club meetings, or it may determine how many times during a school year an outside resource person may attend any club meetings, or it may limit the number of outside resource people who may attend a single meeting.

Q. Can a teacher or other school employee be required to be present at a student meeting if that person does not share the beliefs of the students?

A. No. Sec. 802(d)(4) provides that no school employee can be required to attend a meeting "if the content of the speech at the meeting is contrary to the beliefs" of that employee. However, if a school establishes a limited open forum, it is responsible for supplying a monitor for every student group meeting if a monitor is required.

Q. What is meant by "no sponsorship of the meeting by the school, the government, or its agents or employees"? Sec. 802(c)(2).

A. Neither the school, the government, or its agents or employees may promote, lead, or participate in a noncurriculum related student meeting. Sec. 803(2). The assignment of a teacher or other employee to a meeting for custodial purposes (that is, in a nonparticipatory capacity) is not considered sponsorship. Sec. 803(2). Expenditure of public funds for the incidental cost of providing the space (including heat and light) for student-initiated meetings is not considered sponsorship. Sec. 802(d)(3).

Q. If a school pays a teacher for monitoring a student religious club, does

that constitute "sponsorship"?

A. Congressional debate apparently took for granted that payment of a school-required monitor for any club was an "incidental cost of providing the space for student-initiated meetings." Sec. 803(d)(3). However, there are some who maintain that schools may not expend money to monitor religious clubs in view of the Establishment Clause.

Q. Does the use of school media to announce meetings of noncurriculum related student groups constitute "sponsorship" of those meetings?

A. The Act does not directly address this issue. If only information about all meetings is given, the use of school media — the public address system, the school paper, the official bulletin board — would not constitute sponsorship of meetings. However, schools should be cautioned that the Act forbids their promotion of these meetings, and the singling out of one or a few of them for special attention would be promoting them. Because a basic precept of the Act is student-initiation, each noncurriculum related student group is responsible for its own promotion.

Q. Do school authorities retain disciplinary control?

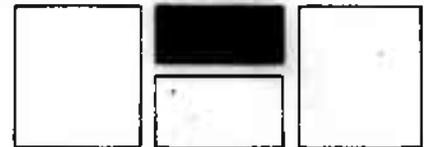
A. Yes. The Act emphasizes the "authority of the school, its agents or employees, to maintain order and discipline on school premises, to protect the well-being of students and faculty, and to assure that attendance of students at meetings is voluntary." Sec. 802(f). Furthermore, the school must provide that "the meeting does not materially and substantially interfere with the orderly conduct of educational activities within the school." Sec. 802(c)(4). These two provisions do not authorize a school to prohibit certain student groups from meeting because of administrative inconvenience or speculative harm. For example, a group cannot be barred at a particular school because a similar student group at a different school has generated difficulties.

Q. What about groups which wish to advocate or discuss changes in existing law?

A. Students who wish to discuss controversial social and legal issues such as the rights of the unborn, drinking age, the draft and alternative lifestyles may not be barred on the basis of the content of their speech. However, the school must not sanction meetings in which unlawful conduct occurs. Sec. 802(d)(5).

NEWS, continued on p. 14

News in Brief



Religion's proper role in politics Permeates 1984 presidential campaign

Parties hear warning

Leaders of major U.S. religious groups, avoiding partisan appearances, cautioned both Republicans and Democrats against attributing divine approval to their particular politics.

Alarmed by what they described as a divisive injection of religion into the 1984 political campaign, the Protestant, Jewish and Catholic leaders issued a statement calling on both political parties "to reject categorically the pernicious notion that only one brand of religion meets with God's approval and that others are necessarily evil."

The statement further asked leaders of political parties to commit themselves "to the spirit of religious tolerance and religious forbearance that is indispensable in a free society" and to "oppose any and all efforts, whether direct or subtle, to tamper with the First Amendment."

It was signed by James M. Dunn, executive director, Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Howard I. Friedman, president, American Jewish Committee, Claire Randall, general secretary, National Council of Churches, Margaret Ellen Traxler, founder and past president, National Coalition of American Nuns and Rabbi Mordecai Waxman, president, Synagogue Council of America.

Citing "serious erosion" of governmental commitment to the principle of church-state separation, the five religious leaders declared: "For government to intrude itself into religious practices, or to seek to impose certain religious beliefs or values on citizens who do not share them, is a clear and present danger to Americans of all faiths."

The leaders acknowledged that President Reagan's remarks on religion and politics at a Dallas prayer breakfast last month as well as his charge that opponents of his school prayer proposal were "intolerant of religion" triggered their statement. They insisted, however that it was directed at politicians of both parties who would break down the wall of separation between church and state.

Asked if Reagan is blurring the distinction between church and state, Waxman said, "I think he is, but he is not alone."

Dunn told reporters "The most disturbing factor in this religio-political package is not their [Religious Right] inflammatory rhetoric but their actual policy proposals." In several proposals he saw "hard evidence of willful contempt for the First Amendment." He identified a number of them, from state-approved religious exercises ("perverting authentic religion"), tuition tax credits ("regressive elitist educational policy" which "assures government intrusion into private and parochial education") to the appointment of a U.S. ambassador to the Vatican.

