

REPORT from the CAPITAL



God, Caesar,
and
the Christian Citizen

REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

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Campaign '88

Selecting a presidential candidate is one of the most direct opportunities Christians have for examining their relationship to a secular state. As Deryl Fleming reminds us (see pp. 10-11), Christians have a dual citizenship. So in voting they are acting as citizens of a democracy, not a theocracy. Yet as persons with a divine citizenship transcending human governance and claims, Christians have a desire to follow and serve God in choosing their Caesars.

Some will seek a clear criterion by which to choose a candidate as well as a candidate who clearly meets that criterion. Others, more conscious of the ambiguities and complexities involved in selecting a candidate, will ask several questions of the office seekers and look at a combination of factors including character, ability to lead, ability to administer, and the substance of positions taken.

The threat of losing tax-exempt status is not the only reason the Baptist Joint Committee will not be endorsing candidates for public office this year. The various choices conscientious Christians will make among themselves manifest another reason for nonendorsement. With differing degrees of wisdom, Christians may be seeking to follow their consciences in choosing a candidate who best comports with their understanding of how to practice faith at the ballot box. And freedom of conscience is yet a part of Baptist identity (see p. 7).

But a free conscience excuses no Christian from the responsibility to make well-informed decisions when possible and appropriate. In this issue, C. Welton Gaddy seeks to inform the decision making of the Christian citizen in this election year and suggests several questions, not one or two, to ask of candidates in choosing among them.

But will Baptist Christians ask worthy, or enough, questions?

If undaunted by ambiguity or uncertainty, they will. Asking numerous, incisive questions (and hearing the answers) may provide not only more clarity about particular candidates but also more ambiguity about choosing among them. Perhaps just as important, asking penetrating questions of oneself can help prevent confusing political convictions and religious truth — or help one to recognize the difference between them.

But select a candidate we must. As Deryl Fleming suggests, in this task Jesus told us to give Caesar what's Caesar's (in this case, our vote), not whom to vote for. Through prayerful reflection, Christians can best seek to sort through the complexities of the political field to choose a candidate.

Politics, not to mention religion, is noted for often inspiring strong opinions, to say the least. But for Baptists who discern between religious dogma and public policy and recognize that faithful Christians will arrive at different conclusions, decisions will be sought, made, and even forcefully declared and defended not with arrogance, but with humility. □

Vic Case

news/views/trends

● **HATE VIOLENCE FOUND** at least one target per day in the United States during the last seven years, according to a recently released report on hate-motivated crimes.

"They Don't All Wear Sheets: A Chronology of Racist and Far Right Violence, 1980-1986" documents a nationwide increase in violent acts motivated by various forms of bigotry, including religious bigotry. The report, which on a state-by-state basis chronicles hate crimes committed during that seven-year period, cites racism, anti-Semitism, and other forms of bigotry as motivating harassment, vandalism, arson, assault, and murder throughout the nation.

Such violence, according to the ninety-five-page report, has been the product of both planned activity by organized groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi groups, and spontaneous action by unaffiliated individuals. Although Ku Klux Klan membership has declined since 1982, many of the nearly 3,000 documented acts of bigoted violence imitated Klan tactics and imagery, the report said.

The report also pointed out an increasing involvement of young people in bigotry-motivated crimes.

During a news conference to announce the report's release, spokesmen from religious, civil rights, and political groups voiced support for the report, which was compiled by the Center for Democratic Renewal and published by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

"It is not simply blacks and Jews that are victims," said A. James Rudin, national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee. "The target community has been expanded."

Warning that increased hate violence could lead to a fragmentation of American society, Rudin said, "This is a testing of whether the American fabric will hold together."

Leonard Zeskind, research director for the Center for Democratic Renewal, said the first step in curtailing hate violence is accurate reporting of related crimes, which he said are now underreported. He said a bigotry-motivated crime such as a cross burning often is simply recorded by law enforcement officials as arson.

Echoing Zeskind's comments, Kenyon C. Burke, associate general secretary for church

and society for the National Council of Churches, emphasized the need for national documentation. "If you don't know what the problem is, you can't come up with a solution," he said.

In a prepared statement, Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., praised the report, saying until its release "there was no comprehensive data available on the national incidence of hate crimes."

"But while this report makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of the nature and scope of this problem, the information it contains is limited," Conyers added. "If more accurate and up-to-date information were available, it would be very useful to law enforcement agencies seeking to combat these offenses."

Conyers has introduced legislation that would require the U.S. attorney general to collect and publish statistics on crimes that "manifest prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity." The bill, the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, is pending floor action by the House of Representatives.

● **A DISTRICT APPEALS** court has held that Georgetown University must provide homosexual student groups with the same privileges given to other campus organizations.

The District of Columbia Court of Appeals ruled that the city's Human Rights Act fulfilled a "compelling governmental interest" in eliminating "sexual orientation discrimination" that outweighed the Jesuit-run university's right to religious freedom under the First Amendment.

The appeals court held the law did not require that Georgetown offer "official recognition" to the homosexual groups, but must give them the same "tangible benefits" as recognized student groups. The university will be required to provide homosexual groups with mailing privileges, party rooms, and the right to seek university funds.

Although Supreme Court Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist granted a temporary stay of the appeals court ruling, the full court handed down an order setting aside that action.

Georgetown has the option of appealing the lower court's decision to the Supreme Court.

Christian Citizenship 1988

Guidelines for the campaign

"Politics is a dirty business with no place in it for Christians." "Christianity and politics don't mix." Such were the untrue generalizations popularized in often-quoted clichés just a few years ago. When I wrote my first article on Christian citizenship in 1971, the task was to explode the myths that mitigated against Christians' involvement in the political process and to elaborate the truth that responsible discipleship finds expression in Christian citizenship. Today the situation is radically different.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the leadership of the self-described "New Right" mobilized masses of people into political action by means of enthusiastic theological justification. An evangelical spirit was wed to a political agenda. Organizations such as Christian Voice, the Moral Majority, and the Religious Roundtable adopted a political platform and endorsed a specific candidate for president of the United States. Scorecards were developed to measure congressional candidates' votes on a number of issues and thus to determine their "Christian" position. Fears of mixing Christianity and politics gave way to political forces working diligently to support their issues and to elect their candidates in the interest of creating a Christian America. Many of these movements and much of this mind-set are still operative.

Christian Citizenship — Yes, But

Presently an examination of Christian citizenship must take a position of "yes,

but." Good reasons — biblical and theological reasons — exist for Christians to be involved in the political process.

Government is a realm of Christian service. Government is ordained by God for the promotion of good and the restraint of evil. Whether considered an "order of creation" or an "order of preservation," government is certainly an "order of service" for Christians. It occupies an important place in God's intentions for God's people and provides human beings an institutional opportunity for expressing care for each other.

Although the people of God are ultimately accountable only to God, they are expected to be responsible in their relations to the government. Codified laws of the state are to be obeyed so that order may be maintained and justice facilitated (Rom. 13:5, 1 Pet. 2:13-16, Titus 3:1). Taxes are to be paid faithfully in order that government may be supported adequately (Rom. 13:6-7, Matt. 22:21). Prayers are to be offered for the nation generally as well as for those in leadership positions specifically (1 Tim. 2:1-3).

Although the political situation in which most of the New Testament was written provided Christians with little or no opportunity for creative involvement, responsibilities in relation to government were still taken seriously. Jesus recognized the validity of the state and the importance of Christians being loyal subjects of it (Luke 20:25, Matt. 17:22-27). For the apostle Paul, Roman citizenship was a source of pride and an avenue through which to appeal to justice (Acts 16:37, 22:25-28, 25:8-11).

Scriptural summons to Christian citizenship are intensified for those of us who live in a democracy because of the

greater opportunities for citizen participation that exist in this form of government. Indeed, we are the government. We can work to change laws as well as to obey them, help decide the expenditures of tax revenue as well as pay it, and personally influence government leaders as well as pray for them. A commitment to justice as an ideal can be translated into specific acts aimed at ensuring justice as a reality.

Influence is an expression of the Christian life. The metaphors by which Jesus described his disciples indicate the importance of exerting influence in the Christian life. Salt (Matt. 5:13), light (Matt. 5:14), and leaven (Matt. 13:33) all point to change by involvement. Even as salt interacts with meat to influence its flavor and to preserve it, as light infiltrates darkness to dispel it, and as leaven intermingles with the lump of dough to expand it, so Christians are to penetrate the world and its government with the influence of the gospel.

