

REPORT from the CAPITAL

THE WASHINGTON STAR Friday,

The Capital Report

The Washington Star

FOUNDED IN 1852

as Home
the Luck
My Life

When I stepped over the threshold of the Sunday department of The Washington Star on Aug. 4, 1947, the book editor, Hudson Grunewald, said to me, "God bless you." I knew I

joined a family, a wonderland of titans and eccentrics. I was a latter nature columnist as skittish as the woodcock he reported, and an editor who fancied himself Carroll and sent out spiky, sinister Christmas cards on creation.

The Washington Star, as it was then owned by two families, the Noyeses, and the Noyeses, employees to college-bought homes and summer camp. It was the evening paper in the

of a large, untidy, that resulted every edition of five editors with a splendid Night was the news editor giant who knew even initial, as well as won the Kentucky Derby (what time) in 1906. He, his shouts for the pillars. In ten years, Benjamin S. Editor. He preferred office that looked, and Pennsylvania, revered for his unshakable fairness, and for

pickets, arms around us and some unanimity that I still marvel at, you're cold."

The removal to a grim building in Southeast Washington was a wrench. The new place was hostile and we missed downtown haunts. But we found our spirit with us, and we spent our finest hours there. John Kennedy died, we gathered and, with broken heads out papers that showed we equals in reporting breaking. In the newsroom, people spoke and kindly to each other worked around the clock. We professional, we were citizens. We were The Star.

The mysterious malaise of the newspaper began to creep in. In 1974, the families who had owned the paper for 122 years sold it. The buyer was Joe L. Allbritton, an edgy-eyed "wizard" who communitarily largely in serpentine hand and had total flair. "Fawn not the great," the motto of the legendary Ed Lahey, was his. He showed the town and the "OP," as he called it.

It was an era of great liveliness and apprehension. The newsroom watched nervously the embers between Allbritton and Bellows. "I came accustomed" to seeing myself referred to as "the financial troubler" of "Washington Star." We had one reporter to the OP's six. No mat-

us. We were grateful for a five-year stay of execution. A clash of traditions occurred - between a man-



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called "Abe" after a celebrated wartime eagle mascot who had been called "Old Abe."

superstitious man whose belief it was that it was unlucky to step on the lines in a pavement but

mentative. Newspaper people do their fight with words now, but Egan and a big report named Ben Pearse once fought a locker-room battle that could have filled Madison Square Garden.

Drinking was very much a part of the lives of some reporters of that day, as it still is. Today Press Club, Jenkins with the

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REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 44, No. 6

June 1989

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Cover: Dr. Rufus Washington Weaver, ministering in the nation's capital, became a respected pastor and proved to be a rare visionary and innovator. Instrumental in organizing the Baptist Joint Committee, he also led the restructuring of the D.C. Baptist Convention, with its new relationship to both the American and Southern Baptist conventions.

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

restless for religious liberty

On the first day of worship in June, countless Baptist congregations across the United States and in Canada take pause to reflect on and give thanks for religious freedom, a cornerstone of their biblical heritage. It's a blessing we have known and had guaranteed to us by the First Amendment of the Constitution for two centuries. But for others across the globe, freedom of conscience remains a distant possibility — a prayer for the realization of personal and spiritual dignity.

The value of the American experience of freedom for all sectors of society should be self-evident. Coercion of conscience is no more. The use of brutality as a means to enforce conformity of thought and behavior belongs to the past. Baptists were among those who suffered, but they also were among those whose insights and efforts live on in a nation that treasures and builds upon its diversity.

Our Religious Liberty Day observance must never become a little-noticed routine that ends with the worship service. To dramatize the imperative for broad and continuous participation in this endeavor, the theme "Restless for Religious Liberty" reminds us of outstanding people but also of ordinary folk whose conduct measured up to their biblical sensitivities. The packet we mailed out portrays them. We also call special attention to one such person on the one-hundred twentieth anniversary of his birth. The text of a brass plaque in our office, reproduced below, and James Dunn's REFLECTIONS, acknowledge the BJC's esteemed founder, Rufus Washington Weaver.

Rufus Washington Weaver 1869-1947

PROFOUND preacher of the gospel for half a century — AGGRESSIVE leader in the cause of Christian education — PRESIDENT of Mercer University — FRIEND of the struggling student — EMINENT scholar and author in the field of comparative religions — INDOMITABLE advocate of religious freedom and separation of church and state — ARCHITECT and devoted nurturer of the Joint Conference Committee of American Baptists — INDEFATIGABLE in his effort to establish this center for local and world Baptists — CHRISTIAN statesman and world citizen.

He translated love into life

-BAPTIST CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE AMERICAN TRADITION



Roger Williams



Martin Luther King Jr.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY DAY • 1989

Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs

Victor Tupitza

● **WHILE THE RELIGIOUS** broadcasting industry has begun a program of self-regulation in the area of financial integrity, the Internal Revenue Service says some broadcast ministries could lose their tax exemptions because of non-compliance with the federal tax code.

In a quarterly report to Rep. J. J. Pickle, chairman of the House Ways and Means oversight subcommittee, the IRS gave details of ongoing probes of twenty-three broadcast ministries without specifically naming any.

"The service is continuing to devote significant examination resources to media evangelist cases," Robert I. Brauer, assistant commissioner for exempt organizations, said in a cover letter. He said the IRS anticipates "some of these cases will present serious issues relating to continued federal income tax exemption."

The report said in one case involving a "prominent evangelist," the broadcaster paid back taxes, interest, and penalties totaling more than \$1 million over a four-year period. In a second case, the IRS "has had to resort to summons enforcement to obtain production of books and records of a sort that have been voluntarily provided by other evangelists."

Brauer said the ongoing investigations involve allegations of political activities, not fully reporting income, allowing earnings to benefit officials of ministries, or failing to pay employment taxes on employee wages.

Although the IRS report did not name the ministries being probed, officials of PTL, Christian Broadcasting Network, and Jerry Falwell's Old-Time Gospel Hour have confirmed their organizations are involved. (RNS)

● **A MAN WHO** claimed he was fired for religious reasons has lost his appeal before the Supreme Court.

In a one-line order, the high court refused to review Larry Blalock's claim he was fired as a sales representative with an Ohio metal fabricating company because of religious discrimination.

Blalock was offered a job after being introduced to the company's president, Wendell Woodward, by John Rothacker, who served as Woodward's "spiritual leader." Blalock also was studying under Rothacker's direction.

Within a month, the company's vice president voiced dissatisfaction with Blalock's work and conduct. But Woodward said he wanted to make an extra effort to resolve the problem because Blalock was a Christian.

During the following months, Blalock broke off his relationship with Rothacker. On several occasions, Woodward attempted to forge a reconciliation between Blalock and Rothacker.

Finally, after consulting with Rothacker and other members of a small prayer group to which he belonged, Woodward decided to fire Blalock.

Blalock filed suit, claiming his termination was based on religious discrimination.

A trial court ruled Blalock would have been discharged "absent the impermissible factor of religious discrimination." The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld that decision.

● **MILITARY REPRESSION, SHORTAGES** of food and medicine, and harassment of Kachin and Karen pastors continue in Burma, according to American Baptist International Ministries.

The pastors have been harassed because "the government is suspicious that any persons in the area who are of that ethnic origin (Kachin or Karen) may be rebel sympathizers," said Gladys Peterson, International Ministries South Asia area secretary. "Some pastors have been arrested and questioned. So far as we know, most of them have been released." (American Baptist News Service)

● **PREJUDICE AGAINST FUNDAMENTALISTS** may be on the rise, according to the results of a recently announced Gallup survey.

