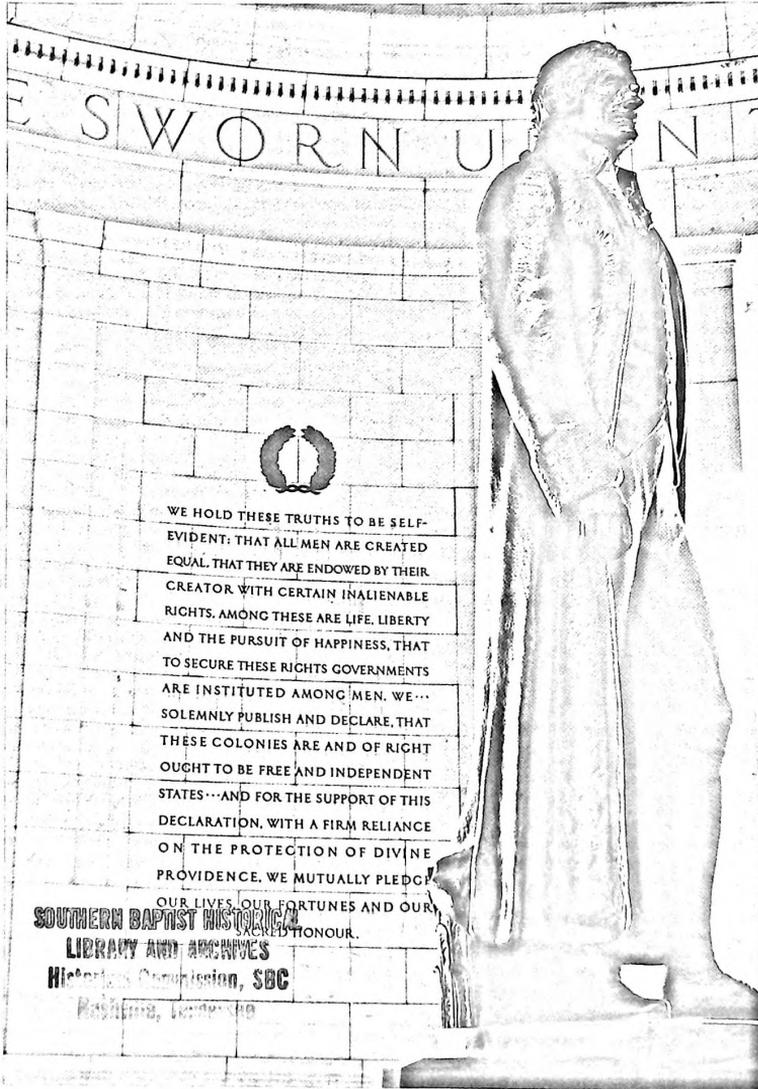


REPORT from the CAPITAL



WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT; THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN. WE... SOLEMNLY PUBLISH AND DECLARE, THAT THESE COLONIES ARE AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES...AND FOR THE SUPPORT OF THIS DECLARATION, WITH A FIRM RELIANCE ON THE PROTECTION OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, WE MUTUALLY PLEDGE

OUR LIVES, OUR FORTUNES AND OUR SACRED HONOUR.

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REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

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Religion and Education

This year of the bicentennial celebration of the Constitution of the United States draws our attention to those formative days in the life of the nation. It was a time that recognized the twin and perhaps inseparable powers of religious faith and education. **REPORT** touches upon both this month.

Two streams of influence helped shape American life from the first days of the Christian faith in the new world. Robert Bellah examines them with an eye to their implications for foreign policy. In his article, "The Church and Foreign Policy," he notes that in the colonist's desire to be faithful to their divine calling they set about building their "city upon a hill." At the same time, they also sought to dwell as an example of Christian charity before others, even to the readiness of taking up arms as "God's avengers."

Granted this indebtedness to religion, Bellah finds moments in the life of the church when as an outgrowth of its self-understanding Christianity began to address the nation's foreign policy. The first was the missionary movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the gospel was preached attended by an emphasis upon educational and medical ministries. It was highly individualistic in nature, preceding the second moment when the church's new sense of social responsibility broadened its concern for community and led it to encompass economic and political values. The need for faithful responsiveness to a world in passage continues as had been the case throughout those early centuries.

America is recognized and appreciated for the diversity of its citizens and the vision of "a common life in liberty" that makes them one. Thomas Jefferson believed this to be a vision in which democracy is implicit and ultimately rested upon a general education for all. A project of the American Federation of Teachers, "Education for Democracy," has prepared guidelines that are the basis of the article appearing in this issue. Pronounced improvement in education — which in part includes reform of the curriculum, new textbooks, and teaching effort — are the objective of AFT.

Evangelism as entertainment, a message merchandised as a product, and the Kingdom's power subjected to party politics are some of the contrasts leading to **REFLECTIONS**. James Dunn cites a warning that the "definition of Christianity is at stake" because of the power implicit in TV religion. At the same time, it's difficult to believe that the church's destiny is linked to the success or failure of a medium whose character changes with the channel selector. Effective, but also misleading and shallow, if not trivial, greedy, even impersonal — electronic religionists may have short-circuited their own systems. The Body of Christ, however, continues to beam the Good News across the globe in the undiminished power of the Cross and the Resurrection. □

Victor Tupitza

Supreme Court Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr. announced his retirement from the high court June 26, effective immediately. Powell, who will turn 80 Sept. 19, read a retirement statement from the bench after the court handed down its last opinions of the current term.

Powell has been considered a key member of the court, a centrist whose vote was sought frequently by attorneys arguing cases. His has been considered a "swing" vote in church-state cases and in other categories of disputes.

Powell, who came to the court more than 15 years ago as an appointee of former President Richard M. Nixon, cited his age and recent health problems as the primary reasons for his retirement.

Powell noted in his retirement statement that when Nixon asked him in 1972 to go on the court, he expressed reservations about his age, then 64. He said he told the former president if he were confirmed he intended to remain no more than 10 years. Yet, he added, when that time came his children persuaded him to stay on the bench.

Although he said a recent checkup at the Mayo Clinic revealed he is in "good health," Powell also noted he has undergone major surgery three times since becoming a justice.

Powell said that while he has "no specific plans for the future," he expects "to continue to be active in appropriate public service when this is available." ●

Former Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter have joined other well-known figures in calling for the teaching of moral and democratic values in the nation's public schools.

The appeal, endorsed by a wide range of 150 leaders in government, labor, education, religion, and other fields, launched a campaign by the American Federation of Teachers and two other private groups — Educational Excellence Network and Freedom House — to institute major reforms in the public school system.

The 21-page appeal, titled "Education for Democracy: A Statement of Principles," bears the signatures of Reagan administration officials, Democratic Party leaders and labor union presidents, as well as church leaders, scholars, artists, and athletes.

Citing the nation's Founding Fathers, the appeal stated, "The authors of the American testament had no trouble distinguishing moral education from religious instruction, and neither should we.

"It is absurd to argue that the state, or its schools, cannot be concerned with citizens' ability to tell right from wrong and to prefer one over the other in all matters that bear upon the common public life." (See page 10 of this issue.) ●

Describing the operation of day care centers in churches as a secular rather than religious activity, a federal judge has ruled such centers must comply with state licensing requirements in Virginia.

The judge struck down a 1979 law that exempted church-run centers from state requirements. "The risk that the state would interfere with the religious content and program of a church-run child care center is remote and speculative," the judge said.

But an attorney for the church centers cited a state requirement that such programs promote a "positive self concept" in the children, questioning whether that could bar the teaching of the Christian belief in original sin. ●

A recently released Internal Revenue Service audit of the PTL network showed that during fiscal years 1981 to 1983, the network raised an average of \$50 million a year and spent an average of \$1,392,579 — or 3 percent — on what the IRS determined to be "church-related activities." ●

The Church and Foreign Policy

Religion has had a formative influence on the self-understanding of Americans, including our attitude toward foreign policy, virtually from the time the first European settlers arrived on these shores in the seventeenth century. John Winthrop's great sermon of 1630, "A Model of Christian Charity," preached on board ship before the Massachusetts Bay colonists had even landed, declared the meaning of our experiment for the world: "We shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us."