Whether political activity is moral or immoral depends on the persons involved. Thus, here is a clarion call for the influence of Christian citizens and a rationale for their involvement in the political process. Our government will never be any better than the demands and influential involvement of its citizens. In fact, some of the contemporary Christian's greatest influence for Christ's sake may be exerted upon and through the leadership and structures of legislative assemblies and other policymaking agencies that govern civil affairs.

Individual Christians stand as the most effective means of influencing civil affairs with the good news of the gospel. No substitute exists for personal involvement on the part of responsible

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citizens; thereby the political process is influenced by consciences informed by biblical morality. Both issues and actions are shaped by primal moral principles. Convictions inspired by the Bible and actions determined by the spirit of Christ can be vital parts of that mix of political partisanship, economic realism, and legislative expediency out of which major governmental decisions are made and national legislation formulated. A person may well be a good citizen without being a good Christian, but it is highly doubtful that a person can be a good Christian without being a good citizen.

Political power is a medium for Christian ministry. Issues to which the Christian community historically has devoted so much time and energy have been and will be radically affected by the actions of various legislative bodies across the land. One valid means of translating personal faith into concrete actions of social ministry, of bringing belief to bear upon the crucial problems of our time, is through Christian citizenship.

In a highly structured, complex society, love often finds its most legitimate and effective expression through participation in political processes. Compassion for a neighbor in need might well result in prolonged involvement with those corporate structures in the community that determine street lighting, equitable methods of taxation, pollution control standards, waste disposal services, police protection, educational opportunities, and other such issues. Concern for world hunger may involve one in a letter-writing campaign in support of a specific foreign aid bill before Congress as well as in the sharing of personal finances through a direct help agency. Discipleship may as appropriately inspire persons sensitive to God's will to speak out in a monthly town meeting as in a weekly prayer meeting.

In contemporary society a comprehensive ministry to the poor, to a minority group, to prisoners, and to the dispossessed will involve political actions on their behalf. Given the nature of social change, the importance of political systems, and the manner in which corporate-level decisions are made, on the basis of love the Christian becomes a broker of power. For the Christian, political power is an instrument of service.

Good reasons exist for the practice of responsible citizenship among Christians. Yes, but. But Christians' involvement in the political sphere must be conscious of the limitations of that arena. Consider the following.

Penultimacy of Politics. For Christians, politics is a penultimate concern. Inher-

ent in the power of politics is an attraction, or a deception, that leads participants to believe politics is an end in itself. Not so. In fact, at times a believer must "lose" politically in order to "win" religiously. Although political compromise is often essential, it must not take place at the expense of moral compromise, which is reprehensible. Politics is a means to an end, not an end in itself.

Government is not meant to do the work of the church. To seek to manipulate civil concerns in order to establish and enforce one's own particular religious-moral point of view violates both a biblical theology of the church and a constitutional view of our government. The kingdom of God will not be established by political caucuses, majority votes, and legislative action. God's



kingdom will come and God's will will be done regardless of the politics of earthly kingdoms. Christians must not devote ultimate allegiance to a penultimate concern.

Ambiguity of Judgment. Great danger exists in isolating one candidate for public office as the Christian candidate or the clear choice of the Christian community. Such is also the case with identifying one position as the Christian position on a legislative issue. Politics is fraught with too much ambiguity for us to make a simple judgment. In many elections more than one candidate is a Christian. Presently four candidates for the presidency even have a Baptist affiliation.

Some of the worst atrocities in history have resulted from the identification of the Christian will with one political party, candidate, or movement. Human judgment is simply too finite to deal in assertions of absolutes regarding politics.

The Founders of our republic evidenced great wisdom when they wrote

into the Constitution a prohibition against any religious test for public office imposed by the government. When we are true to that law, we are most faithful to the spirit of Christian citizenship.

Mythology of "Christian America." To speak of a Christian America is to ignore historical reality as well as a basic theological principle and biblical truth. In Scripture, only one Christian nation exists, and that is the church. Civil government is secular by nature. No secular body can legitimately be called "Christian." That word is reserved for those who make up the Body of Christ. Also, no one nation is any more precious to God than others.

Christianization of the structures of government is not the goal of either the individual Christian's or the institutional church's involvement in government. Participation in civil affairs is for the purpose of bringing the influence of Christ to bear upon the structures, purposes, plans, and persons of government. This is the aim of both responsible Christian citizenship and authentic Christian discipleship.

Both the church and the state function best when each is separate from the other constitutionally. Neither a church-controlled state nor a state-controlled church is conducive to an open society. Government should function in response to the will of all of its citizens rather than in compliance with the wishes of one particular group. Churches should carry out their ministries of worship, evangelism, social action, and missions unhindered by civil regulations and interruptions from government personnel.

Civil Religion

An unholy marriage of religious and political thought has contributed to the development of a phenomenon known as civil religion. The American civil religion has skillfully and selectively borrowed from the nation's various religious traditions so that the average citizen sees no danger in this secular faith and no conflict between it and authentic religious faith. Far too few have recognized the subtle manipulation of spiritual institutions and the quiet perversion of personal faith effected by this civic piety.

Confessors of American civil religion tend to equate God and country, wrap the Bible in the flag, and identify national policy as "the way." Politically, civil religion exalts the Constitution. Economically, it stands for the capitalistic free enterprise system. Religiously, it stresses unity and belonging. Socially, it promotes egalitarianism. Governmental

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VIEWS OF THE WALL

Oliver S. Thomas
General Counsel



A fundamental tenet of religious liberty and its corollary, church-state separation, is that no person should be taxed to support the propagation of religion. Taxing for the support of religion is "sinful and tyrannical," wrote Jefferson. It still is.

Unfortunately, politicians are frequently more interested in staying in office than in defending religious liberty. As a result, the First Amendment may be trampled underfoot as they go marching off for a good cause.

For example, who would deny that teen pregnancy and abortion have become serious national concerns? Yet, most would agree that Congress could not pay churches and other religious organizations to discourage abortion and premarital sex anymore than it could pay them to teach the Bible. Nevertheless, Congress has created a federal program that does pay religious organizations to promote sexual morality.

This program has become the subject of a major church-state dispute that soon will be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court. At issue in the case is whether government can subsidize the efforts of religious organizations to promote their views on moral issues.

Because religious organizations should be dependent upon their own financial resources and not those of the state, the Supreme Court has scrutinized carefully any legislative scheme that diverts public monies to religious institutions. The Court's approach, which is both straightforward and succinct, has been set forth clearly in a number of cases.

First, no financial assistance may go to institutions that are so "pervasively sectarian" that secular activities cannot be separated from sectarian ones. Churches and primary and secondary religious schools fall in this category. Second, if secular activities can be separated out (i.e., if an institution is not "pervasively sectarian"), they alone may be funded.

Government funding of sex education by religious organizations is a flagrant violation of these basic constitutional principles. The funded activities are not wholly secular and cannot be segregated entirely from the organizations' religious activities. To the contrary, a religious organization's teachings on sexual morality are so intertwined with its religious tenets that it is impossible for the organization to teach the former without directly promoting the latter.

As one Baptist ethicist has stated:

In the Hebrew-Christian tradition, sex is a gift of God, a good which can be abused. Hence, there are numerous passages both in Hebrew and Christian scriptures teaching about the sacredness of sex and its proper role in human life (e.g., Prov. 7, Matt. 5, 1 Cor. 6).

Holy Scripture admonishes families and religious communities to teach their children and constituents sexual morality (Deut. 5-6, Prov. 5, Eph. 6:1-4). Marriage, celibacy, adultery, and fornication are interpreted by religious organizations in terms of their religious presuppositions.

Theology and ethics, or morality, are inseparable for the religious community. Because it is grounded in theology, morality is simply the practical expression of sincerely held religious beliefs. Examples are pervasive in Holy Scripture: Because the body is the "temple of God," Christians are exhorted to abstain from premarital sex. Because humankind is made "in the image of God," Jews and Christians are taught that human life is sacred.

Given that sexual morality is a fundamental religious doctrine, it is inconceivable that religious organizations could counsel or teach about these matters without consciously or unconsciously promoting religion. This is particularly true with regard to discouraging abortion and premarital sex (i.e., fornication), which is the stated purpose of the program to be examined by the Court.