The survey reveals thirty percent of the American public would not want fundamentalists as neighbors -- up from eleven percent who felt that way in 1981 and thirteen percent in 1987.

The survey also shows substantial increases in prejudice against members of "sects" or "cults" and unmarried couples.

Meanwhile, prejudice against other groups in the survey either dropped or increased only slightly. Those groups include Vietnamese, Hispanics, blacks, Jews, Protestants, and Catholics. (RNS)

Robert Booth Fowler

Dr. Fowler is professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. His previous books include *New Engagement: Evangelical Political Thought, 1966-1976*. This excerpt is used by permission of the publisher.

Politics in the United States and Conservative Protestantism: Away from Quiet Avoidance

The change that has dramatically altered the landscape of religion and politics in the United States in the last ten to fifteen years has been the sharp opening to politics by many Protestant fundamentalists and evangelicals. Fully one-quarter of the nation's population identify themselves in this religious tradition. Moreover, while mainline Protestant denominations continue their relative and often absolute decline in numbers, conservative Protestantism continues its steady growth. It could well claim to be the "mainline" form of Protestantism in the United States today.

UNCONVENTIONAL PARTNERS

Religion and Liberal Culture in the United States

Robert Booth Fowler. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1989. 185 pp.

The partial — and often self-consciously ambivalent — embrace of politics by many in the theologically conservative Protestant movement (evangelicals and fundamentalists) in recent years is historic. While there have been highly political moments in Protestant religious history, such as the crusade for Prohibition, the dominant motif among theologically conservative Protestants since the 1930s has been nonpolitical, often antipolitical. Politics and salvation were realms that had little or no connection.

This very shift from quiet avoidance of politics to a not unmixed engagement with politics by conservative Protestants may be the most important evidence of challenge in American religion today. On the surface, at least, the shift hardly reflects a politics of accommodation with the basic "modernist" values of contemporary culture. Conservative Christians are in politics to change our culture. They want to abolish much of modern America, and recover the past. Pat Robertson, for example, stresses over

and over the theme of "loss." So much has been lost to Americans. The majority have lost their rights; our nation's spiritual basis is lost; our government has lost a sense of "fiscal responsibility"; and so on. The answer is for Christians to get into politics and change things.

Radical Change?

The theme that conservative Christians who have turned to politics represent a radical challenge from a new source obviously poses a major problem for my theory of the relationship between religion and culture today. If religion indirectly supports the established culture in America, how can one explain the emergence of the religious right? And how can one come to terms with its apparent challenge in principle and in practice?

The burst of political energy from conservative Protestant circles over the past ten years has, of course, drawn a great deal of attention. Some commentators calmly stress that this activity does not mean much of anything of significance in the impact of particular religious values on the society as a whole. Some suggest that the United States is too stable and integrated a nation for extremists to mount a successful cultural challenge. Others have argued that much of the renewed interest in public affairs largely reflects conservative Protestantism's desire to be heard, motivated by its leaders' acute sense that their influence on society's elites and culture in general is steadily diminishing. In this view, the resurgence of interest in politics by conservative Christians constitutes no particularly startling statement about the relationship between religion and American culture.

Perhaps surprisingly, a number of other analysts see evidence that the emergence of Christian conservatives does nothing to undermine the idea that religion in America is continuing in its long-time integrative role. One version argues that the very interest in politics among these Christians is a major step

This very shift from quiet avoidance of politics to a not unmixed engagement with politics by conservative Protestants may be the most important evidence of challenge in American religion today.

toward integration, especially among fundamentalists, most of whom have traditionally adopted an ethic of radical separation. Another view proposes that we examine the moral program at the center of conservative Christian demands: its emphasis on conventional sexual behavior and sexual models, its support for prayer in schools, its opposition to drugs, its criticism of pornography, and other programs align it closely with established — and popular — moral beliefs in society. This is hardly radical. A third view underscores status tensions as the cause of the upheaval produced by conservative Christians' entrance into politics. By this analysis, they are angry people who feel dispossessed and left out of American life. There is, these theorists suggest, nothing radical or revolutionary here, just another ugly fight over status and position in America. There is an even more conspiracy-oriented interpretation, which points to the new religious right as a tool of capitalist economic interests and sees it as a fundamentally conservative, or integrative, force. In this view, the activist religious conservatives seek to prop up very established economic elites and institutions.

I think it is clear, however, that the sometimes furious assault on the political activism of evangelicals and fundamentalists has proceeded from a suspicion that the challenge rather than the integration hypothesis is correct. While the sense that conservative religious forces are an immediate threat has lessened, an attitude of deep-felt antagonism remains among many liberals, and that antagonism is rooted in the sense that these opponents seek to change the basic contours of liberal, modernist America. No wonder the national Democratic party, *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the American Civil Liberties

Union, Norman Lear's People for the American Way, and so many others have taken up the cudgels of assault.

Denunciations from within American religion have joined these secular assaults, with voices being raised in the American Jewish Committee, the National Council of Churches, the Lutheran Council, the United Methodist Church, and the United Church of Christ, among others. Together they have forced an alliance of politically liberal religious forces determined to repulse the drive of the Religious Right. Their intensity has easily matched their opponents; and, ironically, may well have assisted in the formation (if not the goals) of the Religious Right.

A Critical Assessment

Much of the argumentation between these two sides has been less than ennobling. The air has been poisoned with wild charges, absolutist declarations, and intentional scare tactics. Each side's charges have mirrored the other side's. Some criticisms of the Religious Right have been embarrassing, particularly religious and secular liberals' charges that conservative Christians are violating sacred boundaries of church and state. Such claims imply that these boundaries are or have been fixed for all time in the form in which the Warren Supreme Court cast them, an error either of ignorance or cunning that begs the real questions of what are the proper boundaries of church and state, religion and politics. Moreover, such alarms display an irritating hypocritical side that has been frequently noted. Somehow conservative Christian activity in politics threatens the First Amendment, but there were no such anxieties in the 1960s when liberal churches rushed to back the civil rights movement. Nor do we hear many anxieties expressed today when the National Council of Churches pronounces on this or that public question. On the other hand, some criticisms have concentrated on the substantive proposals of conservative Christian groups, a growing part. Critics object to these groups' persistent challenging of existing policies on welfare, abortion, and ecology. And at a deeper level critics insist that conservative religious activists threaten the basic American compact encouraging diversity and tolerance of opinions as well as lifestyles. The tone is usually urgent and intense, moreover, because they perceive these challenges to be real. To its

liberal critics, the religious right is no paper tiger.

Because of the rather charged atmosphere surrounding the Christian conservative movement, it remains appropriate to step back and dispassionately analyze its implications. Its vocabulary often resonates with challenge, but challenge to what? And what lies behind the vocabulary? How much serious alienation from the American liberal order really exists among conservative Protestants today?

I suspect the mood of challenge from conservative Christians is probably more rhetorical than fundamental. But the rhetorical dimension cannot be ignored; to do so would be to brush aside the self-image of conservative Christian leaders. After all, they insist that they are Christians who are confronting American culture, posing challenges that no committed Christian dare avoid. They believe that they must do so despite the criticism that liberal culture inflicts on them. This is a price, they proclaim, that must be paid, since "as Christians we have a higher calling than being 'open-minded' or even of being 'good Americans' or 'pluralistic.'" The task is formidable, they say, because the "secularist alternative to the Judeo-Christian vision is no longer an 'alternative' or even 'radi-

... the mood of challenge from conservative Christians is probably more rhetorical than fundamental. But the rhetorical dimension cannot be ignored ...

cal' but has, in fact, become the *establishment*." Meanwhile, "we who are Christians ... are the *new radicals and the true alternative minority*" [Franky Schaeffer].