Winthrop argued that our relation to the rest of the world was to be an example, indeed a "model of Christian charity," for the other nations. It is worth remembering that Winthrop was exhorting his fellow colonists to be worthy of that role. He never doubted that there was a divine calling to settle this new land. But he was not so certain that the people would be able to fulfill that calling and be worthy of the exemplary status that their calling implied.

But whatever doubts he had, he did not doubt the right of the colonists to the possession of the hill upon which they were to build their city. If the community were faithful he did not doubt that, with God's aid, "ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies." Michael Wigglesworth, later in the seventeenth century, would refer to New England before the colonists came as

A waste and howling wilderness,
Where none inhabited
But hellish fiends, and brutish men
That Devils worshipped.

These devil-worshippers Wigglesworth was all too ready to identify with the Amalekites of the Old Testament:

Those cursed Amalekites, that first
Lift up their hand on high
To fight against God's Israel,
Were ruin'd fearfully.

Thus as God's elect people the colonists were charged to bring the forces of evil under control, by military force if need be.

But this second notion, too, was from the very beginning qualified, at least in the minds of some. One of the reasons that Roger Williams was driven from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1637 was that he insisted the colonists were building their city on someone else's hill, to which they did not have proper title. Nor did he share the notion that the native Americans were "hellish fiends and brutish men." In verse at least as good as Wigglesworth's Williams wrote:

Boast not proud England, of thy
birth and blood,
Thy brother Indian is by birth as
good.
Of one blood God made him and thee
and all,
As wise, as fair, as strong, as
personal.
By nature, wrath's his portion,
thine no more,
Till grace his soul and thine
restore.
Make sure thy second birth, else
thou shalt see
Heaven ope to Indians wild, but
shut to thee.

So we see from the beginning the two notions of America's role in the world and reservations about each of them. We were to be an exemplary people, influencing others to imitate the goodness of the society we were creating. We were to be God's avengers, bringing order to those who dared rebel against God's decrees. Yet there were doubts on both scores: whether we would really live up to our exemplary calling and whether we really were superior, in the eyes of God, to those we would control.

If religion is a part of our American culture, if religion is indelibly a part of our national self-understanding, if, as some professor has put it, there is a civil religion in America, nonetheless, the churches and other religious bodies have in their own right always played a role in helping us think about our nation and its role abroad. They have provided a variety of public theologues that sometimes reinforce and sometimes criticize our civil religion, but which to some degree independently influence our domestic and foreign policies.

There are two moments in American history when the churches have significantly spoken to our foreign policy; let us now assess their value to us today.

The first moment, if one can use that word for such a long period of time, is the moment when world mission preoccupied the American churches. It began in the early nineteenth century, at the time of the Second Great Awakening, reached a crescendo in the last decades of the nineteenth century when the Protestant churches undertook the grandiose task of the total evangelization of the world, and has proliferated in the twentieth century into all manner of interesting endeavors right up to the present, even though world mission is no longer

This article appeared in *American Character and Foreign Policy*, edited by Michael P. Hamilton (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986). © Used by permission. It has been edited for length. Author Robert N. Bellah is Ford Professor of Sociology and Comparative Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

nearly as central an idea as it was a century ago.

Although the mission enterprise has been an inherent part of Christianity since its very beginnings and has taken many forms depending on the cultures and nations from which missions have been launched, the American missionary effort in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is unique in its sheer size and in its cultural meaning. As Winthrop Hudson has pointed out, the American missionary enterprise from the very beginning has been concerned to spread not just the gospel itself, but the peculiar blessings of American civil and religious liberty.

We have long been aware of the ethnocentrism involved in the missionary dream and of the contempt the early missionaries sometimes had for the cultures into which they came. The Catholic church and the major Protestant denominations have been aware of these charges and for many decades have been responding sensitively and responsibly to them. But we should not forget the exhilarated response these advocates of civil and religious liberty sometimes received. In Japan, many of the ablest young people flocked to the American missionaries in the 1870s and 1880s, drawing from them not only a spiritual sustenance but a reforming zeal from which many of the significant movements for civil rights and social justice in modern Japan stemmed. The story is an immense one, and much of it I do not know, but Japan is not an isolated case.

Almost from the beginning and increasingly in the twentieth century, the missionary enterprise involved not only evangelization, the planting and strengthening of new churches in lands where Christianity had seldom penetrated before, but also social service to the needs of the people, Christian and non-Christian alike. Among these services the most important over time have probably been education and medicine.

American missionaries helped to found schools and colleges all over the world. Sometimes, as in Japan, the initiative came from local Christians, but American churches contributed money and teachers. In other cases the foundation effort was made by missionaries, but local teachers were enlisted so that the schools soon became part of their indigenous cultures, even while retaining their Christian distinctiveness.

The missionary effort has deeply colored our whole attitude toward foreign policy. Particularly in the years when America maintained a low profile in the world militarily and politically, the kind of direct relationship — people to people, even person to person — that the missionaries represented seemed the right

way for America to relate to the rest of the world. Both the exemplary and the ordering aspects of our relationship to other countries were involved, but not primarily under government sponsorship.

The missionaries were to be themselves exemplars of a freer, more self-confident way of living. They were to show forth in their lives not only Christian charity but democratic freedom. Inevitably many failed, but many succeeded and are remembered. With respect to bringing order, the idea was to stimulate self-help. Medicine and education were seen as strengthening the bodies and minds of

However much the reality belies the ideal, the conception that Americans in foreign lands, American policy toward foreign nations, should be helping others to help themselves is still a powerful element in our political culture.

those in foreign lands so that they could create enlightened and democratic societies, touched with the American model. However much the reality belies the ideal, the conception that Americans in foreign lands, American policy toward foreign nations, should be helping others to help themselves is still a powerful element in our political culture.

Turning now to the second moment in which the churches have spoken to our foreign policy, let me characterize it as the moment of social responsibility, which I see as growing steadily during the twentieth century, becoming prominent particularly in the last twenty years, and reaching a kind of culmination in the two recent pastoral letters from the American Catholic bishops: the Pastoral Letter on War and Peace of May 1983 and the draft Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teaching and the United States Economy of November 1984. I call this second moment the moment of social responsibility not because the moment of world mission was socially irresponsible, but because it was so fundamentally individualistic in its assumptions.

There is an ineradicably individualistic element in the missionary effort. One is trying to win souls, inevitably individual souls. Even when one builds institutions, such as schools and hospitals, they are institutions that contribute to society by strengthening the minds and bodies of

individuals. The whole notion of foreign policy that emerges from this religious orientation emphasizes the personal relationship between peoples conceived in such terms as generosity and gratitude.

The moment of social responsibility in the thinking of the churches about foreign affairs does not renounce any of the aspects of the world mission model. It adds, however, another dimension. It perceives that the relations between nations are not only personal but structural, that economic and political considerations must be taken into account that transcend assistance to individuals, however fundamental that personal aspect remains. The moment of social responsibility involves hard thinking about economic, social, and political systems, something that Americans, with our inveterate tendency to think in personal, individual terms, have difficulty doing.

Insisting on the primacy of human personhood and the dignity that flows from the fact that we are created "in the image and likeness of God," the Pastoral Letter on War and Peace states that

Economic life must serve and support this dignity which needs to be realized in relationship and solidarity with others. To be human is to hear the call of community. We can find true identity only "through a sincere gift" of ourselves. Human wisdom and experience confirm this religious conviction that human life is essentially communitarian.

As Americans we have often been tempted to believe that our existence as individuals is primary and that society exists only to enhance the interests of the individual. But the bishops are reminding us of the biblical teaching that our personhood is realized only in community, in relationship and solidarity with others, that "human life is essentially communitarian."

Not surprisingly we are only at the beginning of this second moment of social responsibility. It is easier for us as American Christians to understand the immediate personal claim of the mission ideal, the obligation to reach out to the neighbor in need. But the social responsibility ideal teaches us that we will not be adequate to that task unless we also, as Christians, take responsibility for the structures and powers of our nation, correcting and reforming their injustices and abuses, so as to make our own society more exemplary and the world order more just.