The award of federal grants to religious organizations constitutes a far more serious violation of the First Amendment than did numerous programs aiding religion that have been struck down by the Supreme Court. Paying religious organizations to promote sexual morality is more noxious to the Constitution than supplementing the salaries of parochial school teachers for teaching secular subjects; providing maps, charts, and other instructional materials to parochial schools; furnishing bus transportation to parochial school students for field trips; or sending public school teachers into parochial schools to teach remedial mathematics — all of which have been declared illegal.

That religious grantees under the sex education program may not be pervasively sectarian (as were the grantees

in the illegal programs just mentioned) should not be controlling. These grantees still are religious organizations with "a religious character and purpose." Their respective constitutions and bylaws make this fact abundantly clear. To suppose that these organizations could discourage abortion and premarital sex without promoting religion is sheer nonsense. The first question any pregnant teenager is likely to ask her counselor or instructor is, Should I have an abortion, and if not, why? Because abortion generally entails less medical risk to the mother than does carrying a fetus to full term, a negative answer necessarily would be based on religious reasons. The same is true with regard to premarital sex. Why shouldn't teens engage in sexual activity, especially when it can be done free from the fear of pregnancy and disease? Again, for the religious organization, the answer is a fundamentally religious one. As a result, the employees of these religious organizations may "overtly or subtly" indoctrinate their clients or counselees in particular religious tenets at public expense. Such activity violates the Establishment Clause's strict prohibition against "government-sponsored indoctrination into the beliefs of a particular religious faith." By subsidizing the indoctrination of religious organizations, Congress also has violated the Establishment Clause's prohibition against "direct and substantial advancement" of an organization's sectarian enterprise.

Finally, this grant program contravenes the Court's pronouncements against a substantial "symbolic union" between church and state. This symbolic union is especially problematic in a case such as this in which the recipients of the government's subsidized services are young, impressionable, and psychologically vulnerable. The program contains no restrictions against offering these services in a room whose walls are covered with religious symbols or by a teacher or counselor clothed in clerical garb. The overall effect of such a program is to convey an unmistakable message of government endorsement of religion.

Certainly, Congress is not precluded from passing a law solely because its legislative objective coincides with the tenets of some religions. Yet, Congress is precluded from passing laws that have a

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John Clarke

BAPTIST BEGINNINGS IN NORTH AMERICA

The bandying about of the term "freedom of conscience" these days is more than just verbal badminton. The idea it represents has roots so deep in Baptist heritage that many cannot imagine being Baptist without it.

Meet one author of that heritage, John Clarke, who, even more than Roger Williams, was responsible for the historic strength of Baptists in Rhode Island. The year was 1637, and John Clarke and his bride Elizabeth stood at the bow of a ship as the bustling port of Boston came into view; they thought the city would be their home in the New World.

But the Clarkes soon discovered that Boston was ruled by Puritan leaders who had wedded religion and the state and that anyone who dissented from their rigid views of scripture and orthodoxy were to be banished. Within a year Clarke found himself leading a small group of dissenters (mainly Baptists) south toward Long Island in search of a place where they could live under freedom of conscience.

On the way they stopped for a visit in Providence with Roger Williams, who advised them they could possibly purchase the island of Aquidneck from the Indians. They eventually settled on Aquidneck and renamed it Rhode Island. There John Clarke set a standard for an open, intelligent ministry among the Baptists. He was catholic in his sympathies, deep in his Baptist convictions, and trained not only in theology, but also in law and medicine.

His legal knowledge was called on continually by the citizens of Rhode Island. Clarke wrote the first code of laws for the colony. He later represented the interests of Rhode Island in England under the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell and later under the restored mon-

archy of Charles II. The famous phrase "to hold forth a lively experiment," engraved over the main entrance to the present Rhode Island statehouse, was penned by Clarke. As a physician he was constantly in demand, for there were many years when Clarke was the only physician in Rhode Island. His lasting popularity may in part be attributed to his ministering to both physical and spiritual needs of his people.

But it is as a courageous minister of the gospel that Clarke's light today shines brightest. Few episodes in the history of the Baptists speak more eloquently than the events of August 1651. Clarke, along with two of his deacons, Obediah Holmes and John Crandall, rode quietly into Lynn, Massachusetts, to visit their friend and fellow Baptist, William Witter. The next day Clarke led a worship service in Witter's home. The Puritan authorities interrupted the service and arrested Clarke, Holmes, and Crandall.

Their subsequent imprisonment in Boston led to a trial in which they were sentenced to pay stiff fines or else be "well whipped." All three refused to pay the fines, but only Holmes was whipped. His testimony after receiving thirty lashes speaks for itself:

And as the man began to lay the strokes upon my back, I said to the people, though my flesh should fail, and my spirit should fail, yet God would not fail; so it pleased the Lord to come in, and so to fill my heart and tongue as a vessel full, and with an audible voice, I broke forth, praying unto the Lord not to lay this sin to their charge. . . .

This is the kind of price paid for freedom of conscience, a Baptist conviction that appeared dramatically in Puritan Massachusetts during a time when lives were measured by religious orthodoxy. Thus, stalwarts like John Clarke, Obediah Holmes, and John Crandall need to be known and recognized today by Baptists, who are still wrestling with the issue of freedom of conscience. □



Portrait of a Clergyman (thought to be John Clarke), by Guiliam de Ville (c. 1614-1672), in the Redwood Library and Athenaeum, Newport, Rhode Island. Used by permission. Photo courtesy of the library.

Those interested in learning more about John Clarke and his role in Baptist heritage can do so by attending "Faith & Freedom: Baptist Beginnings in North America." Marking 350 years of Baptist life on this continent, the celebration and conference will be held June 5-7 in Providence and Newport, Rhode Island. On June 6, conferees will hear a presentation on John Clarke by Edwin S. Gaustad in Newport.

Leaders are to include Peter Gomes, Virgil A. Olson, Frederick J. Anderson, Barrie White, Dr. Gaustad, and Ken Medema. Sponsors include American Baptist Churches of Rhode Island, the Baptist Joint Committee, the North American Baptist Fellowship, and the Southern Baptist Historical Commission.

For more information and registration materials, write to Faith & Freedom, Brown University, Conference Services, Box 1864, Providence, R.I. 02912.

Dr. McKibbens is pastor of Metropolitan Baptist Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Used by permission, the above is adapted from an article in *The New England Baptist*.

News in Brief

Catholic Church receives approval to argue case

WASHINGTON

The Supreme Court has agreed to decide if the U.S. Catholic Church may be forced to turn over large numbers of documents related to its anti-abortion activities in legal proceedings aimed at stripping the nation's largest religious group of its tax exemption.

The church, with more than 52 million members, had asked the justices to review a federal district court ruling last year that held it in contempt for refusing on church-state grounds to hand over the subpoenaed documents. That court first imposed, then stayed a \$100,000-a-day fine on the church until it complies. A federal appeals panel later affirmed the lower decision on a divided vote.

In its brief announcement that it has agreed to review the lower rulings, the high court also accepted a friend-of-the-court brief submitted in October by a broad coalition of church bodies supporting the Catholic Church's refusal to comply with the subpoena. The brief was submitted by the National Council of Churches of Christ, Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, Christian Legal Society, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and National Association of Evangelicals.

Behind the unusual degree of interest and virtual unanimity within the larger religious community is the view of church-state experts that resolution of the case will affect every religious group's ability to address public issues from a moral perspective. Were the pro-abortion groups to succeed eventually in stripping the Catholic Church's tax exemption, these experts warn, no church in the future could address controversial issues in the political arena without risking loss of its own tax-exempt status.

One such authority, Baptist Joint Committee General Counsel Oliver S. Thomas, described the potential ramifications: "It's hard to overstate the implications of this case. If the decision is allowed to stand, groups that disagree with a church's position on controversial issues will be able to attack its exempt status even though the IRS says the church is in perfect compliance with the

law. Obviously, this could become a key element in a group's overall strategy on a hotly contested issue."

Represented by the Washington firm headed by Edward Bennett Williams, the Catholic Church asked the high court to review the case on two grounds. First, attorney of record Charles H. Wilson argued, the justices should decide if the appeals court disregarded Supreme Court precedent by holding that the church could not challenge the district court's constitutional power to enforce its contempt order.