The news conference came one day before both presidential candidates were scheduled to address religious groups meeting in Washington, D.C.

Partisan use of religion

Denouncing what he called "moral McCarthyism" and "partisan zealotry," Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale attacked President Reagan's alliance with Religious Right figures, declaring, "Most Americans would be surprised (to learn) that God is a Republican."

Mondale in his address to the international convention of B'nai B'rith, Mondale cited Moral Majority founder Jerry Falwell and fellow television evangelist Jimmy Swaggart as examples of those "reaching for government power to impose their own beliefs on other people." He added: "And the Reagan Administration has opened its arms to them."

The B'nai B'rith speech was seen as the climax to a two-week blitz in which Mondale, trailing badly in every public opinion poll, has scored Reagan repeatedly for the president's remarks at a Dallas prayer breakfast last month that "religion and politics are necessarily related," and that those who oppose his school prayer amendment are "intolerant of religion."

The former vice president took Falwell to task for including in a benediction delivered at the Republican National Convention that Reagan and vice president George Bush are "God's instruments for rebuilding America," and for declaring on another occasion

that if Reagan is reelected, "We will get at least two more appointments to the Supreme Court."

Mondale sought to exploit Reagan's four-year association with the Religious Right before a friendly audience. Jews have been among those expressing concerns about the President's Dallas statement.

Mondale also criticized Sen. Paul Laxalt, R-Nev., head of Reagan's reelection team, for sending a "Dear Christian Leader" letter to 45,000 evangelical preachers, urging them to join in the reelection effort. If Laxalt's letter "were an isolated example," Mondale said, "one might dismiss it as partisan zealotry. Unfortunately, it is not the exception."

Mondale said he was not calling "for the suppression of these voices," adding: "The same freedom that permits me to worship and speak my mind also protects them. There can be no rationing of the First Amendment in America. To protect anyone, it must protect everyone."

"I believe in an America that honors what Thomas Jefferson first called the 'wall of separation between church and state.' That freedom has made our faith unadulterated and unintimidated. It has made Americans the most religious people on earth."

Mondale, who later the same day delivered portions of the B'nai B'rith speech to the annual meeting of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., also declared: "I don't doubt Mr. Reagan's faith, his patriotism, and his family values. And I call on him and his supporters to accept and respect mine."

He said he spoke to the issue of religion only reluctantly. "I have never thought it proper for political leaders to use religion for partisan advantage by advertising their own faith, and questioning their opponent's. But the issue must be joined."

Move to defuse furor

President Reagan, in an attempt to defuse a growing furor over his views on religion and politics, told a Jewish audience here he favors separation of church and state and religious pluralism.

Speaking Sept. 6 to the International Convention of B'nai B'rith, Reagan de-



clared: "The United States of America is, and must remain, a Nation of openness to people of all beliefs. Our very unity has been strengthened by this pluralism. . . . The unique thing about America is a wall in our Constitution separating church and state."

Such separation of church and state, he elaborated, "guarantees there will never be a state religion in this land but at the same time it makes sure that every single American is free to choose and practice his or her religious beliefs or to choose no religion at all."

The president spoke some three hours after Democratic presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale, in a speech to the same audience, attacked Reagan's alliance with the Religious Right, a movement Mondale described as "an extreme fringe."

Reagan's comments came at a time when the issue of religion and its place in politics suddenly caught fire and dominated the campaign. Fueling the debate were remarks Reagan made in Dallas last month at a prayer breakfast held in his honor the day he accepted the nomination for reelection.

The president told the Dallas audience that on one of the campaign's most emotional issues, prayer in public schools, those who oppose his school prayer amendment are "intolerant of religion."

Most observers of the campaign believe Mondale and his vice presidential running mate, Rep. Geraldine A. Ferraro, succeeded in putting the president on the defensive over his Dallas remarks. In his B'nai B'rith speech, Reagan sought to reassure Jews, many of whom openly criticized the Dallas statement, that he respects the religious persuasions of all citizens.

While affirming once more what he called "the return that millions of Americans are making to faith," Reagan added: "As we welcome this rebirth of faith, we must even more fervently attack ugly intolerance. We have no place for haters in America. . . . The ideals of our country leave no room whatsoever for intolerance, anti-Semitism, or bigotry of any kind—none."

Reagan received his longest applause when he decried several efforts in the United Nations during recent years to censure or otherwise punish Israel, and declared: "If ever the United Nations should vote to expel Is-

rael, then Israel and the United States of America will walk out of that hall together." □

Stan Hastey and Larry Chesser

Interfaith report shows rise in poverty rate

WASHINGTON

The number of Americans living below the poverty line climbed 35 percent between 1979-1983 and the income gap between the nation's poorest and richest citizens has reached record levels according to a report released in mid-September by an interfaith organization.

In a 41-page report on the impact of federal policies since 1980 on low income Americans, the Interfaith Action for Economic Justice—a coalition of Protestant, Jewish, Catholic and hunger organizations—cited extensive data from the U.S. Census Bureau, the Congressional Budget Office, the Internal Revenue Service, Congress' Joint Committee on Taxation and other respected sources to underscore its contention that federal policies have adversely affected low income Americans.