National self-interest as a factor in our foreign policy has, in fact, never in our history been neglected, nor is it being neglected today. But we would not be true

Continued on page 14

VIEWS OF THE WALL

Oliver S. Thomas
General Counsel



Torts. The first time I heard the word I thought one of my fellow East Tennesseans was mispronouncing what he had eaten for dessert on a recent trip to the city. I had no idea at the time that, while torts had nothing to do with food, as a lawyer I one day would have a steady diet of them.

In technical terms, torts are civil wrongs. In not-so-technical terms, they are the things that get you sued.

Torts can take many forms. They range from a simple car wreck to medical malpractice to the more exotic forms such as products liability. The actual injury sustained may be to one's person, property, or even reputation. The underlying theory for all tort claims is that the one who causes an injury should be held responsible for it. Although several states have resorted to a no-fault system of tort recovery for some personal injury claims (e.g., those arising from automobile accidents), the majority of states retains the common law rule requiring the party at fault to compensate the injured.

While churches and other charitable organizations were once immune from tort claims, very few states retain any vestige of charitable immunity. Churches are now left to fend for themselves in the rough and tumble world of civil litigation.

With the demise of charitable immunity, a whole new genre of tort claims is being filed against churches by creative plaintiffs and their attorneys. Clergy malpractice is the most publicized example, but there are other equally serious claims arising out of what heretofore has been accepted church procedure. A recent case involving the practice of "shunning" is instructive about the kinds of problems that churches may face in the future. The case, *Paul v. Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York, Inc.*, was filed by a former Jehovah's Witness who was shunned or disfellowshipped as a result of her decision to cease participating in the religious activities of the Witnesses.

Historically, shunning was reserved for church members who in the eyes of the congregation were living contrary to the dictates of the faith. In 1981, however, the church expanded the practice to include members who simply had chosen to withdraw their membership in the church. The church based its decision upon its interpretation of 1 John 2:19 ("They went out from us, but they were not of us; for they had been of us, they

would have continued with us; but they went out, that it might be plain that they all are not of us.") The September 15 issue of *The Watchtower*, an official church publication, contained the following statement: "Persons who make themselves 'not of our sort' by deliberately rejecting the faith and beliefs of Jehovah's Witnesses should appropriately be viewed and treated as those who have been disfellowshipped for wrongdoing."

As a result of being shunned, the Plaintiff, Ms. Janice Paul, was ostracized by many of her former friends and associates in the community in which she grew up. At one point she was even refused admittance to a party being held at the home of one of the Witnesses. When Ms. Paul asked why she had been treated so, she was told that the elders of the church had instructed the congregation not to speak to her.

Ms. Paul's response was to file suit against her former church for the common law torts of defamation, invasion of privacy, and outrageous conduct. In effect, she was telling the court that she had been injured emotionally by the Jehovah's Witnesses and that she should be compensated for her injuries.

Fortunately, the case was dismissed on the basis of the First Amendment, and the lower court's decision was affirmed by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

But why shouldn't Ms. Paul be awarded damages for her emotional injuries?

Shunning is a particular form of church discipline whose roots are found in early Christianity and which is still carried on by the Amish, the Mennonites, and, of course, the Jehovah's Witnesses. In many respects, it is similar to "churching" or withdrawing fellowship from a member as practiced by the Church of Christ, the Church of God, and some Baptist churches.

There is no question that shunning is based upon sincere religious beliefs. The Witnesses cite numerous scripture passages, whether interpreted rightly or wrongly, to support this religious practice. Thus, the imposition of liability for shunning would have the practical effect of outlawing a religious practice of the church. In order to justify such a burden upon the free exercise of religion, it is necessary for the state to demonstrate a compelling interest. The Supreme Court

has characterized the interest required as being of the highest order.

"Only the gravest abuses, endangering paramount interests, give occasion for permissible limitation," the Supreme Court has stated. Absent a "substantial threat to public safety, peace or order," the state cannot impair the free exercise of religion.

The U.S. Court of Appeals stated, "We find the practice of shunning not to constitute a sufficient threat to the peace, safety, or morality of the community as to warrant state intervention. . . . Although we recognize that the harms suffered by Janice Paul are real and not insubstantial, permitting her to recover for intangible or emotional injuries would unconstitutionally restrict the Jehovah's Witnesses free exercise of religion. . . . The constitutional guarantee of the free exercise of religion requires that society tolerate the type of harms suffered by Paul as the price well worth paying to safeguard the right of religious difference that all citizens enjoy."

The Court of Appeals is right.

If members can sue churches for emotional distress when they are shunned, what's to keep former pastors from suing churches that fire them? The end result would be churches whose membership and practices were determined by the state, not by God.

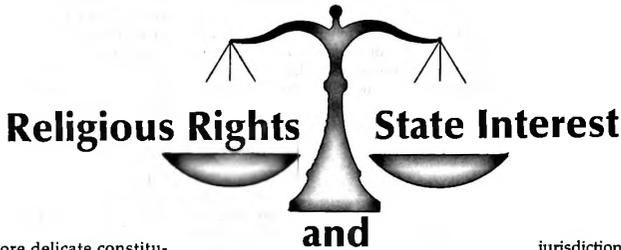
Obviously, there are limits to the deference the state must give the church in determining its own religious practices. Laws against polygamy and snakehandling have been sustained despite free exercise challenges, as no doubt would laws against human sacrifice, mutilation, or other acts that constitute a serious threat to society.

There is another argument that is applicable in most shunning cases. Lawyers refer to it as "estoppel." Another word for it is "consent." When a person joins a church that practices shunning or other forms of church discipline, that person voluntarily exposes himself to the possibility that this practice might be used against him. He should not then be allowed to complain if he becomes the object of its use.

Fundamental to religious liberty and its corollary, the separation of church and state, is the willingness of the government to abstain from interfering with the internal affairs of the church. Except in

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A Delicate Balance:



Among the more delicate constitutional balances sought by the U.S. Supreme Court these days is the one weighing the permissibility of government intervention into religion on one scale and, on the other, the right of churches to be left alone. The dilemma was illustrated in the high court's order list one day this spring when the justices disposed of two cases involving governmental intervention, but with contrasting outcomes.

In one of the cases, the Court reiterated a longstanding position that secular courts have no jurisdiction to decide disputes between churches and their ministers. The Court's order left in place the dismissal of Andrew Templeman, a Presbyterian minister relieved of pastoral duties in his New Hampshire parish after some of his members complained about his work habits and the content of his sermons. In the other, the justices left standing a ruling of the Michigan Supreme Court upholding a state law requiring parochial schoolteachers, as well as their public school counterparts, to hold teaching certificates.

The principle that government may in some circumstances limit the free exercise of religion — that of churches themselves as well as of individuals — is well established in case law. That principle necessarily involves a degree of governmental regulation or intervention. The two cases cited provide the most important clue to understanding why particular circumstances dictate the outcome of such conflicts between government and religion.

The key test is this: Can government demonstrate a "compelling state interest"

in the contested law or activity? If so, government may regulate without violating the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment. If not, government must leave religion alone.

Churches understandably are concerned about governmental intervention. Over the past decade, instances of such intervention — some would say intrusion — have become more and more commonplace. Taxing authorities, local as well as federal, arguably have been the most frequent offenders. As the federal government and local governments have felt the pinch of budget deficits, those charged with collecting taxes more and more have cast a wistful eye at churches and their exemptions from both income and property taxation. Other reasons for the increasing tendency of government to ponder taxing churches include the rise and growth of newer religions and abuses of tax exemption by some religionists. Concerning the latter, need one look any further than to the loose-and-easy financial practices of Jim and Tammy Baker?

Besides questioning tax exemption, however, governmental authorities across the board seem much more willing nowadays to question the old maxim that church affairs are off limits. A closer look at the pair of cases cited is instructive in that the disposition of each by the Supreme Court is indicative of the state of the law with respect to the problem.