Obviously, the alarms sounded by the Rev. Jerry Falwell on the airwaves and in his books ... are the new radicals and the true alternative minority" [Franky Schaeffer and John Whitehead have been at the forefront of those sounding the alarms within evangelicalism. These voices and others repeatedly insist that American society is all but abandoned to a soul-destroying "secular humanism"

(liberalism), disloyal to God, worshipful of "relativism, Mammon and libertinism." It is for them a time of the greatest possible crisis for American Christians, almost the last days for their influence in this civilization. No wonder they spend much of their time urging major changes by increasingly radical means.

Participation as Response

But this is not the whole story. The Christian Right's challenge exists, but it is very selective: its essence is an attack on the *secular* nature of modern liberal America. They mount this attack in fear — almost desperation — at times, but it is not a challenge to the liberalism of American culture, historically understood. Far from it. Indeed, it is a staple of this conservative challenge to object to contemporary liberalism in the name of the American liberalism of the past, a liberalism that included a broad role for religion in general and Protestant Christianity in particular. It is standard fare for the Religious Right to affirm the legitimacy of considerable personal liberty and to contrast that with the liberty-denying policies of current secular elites. Their praise for the consent of the governed and republican government is frequent, and they contrast it with rule by media and Washington elites. And despite charges by their critics, they celebrate selective tolerance, a tolerance especially for the properly religious. Nor does the conservative Christian movement fault most of the traditional liberal institutions. On the contrary, its spokesmen usually laud government institutions; and the same is true, predictably, of the American economic system. They even criticize the public school more in sadness than anger: if only it were the school of old, devoted to basics, including instruction in "fundamental" religious and ethical values, it would be excellent....

One must conclude that the religious right, and conservative Christians in general, cannot be easily labeled as radicals in any sweeping sense. They *are* change-oriented, and they have already made a change of undeniable importance by activating a portion of conservative Protestantism and directing it into American politics. Their leaders do intend to make a difference in the way liberalism

Continued on page 14

VIEWS OF THE WALL

Oliver S. Thomas
General Counsel



Because of the heightened interest in the church-state questions raised by numerous child care bills before the Congress, the BJC wishes to provide its readers with the following excerpts from its testimony submitted to the Senate Finance and House Education and Labor committees.

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs is composed of representatives from eight national cooperating Baptist conventions and conferences in the United States. They are: American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A.; Baptist General Conference; National Baptist Convention of America; National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.; North American Baptist Conference; Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.; Seventh Day Baptist General Conference; and Southern Baptist Convention. These groups have a current membership of nearly thirty million. Because of the congregational autonomy of individual Baptist churches, however, the Baptist Joint Committee does not purport to speak for all Baptists.

Through a concerted witness in public affairs, the Baptist Joint Committee (hereinafter BJC) seeks to give corporate and visible expression to religious liberty for all people and to the separation of church and state as the institutional guarantor of that liberty. Because child care in general is not within the program assignment of the BJC, we will limit our comments to the church-state questions raised by these programs and proposals.

A. Child Care Welfare Programs

Any child care program that provides grants and contracts to churches and other pervasively sectarian institutions is constitutionally suspect. This is particularly true after the Supreme Court's 1988 decision of *Bowen v. Kendrick*, ___ U.S. ___, 108 S.Ct. 2562. In *Kendrick*, the Court addressed a hybrid program of education and social welfare services much like child care. In fact, one of the services funded under the Adolescent Family Life Act at issue in *Kendrick* was child care. Also included were counseling, pregnancy testing, prenatal care, transportation, and other social welfare services.

The Court's opinion, written by the Chief Justice, distinguished between "pervasively sectarian" institutions (e.g., churches, synagogues, and parochial schools) and those institutions that are

merely religiously affiliated (e.g., colleges, universities, community centers, and church charities) in determining whether the program as applied would be constitutionally infirm. While the religiously affiliated institutions were deemed eligible to participate on an equal basis with their nonsectarian counterparts, the Court at three separate points in the opinion indicated that pervasively sectarian institutions would be disqualified from participating.

A broad interpretation of *Kendrick* suggests that churches and other pervasively sectarian institutions are disqualified altogether from receiving federal grants and/or contracts. A more narrow interpretation suggests that it is possible for pervasively sectarian institutions to participate in such programs as long as adequate safeguards are included to prevent (1) a primary effect that advances or inhibits religion, and (2) excessive entanglement between church and state. See *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602 (1971). A mere prohibition against sectarian purposes and activities is an insufficient constitutional safeguard, as such a provision also was included in the Adolescent Family Life Act.

Specifically, any child care welfare program that provides grants and contracts to churches would appear to require at least four provisions in order to pass constitutional muster — and even then the problems associated with subsidizing church child care may be insurmountable. The four required provisions are:

(1) An absolute prohibition against discrimination on the basis of religion in hiring child care workers. Absent such a prohibition, the provision forbidding sectarian purposes and activities is rendered unenforceable. Any serious attempt to monitor church child care programs to ensure that public funds will not be used to advance religion almost certainly would run afoul of the First Amendment's injunction against excessive entanglement between government and religion. Only if the recipient organization surrenders control over the religious beliefs of its child care staff does the risk of inculcation become minimal.

(2) A separate system of accounting for all funds received through government grants or contracts. Comingling federal tax dollars with the general

funds of the church again runs afoul of the constitutional prohibition against excessive entanglement between government and religion. The requirement of a separate corporation to receive these funds (as HUD requires for §202 housing and its many programs for sheltering the homeless) may be the best approach to this aspect of the problem.

(3) A prohibition against capital improvements to properties owned by pervasively sectarian institutions. We are aware of no federal court decision upholding the use of government funds to improve buildings that are used for both secular and sectarian activities.

(4) A requirement that a separate teaching staff be employed in any before- or after-school program at a parochial school. The Community Education program at issue in *Grand Rapids v. Ball*, 473 U.S. 373 (1985), utilized parochial school teachers in an after-school program of purely secular instruction. By a vote of 7-2 (Justice O'Connor concurring), the Court found that the program had the impermissible effect of advancing religion. (One also might interpret *Grand Rapids*, *supra*, and *Aguilar v. Felton*, 473 U.S. 402 (1985), as requiring any child care services offered to parochial school students to be provided off campus.)

B. Tax Credit Proposals

Unlike child care welfare programs, child care tax proposals generally do not raise significant constitutional problems. For example, few would question the legality of the dependent care credit (26 U.S.C. §21) that is available to working parents regardless of whether the child care they purchase is sectarian or non-sectarian, family or center based. Even more secure would be the legality of a tax benefit for all parents of young children regardless of whether the parents purchase child care services.

C. Public Policy

The BJC questions the validity of any federal child care program that provides grants and contracts to pervasively sectarian institutions. In addition to containing potentially insurmountable constitutional problems, such an approach seems to be extraordinarily poor public policy. Congress, understandably, may wish to assist parents whose children, by

Three Approaches Emerge from Child Care Debate

choice or necessity, will attend church child care centers; but government subsidies to those centers are not the answer. To the contrary, churches will be enticed into "secularizing" their child care programs and submitting to significant governmental regulation in order to serve the poor more effectively. The drawbacks of this approach were recognized by our largest member denomination, the Southern Baptist Convention, in its 1988 Resolution on Institutional Childcare:

Be it ... **RESOLVED**, That we urge Southern Baptist churches to conduct their childcare programs as ministries of the local church or through cooperation among churches, without financing from the federal government; and

Be it further **RESOLVED**, That we urge that any program of childcare include adequate safeguards to maintain the separation of church and state; and

Be it finally **RESOLVED**, That Southern Baptists should become informed about the details of any proposed legislation which might promise financial support for [church] childcare services, being aware that such subsidies are unwise and could hinder institutions from having a distinctive Christian witness.