The document was made public at a Capitol Hill press conference where former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and U.S. Civil Rights Commission Chairman Arthur Flemming told reporters, "I have long felt that the federal government not only has an obligation to remember the poor, but to act in their behalf."

Focused primarily on federal policy impact since 1980, the report nonetheless documents that poverty levels and gaps in the "safety net" were increasing prior to that date.

The report cites Census Bureau data showing that one in four American children under age six live below the poverty line, now set at \$10,200 a year for a family of four. For black children, the figure is one out of two.

Citing a Congressional Budget Office (CBO) study, the report said programs targeted primarily at the poor were cut \$57 billion over a four-year period from fiscal 1982 through fiscal 1985. The CBO study showed low income programs cut "more than twice as deeply" as social programs not con-

Kennedy doubts Reagan on church-state view

NEW YORK

President Reagan's assurance to a Jewish gathering that he favors separation of church and state drew a skeptical response from Sen. Edward M. Kennedy.

In a speech delivered at a fund raising dinner, Kennedy said Reagan has "retreated from the most blatant of his sectarian appeals" delivered at a prayer breakfast during the Republican National Convention in August.

But the Massachusetts Democrat questioned the president's Sept. 6 assurance to an international convention of B'nai B'rith that there "is a wall in our Constitution separating church and state."

In President Reagan's "field of vision," Kennedy charged, "the wall of separation seemed to be all too quickly and conveniently built. Indeed his advisers suggested they had already gained his ground with the religious New Right and so the President could swiftly flee the debate."

Kennedy said the debate over the proper relation between church and state is "as old as the first origins of faith and government."

Acknowledging that separation between church and state is not absolute, Kennedy insisted "the foundation of our pluralism is that Government will never determine which religion is right—and religion will not put its imprimatur on some politicians while damning others because of their political views." □

centrated on the poor.

Using another CBO study, the report showed the combined effect of the 1981-1985 tax and budget policies would mean an average gain of \$8,000 per year for taxpayers with incomes over \$80,000. In contrast, those with incomes below \$10,000 suffer an average loss of \$1,100 each from 1983-1985.

The report called 1985 a "pivotal year" in U.S. budget and tax policy making, the report called for solutions to the massive federal budget deficits which would not slash programs that aid the needy. □

Larry Chesser

Olin C. Robison

Politics: Exercise in Honesty



Democratic societies tend to become what they say they are

We are once again in the midst of a national election. The airwaves are filled with suggestions and allegations that this or that candidate has "violated the public trust," or somehow crossed over a line which the voters should see as evidence of unfitness for office. Rarely are charges made to stick, but the process does affect public opinion and sometimes the outcome of elections. The phrase, "the sleaze factor," has entered the language of political discourse along with "country club ethics."

It is interesting to speculate about the degree to which public perceptions and/or expectations are constant or changing with regard to public officeholders. Most would agree that expectations as well as laws have changed since Watergate. How much, or to what end, is difficult to measure. At a seminar early last year I heard a high ranking Washington official pronounce that, in his opinion, the behavior of very few leading pre-Watergate politicians could withstand post-Watergate scrutiny. Perhaps so. The times have changed.

I grew up in a part of the country where public expectations of elected officials were not very high. Most people assumed that politicians were probably doing things they shouldn't, and that only occasionally would they get caught. I rarely saw anyone express anger or surprise when someone was found to have had a hand in the till, or to have employed too many relatives. Politicians were not really expected to be squeaky clean. They were expected to see to the delivery of public services. If they did so dependably, many of their other transgressions were tol-

erated. It is less so today. People are much less inclined to sit back and ignore the wrongdoings of the local party boss.

When I first went to Washington as a young man in search of excitement, my mother back in East Texas worried greatly about my having descended into a pit of iniquity. Each new scandal (such as the Bobby Baker affair) convinced her further that ruin was at hand. When, four years later, I accepted an academic appointment in Connecticut, her relief was great.

We have made progress. Public expectations are higher and so, one suspects, is the level of behavior of public officials. Yet there is room for improvement. Continued diligence is very much in order. In retrospect the Watergate experience was one in which public expectations that were vague and hazy became distinct and clear cut. Changed expectations led to more precise legislation proscribing the behavior of public officials. The legislation was clearly the result of changed expectations. It is probably true that democratic societies tend to become, what they say they are.

It is not surprising that politicians are reluctant to sit in judgment on each other. The person under scrutiny today may be sitting in judgment tomorrow. The substance of politics is compromise and compromise is composed of trade-offs, and the making of deals, implicit and explicit. "Debts" and "obligations" are incurred at almost every turn of the road. Favors are done. Jobs are found for friends. Less than worthy causes are supported to gain reciprocal support on something else. Worthy causes are slighted. A blind eye is turned. The process goes on. Sam Rayburn is reputed to have reminded young congressmen, "Remember, boys, you can't become a statesman unless you get re-elected."

As I have continued to come and go from Washington since leaving there sixteen years ago it has seemed to me that the boundaries for permissible behavior have, in fact, changed more than most people think. The laws re-

garding disclosure of financial information have had an inhibiting effect. The fact that it is difficult to measure does not mask the changes.