Second, Wilson challenged the legal standing of third-party groups to challenge the tax-exempt status of a church whose activities on a political issue were found offensive but did not otherwise harm those raising the challenge.

The suit challenging the church's tax exemption was brought against the secretary of the Treasury and the commissioner of Internal Revenue by nine pro-abortion organizations, led by Abortion Rights Mobilization, Inc., and by twenty individuals, including several members of the clergy. Those plaintiffs accused the church of violating the Internal Revenue Code by engaging in excessive political activity in opposing abortion, including endorsement of anti-abortion candidates for public office. Besides the revocation of tax exemption, the suit sought assessment and collection of all back taxes and notification that contributors to the Catholic Church no longer may claim federal tax deductions.

The church has contended it was engaging in constitutionally protected activities.

In its May 1986 ruling, the U.S. District Court for Southern New York held the church in contempt for refusing to surrender a large quantity of internal documents, including all official communications on the subject of abortion with public officials anywhere in the country, and all documents reflecting any Catholic unit's support of twelve separate pro-life organizations.

Earlier this year, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the district court, 2-1, holding the church lacked standing to challenge the district court's power to hold it in contempt.

Besides the coalition of churches supporting the Catholic Church's position, the Department of Justice also has entered a brief in support, asking the high court "to put a halt to this unwarranted judicial intrusion" into the Inter-

nal Revenue Service's administration of tax law. □

Court rejects church's bid for IRS information

WASHINGTON

(RNS) — By rejecting an appeal from the Church of Scientology, the Supreme Court has held the Freedom of Information Act does not require the Internal Revenue Service to disclose internal records.

In 1980, Scientology officials wrote to the IRS to request "copies of all records, correspondence, or any form of information" relating to the Los Angeles-based sect. When the IRS did not respond, the church filed suit, citing a 1976 congressional amendment saying the public may have access to IRS information that could not be used to identify a particular taxpayer.

Two lower courts sided with the IRS, noting the Internal Revenue Code states that tax "returns and return information shall be confidential." □

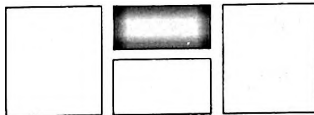
High court weighs dispute over tribal worship site

WASHINGTON

The U.S. Supreme Court heard conflicting claims from attorneys representing the federal government and three American Indian tribes in a long-simmering dispute over the government's right to control its own land and the tribes' right to free exercise of religion.

At issue in the battle is construction of a six-mile stretch of two-lane highway in Six Rivers National Forest in the "high country" of northern California on an ancient site considered sacred by the Yurok, Karok, and Tolowa tribes. The six miles would complete a fifty-five-mile highway connecting the towns of Gasquet and Orleans. The U.S. Forest Service already has spent \$17 million building the other forty-nine miles of roadway.

But the Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association and individual plaintiffs thus far have staved off completion of the project in a series of court victories. Both a federal district court and a Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals panel ruled earlier that completion of the highway would violate the tribes' free exercise of religion. According to the



appeals panel, the disputed land "is indispensable to a significant number of Indian healers and religious leaders as a place where they receive the 'power' that permits them to fill the religious roles that are central to the traditional religions."

In oral arguments at the nation's high court, however, Assistant U.S. Solicitor General Andrew J. Pincus noted the Ninth Circuit is the only federal appeals court "that has come out in favor of the Indians" in such a dispute. "It is our position that . . . the Constitution doesn't require the government to do anything" to accommodate the tribal demands for protecting the sacred site, he added.

The government lawyer insisted the case should be controlled by the 1986 decision in *Bowen v. Roy*, another test pitting American Indian free exercise claims against the government. In that case, the court held 8-1 that the free exercise clause did not extend to an American Indian's effort to prevent the government from requiring use of his daughter's Social Security number as a condition for receiving food stamps and other federal benefits. Use of the number, the father claimed, robbed his daughter of her soul.

But Marilyn B. Miles, a Eureka, California, attorney representing the American Indians, countered that the earlier decision should not apply because "here you have actual conduct that is being interfered with" by governmental action. She described the disputed site as "central and indispensable" to her clients' ability to exercise freely their religious beliefs.

The appeals court ruling in the case, she argued, "strikes a proper balance" between the Indians' free exercise interests and those of the federal government in controlling its land.

Nevertheless, several of the justices peppered Miles with sharp questions about the earlier *Bowen v. Roy* decision, suggesting repeatedly it should be applied in the present case. □

Judge orders prisoner to undergo AIDS testing

NASHVILLE

(RNS) — The Tennessee Supreme Court has ordered a prison inmate to undergo an AIDS test despite his objections on religious grounds.

Leslie Mauro Hudson, an inmate of Haywood County Jail, told a Tennessee Bureau of Investigation officer he was suffering from AIDS when he was arrested in Arkansas in September. But Hudson refused to undergo a test for the deadly disease, saying he was a Jehovah's Witness and that taking a blood sample would violate his religious beliefs.

At a subsequent hearing before a criminal court judge, Hudson said he did not have AIDS and that he had told the arresting officer he did in order to frighten him. After the judge ordered him to undergo an AIDS test, Hudson appealed to the state's high court.

In a unanimous opinion, the state court said "the operation of the jail itself, the safety of the sheriff and his staff, and the safety and welfare of other persons incarcerated in the jail are involved, and any alleged religious belief or conviction of appellant must yield to concerns for the public safety and welfare which are clearly established by the evidence." □

Justices hear arguments on religious use of drug

WASHINGTON

The ancient American Indian tradition of using the hallucinogenic drug peyote in religious ceremonies came to the U.S. Supreme Court, as the justices heard arguments for and against the claim that the Constitution's guarantee of free exercise of religion protects the practice.

Arguing against the claim of two members of the Native American Church in his state, Oregon Deputy Attorney General William F. Gary told the high court Oregon "has determined there is a compelling state interest in regulating the use of drugs," an interest that supercedes the constitutional claim of free exercise of religion.

On the other side, Oregon Legal Services Corporation attorney Suanne Lovendahl said she found the state's argument that violating a criminal statute takes precedence over a free exercise claim "most disturbing."

The case arose when two employees of a state alcohol and drug abuse prevention and treatment center were themselves discharged after admitting they used peyote in ceremonies of the Native American Church. Alfred L. Smith and Galen W. Black had agreed in writing before being employed they would

abstain from alcohol and drug use.

After being fired, Smith and Black applied for state unemployment benefits. Although a pair of state referees agreed they were eligible, the Oregon Employment Appeals Board reversed the findings.

Both a state appeals court and the Oregon Supreme Court sided with the fired workers, however, holding their right to free exercise overrode the state's interest in banning drug use. The state then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

During arguments, Deputy Attorney General Gary told the justices that in this case, "the state does have a vital health and safety interest." He noted that peyote is a "Schedule I" drug, meaning it has no safe use, even under the supervision of a physician. It is outlawed in all fifty states, he added.

"Drug use in the workplace is a very serious [state] concern," he concluded.

But Lovendahl argued the Supreme Court has ruled repeatedly that citizens may not be put in a position of having to choose between a constitutional right and a state benefit, in this case unemployment compensation. In some instances, she said, the protection of the Constitution must take precedence over the state's interest in forbidding illegal conduct.

Beyond that, Oregon law discriminates against the Native American Church by outlawing the use of peyote even for ceremonial purposes, she said, suggesting Smith and Black would not have been fired if they had been Catholics who drank wine during Mass. Under Oregon law, she insisted, the two situations are "essentially the same." □

Court rules church must pay taxes on vacant land

LANSING

(RNS) — The Michigan Court of Appeals has said a congregation must pay taxes on undeveloped land even if it plans to use the land for a church building.

The three-judge panel said St. Paul Lutheran Church must pay taxes on land it owns in Riverview near Detroit.

The panel said tax exemptions for religious use of the site can be granted only after a church has been erected on the parcel, adding vacant land is subject to taxation regardless of ownership. □

Saying Yes, Saying No

*Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's,
and to God the things that are God's.*

However accurate or inaccurate the old bit about only two things being inevitable — death and taxes — it is another way of saying that we live in two cities. Augustine called them the City of God and the City of Man. Jesus might have said the city of God and the city of Caesar — which is not to say that the cities are simply this world and the next. To be sure, Caesar's city is here and now, though not without implications for the world beyond. The eternal city of God, on the other hand, impinges on the here and now.