A far better approach would be to limit grants and contracts to nonsectarian institutions and to provide whatever assistance goes to families who utilize religious providers through the tax code. Obviously, any tax break could not, and should not, be limited to these families but would be available to all families who purchase unsubsidized care — whether sectarian or nonsectarian, family or center based. Another option would be to provide tax benefits to all families with preschool-age children regardless of whether they purchase child care services. These benefits would not be available, of course, to families utilizing subsidized child care.

D. Conclusion

If Congress wishes to assist parents whose children, by choice or necessity, will attend church child care centers, the preferred mechanism for constitutional purposes is the tax code rather than federal subsidies. □

Congressional interest in child care is running high as evidenced by the number of related hearings that have been held and the more than twenty separate legislative proposals that have been introduced during the opening months of the 101st Congress.

The hours of testimony and pages of proposed legislation have revealed three basic approaches to the issue of child care. Those approaches call for the federal government to provide direct funding for child care services, tax credits for parents with preschoolers, or a combination of direct subsidies and tax breaks.

Proponents of the direct-funding approach argue that comprehensive legislation is needed to deal with the cost, availability, and quality of child care.

The highly publicized Act for Better Child Care Services uses this approach. The ABC bill would channel \$2.6 billion to states, which would have the option of providing direct subsidies to child care providers and/or certificates to parents for the purchase of child care services. The bill would establish national safety and training standards for child care providers that receive federal funds.

"ABC is long and complex because it takes a comprehensive approach to similarly complex child care problems," said Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund. "However, ABC does not propose a radical new approach to child care policy and instead builds upon current state and local policies and practices. In so doing, it ensures the protection, safety, and development of our children and it provides low-income parents with real and decent choices for the care of their children."

But critics of the ABC bill, as well as other proposals that would provide direct funding, oppose the establishment of national standards and say the legislation would create a new federal bureaucracy to enforce such standards.

They also contend ABC-like bills would limit parental choice, discriminate against religiously affiliated providers, help middle-income families more than low-income families, and discriminate against parents who opt to stay home and care for their own children.

One critic, Sen. Dan Coats, R-Ind., said the ABC bill takes a "blind stab at reform in a manner that multiplies our troubles, not divides them."

"The bill is simple," Coats said. "It gives federal money to child care centers

that measure up to federal regulations. It puts \$2.6 billion in the hands of bureaucrats and professional child care providers. But it is a case study in the law of unintended consequences."

Coats said the ABC bill would benefit only a tiny minority of families, benefit middle-income families, and restrict supply and drive up costs of child care services.

Proponents of a tax-credit approach contend it would target assistance to families most in need, allow regulations to be set at state and local levels, and provide parents with maximum choice concerning child care. Proposals based on this approach vary on the question of whether to provide credits to all families with preschool-age children or only to families who purchase child care services.

An example of this approach is President Bush's \$2.5 billion proposal, the Working Family Child Care Assistance Act. The plan would create a refundable tax credit of up to \$1,000 per child for all families with children under age four. Families also eligible for the current dependent care tax credit would be able to choose between the two credits. The president's plan also calls for increasing annual funding for the Head Start program by \$250 million.

"Some proposals advocate that our children march lock-step to an institution where Washington sets the rules," said Elizabeth Dole, secretary of labor. "But families have the basic responsibility for the care of their children. We must carefully support the role of the family in choosing the best care."

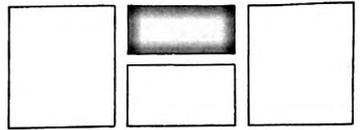
"The child care needs of working Americans can best be met by providing assistance to parents, not to providers; through state and local regulations, not federal standards; through community-based and public-private partnerships, not federal bureaucracies; and by parental involvement, not federally mandated procedures."

But critics argue tax credits alone would do little to offset families' child care expenses. In addition, critics say, such plans ignore the need for increasing the availability and quality of child care services.

"I am not against the tax-credit approach," said Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn. "What I do oppose is the rhetoric which pretends it's any answer at all to America's child care crisis. A tax credit

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News in Brief



Court to hear arguments in Swaggart tax dispute

WASHINGTON
The Supreme Court has agreed to hear a dispute over whether California violated television evangelist Jimmy Swaggart's free exercise of religion by taxing materials his organization sold there during an eight-year period.

Attorneys for the Louisiana-based Jimmy Swaggart Ministries claim California's sales tax is contrary to a 1943 Supreme Court decision that held Pennsylvania could not require an itinerant minister to pay a license tax in order to distribute religious tracts.

From 1974 through 1981, Swaggart's organization held twenty-three religious crusades in California at which it sold religious and nonreligious merchandise. In addition, the organization sold almost two million dollars worth of mail-order merchandise to Californians during those years.

California's Board of Equalization assessed the organization owed \$183,000 in state sales tax. Swaggart Ministries paid the taxes under protest and applied for a refund, which the Board of Equalization rejected. The organization then filed suit.

A California appeals court rejected the argument that the state's sales tax scheme contradicted the high court's 1943 decision. The appeals court said that decision was "limited to the constitutionality of a particular type of tax, a flat license tax which was unrelated to receipts, income, or the administrative costs of a regulatory scheme and which acted as a prior restraint on the exercise of a constitutional right. The Supreme Court did not equate a financial burden in and of itself with an unconstitutional burden on the exercise of religion."

The California Supreme Court refused to review the case.

Attorneys on both sides of the dispute pointed to the high court's recent decision that a Texas statute that exempted only religious books and periodicals from state sales tax violated the Constitution's establishment clause.

"If a state cannot constitutionally give such preferential exemption to religious literature by statute, certainly the First Amendment does not require it," attorneys for the state of California contended.

But Swaggart's attorneys argued questions remain on taxing the distribution of

a religious message and asked the justices to use this case as an instrument to provide a definitive answer.

"There is a great need for a clear-cut opinion of a majority of the court as to whether the distribution or receipt of religious material by an evangelist to religious adherents for the purpose of propagating the faith is subject to tax," attorneys for Swaggart Ministries said.

The case is expected to be argued during the court's 1989-90 term. □

Judge rejects suit by CBN law students against ABA

NORFOLK, Virginia

A federal judge has rejected a lawsuit filed by graduating students at the CBN University law school in a bid to require the American Bar Association to accredit the school before its May graduation.

The forty-nine members of the graduating class filed suit against the ABA claiming the organization has been hostile to the school because of its Christian beliefs and has "conspired" to delay accreditation by deliberate administrative delays and by using arbitrary standards.

The students will not be permitted to take the bar exam in forty-three states unless they have graduated from an accredited law school. Passing the bar exam is required to practice law in each state.

The ABA has agreed to speed up the process by allowing its board of governors to make the final decision on accrediting the law school at its June meeting rather than waiting until the ABA's house of delegates meets in August. But the students said unless the school is accredited before they graduate, their professional future will be in jeopardy.

Following a May hearing, U.S. District Judge J. Calvitt Clarke said his "sympathy is very profound and very heartfelt" for the students. But he refused to require the ABA to make any more concessions, saying that "to put a system recognized throughout the country in jeopardy would do immeasurably more harm than delaying these students in their careers."

When the school was denied accreditation in 1987, the ABA cited several areas of concern. These concerns included fears the school would not have sufficient resources because of CBN University's reliance on funding from the Christian Broadcasting Network and objections to a requirement that all fac-

ulty members sign a statement of faith in Jesus Christ and Christian principles.

A twelve-page letter from ABA consultant James P. White to university officials said the statement of faith "may preclude a diverse student body" and "jeopardize academic freedom."