Even so, getting re-elected is and will remain an overriding goal for almost everyone who holds office. So the deals and compromises that keep the wheels of public life turning will continue to be made. We have not seen the last scam, witnessed the last scandal, nor have we watched the last act of courage in exposing wrongdoing. Ours is an imprecise and messy system in which the selfless and the greedy work side by side. May it ever be so.

Human nature, original sin and all that, suggest that the other real option is the greedy dealing only with each other.

The diligence which is required for continued improvement probably depends more on the press than any identifiable sector of society. What the media chooses to report is, by definition for most people, the news.

It is hard to overshadow the role of the press and other media in public expectations. Robert Redford and Dustin Hoffman in the movie, *All the President's Men*, did more to romanticize investigative journalism than everyone else in the history of journalism combined. A generation of college students suddenly envisioned themselves as someday leading interesting and hectic lives, exposing corruption in high places and bringing the mighty low. Journalism schools were swamped and enrollments remain high. We will not lack in our time for talented and able people to perform the function of scrutinizing the behavior of those in power.

There are, however, risks involved in too zealous a quest for corruption in high places. Escalating expectations inadvertently lead to undesirable consequences. It is possible, that the kind of experience recently endured by Geraldine Ferraro concerning financial affairs of members of her family will serve as a deterrent to others who might consider running for public office or accepting appointment to public

Dr. Olin Robison is president of Middlebury (Vermont) College. He served in the government during the Johnson years in the Peace Corps and in the State Department. Dr. Robison has remained as a consultant to the State Department during both Democratic and Republican administrations.

service. Some candidates for such positions almost certainly will look at the intense attention of the press as a kind of badgering and an unwarranted intrusion into their personal lives. For many it simply isn't worth it.

I have long suspected that stringent financial disclosure laws do not inhibit the poor or the rich. They are, however, an imposition on many who are in between. Public service is rarely a sacrifice for those who are extremely wealthy. Their financial affairs are so complicated that even when disclosed they are not widely understood. On the other hand, there are many people in America today who are not genuinely wealthy but who nonetheless have substantial salaries by virtue of talent, hard work and good luck. Often these are individuals who have risen because of exceptional managerial skills. These talents are needed more than any other in policy-level positions in government. These people are, however, exactly the individuals most likely to shy away from public service because they do not have personal fortunes to fall back upon, and their financial affairs are complicated just enough to make them the subjects of intense public scrutiny. We will have lost much if in our zeal for comprehensive public disclosure of private matters we eliminate from consideration for public service an entire class of our most talented people.

Among non-elected, non-political officials at the federal level, namely the Civil Service, the Foreign Service, and the military, my impression after twenty years in and out of Washington is that the standard of conduct is exceptionally high. I believe that these office holders consider honesty as part of the job. The standard of behavior is as high as is to be found anywhere in the world, perhaps the highest.

That does not mean, of course, that all are equally courageous in exposing inefficiency, ineptitude, or avarice in others. But most are honest and most work hard, often under less than ideal circumstances.

My mother need not have worried. As far as I know I never even met a corrupt official during my days in Washington. That there are scoundrels in public office should be no surprise. What is surprising is that, relatively speaking, their numbers are so small.

To keep it that way we need an informed public with high expectations. We need also to find ways to imbue into public service many of our most talented people. If we are genuinely imaginative and lucky, we can have both. □



Freedom is Fragile

... so we handle it with care

This office is convinced of the need to stay on top of the issues that potentially threaten the wall of separation between church and state. To do this requires being here, in the nation's capital as observers, inquirers, interpreters, and reporters.

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REPORT from the CAPITAL

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



European Baptists to start peace institute in Sweden

HAMBURG

The European Baptist Federation Council in a meeting just prior to the EBF Hamburg Congress 1984 has given unanimous approval to a proposal to start an international Christian Peace Institute in Stockholm.

The BWA General Council approved a motion to lend some financial support to the proposed Institute. The EBF Council agreed to support the Institute "morally and financially," and voted DM 1'250 per year from budgeted funds.

"This token amount was to show Baptists are behind the idea for this Institute, and also demonstrates the Council's appreciation for Dr. David Lagergren (EBF Council president) as a member of the interim committee," said the Rev. Knud Wumpelmann, EBF General Secretary.

"It is clear there will be such an institute," Dr. Lagergren added. □

French Senate rejects changes in Constitution

PARIS

The French Senate has rejected a proposal by President Francois Mitterand to change the constitution to allow greater use of the referendum on issues affecting civil liberties.

The proposal surfaced as part of the controversy over a stalled plan of the Socialist government to bring predominantly Roman Catholic private schools under tighter state control.

The opposition-dominated upper house voted down the constitutional change 207-106, with leaders of the neo-Gaullist RPR and centrist UDF parties saying Mr. Mitterand's proposal was a political maneuver to extend the powers of the head of state.

Mr. Mitterand announced the referendum initiative in July, as part of a counterattack on the opposition in which he appointed Laurent Fabius as his new prime minister and shelved the controversial bill on private schools.