Some would equate or confuse the claims of the city of God and the city of humanity. Sometimes a political philosophy or position is baptized and blessed by those who would simply identify God and country, religion and politics.

The other day I passed a sign that said, "You are leaving the city of Manassas; you are entering Prince William County." In other states where I have lived, city and county are overlapping jurisdictions. So it is with the city of Caesar and the city of Christ, which means that the relationship between the two is always complex and often confusing. Some would simply separate the jurisdictions of the two cities, proposing that the spiritual, whatever that is, belongs to God, and the secular and political belong to Caesar. Always an untenable position, its appeal to some seems abiding, perhaps because of its simplistic formula.

Some want a choosing between the two cities in a way that both justifies their biases and simplifies their deci-

sions. That is what the Pharisees hoped Jesus would do when they sent a group of their disciples, accompanied by some Herodians, to inquire of Jesus. Hoping to entangle him, to sandwich him between a rock and a hard place, they asked him if it was lawful — not inevitable, but lawful — to pay taxes to Caesar. Since A.D. 6 the Jews had chafed under a poll tax levied on those under Roman rule, a grievous offense to those whose allegiance was to Zion. After all, God alone was king of Israel. Therefore, an imperial tax paid to Caesar was a denial of faith. The Pharisees, devoted keepers of the law of God, were trained to hate graven images, to oppose with all their hearts such idolatry. The coin on exhibit in our story had on it an image of the reigning emperor crowned with a laurel wreath, the sign of divinity. Moreover, it had an inscription: "Tiberius Caesar, majestic son of the majestic God, and high priest." That would be a bit much even for Reagan supporters in those earlier days of unparalleled popularity, perhaps too much even for Kennedy devotees in the early years after his death. Sainthood, perhaps, but majestic son and high priest of the most high God? Hardly.

On the other hand, that view was altogether accepted in Rome. Even some Jews — Herodians, they were called — made peace with such claims for Caesar. After all, to get along you have to go along, political savvy has it. And such prosperity and peace, pomp and circumstance Rome had brought to be in the world! Indeed, it would become the Holy Roman Empire. So the Herodians, as pragmatic as most Americans, were pro-Herod, progovernment, protax.

Strange bedfellows, the Pharisees and the Herodians. But wishing to entangle Jesus, they created that most unlikely of coalitions. If this was not the origin of entrapment schemes, it was a fine

example. Is it lawful to pay taxes to Caesar or not? If he says yes, he fans the flames of the Pharisees' wrath and offends every faithful Jew. If he says no, he insults the Herodians and verges on charges of insurrection, and it may even cost him his life. (By the way, the event occurred on Wednesday before he was led away on Friday.) What do you say, Jesus?

Reminiscent of Solomon, Jesus asks, Whose coin is this? Where did you get it? From Caesar — it's Caesar's. Then Caesar may require that you return it. Unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's. What belongs to God? For starters, your life. Unto God that which is God's — which is what worship (worth-ship) is about: offering the recognition of the highest worth to the One who is of ultimate worth and assigning appropriate worth to the causes of relative value, including Caesar.

If the gospel story suggests that Jesus was as wise as a serpent, it is not because Matthew is interested in showing how clever Jesus was. It is because Matthew (as well as other gospel writers) was concerned to demonstrate how insidious evil is and how complex living in two cities is even when one is clear about worth.

Unto Caesar and unto God — so that is that. But you still don't know whom to vote for. Before the recent hunger walk I heard a woman ask another, "Who are you voting for?" The reply: "I don't know. I was going to vote for Audrey Moore, but I heard that she's against roads. I know I'm not voting for Jack Herrity. I don't know; I'm going to have to think about it." I was tempted to tell her whom to vote for, since I have a word that's *almost* from the Lord, but almost is not enough, I decided. Even Jesus won't tell her whom to vote for.

Dr. Fleming is pastor of Ravensworth Baptist Church (ABC/SBC), Annandale, Virginia, where he preached this sermon.

"Unto Caesar that which is Caesar's" may not tell you whom to vote for, but perhaps it does tell you to vote for somebody. This world may not be our home in the final sense, but until we get home, we live here. And we share responsibility for Caesar's city while owing higher allegiance to the city of God. Indeed, our allegiance to the city of God requires that we cast votes in Caesar's city, engage in the political process, vote according to our conscience, and pray for a conscience that is guided by the Holy Spirit. It is our spiritual calling to be politically active. We are marching to Zion (that city not made with hands), but on the way, in the city of Caesar, we are called to raise up signs that point to the city of God, signs of justice and mercy.

What do we owe Caesar? Our vote. And the inevitable taxes — unless they conflict with our higher loyalty, that which belongs to God. Even if it is lawful under God to pay taxes, there are times when it is not lawful under God to obey Caesar's laws. Sometimes though pledged to liberty and justice for all, Caesar may pass laws that impose bondage and injustice for some. The civil rights struggle of the sixties defied some of the laws of the land while being true to Caesar's higher law, as well as to God's law. The poetic liberty and justice for all was then translated into the prose of everyday realities, in spite of the unlawful laws of the land. Sometimes Caesar works against Caesar's own welfare, and we owe it to Caesar to let it be known. Caesar may not know what's best for Caesar, and the honorable tradition of civil disobedience — beginning with Moses saying "Let my people go" and continuing in the early Christians' "We ought to obey God rather than men" — is our tradition as biblical people, a tradition longer and stronger than our American tradition.

It is tricky and sticky living with allegiance to both cities. Our temptation is to render unquestioningly to Caesar whatever Caesar asks for, even if it conflicts with our higher calling. The temptation of Caesar even in an alleged "small government" administration is to want our full and undivided allegiance. We are citizens of Caesar's city, but our citizenship in "the commonwealth of heaven" is a higher priority.

"Unto Caesar, Caesar's, and unto God, God's" does not mean that you cut the pie down the middle, a fifty-fifty division. Nor does it mean that God gets the spiritual and Caesar the political, Caesar this world and God the next, Caesar Monday through Friday and God Sundays and some Wednesday nights, Caesar 25 percent of your

income and God 10 percent.

How do you decide what is Caesar's? You start with what belongs to God and from there determine what belongs to Caesar. So what belongs to God? Your life. Therefore, the highest law is, You shall love the Lord your God with all your being. The second is like unto it, You shall love your neighbor as yourself. Whatever Caesar calls for has to be considered in the light of those laws.

What does that mean? It means that in November you vote and that you vote not with your wallet, but with your eye on the common good, that which is good for all of God's children. Too often, claiming the name of Christ but for the sake of vested economic interests we vote. We in America have Marxist eyes, too, judging everything by the almighty dollar, while invoking the name of almighty God.



It is indeed complex participating in Caesar's world with a higher allegiance than that to Caesar. Thus, some have settled for too simple a division of loyalty. Wanting "clean hands and a pure heart," they hope to steer clear of the "dirty business" of politics. Impossible. Besides, a pure heart is "to will one thing" (Kierkegaard), as in, "Seek first the kingdom of God, and all these (economic) things will be added unto you." Seek first the kingdom of God in this world, and the next world will take care of itself.

Unto Caesar and unto God does not mean that the two cities have nothing to do with each other. That most cherished of Baptist principles referred to as the separation of church and state is often misunderstood as "never the twain shall meet." It is often misused as a way of protecting Caesar's claims, "keeping the pulpit out of politics" and God's claims away from Caesar's.

During the last election I removed a political candidate's sign from our lawn,

not because church and state have nothing to do with each other, but because it marred the appearance of our place. And perhaps because it was the only such sign placed there. I did feel uncomfortable with our "endorsement" of one particular candidate.

The separation of church and state is a call for respect for the human rights of all and a respect for human imperfection, as well as a commitment to religious liberty and the freedom of individuals to practice their faith without interference from government. We are in the midst of celebrating an imperfect but exceedingly effective constitution. Its existence and effectiveness are due in large measure to its clarity about the imperfection of individuals and groups.

What belongs to Caesar? Participation in the political process, which, by the way, is also God's will for us; whatever Caesar calls for that will serve the common good; sometimes more than even Caesar knows, as in liberty and justice for all; and, finally, a measured love. Not with all your being, but with a proper measure, love your country. You may remember from earlier years John Gardner's much mentioned image for a nation in turmoil. He suggested that later generations might look back on our era and conclude that the demise of America could be traced to the nation's being caught in a cross fire between its unloving critics and its uncritical lovers. Caesar needs a proper love, one that includes criticism, even if Caesar doesn't know it. America is not a god to be worshiped, but a servant of well-being for human kind. Elevated to the status of god, this nation will fail and fall. Nations are best served not when they are worshiped but when they are nudged and urged to serve all of God's children.