In its action dismissing Templeman's appeal, the Court stated simply it had no

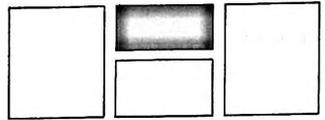
jurisdiction. Behind the hands-off order, however, is a long history of reluctance by secular courts to become involved in disputes between ministers and their congregations or denominations. Templeman was asked to resign by the Presbytery of Northern New England; when he refused, the presbytery dismissed him. When Templeman sued for what he charged was a breach of contract and negligence in the presbytery's review process, the church unit filed a motion to dismiss on grounds the First Amendment to the federal Constitution and a provision of the New Hampshire Constitution forbid state interference in such ministerial disputes. The trial court agreed and the New Hampshire Supreme Court affirmed.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court order disposing of the case did not elaborate, the single statement it would not hear the dispute "for want of jurisdiction" made plain the Court's determination to underscore the constitutional principle that courts should not intrude into such situations.

But the high court the same day upheld the Michigan Supreme Court in the teacher certification case. Why?

Apparently, the justices concluded Michigan's longstanding requirement that all schoolteachers, public and private, be certified by the state is a permissible governmental regulation in an area in which the state clearly has a compelling interest. Its refusal to review the appeal of two independent, fundamentalist Baptist congregations that challenged the

Continued on page 14



Court rules churches may discriminate in hiring

WASHINGTON

The Supreme Court has ruled Congress did not violate the Constitution fifteen years ago when it exempted churches from complying with a federal ban on job discrimination based on religion, even when the contested job is nonreligious in nature.

In a unanimous judgment, the high court held Congress strengthened separation of church and state by enacting the 1972 exemption and did not violate the constitutional ban on an establishment of religion.

Writing for five of the nine members of the court, Justice Byron R. White quoted from another church-state decision earlier in the current term, "This Court has long recognized that the government may (and sometimes must) accommodate religious practices and that it may do so without violating the Establishment Clause."

The high court decision overturned an earlier ruling by a federal district court striking down the 1972 exemption, one of numerous amendments passed that year to the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964. Under the 1964 law, religious employers could restrict employment to "individuals of a particular religion to perform work connected with ... [their] religious activities." But in 1972, Congress deleted the single word "religious" from the exemption, thus enabling churches to discriminate on the basis of religion in hiring for any job, religious or not.

Many religious groups, including the Baptist Joint Committee, had asked the court to uphold the 1972 exemption.

"This decision is a strong endorsement of the concept of church-state separation," said Oliver Thomas, BJC general counsel. "We sometimes forget that without separation the state is free not only to advance religion but to interfere with it as well. The court wisely has recognized that it is perfectly proper for Congress to pass laws that protect religious institutions from governmental interference with or entanglement in their internal affairs."

The legal challenge to the 1972 amendment came in the form of a lawsuit by several former employees of organizations owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, commonly known as the Mormon Church. The

workers were fired when they failed to qualify for a "temple recommend," a term that refers to a special status within the Mormon Church achieved by meeting certain religious demands.

One of the fired workers, Frank Mayson, persuaded the lower court to declare the 1972 exemption unconstitutional and to award back wages, fringe benefits, and pension contributions. The court also ordered Mayson reinstated in his old job as building engineer at the Deseret Gymnasium in Salt Lake City. The nonprofit facility, which is open to the public, is owned and operated by the Mormon Church.

Justice White, citing a three-part test designed by the court in 1971 for use in Establishment Clause cases, acknowledged the clash of rights claimed both by Mayson and the church. But the church's claim to be free from governmental intrusion carried the day over the fired worker's argument the 1972 amendment had a religious purpose, White ruled.

He noted if Congress had not amended the law so as to allow religious organizations to discriminate in filling all jobs, such groups might not be able "to predict which of its activities a secular court will consider religious."

Among four of the justices filing separate, concurring opinions, senior Justice William J. Brennan Jr. underscored the court's determination to reinforce its position against excessive church-state entanglement. Making the kind of distinction between secular and religious jobs sought by Mayson is difficult, Brennan said, when "the character of an activity is not self-evident."

Because of that difficulty, he wrote, "determining whether an activity is religious or secular requires a searching case-by-case analysis. This results in considerable ongoing government entanglement in religious affairs. Furthermore, this prospect of government intrusion raises concern that a religious organization may be chilled in its Free Exercise activity." □

Jews for Jesus win case at nation's high court

WASHINGTON

A unanimous Supreme Court ruled airport officials may not issue blanket bans on First Amendment activities inside airport terminals without violating citizens' constitutional rights.

The high court held a representative of the controversial messianic Jewish group was unlawfully arrested three years ago for handing out literature urging Jews to convert to Christianity.

Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, writing for all nine high court justices, ruled a 1983 resolution of the Los Angeles Board of Airport Commissioners banning First Amendment activities was unconstitutionally vague and overbroad. "We think it obvious that such a ban cannot be justified ... because no conceivable governmental interest would justify such an absolute prohibition of speech," O'Connor wrote.

She noted further, "Under such a sweeping ban, virtually every individual who enters [the airport] may be found to violate the resolution by engaging in some First Amendment activity." □

High court strikes down creation science statute

WASHINGTON

The Supreme Court has struck down a Louisiana law mandating the teaching of creation science in the state's elementary and secondary schools whenever evolution also is taught.

In a 7-2 decision, the high court rejected the contention of Louisiana officials that the law's purpose was secular, not religious. Rather, the court held, the law's stated purpose was a "sham."

Although state legislators who voted for the 1981 law argued throughout a six-year legal battle over its constitutionality that they were motivated by a desire to promote academic freedom, the nation's highest court rejected the contention. "The Act actually serves to diminish academic freedom by removing the flexibility to teach evolution without also teaching creation science, even if teachers determine that such curriculum results in less effective and comprehensive science instruction," the seven-justice majority held.

Justice William J. Brennan Jr., who wrote the majority opinion, ruled the Creationism Act violated the First Amendment's ban on an "establishment of religion" because "the pre-eminent purpose of the Louisiana Legislature was clearly to advance the religious viewpoint that a supernatural being created humankind." As such, it was designed "to change the science curriculum of public

schools in order to provide persuasive advantage to a particular religious doctrine that rejects the factual basis of evolution in its entirety," Brennan wrote further.

The court's senior justice concluded: "The Act violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment because it seeks to employ the symbolic and financial support of government to achieve a religious purpose."

Dissenting for himself and Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, Justice Antonin Scalia charged the court majority had ruled in effect "that the members of the Louisiana Legislature knowingly violated their oaths and then lied about it."

"Striking down a law approved by the democratically elected representatives of the people is no minor matter," Scalia wrote, adding: "The people of Louisiana, including those who are Christian fundamentalists, are quite entitled, as a secular matter, to have whatever scientific evidence there may be against evolution presented in their schools." □

Islamic prisoners lose free exercise challenge

WASHINGTON

The Supreme Court has ruled that prison officials are not obligated under the Constitution to allow Islamic prisoners the right to attend weekly services required by their faith if the officials can demonstrate such denial is "reasonable."

In a 5-4 decision announced by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, the high court ruled against two inmates in New Jersey's Leesburg State Prison — one of whom has died since the pair challenged prison policy — who sought to attend Jum'ah, a Muslim congregational service held every Friday afternoon.

Although an Islamic chaplain in the Leesburg prison is provided by the state and various other accommodations to Muslim prisoners' religious needs are available, attendance at the weekly service may be restricted in the larger security interests of the facility, the court held.

Overruling the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, Rehnquist — joined by Justices Byron R. White, Lewis F. Powell Jr., Sandra Day O'Connor, and Antonin Scalia — held that prison officials have no constitutional obligation to provide prisoners the more stringent protection owed other citizens.

Justice William J. Brennan Jr. filed a dissenting opinion, arguing for himself

and Justices Thurgood Marshall, Harry A. Blackmun, and John Paul Stevens, that the "reasonableness" standard for all constitutional challenges by inmates is "inadequate."

Although he acknowledged that prison officials "have the difficult and often thankless job of preserving security in a potentially explosive setting," Brennan wrote that prisoners still "retain constitutional rights that limit the exercise of official authority against them." □

Some churches must file as PACs, state court rules

NASHVILLE

The Tennessee Supreme Court, voting 5-0 to overturn an earlier decision by the Tennessee Court of Appeals, has ruled churches that speak out on referenda issues must declare themselves to be political action committees and file disclosure statements.