In June, the Senate called for a referendum on the schools issue, but the government pointed out the constitution would first have to be changed.

Under the 1958 constitution introduced by President Charles de Gaulle, the referendum can only be used on questions involving "the organization of public authorities."

Mr. Mitterand's government has proposed to change the constitution to allow the referendum to be used on questions involving civil liberties, which government officials say would cover the private education question. □

Church warns Africans on Marxism, capitalism

NAIROBI

Africa's normally apolitical Catholic bishops have urged their fellow Africans to shun liberal capitalism, Marxism or other forms of "totalitarianism" that require them to yield autonomy and responsibility for managing their own affairs.

The All Africa Press Service here said that the bishops' warning came in a statement issued during the recent Symposium for Episcopal Conferences for Africa and Madagascar in Kinshasa, Zaire. The statement said that dependence on such ideologies would make Africans "accomplices of the powers exploiting their countries."

APS, the news service of the All Africa Conference of Churches, called the statement "one of the strongest ever made by the Catholic Church, which has maintained a relatively low profile on political matters" in Africa. □

BWA, CPS officials exchange views on peace

WEST BERLIN

Following the sessions of the Baptist World Alliance General Council in West Berlin, Alliance leaders held an informal exchange of views at a dinner meeting with the Rev. Dr. Lubomir Mirejovsky of Prague, General Secretary of the Christian Peace Conference (CPC).

The exchange centered upon coordination of various church peace efforts in order to avoid duplication of studies and schedules, and mutual announcement of dates for the 15th Baptist World Alliance Congress in Los Angeles, and the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly in Prague, both sched-

uled in July, 1985.

Mentioned in particular was the involvement of individuals from some national Baptist Unions or Conventions in the Christian Peace Conference. It was recognized that such involvement should not deter Christian believers from their mandate to be evangelistic witnesses. However, "Baptists in the CPC already have gained a background of experience in international contacts...which has helped Baptist leaders to draw upon such international experience." (For example, the Rev. Dr. Stanislav Svec of Prague, a Vice-President-elect of the BWA and immediate past president of the European Baptist Federation Council, was among the founding members of the CPC in 1958.)

Attending the dinner meeting with Dr. Mirejovsky were the Rev. Dr. Gerhard Claas, BWA General Secretary; the Rev. Dr. David Lagergren, Europe and Baptist Federation Council President, and the Rev. Dr. Alexei Bichkov, a past president of the EBF Council. □

Canadians grappling with religion in education

ONTARIO

Twenty regional school board directors in Ontario have called on Provincial Premier William Davis to guarantee non-Catholic students the right of free access to a publicly financed Roman Catholic school system.

At the time of the announcement, Mr. Davis asked Roman Catholic school boards to consider "granting all students and their families universal access to publicly supported Roman Catholic schools."

John Fraser, director of the Peel Board of Education, said the appeal was written because "discrimination shouldn't be funded out of public money."

The letter which was signed by education directors from Toronto, Ottawa, London and several other regions, asks that all students "regardless of race, religion or means...be guaranteed universal access to either the publicly supported Roman Catholic schools or the public school system.

"If they want a school system set up just for Catholics, then the Catholics should pay for it," he said in an



NEWS-SCAN

interview.

Beginning in September of 1985, full funding for grade eleven of Ontario Separate schools (i.e., Roman Catholic Schools) will be afforded.

Premier Davis' move came as an almost total surprise. Years ago he fought and won an election by promising not to afford full funding to R.C. Schools.

Mark Parent, a Baptist pastor, told Report that he believes "it is the vote factor since other provincial parties long ago stated that they would support such a move. Thus, Davis makes friends without fearing the possibility of making enemies."

The two provisos which Premier Davis has made are: the setting up of a review board to monitor this move; and concessions from the R.C. School System to have non-R.C. teachers for a period of ten years. □

Black Namibians avoiding white controlled military

UNITED NATIONS

The case of Erick Binga, a black Namibian who refused to accept conscription into military service under the circumstances prevailing in his country, was brought to the attention of a UN committee of experts investigating human rights in Southern Africa.

Previous to 1981, only white men were liable for conscription into the South West African Territorial Force in Namibia. The force is controlled by white South Africans, it is commonly said, and it is used against the Namibian people.

Since the UN does not concede that South Africa has a legitimate role in Namibia, the issue goes far beyond that of conscientious objection. The experts were told that some 5,000 black Namibians have fled into exile to avoid being conscripted into a force which they perceive to be inimical to their interests. □

Haiti, Vatican protocol assures mutual autonomy

VATICAN CITY

Haiti's president yields his right to nominate Catholic bishops, but the prelates must pledge loyalty to the na-

tion, under a new protocol signed by Vatican and Haitian officials in Port-au-Prince.

Until now, bishops have been chosen by the Haitian president. When Pope John Paul II visited the country in March 1983, President Jean-Claude Duvalier expressed his willingness to change that part of the concordat.

In return, the Vatican promised to allow prelates to take the Haitian pledge of allegiance before a civil official. The pledge states: "I promise I will try to have respect and fidelity to the constitution of Haiti in view of pursuing the common good of the country and the defense of the interests of the nation."