As for what belongs to God, it's all of the above, as expressions of loving God with all our being and our neighbors as ourselves. God being our ultimate concern, the nation becomes a genuine and crucial, but never an ultimate, concern. Nations come and go — and who is to say that America will be any different — but we serve a kingdom that knows no end.

One thing more, regarding a distinctive contribution the church may make to the nation. Richard Niebuhr called for the church to be pioneer of repentance. Even gratitude may rise up from those outside the church, but who will lead the way in contrition and repentance? When our hearts are honest and humble we know that we are not better or more deserving than other nations, that we who have been given so much

Continued on p. 14

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Merging German seminary, university proposed

WEST BERLIN

(RNS) — A church-sponsored theological school here, which for forty years has proudly traced its origins to the underground anti-Nazi seminary of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, will be integrated into the city-owned university if Protestant church leaders have their way.

Evangelical Church leadership, headed by West German Bishop Martin Krüze and including a group of a dozen members of clergy and laity, made the official proposal in a report to a recent synod meeting here. Church officials will study the proposal for consideration at a later synod. The city administration of Berlin also must approve the proposal if the church agrees to the action.

The report, ending months of rumors about a proposal to merge the Kirchliche Hochschule into the operation of the Free University of West Berlin, marks a radical turnabout by leaders of the Evangelical Church.

The report drew immediate opposition from faculty and students of the two institutions. There has been no official reaction from the faculty and administration of the two schools yet; however, the Kirchliche Hochschule faculty is reportedly more enthusiastic about the plan than is the university department of Protestant theology.

The Kirchliche Hochschule, locally called the KIHO, is one of a handful of church-run seminaries in the country. The merger, if approved, would consolidate an existing cooperative, theological training program between the two schools into one institution operated and financed by the state.

Until now, leaders of the Evangelical Church, a Lutheran-Reformed union church in communion with the United Church of Christ (USA), have argued that the experience of the Hitler era demonstrates that theological education should be divorced from the control of the state.

The recommendation of the report would overturn this historical divorce.

"The only practical way to achieve a unified educational institution for Protestant theology in West Berlin is the creation of a full Protestant theological faculty at the Free University by integrating the Kirchliche Hochschule into the university," said the report.

Training for the ministry in West Germany has largely been the responsibility of the universities, which are a state monopoly.

But in the early 1930s the historic Berlin University — the predecessor of the Free University, which over the decades has boasted such famous, liberal Protestant theologians as Friedrich Schleiermacher and Adolph von Harnack — accommodated Nazi thinking with hardly a protest from the Protestant department of theology.

Consequently, Karl Barth and other leaders of the anti-Nazi Confessing Church concluded that theological education should be left solely in the hands of the church. After World War II, KIHO was created on the foundation of Bonhoeffer's seminary, an illegal, Confessing Church-affiliated operation forced underground by the Nazi secret police.

The KIHO has built an impressive campus in the south of West Berlin, not far from the university, partly through contributions from the Volkswagen Foundation. If the merger is approved, the city will take over the campus and other assets of the school. Financing of the annual budget — now shared, with two-thirds of the money coming from the city and one-third provided by the church — will be exclusively the responsibility of the city under the merger plan.

KIHO faculty members would also become civil servants, as are Protestant and Catholic professors at all the German state universities. The church would retain only a consultative role in the appointment of new faculty. □

William Downey

Canada approves license for religious TV network

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

(RNS) — Canada's first religious television network, threatened last spring by fallout from the televangelist scandals in the United States, has been given a green light by the Canadian Radio and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC).

Vision Television, a nonprofit organization that will make air time available for programs provided by religious groups and produce some programs concerned with religion, hopes to be on the air by next fall. Its signal will be distributed by satellite to cable operators

across Canada.

Vision will provide three hours of evening programming Monday through Friday. Half of that programming will consist of "Mosaic" programming provided and paid for by religious groups and denominations, while the balance will be general interfaith programming produced or purchased by Vision.

All purchasers of Mosaic time must comply with a code of ethics and program practices that governs their balance, solicitation of funds and advertising, taste, journalistic ethics, and other criteria.

Approval of the five-year renewable license ends more than six years of discussion about religious programming in Canada. Although American religious television and radio signals are readily available in most parts of Canada, Canadian broadcasting authorities have steadfastly refused to license any religious broadcast outlets. The only exceptions were two religious stations in Newfoundland already in operation when the province joined the Canadian confederation in 1949.

In 1981 the CRTC received an application for a religious network from Crossroads Christian Communications, producers of the popular daily religious program "100 Huntley Street." The CRTC cited a long-standing policy against licensing of religious broadcast outlets in turning down the Crossroads application; however, the commission elected the following year to hold hearings on its policy. At the hearing the CRTC was convinced that some form of "broadly based network programming service devoted to serving the varied religious practices and beliefs of Canadians on a national, interfaith basis" might be appropriate, and it invited applications for such a service. □

Paul De Groot

Malaysia churches closed; arrested Baptist released

KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA

(BP) — Thirty-three evangelical churches in Malaysia received orders in December to suspend services within seven days, as Baptists and other Christians in that country continue to feel repercussions from recent government enforcement of the Internal Security Act.

Sources in Malaysia say police are



using zoning regulations to halt the services of thirty-three churches in the state of Negri Sembalan. Four of these are Baptist churches in the Malaysia Baptist Convention. Government officials say the sites on which the churches are meeting are not designated for religious activities; therefore, they are said to be violating zoning codes. But Baptist leaders there claim some of those churches have been meeting in the same locations for more than twenty years.

In a related development, one of five Baptist leaders arrested in a nationwide sweep six weeks earlier has been released from jail. She is Tan Bee Hwa, minister at Damasara Utama Baptist Church in Kuala Lumpur.

Four other Baptists leaders, including James Lai, remain jailed since their arrest in October. Lai, pastor of First Baptist Church of Petaling Jaya, reportedly is being held in solitary confinement. The government has allowed Lai's family to see him twice a week for about thirty minutes at a time.

Baptist leaders in Malaysia say they are not certain about the status of the other three prisoners. No formal charges have been filed against any of the Baptists arrested. The government claims the 5 Baptists, along with 106 other people, were arrested in an attempt to defuse racial and religious tensions between ethnic Chinese and ethnic Malays. All the arrested Baptists are ethnic Chinese.

Shortly after release, Tan spoke to a monthly Baptist co-workers meeting about her time in prison. Although her comments were guarded, she said she was treated well, fed regularly, and allowed to have and read her Bible.

Never formally charged, Tan was told on her release that she could go about her normal life but that if she did anything wrong she would be arrested again.

Although Malaysian Baptist leaders are not certain why she was arrested, they believe someone in the housing estate where she lives gave her name to the government on a complaint form. One leader, who asked for anonymity, said police "were not able to discover anything in her lifestyle for them to have had reason to pick her up. She was picked up in a sweep. Somehow her name had been given, and it really was not necessary that she be picked up."

Tan reportedly was trying to begin a church in her home. For six months she

has owned a home in a governmental housing project reserved for Islamic people. Two Baptist pastors also own homes in that same housing development. The three Baptists are the only ethnic Chinese, non-Islamic people in the area.

Tan reportedly was warned about trying to resume religious activities in the housing development. Specifically, she was told not to attempt to start a church in her house. Religious activities outside Islamic faith and practice are forbidden in the area. □

Michael D. Chute

Jerusalem permits convent construction

JERUSALEM

(RNS) — The city has given its go-ahead to the construction of the first Christian structure in Jerusalem since the founding of Israel.

The Jerusalem City Council approved plans to construct a Roman Catholic convent on the outskirts of the city near the West Bank town of Bethlehem. The convent will be built on six acres of undeveloped land in southeast Jerusalem, a largely uninhabited area. The order receiving permission is Sisters of Bethlehem, whose members now live in a hospital outside Jerusalem.