Representatives of ten of the thirteen Jackson, Tennessee, area churches involved in the lawsuit immediately agreed to appeal the case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In its decision, the Tennessee high court stated: "We think that the sole determinative issue is whether the Act [the Tennessee Campaign Financial Disclosure Act] violates the free speech clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We find it unnecessary to address the other issues to resolve this case."

The justices also noted: "As enacted, the Campaign Financial Disclosure Act does not and cannot control the quality or content of speech. It does not limit contributions or expenditures made during a campaign; it is neutral in all respects as regards the groups to whom it applies and the types of activities at which it is specifically aimed." □

SBC to maintain ties with Joint Committee

ST. LOUIS

Messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention meeting here voted to maintain ties with the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

By approving the report of a special fact-finding committee established by the SBC Executive Committee to study the relationship between the denomination



Gary F. Young, chairman of the Southern Baptist Convention's special fact-finding committee on the Baptist Joint Committee, presents his panel's report to messengers to the convention's annual meeting in St. Louis.

and the Washington-based agency, messengers agreed to continue participation in the BJC.

The action also increased Southern Baptist representation on the BJC from fifteen to eighteen members, including twelve at-large members rather than five. The increased number of SBC representatives conforms to a new representation plan already approved by the BJC.

In addition, it empowered the SBC Public Affairs Committee, the panel through which the convention relates to the BJC, to function as a separate committee from the BJC and to take action on SBC motions and resolutions with which the agency cannot agree or which it does not support.

The approved report also encouraged the SBC Christian Life Commission, which is headquartered in Nashville, to open a Washington office to deal with moral and social concerns.

The fact-finding committee, which met throughout the past year, was established following the 1986 meeting of the SBC in Atlanta. During that gathering a motion was made to remove SBC participation in the BJC and establish "an exclusive Southern Baptist presence in Washington." □

Education for Democracy

The foundation of a living heritage

As the bicentennial for our Constitution approaches, we call for a special effort to raise the level of education for democratic citizenship. Given the complexities of our own society, of the rest of the world, and of the choices we confront, the need is self-evident and improvement is long past due.

As the years pass, we become an increasingly diverse people, drawn from many racial, national, linguistic, and religious origins. Our cultural heritage as Americans is as diverse as we are, with multiple sources of vitality and pride. But our political heritage is one — the vision of a common life in liberty, justice, and equality as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution two centuries ago.

To protect that vision, Thomas Jefferson prescribed a general education not just for the few but for all citizens, "to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom." A generation later, Alexis de Tocqueville reminded us that our first duty was to "educate democracy." He believed that all politics were but the playing out of the "notions and sentiments dominant in people." These, he said, are the "real causes of all the rest." Ideas — good and

bad — have their consequences in every sphere of a nation's life.

We cite de Tocqueville's appeal with a sense of urgency, for we fear that many young Americans are growing up without the education needed to develop a solid commitment to those "notions and sentiments" essential to a democratic form of government. Although all the institutions that shape our private and public lives — family, church, school, government, media — share the responsibility for encouraging democratic values in our children, our focus here is on the nation's schools and their teaching of the social studies and humanities.

In singling out the schools, we do not suggest that there was ever a golden age of education for citizenship, somehow lost in recent years. It is reported that in 1943 — that patriotic era — fewer than half of surveyed college freshmen could name four points in the Bill of Rights. Our purpose here is not to argue over the past, but only to ask that everyone with a role in schooling now join to work for decisive improvement.

Our call for schools to purposely impart to their students the learning necessary for an informed, reasoned allegiance to the ideals of a free society rests on three convictions:

First, that democracy is the worthiest form of human governance ever conceived.

Second, that we cannot take its survival or its spread — or its perfection in practice — for granted. Indeed, we believe that the great central drama of modern history has been and continues to be the struggle to establish, preserve, and ex-

tend democracy — at home and abroad. We know that very much still needs doing to achieve justice and civility in our own society. Abroad, we note that, according to the Freedom House survey of political rights and civil liberties, only one-third of the world's people live under conditions that can be described as free.

Third, we are convinced that democracy's survival depends upon our transmitting to each new generation the political vision of liberty and equality that unites us as Americans — and a deep loyalty to the political institutions our founders put together to fulfill that vision. As Jack Beatty reminded us in a *New Republic* article one Fourth of July, ours is a patriotism "not of blood and soil but of values, and those values are liberal and humane."

Such values are neither revealed truths nor natural habits. There is no evidence that we are born with them. Devotion to human dignity and freedom, to equal rights, to social and economic justice, to the rule of law, to civility and truth, to tolerance of diversity, to mutual assistance, to personal and civic responsibility, to self-restraint and self-respect — all these must be taught and learned and practiced. They cannot be taken for granted or regarded as merely one set of options against which any other may be accepted as equally worthy.

We regard the study of history as the chief subject in education for democracy, much as Jefferson and other founders of the United States did two centuries ago. In revamping the social studies curriculum, we should start with the obvious: History is not the enemy of the social sciences, but is instead their indispensable source of nourishment, order, and perspective. We aim at nothing less than helping the student to comprehend what is important, not merely to memorize fact and formula. But it is clearly impossible to reach genuine comprehension of economic, political, social, and cultural questions without examining them in their historic context. To pull "case studies" and "concepts" out of historical narrative, as so many social studies programs do, not only confuses students but is likely to distort the truth of the human condition.

Of all the subjects in the curriculum, history alone affords the perspective that students need to compare themselves realistically with others — in the past and

The following article is adapted for use in REPORT from the statement of principles of the Education for Democracy Project cosponsored by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). The "guidelines for strengthening the teaching of democratic values" are available in a booklet, *Education for Democracy.* © Used by permission of AFT.

elsewhere on earth — and to think critically, to look behind assertions and appearances, to ask for the “whole story,” to judge meaning and value for themselves. History is also the integrative subject, upon which the coherence and usefulness of other subjects depend, es-

The great central drama of modern history has been and continues to be the struggle to establish, preserve, and extend democracy — at home and abroad.

pecially the social sciences but also much of literature and the arts. Taught in historical context, the formulations and insights of the social sciences take on life, blood, drama, and significance. And, in turn, their organizing concepts and questions can help rescue history from the dry recital of dates and acts so many students have rightly complained about.

We also ask for wider reading and study in the humanities. For we are concerned, again, with values, with every citizen's capacity for judging the moral worth of things. In this, courses in “values clarification” do not get us very far. They either feign neutrality or descend to preachiness. Values and moral integrity are better discovered by students in their reading of history, of literature, of philosophy, and of biography. Values are not “taught,” they are encountered, in school and life.

The humanities in our schools must not be limited, as they so often are now, to a few brief samples of Good Things, but should embrace as much as possible of the whole range of the best that has been thought and said and created, from the ancient to the most recent. Otherwise, students have little chance to confront the many varied attempts to answer the great questions of life — or even to be aware that such questions exist. The quest for worth and meaning is indispensable to the democratic citizen. The essence of democracy, its reason for being, is constant choice. We choose what the good life is, and how our society, including its schools, may order its priorities so that the good life is possible, according to what we ourselves value most. That is what de Tocqueville meant by the “notions and sentiments” of a people.

Education for democracy, then, must extend to education in moral issues, which our eighteenth century founders took very seriously indeed. This is hardly surprising. The basic ideas of liberty, equality, and justice, of civil, political,

and economic rights and obligations are all assertions of right and wrong, or moral values. Such principles impel the citizen to make moral choices, repeatedly to decide between right and wrong or, just as often, between one right and another.

The authors of the American testament had no trouble distinguishing moral education from religious instruction, and neither should we. The democratic state can take no part in deciding which, if any, church forms its citizens' consciences. But it is absurd to argue that the state, or its schools, cannot be concerned with citizens' ability to tell right from wrong, and to prefer one over the other in all matters that bear upon the common public life. This would be utterly to misunderstand the democratic vision, and the moral seriousness of the choices it demands of us.