"The goal of this revision is to assure on the one hand that church and state are autonomous in their own domain, and on the other to favor the collaboration for the promotion of man and the common good," said Msgr. Achille Silvestrini, the Vatican representative at the ceremony in Haiti. □

U.S. Central America policy comes under condemnation

MORDEN

The United Church of Canada has strongly condemned U.S. military intervention in Central America, saying American policy is threatening the right of the people there to political self-determination.

Delegates to the 30th General Council of Canada's largest Protestant denomination rejected a move to avoid any mention of the United States and, instead, condemn all military intervention in Central America, without naming any foreign power.

In other resolutions on international affairs, the church followed the lead of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, which has declared that the apartheid system in South Africa is "a heresy, a travesty of the gospel, and disobedient to God's word." □

'Law of Return' amendment

NEW YORK

Attempts by Israel's Orthodox religious parties to amend the Law of Return were denounced here as "morally and religiously offensive" by a coalition of Conservative, Reform and communal Jewish organizations. □

Three leading British legal bodies believe that taking the oath in criminal and civil court proceedings has become an out-of-date ritual having little or no meaning for the vast majority. Since witnesses repeat the words without any intention of being wholly honest, the legal groups propose to replace it with a simple promise to tell the truth. Breach of the promise would be considered perjury.... In images we all can readily identify, European peacemaker Heidi Dann pictured the apprehension of the German peoples. "Imagine that East Germany, which is no bigger than Ohio, is filled with Soviet S520 and 22 missiles. Now, think of next-door Pennsylvania, loaded with U.S. Cruise and Pershing missiles; then you can understand something of the anxiety felt in West Germany".... United Methodist Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa believes his detention without charge was politically motivated. By detaining him the ruling party hoped to intimidate both the bishop and his organization. Differences with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe over Israel was one of the factors in their dispute.... The province of Quebec, home of 6 of Canada's 11 million Catholics, is a hotbed of a flock restless over such issues as birth control, divorce and abortion. A survey following the recent visit of Pope John Paul II shows: 65.7 percent disagreed with the church's position on divorce and remarriage; 68.4 percent said they opposed the church on birth control; 41.7 percent did not agree with the ban on abortion; 61.4 percent disagreed with the ban on ordination of women; and 72.2 percent thought that priests should be allowed to marry.... Thousands of Baptists in America have had the privilege of knowing Stanislav Svec, general secretary of the Baptist Union of Czechoslovakia and will be saddened to learn of his unexpected death in August.... Some day there may be a winner and a loser in the war for the control of French education. In the meantime the battle rages—between the state and the Catholic Church, the main provider of private education. The struggle began in the 1870's when free state schooling for all children was introduced. □

CORRESPONDENCE

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

We do support the fine work you are doing and pray that for the sake of religious freedom you will hang in there. We have so many who call themselves Baptist but who have no idea what the Baptist distinctives are!

Virginia D. Link
Seoul, Korea

Hang in there! We have a job to educate a whole generation about Baptist history and principles.

Donald V. Wildeman
North Kansas City, MO

I think the work of the BJCPA is very good and important. Further, given the state of the SBC at present, I feel that I must become a more informed Southern Baptist.

Mike Hardin
University, AL

IEWS, from page 7

Q. What if some students object to other students meeting?

A. The rights of a lawful, orderly student group to meet are not dependent upon the fact that other students may object to the ideas expressed. All students enjoy free speech constitutional guarantees. It is the school's responsibility to maintain discipline in order that all student groups be afforded an equal opportunity to meet peacefully without harassment. The school must not allow a "hecklers' veto."

Q. What about so-called "hate" groups?

A. Student groups which are unlawful, Sec. 802(d)(5), or which materially and substantially interfere with the orderly

(Dr. Dilday:) Thank you, thank you ever so much for your sermon, "On Higher Ground," as printed in adapted form in the July/August issue of *Report from the Capital*, the publication of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

Though I am not a Baptist, I found your sermon utterly inspiring.

My prayer is that God will bless your ministry in His Son's name.

Robert W. Nixon
General Conference of
Seventh-day Adventists

beliefs. Given the diversity of a pluralistic society and the First Amendment provisions for church-state separation, can there be a public political ethic? Think of problems.

Suppose the principle of your child's high school receive a request from a student Ku Klux Klan group which wanted to meet at the school. What advice could you give (see VIEWS for guidelines) under the new Equal Access Act?

Canadians, like the French and Americans, are faced with the question of funding religious education. The thought of church-related schools has much to commend it, yet the pitfalls are numerous. What are some reasons why church schools should or should not have to meet public school admissions, curriculum and teachers standards?

We elect them to office and as our Representatives and Senators in the U.S. Congress. Whose views and values must they represent, and to what degree asks James Dunn, should their personal moral code affect public issues. Does it matter when there is discernable consensus among their constituencies. □

conduct of educational activities, Sec. 802(c)(4), can be excluded. However, a student group cannot be denied equal access because its ideas are unpopular. Freedom of speech includes ideas the majority may find repugnant. A "time, place and manner" regulation stating that all group meetings during the limited open forum must be open to all students without regard to race, religion or national origin could forestall the request for meeting space by some groups.