Aides to Mayor Teddy Kollek urged council approval for the plan, saying it will demonstrate Israel's freedom of worship for all faiths. Opponents on the city council said the approval of the convent could prompt other Christian groups to lobby to build their institutions in Jerusalem, a city with a severe housing shortage. □

Steve Rodan

South African police raid religious offices

JOHANNESBURG

(RNS) — Security police raided the offices of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) in Johannesburg in December, the day after the organization's general secretary denounced what he called the government's "inhumane policy of detention without trial."

In a telex sent to the National Council of Churches in the United States (NCC) while the raid was in progress, SACC General Secretary Frank Chikane reported that "at about 9:45 a.m., a large

contingent of the police raided the whole building of Khotso House."

Mr. Chikane said the officer in charge told him the police had come "to find and confiscate pamphlets purportedly produced by the United Democratic Front," a multiracial, anti-apartheid coalition that Mr. Chikane founded.

The day before the raid, Mr. Chikane sent a message to South African church leaders and "overseas partners," including the NCC, expressing concern about what he called "the constant harassment and detention of SACC staff."

Mr. Chikane also expressed concern about what he called "the constant harassment and detention of staff of the council who deal with the sanctuary program" to aid displaced people. He said the council has refused to cooperate with security police because it believes "it is not obliged to give information on victims of apartheid."

In his message to partner church organizations, the SACC general secretary said, "It seems that the churches' work towards justice and peace in our country is perceived as a threat to the South African government. In the present crisis in South Africa, it has become more and more painful to witness to Christ's message of truth and equality. As committed Christians, there is no choice but to proclaim this message." □

Iranian Jewish émigré tells of persecution

JERUSALEM

(RNS) — The Iranian regime of Ayatollah Khomeini has banned the study of Hebrew and forced Jewish students to recite Moslem prayers and violate the Jewish Sabbath, a recent Iranian émigré said.

"Now, during the Khomeini regime, we can't learn Hebrew, even for prayer," the Iranian Jewish émigré told a recent meeting here of the World Sephardi Federation, a group representing Jews from sixteen countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. "Jews in schools must learn Moslem prayers and must scream slogans against Israel and America," the émigré added.

The Iranian Jew would not allow her name to be used in fear that Iranian authorities would retaliate against her relatives who remain in her native country. □

Steve Rodan

Citizenship, from p. 5

leaders are elevated to a status of unjustifiable supremacy. Spiritual impulses are used to sanction governmental decisions. Many politicians have found sincere but politically naive church people to be helpful tools in their efforts to achieve partisan goals.

As a result of interweaving various faiths and the governmental process, it becomes unclear whether religion is determining politics or politics is determining religion. That difference is crucial. Spiritual integrity cannot be maintained if doctrines are subverted, holy days misdirected, and faith made a tool of the state. Regardless of how much Christian terminology is employed, this is not Christianity. Rather than working in politics for the glory of God and the good of persons, people find themselves being worked by politics for the glory and good of only a few persons.

Temptations to compromise the Christian citizen and to cheapen discipleship abound. Yet, the Christian's calling is sure. We are to maintain a faithfulness to biblical discipleship, an appreciation for national heritage, and a responsible, prophetic type of participatory citizenship.

Choosing a Candidate

Given the dangers of further fostering a civil religion and practicing an uncritical citizenship, how is the Christian to make a choice in the electoral process? Specifically, what criteria should be employed in deciding on a candidate to support for the presidency in 1988?

Personal data is beneficial information. Find out the age, place of birth, family background, and educational accomplishments of each of the candidates. The religious persuasion of the contestants may be an interesting factor in decisions regarding support, but should not be a determinative one.

The candidates' political backgrounds should also be studied. Regarding the experience of each one, ask, What public office has this person held? How did the candidate fare in various elections held in his hometown and native state? Has this person always been affiliated with the same political party? Does this individual accurately represent the philosophy of the party on whose ticket he is running? An election year is a good time to compare the key positions of the national parties.

Further help in assessing the candidates is available in their public service records. Isolate two or three issues of importance and then check the candidates' voting records on each of these matters. (This information can be

secured from the various campaign headquarters.) Seek to discover also if they were faithfully present in the office to which they had previously been elected. Do their prior involvements indicate a conscientious approach to political decision making?

Take advantage of the numerous opportunities to hear the candidates speak. Many issues will be debated, various charges leveled, and specific promises made. From these presentations valuable insights can be gained regarding the personal qualities and professional qualifications of the candidates.

Listen carefully to the issues discussed and compare the differing statements of the candidates. Select four or five specific areas of concern and pay particularly close attention to what is said regarding these matters. For example: On church-state relations — Does the candidate believe in separation of church and state? Is the candidate willing to use public funds to finance private, parochial education? On social service programs — Does the candidate reflect a sensitivity to the needs of all the citizens? Will the candidate support responsible programs aimed at helping the poor, the disabled, and the aged? On justice — Does the candidate reflect a commitment to justice that embraces equality and freedom? On government — Will the candidate be responsive to the people? Will the candidate's proposal contribute to the largeness of federal government bureaucracies and ignore local authorities? On international relations — Will the candidate be aggressive for peace? Does the candidate intend to isolate our nation from the world community or help us become a more responsible member of it?

Hear well the promises the candidates make. Determine whether the promises are rational or emotional, realistic or unrealistic. Consider how much money would be needed to assure fulfillment of the promises.

The election of a president is not a popularity contest. Christian citizens should make final decisions regarding the candidates on the basis of tested information, personal reflection, and prayer. Very likely, no one candidate will represent a person's point of view on every issue. Generally, a candidate should not be ruled out or supported because of one position alone. Thus, areas of agreement and disagreement will have to be weighed carefully.

Faithful discipleship and responsible citizenship belong together. The witness of the Scriptures, the nature of the Christian life, and the needs of the pres-

ent moment document that fact. With time-tested political principles in mind, the strength of Christian convictions in the heart, and a commitment to positive change that comes from seeing Christ as Lord and leads to constructive action carried out in Christ's name, a Christian citizen can make a vital difference for good in the government of this world in 1988. □

Saying Yes, from p. 11

have hardly measured up as stewards of unnumbered blessings, that we have too often acted in imperialistic and paternalistic ways toward others. Thus, Niebuhr contended that the church knows the way of repentance and owes it to God and to Caesar to pioneer the way of repentance in Caesar's city.

"Lord have mercy" is a primal expression of the church and a primary need of the nation.

"Unto God and unto Caesar" often calls for one and the same. Perhaps the difference is that under God we consider when to say yes and when to say no to Caesar, but to God, always and only, yes. □

Views, from p. 6

primary effect of advancing religion. For example, Sunday closing laws may be constitutional, but Congress could not pay religious organizations to discourage Sunday work. Similarly, there are legitimate secular reasons why the state would wish to promote civil relations between neighbors, but surely Congress could not pay religious organizations to teach the Great Commandment, "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

While the mere possibility that public funds might be used for sectarian purposes is sufficient to invalidate an otherwise lawful grant program, the Court need not speculate in this case. The benefits to religion are "direct and immediate," and are well documented. The lower court's opinion sets forth numerous examples of funds being used explicitly to advance religion, including one program that was designed "to communicate the Catholic diocese, Mormon, and Young Buddhist Association's approaches to sex education." The record in this case provides ample testimony to the legal absurdity of a program that pays religious organizations to teach sexual morality and at the same time expects them to refrain from promoting religion. □

This dedication to religious liberty is not negotiable.

REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



Shame on us! We Baptists should be even half as dedicated to human rights, freedom of conscience, and religious liberty as our Jewish neighbors. Who knows what a difference we could make on the international scene if we would live up to our own protestations about religious freedom. Baptists in this country were born free in Rhode Island and there offered Jews their first sanctuary on these shores. If only Baptists, as many and as noisy as we are, would team up now with our soul siblings in the fight for religious prisoners everywhere, who knows....

The human rights demonstrations, discussions, and disappointments related to the recent summit talks call forcefully to mind our role as advocates for those who suffer religious oppression. The Baptist dedication to soul freedom is broad as well as deep, universal in scope as well as inherently individual. We not only believe that each person must be free to accept or reject the Divine entreaty, but we also see individual competence before God extending to every human being on the face of the earth. This dedication to religious liberty is not negotiable.

A major disappointment coming from the December summit talks was the absence of any announcement about the release of religious prisoners.