In calling for a decisive improvement of education for democracy, we are well aware that this will require a sea-change in the typical curriculum. We understand that a major reform of the curriculum will require more effective textbooks and auxiliary materials, aimed less at “coverage” than at comprehension of what is most worth learning. It will require continuing collaboration between faculty members from the schools and universities, where both work together as equals to clarify what is most worth teaching in their subjects and to devise ways to convey the material to diverse clientele. And it requires new approaches to teacher education, both pre-service and in-service, to help teachers present the revamped and strengthened curriculum.

Our proposal asks for great intensity of teaching effort. Students will not reach genuine understanding of ideas, events, and institutions through rote learning from texts, classroom lecture, and recitation followed by short-answer quizzes. We ask for active learning on the part of

The authors of the American testament had no trouble distinguishing moral education from religious instruction, and neither should we.

students — ample time for class discussions, for coaching, for frequent seminars to explore ideas, and for regular writing assignments.

We know that teachers would like nothing better than to work in this way. We understand that the dramatic changes

we call for will not come easily. As citizens of a democratic republic, we are part of the noblest political effort in history. Our children must learn, and we must teach them, the knowledge, values, and habits that will best protect and extend this precious inheritance. Today we ask our schools to make a greater contribution to that effort and we ask all Americans to help them do it. □

Quoting

Mel Williams
“Baptists”

We need to protect the integrity of our religious vision, the integrity of our gospel values. In a free society every person must be free to pursue the truth in his or her own way.

The principle of the separation of church and state is a precious, fragile principle; and we must recommit ourselves to maintaining it. In a free, diverse society, we simply cannot play favorites. The separation of church and state assures that equal respect will be given for all religious groups in this country.

Let I have extolled the virtues of this principle too much, let us also recall some weaknesses. The danger of anything we love too much is that we begin to bow down and worship it uncritically. The danger of this principle is that we could allow church-state separation to grow into church-state divorce. The church and the state have a relationship with each other, and the question before us is how the two will be related.

We are citizens of two realms, and our first loyalty is to God and to God's kingdom. Then we also have a loyalty and responsibility to our earthly government. Our job is to help that government treat all citizens with justice and equal opportunity.

While we protect the church-state separation principle, we also know that religion and politics must be mixed. The mixing is never clear-cut and perfect. But our faith must always be expressed in political terms, and the best test I know for the expression of our faith is Luke 7. As a result of our government's policies and programs, do the blind see, the lame walk? Do the lepers get healed? Do the poor hear good news? □

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Scholar: separate Jewish faith and politics

NEW YORK

Questions of Jewish ideology and religion should not be handled by political bodies like the Israeli Knesset, says American-born rabbi David Hartman.

Addressing a session of the American Jewish Committee's Jewish Communal Affairs Department, the director of a study center in Israel declared that "there must be total, absolute separation between Torah [Jewish teachings] and political power. This is crucial for the value of Torah."

Hartman, an orthodox rabbi, noted deep divisions among Jews on questions of religious law. He said, "It is not the function of the state to decide which rabbi's interpretation of Jewish law is valid."

In creating the modern state of Israel, the scholar said Zionists felt that "to live in exile or to live in the diaspora (outside the historic land of Israel) is an anomaly that has to be overcome." But as it turned out, he noted, "Zionism did not succeed in negating the diaspora as a viable structure for Jewish life."

In Hartman's view, it is misleading to talk about the diaspora today. "There is the Jewish people. Israel is the mediator, the filter, through which Jews gain an enormous sense of history."

As such, Hartman said, Israel is an integral factor in Jewish identity as a people whether Jews live there or in America. "As long as you have to explain why you haven't visited Jerusalem, you're still a Jew," he said.

Hartman stressed that the state of Israel exists to serve the Jewish people rather than the other way around. "To make the state ultimate is to paganize the Jewish People," he said. The only absolute value in Jewish tradition is God. □

Sanctions 'un-Christian' says church official

WASHINGTON

The head of South Africa's largest white church, which until recently held that racial apartheid is biblically ordained, declared here that economic sanctions against the country are "un-Christian." The Rev. Johan Heyns, moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), a Dutch Reformed Church,

criticized U.S. supporters of such measures and contended that the country has made significant progress toward abolishing apartheid.

"It is, to my mind, un-Christian. It is also not in accordance with the very essence of a church," Dr. Heyns said of sanctions and recent calls on companies to pull out of South Africa. "A church cannot propagate a policy of disinvestment because this would create polarization, and the ethics of the church, based on scriptural grounds, are not that of polarization but reconciliation."

Dr. Heyns, fifty-nine, is on a three-week visit to the United States, the first by an NGK official since the denomination formally recanted its traditional support of apartheid last October. In doing so the synod acknowledged that the "forced separation of people cannot be seen as a prescription from the Bible." The election of Dr. Heyns, regarded as a progressive within the NGK, was also generally interpreted as a sign of change within the Afrikaans-speaking denomination, in which most leaders of the South African government hold membership.

Dr. Heyns was critical of attempts by the international community, including

religious denominations, to further isolate the white minority regime in South Africa. He singled out the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a prominent black Baptist pastor from Philadelphia who recently called on American companies to pull out of South Africa. Dr. Heyns said disinvestment would cripple the South African economy and, despite the intentions of its champions, impede what he sees as the transition underway toward a post-apartheid society. □

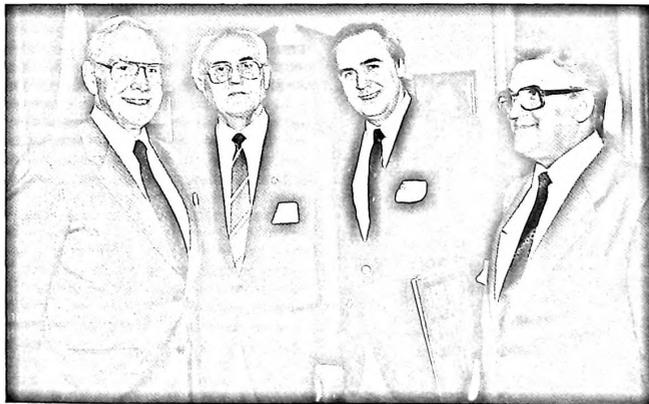
World Baptist Peace Conference set for 1988

BUDAPEST

Baptists concerned about justice and peace issues around the world will gather in Sweden on August 3-7, 1988, in the first World Baptist Peace Conference.

At the conclusion of an April meeting that began planning, Knud Wumpelmann, secretary-treasurer of the European Baptist Federation, declared, "This is a glorious day."

The European Baptist Federation, the cooperative agency for Baptist Conventions and Unions throughout Eastern and Western Europe, will join in cosponsor-



Three Russian Baptist leaders meet with Speaker of the House Jim Wright during a recent visit to the United States. Among topics of discussion was religious freedom in the Soviet Union. Pictured with Wright are (l to r) Vasil Logvinenko, president of the All Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptist and pastor of the largest Baptist church in the Soviet Union; Sergei Nicoleev, the council's superintendent for the North West; and Nicolea Kolensnikov, the council's treasurer.



NEWS-SCAN

ing the event with the Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America (BPFNA).

Four leaders were appointed at the April planning session to serve as a continuing planning group. These include Ken Sehested, executive director of BPFNA, who will chair the group; Birgit Karlsson, general secretary of the Baptist Union of Sweden; Alexei Bichkov, general secretary of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptist, the U.S.S.R.; and Wumpelmann.

The Peace Conference will have four purposes: to serve as a pastoral aid linking Baptists who share peace concerns; to focus renewed attention on the Helsinki Final Act; to study peacemaking among Baptist and Anabaptist antecedents; and to begin planning for a peace conference to be staged around the 1990 World Congress of the Baptist World Alliance in South Korea. □

Castro allows prisoners to emigrate to U.S.

WASHINGTON

As part of continuing negotiations with American Catholic leaders, Cuban President Fidel Castro has agreed to let 348 current and former political prisoners emigrate to the United States, Catholic church officials announced last month. The U.S. Catholic Conference said all the prisoners have been jailed for at least ten years and that small groups of them will begin arriving in the United States by Labor Day.