Q. What may a school do to make it clear that it is not promoting, endorsing or otherwise sponsoring noncurriculum related student groups?

A. A school may distribute a disclaimer which plainly states that in affording such student groups an opportunity to meet it is merely making its physical facilities available, nothing more.

Q. What happens if a school violates The Equal Access Act?

A. The law contemplates a judicial remedy. An aggrieved person could bring suit in a U.S. district court to compel the school to observe the law. No cutoff of federal funds is involved. Sec. 802(e). Moreover, indications are that the Department of Education has no plans to issue regulations with respect to this Act. □

PROBE

Otis Robinson asserts that "the diligence required for continued improvement [in public ethics] probably depends more on the press than on any identifiable sector of society." Is the press, itself, free from its own institutional pressures? For example, what effects can the advertising department (profits) have on editorial policy (telling it as it is).

Watergate has become synonymous with higher standards of ethical behavior in government. Evaluate this in terms of encouraging or discouraging good people from seeking public office; find examples in the current local and federal election campaigns.

Reinhold Niebuhr wrote that "the core insight of all religious faith is the belief that there is purpose beyond my purpose." And Harvey Cox states that the majority of the people think about moral values on the basis of religious

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... one should not enact into law one's personal moral code... ts. deeply held personal views cannot be divorced from views on public issues.

REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



We are seeing in the United States today a deliberate attempt to collapse the distinction between mixing politics and religion (which is inevitable) and merging Church and State (which is inexcusable).

Since mixing politics and religion is inevitable to a degree, Lewis B. Smedes suggests a rule of thumb for measuring that degree: "do not trade off a dear liberty for a small morality." Alas, there is no neat recipe that spells out the proper mix of politics and religion.

The historical revisionists are bothered by Justice Black's 1947 Supreme Court statement that "The 'establishment of religion' clause means at least this: neither a state nor the federal government... can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another."

It is fair to tag as "revisionists" those who would have government licensed religion, aid to church schools or an ambassador to a church. Even if there is nonpreferential favoring of religion the rights of nonbelievers will be violated by any unique governmental recognition of religion. If American history makes any eloquent appeal it is for the separation of church and state. Roger Williams insisted, "It is impossible for any man or for all men to maintain their Christianity by the sword, and to maintain thereby a true Christianity."

One of the burdens of active citizenship in our modern, complex democracy is the burden of ambivalence. Honesty and awareness leave one stuck with difficult choices. Only the oversimplified positions of extremists, Left and Right, allow freedom from agony in citizenship choices. Perhaps this painful process is what the Preacher had in mind when he wrote "The more you know, the more you suffer: the more you understand, the more you ache." (Eccl. 1:18, MOFFATT).

"Where does one draw the line between mixing politics—religion and merging Church—State?" is a popular question. It is asked sometimes simply to shut off debate. The challenge often works as a cut-off valve because there is no simple, easy, short answer.

The question implies a neat world view in which everything is black or white, good or bad. This either-or mentality is not the exclusive disease of religious and political fundamentalists. In fact, a dualism infects many Americans. It insists upon every issue being divided from top to bottom by a vertical line with a right side and a wrong side.

Examine the tension between the religion clauses of the First Amendment. Recently passed equal access legislation affirms the right of student-led, secondary school groups to meet for religious purposes with the same freedom accorded secular groups. The "no establishment of religion" and the "free exercise" guarantees are held in delicate balance.

Look at the summer debate among Roman Catholics over "the implied dichotomy between personal morality and public policy." Governor Cuomo and Representative Ferraro insist that one should not enact into law one's personal moral code and the Bishops point out that deeply held personal beliefs cannot be divorced from views on public issues. Both sides are correct, to a degree. □

Consider the obligation of a President of the United States to use the "bully pulpit" for moral leadership and the oath taken to defend the constitution. These duties sometimes conflict. Contrast President Richard M. Nixon promising a Roman Catholic Bishop that he would "find a way around the Constitution" to provide aid for parochial schools and President John F. Kennedy promising Houston pastors that he "would not look with favor upon a President working to subvert the First Amendment's guarantees of religious liberty."

Listen to voices from one side warning about secular humanism being an established non-religion and those from another side warning about repressive fundamentalism. Both deserve to be heard. Fear of modernity, the desire to revive a day that never was with values it never possessed is an immoral nostalgia. On the other hand, the political "realists" who despise any reference to moral and spiritual convictions, the professional diplomats who insist that self-interest is the only standard by which to measure foreign policy and the media manipulators who crassly use religion as one more code word, they, too, threaten humane values.

Hear the cliché that the state "cannot legislate morals" as some draw a line that would rule out attempts to regulate personal behaviour, but admit that in some sense all legislation deals ultimately with morality, issues of right and wrong. Once again, the response must be to a degree, to a degree.

Face the continuum between the positions, on one hand that only individual citizens should be involved in politics with the churches educating, motivating, moralizing but never becoming involved corporately and on the other hand, that churches not only may but must act on their stewardship as prophetic witness.