In early fall Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Soviet committee that oversees religion, promised that "prisoners of faith will be freed." He repeated the announcement in several settings, including a meeting with Baptist World Alliance (BWA) officers. On September 10, 1987, Secretary of State George Schultz, meeting with Dr. Olin Robison, Rabbi Arnold Schneier, and me, assured us that amnesty for all religious prisoners was a high priority in talks with the Soviets. It is clear our government has made the appeal. Yet, nearly three hundred prisoners are held in Soviet prisons because of religious beliefs. Over one hundred of them are Baptists.

During this anniversary of one thousand years of Christianity in the USSR, it is time for us to do all we can for fellow believers in Soviet prisons. What can we do?

Do our homework. Many here do not know that over one-half million believers in the USSR (or as many as 5 million) consider themselves Baptists. They are in the official All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists and in hundreds of unregistered churches and small groups.

To push for the release of religious prisoners does not imply that progress has been lacking in recent months. The Baptist World Alliance has been given official permission to take one hundred thousand Russian-language Bibles into the country in 1988. We should all be involved in giving to make that possible. The dream of supplying seventy-five thousand volumes of a New Testament commentary to Christians in the USSR has already been realized through the BWA. Soviet Baptists are experiencing other breakthroughs. They now have a video production studio in the Central Baptist Church in Moscow. The Baptist Union is directly involved in social ministries, especially with orphans and abandoned children.

To insist upon freedom for prisoners of faith does not reflect ingratitude for all steps taken in the right direction. We welcome every individual released from prison.

To plead for the release of prisoners of conscience in the

USSR does not suggest that our own country never makes mistakes. Just now we are trying to ascertain why our State Department recently denied a visa to the Reverend Alexei Bichkov, general secretary of Soviet Baptists. He was not permitted to come with other church leaders to the prayer meetings preceding the summit. Bichkov has long been an active participant in the BWA.

But to focus on freeing religious prisoners does not even hint that we would rest easy if that were done. Authentic religious liberty would permit religious education, a free pulpit, civil rights for believers, the publication of religious materials, full freedom of assembly, and many other rights now denied believers in the USSR.

Pray for the prisoners. While we pay lip service to prayer for those in prison, I must confess that only recently have I begun to remember regularly those in Soviet jails. Irina Ratushinskaya, a recently released poet, testifies to the power of prayer: "We experience, physically, the support of prayer. This was not some mystical experience induced by bodily debilitation, but a concrete physical sensation — that of being surrounded by warmth in the freezing cell into which we were confined...."

Listen to our brothers and sisters who suffer anywhere for their faith. We should hear the pleas of those in South Africa in the homelands; of those in the Nicaraguan Baptist Convention, who frequently send us messages; of Cuban Christians, often denied ordinary expectations for their churches; of those in India now having difficulty remaining in the country; and of those in dozens of other lands where religious freedom is incomplete. Concern for prisoners in the USSR does not diminish our interest in others who suffer for conscience' sake.

Write letters and cards to those in Soviet prisons. Amnesty International, Keston College, and task forces for Soviet Jewry have demonstrated beyond doubt that it helps to attempt to communicate with those in prison. You may not receive a reply, but write. Even a card with a simple greeting from the West will not do any harm. According to *Religious Prisoners in the USSR*, a splendid 1987 resource book from Keston College, writing "will show that people in the West not only know about religious prisoners, but [also] are concerned enough about their welfare to write to them." The day after the recent summit series of meetings in Washington, a top State Department official bemoaned the negligible progress in human rights. Regarding the release of religious prisoners, he said, "It's like pulling teeth, we simply must keep up the pressure."

Keep up! Read this magazine regularly for new developments. Write to the following address if you would like to receive (at no charge) *The Right to Believe*: Keston College USA, P.O. Box 1310, Framingham, MA 01710. Ask for details of other publications from Keston College. Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, asks, "What is it that makes us, both as a political entity and as individual citizens, respect the rights of our fellow man — the right to life, to liberty, and to personal dignity?" He answers, "It is, I submit to you, above all, our religious tradition." May we Baptists be true to the most distinctive element of our tradition, an unswerving dedication to religious liberty. □

REVIEWS



The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Baptist Witness.

H. Leon McBeth. Nashville: Broadman,
1987. 850 pp. \$24.95.

In this omnibus volume Professor McBeth, of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, aims to encompass all Baptists and to take account of a broad range of topics: polity, doctrine, ministry, worship, baptism and the Lord's Supper, authority of the Bible, confessions of faith, religious liberty, revivalism, women in ministry, movements, biographical sketches, charismatic, and controversies. Well-written, scholarly, comprehensive, and up-to-date, it will serve as a useful textbook and reference work.

In the interest of thoroughness and accuracy, McBeth has done a prodigious amount of research, making on-site investigations of resources in Great Britain, Europe, Canada, and the United States. He has endeavored to use primary sources so far as was possible, and there is generous use of quotations and ample documentation. Little new information and few novel interpretations emerge from the study, but the author has done an admirable job of assembling a wealth of widely scattered and relatively inaccessible materials in a single volume. On the whole he has been scrupulously fair in reporting and interpreting, but it is inevitable in a work of such ambitious proportions that there should be some errors of fact and judgment.

After reviewing theories of Baptist origins, McBeth concludes that Baptists began with English Separatism in the early seventeenth century. Then, about thirty years after the first Baptist congregations were formed on the basis of believer's baptism, the Baptists adopted immersion as the proper mode. In 1898, espousal of such views led to the forced resignation of W. H. Whittitt from the presidency of The Southern Baptist

Theological Seminary in Louisville. It is safer today to present such interpretations, although there are still those who tenaciously hold to successionist views or Anabaptist roots.

One can hardly fail to be struck by the array of Baptist divergences in both doctrine and practice. Certain characteristic traits distinguished Baptists at their beginnings from most other Protestants. After "four centuries of Baptist witness," however, their distinctive emphases have been badly eroded, and "to be called a Baptist hardly identifies one amid this denominational pluralism." Differences are so great that some Baptist bodies seem to have little in common with others except the name and general Christian beliefs. Even within a particular Baptist group, pluralism may be a vexing problem, and some Baptists are experiencing crises of identity. This phenomenon is, of course, not peculiar to Baptists, but is shared by many Protestants and even by Roman Catholics. The wide variety among Baptists makes it impossible to fit them all into a connected narrative, so that sometimes the book becomes an encyclopedia about various Baptists.

Not surprisingly, religious freedom gets considerable attention. Most of the treatment of this subject is focused upon England (up to the Toleration Act of 1689), Massachusetts, and Virginia. In Massachusetts, Baptists faced strong opposition and some episodes of mistreatment before the colony had to change its charter, and in the eighteenth century there were periodic conflicts over the requirement to pay religious taxes. In Virginia, acts of hostility occurred largely in the decade or so prior to the Revolution on the part of ministers who refused to apply for certificates under the Act of Toleration. For the courage of those who endured persecution and for the advanced views of some early Baptists who advocated complete religious freedom, Baptists and others owe a debt of gratitude. In thus attempting to evoke our appreciation, however, the author does not entirely escape the temptation to attribute greater clarity,

consistency, and influence to Baptists in this field than the facts warrant.

It is only natural that a major part of the book is devoted to Baptists in Great Britain and the United States. There is a very well informed description of modern Baptists in Great Britain, as is true for most European countries, Canada, and Australia and New Zealand. Considerable attention is given to Baptists in America prior to 1845, when the Southern Baptist Convention was formed. For the period after 1845, more than twice the space is devoted to Southern Baptists as to Baptists in the North, and in dealing with the modern period it is clear that the author is more at home with the former than the latter. The Southern Baptist story, however, is well told. McBeth gives us a frank, but fair, picture of the movement, active since 1979, to capture the control of the convention. He makes no predictions as to the outcome of that effort, but recognizes that Southern Baptist unity has been functional, not theological, so that the present tendency toward creedalism may cause "the rope of sand" to give way.

There is much more of substance and interest in the book, which must be left to those who will use this worthwhile volume. □

Norman H. Maring

Register Citizen Opinion 1988

The latest edition of this congressional directory and action guide lets you know how to communicate your views to the three branches of the U.S. government. Containing lists, addresses, and forms of address, this valuable resource also includes congressional committee assignments and a bibliography of periodicals for informing citizens about public policy issues.

Single copies, \$1.00 each; 10-99 copies, \$75 each; 100 or more copies, \$50 each. All prices include postage. Send orders to the Baptist Joint Committee, 200 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Reviewer

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