Attorneys for the students said they will appeal Judge Clarke's ruling.

In a special agreement, Virginia is allowing all CBN law students, including the incoming fall class, to take the state bar exam regardless of the law school's accreditation status. (RNS) □

Panel adds church-state amendment to ABC bill

WASHINGTON

Church-state concerns precipitated the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee's amending a major child care proposal before voting to send it to the full Senate.

The panel approved the Act for Better Child Care Services — known as the ABC bill — by an 11-5 vote.

A similar bill was killed by a Senate filibuster during the 100th Congress.

The current legislation — which was introduced by Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn. — has undergone a number of changes and picked up a former key opponent — Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah — as one of its thirty-nine cosponsors.

Dodd told the committee he hoped his proposed amendment would resolve a conflict over the use of federal funds to subsidize child care in religious institutions. Churches provide approximately one-third of the nation's child care services.

An array of religious and educational organizations had charged the bill, as originally drafted, violated the separation of church and state. But a number of those organizations — after working with Dodd and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., on amendment language — agreed not to seek further church-state changes.

"I am not a constitutional scholar," said Dodd. "My goal is and has always been to ensure that church-based providers — among the safest and most prevalent care givers in the nation — are full members of the ABC partnership in a constitutionally permissible manner."

The ABC bill would allow child care centers sponsored by religious institutions to qualify for federal funds if they

avoid religious instruction, worship, or other sectarian activities.

Dodd's amendment — which the panel adopted without objection — would prohibit religious discrimination in admissions and employment by all ABC-funded providers. It would, however, permit a provider to exercise limited preference in hiring and admitting individuals who have a pre-existing relationship with the organization that owns or operates the child care center.

But if eighty percent of a provider's operating budget comes from federal funds, not even limited preference would be permitted.

Although voting in favor of the amendment, Sen. James M. Jeffords, R-Vt., warned the panel that in his opinion the legislation — even in its amended form — most likely would violate the First Amendment's establishment clause.

The ABC bill would authorize \$2.6 billion in fiscal 1990 — and additional funds in the following four fiscal years — for child care services.

Those federal funds would flow through the states to parents, who would use certificates to purchase child care services from center-based providers, group home providers, family providers, or other providers that are licensed or regulated under state law and that satisfy federal, state, and local requirements. The bill also would allow payment to relatives caring for grandchildren, nephews, and nieces.

The Senate proposal would target assistance to families with children under age sixteen and whose incomes do not exceed 100 percent of the state median income. Priority would be given to children from low-income families.

The bill would require child care providers — excluding relatives — to meet health and safety standards set by the state. Within four years, providers would be required to meet minimum federal standards to be established by a national advisory board. □

Landlord loses in case involving unwed couple

MARSHALL, Minnesota

A judge has ruled a Minnesota state law when he refused on religious grounds to rent a house to an unmarried couple.

Administrative Law Judge Peter C. Erickson issued a summary judgment against Layle French of Marshall, Min-

nesota. The plaintiff, a member of the Evangelical Free Church, initially accepted a check for deposit from an unmarried woman who planned to live in a rental house with her daughter and fiancé. After French later changed his mind, the woman filed a complaint with the Minnesota Department of Human Rights.

French said the state human rights act violated his religious freedom. But Stephen Cooper, the state human rights commissioner, said French "has it backwards," adding "freedom of religion means that anyone can choose his own religious beliefs. French is essentially saying that the word 'lord' in 'landlord' means he can choose who your lord is."

French's attorney, Jim Anderson, noted fornication is illegal in Minnesota. But Judge Erickson said the law seldom is enforced, to which Anderson replied, "As long as it is still on the books, it's still law."

Anderson said he is considering an appeal of the ruling. "The state seems to be making the point that an individual is free to have religious convictions as long as he doesn't act upon them," he said. (RNS) □

Hoyer links human rights with military security

WASHINGTON

Human rights practices as well as military policies should be evaluated in international security negotiations, Rep. Steny H. Hoyer, D-Md., said during a recent meeting on military security.

Hoyer, co-chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, or Helsinki Commission, spoke during the Confidence- and Security-Building Measures talks in Vienna, Austria.

"Peace overtures, no matter how inviting or grand, must be tested by a state's own human rights practices, for we firmly believe that the manner in which a state deals with its own citizens is a harbinger of the type of relationship it will establish with other states," Hoyer said.

He expressed hope the talks would build upon a foundation premised on shared ideals that, first, no nation can achieve security by exploiting the insecurities of its neighbors and that, second, selective implementation of existing agreements only serves to foster disillusionment and mistrust. □

"It should not be forgotten that in our search for mutual security, the fervor with which we seek arms agreements should be matched by determined and systematic efforts to achieve significantly greater progress in the area of human rights," he said. "A successful blueprint for a safe reduction in armaments



includes a demonstrated commitment to individual freedom and is grounded in fundamental moral principles and shared interests.

"We in the United States have been pleased to see that President Gorbachev, in his new thinking, has recognized the need to include human rights in traditional concepts of security. We hope that this new thinking will permeate these negotiations as well as the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe.

"We meet at a time of renewed promise and hope for progress on the Helsinki agenda. That agenda encompasses increased security and stability between us; enhanced economic cooperation; more respect and freedom for individuals who comprise not only our own nations but also the community of nations; and a more faithful adherence to principles that the Helsinki Final Act sets forth to guide our relations with one another."

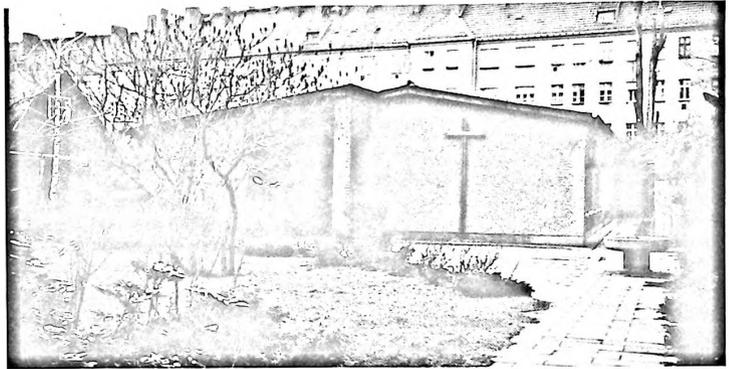
Despite difficulties that might lie ahead, Hoyer said, European nations, Canada and the United States have the opportunity to build upon existing measures and "foster greater openness, predictability, and mutual understanding about what otherwise might be threatening and destabilizing." □

Stanley J. Grenz

Dr. Grenz is professor of systematic theology and Christian ethics at the North American Baptist Seminary, Sioux Falls, SD. He has represented the North American Baptist Conference on the BJC.

Reform and Reality

THE NEW OPENNESS
EMANATING FROM
THE GOVERNMENT
IN MOSCOW IS
AFFECTING CHRISTIANS
IN EASTERN EUROPE.
BUT IMPROVEMENTS
ARE SPORADIC AND
UNEVEN.



LICHTENBURG CHURCH, EAST BERLIN

Glasnost and perestroika virtually have become household terms in the West since the rise to power of Mikhail Gorbachev. The new openness his initiatives have brought to the Soviet Union raises hopes that a new day may lie on the horizon. Signs indicate that even the churches, especially the long-persecuted, minority religious communities, also will benefit from this new movement of reform.

But what about the other Eastern European countries? To what extent have *glasnost* and *perestroika* affected the minority churches in these nations? I gained insight into their situations during a recent stay in Eastern Europe, which included several first-hand experiences with Christians there.