Other continua need to be taken into account in dealing with the questions of how much mixing is too much and where is the line that sets off Church from State. Is the motive for one's political involvement self-interest or the social good? Political parties, public servants and specific policies must also be subjected to this kind of examination. The point is that such an evaluation is proper and necessary. It is one of those "to the degree" questions.

The tensions, tugs, conflicts and contradictions between polar concepts could be multiplied. Sometimes both are useful, proper and essential in determining right and wrong as with the classic interplay between love and law, freedom and fixity, experience and authority. At other times both extremes are to be rejected and the appropriate balance found somewhere in the middle, the Greek's golden mean.

The deliberate attempts to collapse the distinction between mixing politics and religion and merging Church and State will fail if persons of good will who are about religion and believe in democracy will act. Neibuhr's words are relevant: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary." The same can be said of the precious doctrine of religious liberty which makes church-state separation necessary. □

REVIEWS



ON HUMAN DIGNITY:

Political Theology and Ethics
By Jürgen Moltmann, Trans. by M. Douglas Meeks, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984. 217 pp.

Like several of Moltmann's works, this volume is a compilation of essays arranged in three parts.

Part I, entitled "Human Rights," comprises three essays. The first, "Ecumenical Dialogue on Human Rights," surveys various statements on human rights made by the United Nations, the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the Roman Catholic Church. The second, "Christian Faith and Human Rights," is a systematic treatment of the topic, rightly stressing the inseparability of rights and duties (a point consistently made in Roman Catholic ethics but frequently disregarded in the United States.) The third, "The Right to Meaningful Work," discusses the Christian concept of work as divine vocation, the capitalist concept of work and the Marxist criticism of capitalism.

Part II, entitled "Responsibility for the World and Christian Discipleship," discusses Luther's concept of the two realms of church and state; Karl Barth's doctrine of Christ's lordship in both church and state and its expression in the Barmen Declaration of 1934 (which formed the basis for the Confessing Church's resistance to Hitler); and thirdly Moltmann's outline of his own political theology. Like the liberation theologians of the Third World, Moltmann links faith and reflection with action, and invites Christians to join the struggle for economic justice, political freedom, human solidarity and ecological peace (wellbeing). The final essay in this section, "Discipleship of Christ in an Age of Nuclear War," is one of the best statements I have read on this topic. Because nuclear weapons in their enormous destructive power threaten all life on earth, Moltmann unconditionally condemns both their use and their posses-

“No other country on earth—with the possible exception of Russia—has so intensively disseminated *messianic eschatology* as the United States. It has done this theology in its churches and synagogues as well as through political ideology in public acts. By *messianism* we mean here a future hope which is combined with faith in its own realizability on earth. This messianism was fermenting in the Great Awakening, the democratic movement, the Social Gospel movement, and the Civil Rights movement. It also lies at the heart of normal American pragmatism: 'If it can't be done, it's not worth thinking about.' Americans thus transform every hope into a *program*, every opinion into a *message*, every task into a *mission*, every struggle for the good into a *crusade*, and every new experience into a *resurrection*. Religion exists, therefore to be realized. This is its meaning.”

Jürgen Moltmann

sion, recommends (like Jonathan Schell in his latest book, *The Abolition*) their abolition, and pleads for reconciliation rather than confrontation between the superpowers.

Part III, entitled "Christian Criticism of Religion," is a medley of articles on European culture, the American Dream, the Olympics, the messianic atheism of Ernst Bloch, and the Church and Israel.

All the essays are valuable and relevant to our present predicament, particularly those on human rights (and duties,) political theology, and Christian discipleship in the nuclear age.

Arthur B. Crabtree

REVIEWERS

Philosopher and theologian, Arthur B. Crabtree teaches at Villanova University and has been active in ecumenical circles.

Religion in the Southern States.

Edited with an introduction by Samuel S. Hill, Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 432 pp., \$19.95.

Edwin Akins in his chapter on Mississippi examines the interaction between religion and culture in the nation's most distinctive region and builds upon William Faulkner's words, Christianity is "part of . . . the background of every country boy, especially a Southern country boy." Akins argues that Evangelical Protestantism—Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian—has molded both Southern culture and religion to create a story "full of faith—and fatalism, brotherhood—and bigotry, peace—and platitudes; kindness—and the Klan."

In varying degrees, the scholars brought together by Samuel Hill are concerned with the religion Akins described. Hill sets the pattern by asking for state histories where the "Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian primary strength prevailed." He includes the eleven states of the Confederacy along with Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma. The book contains a short introduction, an alphabetical arrangement of the state histories and a concluding survey chapter. While Hill advises that the survey be read last, my advice is to read it first; the alphabetical order has no historical flow and I suggest it be discarded for a regional approach: Atlantic Coast; Mississippi River region; the Trans-Mississippi.

There are detractions however. With so much attention paid to religion and culture, little is paid to either civil religion or church-state separation. Southern civil religion has recently been discussed by Charles Wilson in the book *Baptized in Blood*; church-state separation is part of the Baptist belief in "soul freedom" and possibly part of the Southern aversion to Northern church activism. The book captures the vitality of religion for a people. (GBM)

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