The Rev. Nicholas Dimarzio, executive director of the church agency's migration and refugee services, won the commitment during a meeting with Mr. Castro last month. Last September, Catholic conference and Cuban officials negotiated the relocation of 111 political prisoners and their immediate families. □

Canadian Jesuits seeking divestiture get SEC aid

EDMONTON

Canadian Jesuits have found an unlikely ally — the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) — in their efforts to get Canadian companies out of South Africa.

Last month the Ontario Supreme Court and the Ontario Court of Appeal ruled that Varsity Corporation (formerly Marsey-Ferguson) is not required to circulate

a proposal from the Jesuit Fathers that the company terminate its South African investments.

The proposal was also supported by the ecumenical Taskforce on the Churches and Corporate Responsibility.

Varsity said it would discuss the issue with the Jesuits in private meetings, permit questions at the company's annual meeting, and include a statement in their proxy circular, but would not permit shareholders to vote on the question.

The SEC, however, ruled that the proposal must be circulated to shareholders because its shares are sold through U.S. stock exchanges. □

PTL scandal blamed for drop in donations

EDMONTON

The PTL scandal in the United States is being blamed for a drop in donations to a leading Canadian television ministry, a development that has set off a chain reaction jeopardizing religious broadcasting in this country.

Canada's most popular religious television show, "100 Huntley Street," has seen contributions drop by thirty percent, despite strong support for the program from Canadian churches.

Other TV ministries have reported lesser effects. Willard Thiessen of "It's a New Day," seen mostly in western Canada, said donations have dropped off in areas where the program has the shortest history. But in its home province of Manitoba, the "bottom line" is essentially the same as before.

The effect of scandal involving the Rev. Jim Bakker and his PTL television ministry hit both Crossroads Christian Communications, which produces "100 Huntley Street," and Vision TV at a time when they could least afford it.

Crossroads was just recovering from debts incurred at Expo '86 in Vancouver, and Vision TV was putting the final touches on its broadcast application.

The PTL affair, said David Mainse, host of "100 Huntley Street," has "discouraged a lot of people."

"They made the mistake of putting a person on a pedestal, when Jesus is the only one they should put there." Those who trusted the Bakkers are discouraged and disillusioned about television evangelism and have stopped giving at least for now, Mainse said. □

The Guinness Book of Records lists an Assemblies of God church as the world's largest Christian congregation — 250,000 people who worship in shifts in a single building in Seoul, South Korea. Its 50-year-old minister, Paul Yonggi Cho, dislikes showmanship and speaks to large crowds as though addressing his own family. It all began in 1958 with five members, and Pastor Cho believes prayer is the key to the success of the church A conference sponsored by the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan on the relationships between church and state explored the issue from legal and theological perspectives. The denomination's general secretary, C. M. Kao, in his opening sermon declared "that since no man is perfect, we must be able to discern the good and the bad, and not merely blindly obey authority. Finally, we must obey truth" In West Germany, forty-six percent of the people consider religion obsolete while one-third of the West Germans believe that religion has an answer for problems of today. Two-thirds of the people said they believe in God but only one-third said they "stand by the teaching of the church." Attitudes toward the Bible ranged from fifteen percent who firmly believed in it to nine percent who believed it was a "collection of invented stories" There is to be no religious district for Jews in Long Branch, New Jersey. A scheme by the Congregation Brothers of Israel to string a thin wire along several blocks to create an *eruv*, a symbolic extension of Jewish homes, has led to a suit in opposition filed by the American Civil Liberties Union. Creation of such a district will enable observant Jews to carry keys, push baby carriages, and perform other actions that Jewish law forbids outside the home on the sabbath and other holy days Father Gleb Yakunin, among the best known of Christian dissidents in the U.S.S.R., has been fully reinstated in the Russian Orthodox priesthood. Yakunin ran into trouble with church officials in 1965 when together with the Rev. Nikolai Eshliman he urged the church to be "more resolute" in standing up to "state interference." In 1975 he joined with layman Lev Regelson in an appeal to the Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, urging the WCC to stop "ignoring" religious persecution in the Soviet Union. A condition of reinstatement was Yakunin's promise not to engage in "anti-social activities." □

Quoting

Wilson Center Reports

Manuel Azcarate, editorial writer for the Spanish daily *El Pais*, emphasized that Solidarity destroyed the idea among West European communists that the countries of Eastern Europe were workers' societies. Solidarity itself was an authentic worker's movement, emerging from the factories and streets. Solidarity caused, for the first time since the Second World War, a united reaction in the West in support of a movement in Eastern Europe; it undermined communist ideological dogma, pushing communist parties in the West deeper into internal conflict and towards a new identity.

Azcarate admitted that Solidarity lacked the organizational capacity to establish itself at the center of Polish political life. This was its chief weakness. But Solidarity's impact on Western European communists remains great, for it forces them to search for a new vision of Europe that includes a strategy for dealing with the problems and aspirations of Eastern Europe as well. □

The Church, from page 5

to ourselves as Americans if we were willing to leave it at that. If we would be true to our calling, we must discern what that calling entails in the difficult circumstances of today's world, and respond to it as vigorously as we can. □



• Robert Bellah describes how religion should shape our relationships with both individuals and nation-states. If, as he says, "human life is essentially communitarian," does the Christian life involve more than the American vision, than being just a "city on a hill"? How does the church become an active transforming agent in the world community? What new job description would the evangelism or outreach minister have to assume if the world is a community? Is there such a person as a solitary Christian?

• This month's article on educating for democracy states that teaching the history of our democratic system is vital in preserving our nation. Whose responsibility is it to teach America's democratic ideals? The church? The home? The

Views, from page 6

extreme circumstances, churches should be free to practice their religion without fear of governmental reprisal. While few may be desirous of shunning wayward members as a means of church discipline, all can applaud the strong statement of the Court of Appeals in behalf of religious liberty. □

Balance, from page 7

lower ruling thereby indicated government sometimes may regulate religious schools because of the overriding concern the state rightfully has to ensure the well-rounded education of all pupils who are required by law to attend school.

Although churches and other religious organizations have an obvious interest in the degree to which governmental intervention is practiced, as long as the courts demonstrate the kind of openness shown in these cases by the nation's highest tribunal, the churches should not complain. They should ask for nothing less than careful review of such disputes, but for little more. □

school? How can the private, ordinary citizen strengthen the teaching of democracy in our schools? How do we best teach moral issues in the classroom without teaching religion?

• Addressing the practice of shunning, Oliver Thomas (VIEWS) maintains the courts did the right thing in not restricting a church's choice to employ this practice of the faith. How does one differentiate between what poses a serious threat to society and what is a vital, albeit uncommon tenet of the faith? Draw up a list of religious practices your group thinks the state ought to monitor in churches. Do you think the courts, according to Thomas's views, would agree?

• James Dunn (REFLECTIONS) explores the implications caused by the three compromises made by televangelists. It was Jesus who gave the test for the effectiveness of a ministry. (Read about it in Luke 7:20.) Compare and contrast the vision of ministry of a televangelist (you choose him) and that of Jesus. What does each one have to say about accountability? How does each define success?



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7/87 Bill me

The burden of mixing evangelism with entertainment, a spiritual message with merchandising, and the Kingdom of God with party politics is a load too heavy. . . .

REFLECTIONS

"Make no mistake about it: nothing less than the definition of Christianity is at stake," Robert M. Liebert warned seven years ago of the exercise of power by the television evangelists.

Now receipts are declining and the various television shows have fallen on hard times. One televangelist says, "We've never seen anything like this in the history of Christianity," speaking of the sharp drop in contributions to his own productions. Others comment on "damage done to the body of Christ," "Christianity being degraded," and "hurt to the cause of Christ." Another well-known TV preacher stated boldly, "the Church has taken a beating."

There remains little doubt that damage has been done to fundraising mechanisms, but to the body of Christ, hardly. Identifying the cause of Christ with television theology is a wild leap, and to lump the church with a commercialized expression of religion stretches the truth.