To highlight what I learned, join me on a visit to two very different congregations located in two quite different countries. The first trip will be made by automobile to visit the Sunday morning worship service in a major European city. After passing the railroad station, we enter a residential area, where the streets are flanked by older apartment buildings. We notice, however, a break in the drab facades, a veritable island formed by a picket fence enclosing a neatly maintained lawn. A low, free-standing building with a slightly peaked roof comes into view. The cross attached to the front indicates that this

is a church. As we enter, we are greeted by a brightly paneled vestibule. Along one wall stands a book table boasting a fine assortment of Bibles, religious literature, and Christian books for sale.

Like the vestibule, the bright, neatly decorated sanctuary provides a delightful contrast to the stark exteriors of the other buildings in the area. Stained-glass windows immediately over the baptismal add a special sparkle. Rather than pews, the sanctuary offers padded chairs placed in a partial circle. At the front the small platform is bare except for the pulpit and a chair for the pastor. The room is simple, yet beautiful. We are astounded by the thought that this worship center is actually a refurbished World War II army barracks.

The service of worship does not differ greatly from those of other Baptist churches we have known. Congregational singing, a reading from the Scriptures, and the choir selection all follow the pattern found among congregations of the free church tradition throughout the world. The only changes from the normal routine today are the solo of my wife and the morning sermon, which I had been invited to deliver.

After the service is over, we are greeted warmly by the people of the congregation; we exchange words of blessing. Later, we join the pastor and

his family in their apartment to spend a delightful afternoon around the dinner table and in conversation concerning the work of the ministry. The fellowship is warm and the conversation good. When the day is over and we leave, we know that we have enjoyed the company of believers and have made new friends.

To visit the second church in another European city, we cannot travel by our own automobile. Instead, we wait at the apartment of friends until our driver, a church member, arrives. Outside the apartment, we move quickly and silently to the car because we do not want to alert the neighbors that foreigners have been to visit.

We soon reach the outskirts of the city, where the car turns up a dusty little road barely wider than an alley. Suddenly the driver stops the vehicle and instructs us to exit. We must go the remaining one hundred yards to the church on foot. Our host speeds off, parks his car, and then enters the church alone. In silence, we walk toward the building so as not to alert neighbors to the presence of foreigners.

We approach the building only after the congregation has begun singing the opening hymn. It is important that we arrive late, leaving no opportunity for the friendly people to speak to us prior to the worship service. The congregation currently meets in a small, crudely built makeshift building. We look down on cold, cement floors. Old, rickety chairs are pushed closely together and unevenly spaced. The room obviously was not designed to accommodate the ninety worshippers who regularly attend.

A friendly usher greets us at the door with a warm handshake and points to several empty seats at the front. We insist that we prefer the vacant chairs we had spotted near the back of the sanctuary. After the hymn has been sung and the congregation is seated, the usher, who has noticed that we have only gestured to him and not spoken, whispers in my ear, "Aleman" (German)? I nod affirmatively, for we dare not indicate that we are Westerners. Although we had just come from the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), a German might as easily be from the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and thus arouse no suspicion.

Because we do not speak the language of the land, we cannot understand what is spoken during the worship service. No translation is provided, of course, and the congregation is unaware of the presence of foreigners. Nevertheless, we sense the

warmth, sincerity, and deep piety of the people. Their hearts are revealed through the singing of the hymns — many of which we know in English — their prayers, and the sermon. This may be a simple service of worship in a simple building, but the Spirit of the Lord is present and felt.

After the offering, the congregation rises to sing the closing hymn. This is our cue, and we quietly slip out. At the doorway, the faithful usher gives us a handshake and a friendly hug. We sense the bond that unites us, but we can only smile and nod — we do not speak. Quickly, we leave the dusty lot on which the building stands, retrace our steps along the alleyway to the pre-arranged pickup point, and wait in silence.

Our friend's auto soon approaches. Once we are safely inside, he translates what has taken place in the service — the prayers, the content of the sermon, etc. As we listen, we are aware of our own brokenness of heart, for we were unable to communicate with this little congregation. We would have been delighted to have brought a greeting to them from Christians in the West. But for their sakes, we had remained silent. Because of informers in the church, believers would have suffered as on prior occasions if it were known that they had had contact with Westerners.

These visits constitute two quite distinct experiences. This difference between them does lie not in the denominational affiliations of the two churches. In fact, both are Baptist congregations. Rather, the differences are due to the political situations in which these two congregations exist. It might appear that the first church is enjoying religious freedom as we know it in the West, whereas the second, because of the repressive social atmosphere, is quite obviously in the East. In actuality, both are in Warsaw Pact nations. The first is in Berlin in the German Democratic Republic, a country permitting a measure of religious freedom. The second, however, is in one of the forgotten little Balkan countries.

Why the immense difference between the two churches? The East Berlin authorities have found it necessary, if not expedient, to offer some degree of accommodation to religion. There remains the land of the Reformation and the historic Lutheran Church, which despite the loss of state support remains relatively strong. For this reason all Christians enjoy limited freedom to carry out the work of the Kingdom of God. Bibles are available, church serv-

ices are open, and Christians freely assemble to worship.

Not so in certain other countries of Eastern Europe. *Glasnost* and *perestroika*, two Russian words that have come to promise openness and reform, have not as yet tellingly reached into several of these smaller communist-dominated countries. On the contrary, their governments continue the relentless attempt to stamp out the witness of the body of Christ as was so characteristic of the Stalinist era.

Although the plight of the church has improved in many places, Christians in the nations of the Warsaw Pact still look to, and are in need of, the support of the West. Believers in countries such as the German Democratic Republic are grateful to God for the degree of religious freedom they now enjoy. For this we can join with them in giving thanks. At the same time, certain restrictions remain and, therefore, we can uphold them as we pray for even more liberating progress. But likewise let us pray that they will be able to put to good use the opportunities that are now theirs to proclaim the good news.

Our support for Christians in the more repressive lands of the Warsaw Pact — Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria — must follow other avenues. Prayer remains our best source of power, for through prayer the Spirit of God unites believers in a bond that no human, political boundaries can break. Let us ask the Lord that the Holy Spirit would keep these believers strong in the midst of adverse circumstances. Let us pray that new breezes of openness will begin to blow in their lands as well.

In addition to prayer, another avenue we can pursue relates to our nation's trade policies. Because of the economic dependence of their governments on the good will of the West, we can urge our congressional delegations to voice support for the plight of persons of all faiths whenever trade agreements with these nations are under discussion. The governments of Eastern Europe must be reminded that we in the West have not forgotten the religious repression that remains.

The new openness emanating from the government in Moscow is affecting Christians in Eastern Europe. But improvements of the situation in these countries are sporadic and uneven. We are called upon to stand in solidarity with the people of God everywhere, including the persecuted Christians in those lands as yet untouched by *glasnost*. True solidarity must be translated into meaningful support: informed prayer and action on their behalf. □



INTERNATIONAL DATELINE

Expert on USSR believes Gorbachev 'wholly sincere'

Mikhail Gorbachev is "wholly sincere" in his wish to achieve reconciliation with the religious communities in his country, according to Michael Bourdeaux, in an interview appearing in Britain's *Baptist Times*.

He told the *Times*' Bruce Hardy that Christians in the West have "hardly started" to do what they could to help, encourage, and establish the position of Soviet believers.

Bourdeaux, founder and for nearly twenty years director of Keston College, the Kent-based center for the study of religion and communism, warns that, "What they don't need is instruction in how to preach the Gospel. They are superior to us in this and we must be ready to learn from them."

Elaborating on ways in which Christians in the USSR can be assisted, Bourdeaux suggested that, "We should invite thousands of them to the West, knowing we shall have to pay their expenses as we do so. We should be active in twinning our churches with Soviet churches ... writing letters, and sending much more literature."