James T. Draper, then president of the Southern Baptist Convention, warned in 1983 that religious broadcasters must complement rather than compete with the local church. In prophetic terms he cautioned electronic preachers against the television industry's "basic principle" of "shad[ing] the message for the securing of the viewer" thereby producing "a counterfeit gospel."

How has this shading taken place? At least three fundamental compromises have diluted the Christian message: mixing proclamation with entertainment, making evangelism a business venture, and merging spiritual concern with a specific political agenda.

It is risky business to try to mix serious religion with show business. The blip mentality of television does not lend itself to telling the whole truth. As Mario Cuomo puts it, the TV pressures to shorten and simplify demand that you "get your message across in 28-second celluloid morsels." The need to entertain also calls for a neat world with heroes and villains, clear-cut good and evil. Timing must be tended. Emotions must be felt. Drama must take place. As Tom Getman of World Vision points out, appeals to feelings are often "all scare . . . playing on people's dark side," fear, hate, panic. Television evangelism turns out to be more television than evangelism; it fizzles and falls flat.

Even more dangerous are attempts to market the gospel by turning it into a product. Jesus warned against just such economic entanglement when he chased the moneychangers from the temple. Martin Luther's church-shaking response to Johannes Tetzel was at first a challenge to the vendability, the salability of the message of God's grace. Tetzel preached: "Consider the salvation of your souls . . . complete remission of all sins," and offered the means to that worthy goal. "Soon as the coin in the coffer rings / The soul from purgatory springs." It is a small step from that offering of medieval indulgences to packaging the faith for television. Could it be that there is some kinship between the lottery craze that is sweeping America and the eagerness to play a spiritual game where the stakes are far higher, no less than eternal salvation?

It is especially perilous to merge spiritual concerns with specific political programs. The ancient distinction should still be made between the things that are Caesar's and the things

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



that are God's. Billy Graham warns the evangelical world: "To tie the Gospel to any political system, secular program, or society is wrong and will only serve to divert the gospel." The versatile Sen. John Danforth (R-MO), both priest and politician, sees the close linkage of much of television religion with certain crusades as "a usurpation of Christianity for political purposes." Alexis de Tocqueville in a stirring speech to the French Chamber of Deputies in 1844 decried as "the most detestable of all human institutions" a "political religion, serving the government and helping to oppress men instead of preparing them for freedom." He went on to praise the separation of church and state in America.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that television religion should fall on hard times. The burden of mixing evangelism with entertainment, a spiritual message with merchandising, and the Kingdom of God with party politics is a load too heavy for any to bear. At the very least the result of these multiple compromises is a watered-down version of vital Christianity, an anemic, hybrid expression of biblical faith.

Ordinary folks know the difference between the phenomenon of show biz salesmanship and the real thing. Those differences are many. The most obvious lie in the realms of stewardship and accountability, the provision of actual ministry and service, faithfulness to biblical authority and warrant, and the extension of God's unlimited grace, unconditional acceptance. There are others.

For example, the ever-expanding TV budgets gobble up vast sums; TV personalities fly private jets, live in luxury, make \$5,000 speeches and never really answer to anyone. Denominational structures, by contrast, account for every penny. Whether the label is Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Lutheran, one common denominator of organized church life in this country is the scrupulous care given financial resources. Church institutions and agencies are not merely accountable to our supporters, we're accountable with layers of reporting.

Then, see how far the church dollar goes in spreading the gospel. Baptists who relate to the Baptist Joint Committee alone have over 10,000 missionaries, support 200 colleges, manage dozens of hospitals, and touch persons face-to-face in over 100,000 local churches and missions around the world. Most shocking statistically is the fact that all this is done with little more than the money taken in by only *one* of the richest television "ministries." Ministry, indeed.

Faithfulness to the broad-based biblical warrant marks most of the churches on the corners who marry, bury, visit the sick, feed the hungry, and provide spiritual nurture.

Finally, with responsible religion the test is not success, the promise is not health and wealth, the measure is not in dollars. The message, rather, is one of God's unmerited favor. Persons in need, all sorts of persons with every kind of need, may come and are welcome, may call on the church without making a toll call and being added to a mailing list or recruited for a crusade.

Liebert was probably correct. Nothing less than the definition of Christianity is at stake in the confrontation with the electric church. Yet, should television religion be no more, His truth still will go marching on. □

REVIEWS



Uncivil Religion: Interreligious Hostility in America.

Edited by Robert N. Bellah and
Frederick E. Greenspahn. New York:
Crossroad, 1987. 235 pp. \$17.95.

Robert Bellah, a sociologist of religion of the highest rank who first made us aware of the reality of American civil religion, now gives us a dark picture of *uncivil* religion. It is a story of controversy and contention, of bigotry and invective among the religions of this continent that has extended from our beginnings in New England to the present day.

The story begins with the Jews, and rightly so, for that great people has experienced fierce and unrelenting persecution since the Diaspora. Jonathan Sarna states the case for the Jews in America. It includes not only being persecuted, but also being patronized. There has always been a hidden agenda saying to the Jew that in order to be a full-fledged American, he must convert.

John Cuddihy, a Catholic professor at Hunter College, makes reply to the Jewish article in a piece bristling with footnotes that boils down to the strange doctrine that the Jews cause all their troubles because of their "Incivil Irritatingness." It seems like an inadequate reply to the long and terrible persecutions to which Jews have been subjected. Barbara Tuchman calls Cuddihy's statement "anti-Semitism." Cuddihy calls her response a case of *reductio ad absurdum*. And so it goes. But then, this is a book about quarreling.

A most interesting chapter accompanies this squabble with a detailed statistical analysis of what Orthodox Jews think of other Jewish bodies — they don't like them. No similar analysis appears of what Protestant bodies think of each other. Suppose such an analysis were made of Baptists.

A larger debate and controversy in American history is the steady and often violent tensions that have existed and still exist between Catholics and Protestants.

This continuing fight is fully delineated, using the Maria Monk disclosures in early days and the diatribes of Paul Blanshard in more recent days as perhaps "worst case" scenarios. Barbara Welter tells the lively story, and again, the footnotes are prodigious.

A rebuttal from the Catholic side is ably presented by Jay P. Dolan, historian at Notre Dame. Starting with John Carroll of Baltimore and the religious freedom he demanded and gave in Maryland, the cause of religious liberty falls apart and the contention heats up for a hundred years of the "immigrant period." Of more modern times, the Al Smith campaign and its bitterness is recited. Other specific incidents of Catholic-Protestant conflict are remembered, particularly the ugliness of 1940 in Holyoke, Massachusetts concerning Margaret Sanger, an early advocate of birth control.

It is a welcome relief to get to Pope John XXIII and John F. Kennedy, and the new Protestant-Catholic rapprochement that has prevailed since the 1960s.

Other disputes and fights within the religious community are covered under the general heading "Liberal-Conservative Tensions." Lively discussions of fundamentalism, creationism, evolution, and various modern cults makes this book a lively read.

Bellah writes a closing chapter, "Competing Visions of the Role of Religion in American Society." The question, it seems to this reviewer, that cries for an answer is, Why does religion, which presumably fosters faith, hope, and love, produce so much hatred and bitterness? I don't know that the book answers this question, except to point to the need for pluralism. But it hints at another solution when it makes this observation: all churches and religions are more contentious, not to say brutal, when they are strong. It is a gentle reminder of the New

Testament paradox: "When I am weak, then I am strong." □

O. Carroll Arnold

Religious Liberty In Review



"Religious Liberty in Review" focuses on the biblical and historical basis for religious liberty and church-state separation. Introduced by public television's Bill Moyers ("John Leland would have been at home on the Baptist Joint Committee"), this video cassette features staff of the Joint Committee in a 27-minute discussion over church and state — from government intrusion into religion to the role of Christians in politics.

Complete with discussion guide, this program is appropriate for a mid-week service or for study groups. Order from the Baptist Joint Committee, only \$10.00 postpaid.

*A Resource for the Observance of the
Bicentennial of the Constitution*

Reviewer

O. Carroll Arnold is a writer and retired American Baptist pastor living in Tucson, Arizona.

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