Regarding Christian prisoners still in Soviet prisons, Bourdeaux believes Gorbachev was "not lying, but he was misinformed" when he told the UN General Assembly there were no religious prisoners in the Soviet Union.

[Keston News Service's latest update on this matter holds that it knows of seventy-six religious prisoners: eighteen Christians, twenty-three Jehovah's Witnesses, thirty-one Muslims, and four Yogi. The majority are charged with evasion of military service.]

Bourdeaux noted the lack of a democratic tradition in the Soviet Union and then cautioned that "we can't expect everything to come in a rush." He revealed his satisfaction and encouragement, however, over the "processes that are going on." □

Latvians replace leaders 'too submissive' to state

The General Synod of the Latvian Lutheran Church, meeting in Riga, voted out of office the Archbishop and the entire Consistory in a move identified with the national revival taking place in Latvia.

Regarded as too submissive to the Soviet authorities, Archbishop Eriks Mesters was replaced by Karlis Gailitis. Deposed members of the Consistory were characterized as conservatives who had grown used to the old system of church-state relations.

The new group, known as the "Rebirth and Renewal movement," is led by Juris Rubenis, one of the three members of the Consistory council, who was well-known for his differences with the former church leadership.

The Synod in other actions called for an alternative to military service on the grounds of religious conviction, and for the return of church property confiscated by the authorities. In a resolution on justice and freedom, the Synod called for the "annulment of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the self-determination and independence of Latvia." □

Emigrants deny reports of progress for Soviet Jews

NEW YORK

A Jewish couple who recently left the Soviet Union said here that despite recent increases in the emigration rate, "basically nothing has changed" for some Jews who have been trying to emigrate for more than a decade.

David and Anna Svartzman said they were pleased at being able to leave their native land to go to Israel in January. They noted, however, that Ms. Svartzman's parents, who have been trying to emigrate for ten years, still are being refused permission for reasons of "state security."

The monthly emigration rate for Soviet Jews exceeded four thousand in March for the first time since 1979. Mr. Svartzman regarded this development as insignificant because the rate is lower than it was a decade ago.

He said that in the Soviet Union "there still is no legislation which would regulate the process" for emigration, and the granting of visas remains an arbitrary decision.

Asked about the controversy between Israel and the United States over which country should be the final destination of Soviet Jewish emigres, Mr. Svartzman observed that the Soviet government considers emigration a "matter of family reunification," the United States considers it a matter of "free choice," and Israel views it as "repatriation, going back to the land of our fathers." □

Lutherans criticize law for bias toward Catholics

Two important documents governing the legal relation of the Polish state and Christians emerged in April, but resulted in strong criticism by Polish Lutherans.

The first, a draft law, would grant the Roman Catholic Church the status of a person in law and mean recognition of its "canonical structures" by the state.

Another document, provisionally signed by the state and the Polish Ecumenical Council, guarantees exercise of freedom of conscience and faith. The law was worked out by the state and the PEC to govern relations between other Christian groups and the state.

This differentiated treatment, according to the Lutherans, assures the Catholic Church in Poland of privileges that violate the often-proclaimed equality of all churches. □

Hungarians press state to yield control over church

The Hungarian State Office for Church Affairs (SOCA) will be replaced by a new institution, Deputy Chairman Nagy predicted at a Budapest press conference held at Keston College in April.

Pressure for the dissolution of the SOCA, which was established during the Stalinist era to control church life, has been mounting for the past eighteen months.

Senior communist reformers and the country's main opposition groups regard its activity as incompatible with the Hungarian version of perestroika. Nagy, speaking at Keston College, said, however, that a state apparatus for religious affairs is necessary to "coordinate" church-state relations and to administer the state financial subsidies on which the major churches and the Jewish community depend.

In another interview, The Director of the Central Committee's Social Policy (formerly Agitation and Propaganda), Arno Andics, admitted that the Hungarian Communist Party leadership is now considering permitting religious believers to join the party. He said it was part of the process of transforming the party from an "ideological" to a "platform" party. The question will be decided by the 1990 party congress. □



NEWS-SCAN

Baptists given go-ahead to establish seminary

Soviet authorities have granted written permission to the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists to establish a seminary which will provide a four-year, full-time course for Baptist ministers and preachers.

Soviet Baptists have not had seminary facilities since the 1920s, when the Baptist Union conducted a Bible school in Moscow and the Evangelical Christian Union another in Leningrad.

The new seminary will supplement the Bible Correspondence Course, which is currently the main opportunity for theological training for Soviet Baptists.

Baptists have been trying since the 1970s to open a full-time seminary. At first, verbal permission was given and the Baptist World Alliance pledged funds for the project. That permission was never confirmed in writing until this year.

Plans are to build the seminary, a new Union headquarters, a church, and a home for the elderly on a site other than the location in the center of Moscow. □

Albania adamant in its opposition to religion

WASHINGTON

Albania, the homeland of Mother Teresa and one-time haven for persecuted religious minorities, is described in a new human rights study as the world's worst abuser of religious liberty.

"There is absolutely no institutionally sponsored public expression of faith of any kind in Albania today," according to the Puebla Institute, a Washington-based monitoring group.

As winds of reform blow through much of Eastern Europe, Albania maintains a hardline Stalinist posture. In 1967, when the government launched its campaign to abolish religion, it also proclaimed itself the world's first atheist state.

The country, at one time, was known for its religious toleration; it provided refuge to Jews fleeing persecution during World War II. Between the two world wars, its main religious groups — Muslims, Orthodox Christians, and Roman Catholics — freely practiced their faiths. □

Graham's stadium service a first in Eastern Europe

Billy Graham has accepted an invitation to preach in Hungary's largest outdoor sports stadium — the first time permission has been granted for such an event in an outdoor stadium anywhere in Eastern Europe.

The service will be held on July 29 and is expected to draw people from all over Hungary as well as from other eastern and western European countries. Also joining in the service will be some four to five thousand persons who will be in Budapest attending the European Baptist Federation Congress.

The invitation for the Graham meeting comes from the Ecumenical Council of Hungary (Bishop Karoly Toth, President) and the Council of Free Churches of Hungary (Janos Viczian, President), which include all Protestant denominations. Leaders of the Roman Catholic Church also are adding their support to the event. □

Robertson now favors diplomacy over warfare

MANAGUA

Following his thirty-hour April visit to Nicaragua, former U.S. presidential candidate and religious broadcaster Pat Robertson said he now favors "negotiation and diplomatic pressure" over "military actions."

Robertson, long an ardent supporter of the U.S.-backed contras, was here to reopen the Nicaraguan chapter of his "700 Club," almost a decade after it had been taken off the air by the government.

He arrived aboard a private jet from Virginia and went immediately to the U.S. Embassy for a briefing. He then visited the 700 Club office and toured a local market with his video crew. After discussing the economy with five vendors inside the market, he called Nicaragua a "Soviet client state" where "communism just doesn't work."

Robertson also spoke with evangelical pastors and church leaders, with Roman Catholic Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, and then with Dr. Sergio Ramirez, vice president of Nicaragua.

Critics allege that Robertson's Christian Broadcast Network has contributed millions to the contra cause. In 1985, he was filmed reviewing contra soldiers inside Honduras. □

The Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren has recommended to the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia that it abolish the death penalty and end its repeated punishment of conscientious objectors. The proposals come at a time when the criminal code is under review.... Taizé community, France, has provided one million copies of the New Testament as a gift to the Russian Orthodox Christians in connection with the Millennium of Christianity in the Soviet Union.... The Yugoslav government presented a bill to Parliament to amend conscription rules for conscientious objection because of religious belief. A provision for "service without weapons" requires COs to serve two years, rather than the normal one, and because it will take place within the army, that means taking the military oath.... Riga's reknown Dom Church is again available to Lutherans for regular worship services after a thirty-year hiatus during which time it was used as a concert hall. Although the altar will be restored to the church, a reversible seating arrangement allows the concerts to continue. Baptists in Riga were not as fortunate — their building will not be returned and the congregation must continue to share use of St. Matthews Church.... Unregistered Pentecostal churches in the Ukraine, following a year of some relief, are once more being fined for conducting unregistered meetings. After the third such fine, leaders will face imprisonment.... Four nuns from the Missionaries of Charity Order, founded by Mother Teresa, have arrived in Moscow where they will take up duties as nurses in the Burdenko Hospital.... The power of the poll has been recognized by Soviet bureaucracy. The main reason for this change of heart seems pragmatic. Believers, estimated to be as high as a quarter of the population, are voters, whose support President Gorbachev must have if his policies are to succeed.... Initial steps have been taken in Hungary to reestablish over forty religious orders dissolved by decree in 1950. The Hungarian representatives to these orders, which have operated underground, met members of the hierarchy in Budapest to work out the details. Since 1950, only four orders have been allowed to operate and then only as teachers in Catholic grammar schools. □

is interpreted and in the way our institutions operate. But again, though some of their leaders say that they are radicals, echoing their opponents — the ACLU, Norman Lear and the People for the American Way — the evidence is not there. They are really neither radicals in a reactionary sense nor status quo conservatives. *Traditionalist* — if one grants for a moment their understanding of traditional American institutions and traditional liberalism — is the better term. As traditionalists they do represent opposition to many elites and current practices in our culture, but not to the culture itself in any fundamental fashion.

In any case, there is good reason to deprecate the challenge of the religious right from a purely practical point of view. Granted, new religious right groups such as the Moral Majority, Religious Roundtable, and Concerned Women of America, even as young as

they are, have made an impact on the American political scene. Yet the distance they need to travel for long-term, sustained influence looks longer. This judgment is roundly underscored by the failed 1988 Pat Robertson campaign for the Republican presidential nomination. The Moral Majority (now absorbed into the Liberty Federation) illustrates well the once underestimated practical limitations facing mobilized Christian conservatives. Especially during the 1980s, the Moral Majority radiated confidence and a sense of power. Their opponents in the secular media and elsewhere expressed fear, but sustained influence was harder to achieve than it seemed. Indeed, it looks much harder from a current perspective. The scare stories have stopped now, and sober, practical assessments of these groups have come to the fore. □

Robert Fowler

Take Bibles on travels; they're in!

United States citizens traveling to the Soviet Union this summer will be pleased to learn that they can carry religious literature into the USSR, indeed, are encouraged to do so, by changes taking place under perestroika.

Following his sixth trip to the USSR, Paul Mojzes, in his article "On a Roller Coaster: Religion and Perestroika," writes: "Many in our group had brought Russian Bibles and other religious materials. People crowded around us, grateful for what was to them a most precious gift.

"I shall never forget an old woman in the Catholic Church to whom one of our ministers gave a paper bookmark in the form of a cross. With tears in her eyes, she repeatedly kissed the cross on her way back to her pew. She was in heaven!"

Having seen such immense joy among those receiving these gifts, Mojzes said he believes it worthwhile for visitors to take religious literature because even though some may be confiscated by customs officials (never shredded but later sold on the "black market"), "Such literature always eventually finds its way to those who want to read it."

Soviet regulations on imports regarding religious items have been considerably relaxed, and such an opportunity must not be lost. Mojzes notes that the need for Bibles exists even though of late large quantities have been imported.

"It would be wise for religious leaders to start preparing for the day when religious instruction will be permitted in the Soviet Union," he writes. "Currently none of the religious institutions have suitable materials for religious education."

Although at times customs officials do not bother to search baggage for religious literature, Mojzes notes that three Holy Scriptures may be taken in or received by a person. As video cassettes and similar technology find their way into Soviet life, churches might begin preparing materials for that eventuality.

The Germany-based evangelical mission Licht im Osten, which has been engaged in providing Christian literature to the USSR for seventy years, reports that for the first time in sixty years it is possible to send freely such materials.

Interested nontravelers desiring to contribute to Bible-sending organizations can write: Baptist World Alliance (6737 Curran Street, McLean, Virginia 22001), which cooperates with the United Bible Societies in sending Scriptures; the German mission group (Licht im Osten, c/o Leon Folds, 184 Mars Hill Road N.W., Powder Springs, Georgia 30073); or *Bibles for Leningrad*, Church Council of Greater Seattle (4759 15th Avenue N.E., Seattle, Washington 98105.) □

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Child Care, from page 7

would help to supplement the incomes of poor families with young children, period.

Dodd said he believes Congress must do more than "throw families a few hundred dollars in tax credits each year and let them fend for themselves."

"This is not like buying a toaster," Dodd said. "Parents are very, very confused. They are frustrated by a system in which demand has little relationship to quality or supply."

A third approach that has emerged recently would combine the other two approaches, thus providing states with federal grants and also giving tax breaks to families. Proponents of this approach say it would provide states with resources to improve child care services without imposing federal standards, as well as helping individual families with the cost of child care.

Sens. Bob Packwood, R-Ore., and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., have introduced one of several proposals based on this approach. Their Expanded Child Care Opportunities Act of 1989 would increase the present child care tax credit and make it refundable — even through monthly paychecks — for low-income and moderate-income families. It also would increase the Title XX social services block grant by \$400 million to help states improve child care services.

This combination approach has gained the support of a variety of organizations, ranging from the National Governors' Association to the National Conference of State Legislatures to the National Child Care Association. □

Kathy Palen

"We recognize the sovereignty of the state; but it is a limited sovereignty ... we cannot give to the state the control of our consciences." (Rufus W. Weaver)

REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



"The first step in liquidating a people is to erase its memory." Martin Marty quotes Milan Kundera quoting Milton Hubl. There is, indeed, a vital lifeline in memory. In memory, lessons are stored. By memory, the present is measured. From memory, hope springs.

Those who shape the future are those who remember the past. Rufus Washington Weaver was such a link in the human chain. Weaver, the principal founder of the Baptist Joint Committee, "stimulated the study of Baptist history," according to Edward Hughes Pruden, his successor as pastor of the First Baptist Church of Washington, D.C.

Out of his sweeping grasp of history, culture, and society, this remarkable man made significant contributions in a relatively short sojourn in the nation's capital.

Weaver was born in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1869 and before coming to the Washington area had been the pastor of churches in North Carolina, Ohio, Maryland, and Tennessee. He had also served as president of Mercer University, Macon, Georgia, for a decade and had been secretary for the Board of Education of the Southern Baptist Convention.

At a time when others were retiring, he took on the pastorate of the historic First Baptist Church. Although she boasted of being the "mother of more than one hundred churches" and took pride, as yet she does, in famous members, when Weaver came on December 14, 1933, she was in debt. In his brief tenure during the depth of the Great Depression, he led the church out of debt.

Weaver is remembered for his role in starting what became the Baptist Joint Committee. O. K. Armstrong attributed the birth of the BJC to "the insistent urging of a vigorous modern exponent of separation of church and state, Dr. Rufus W. Weaver." It was at first called the "Joint Conference Committee on Public Relations for the Baptists of the United States." The title expressed Weaver's hope "that all Baptist conventions would some day join in common efforts to maintain Baptist principles in public affairs and also build a measure of ecumenicity among themselves."

J. M. Dawson, first executive director of the BJC, remembers Weaver as "a tireless worker for Baptist cooperation." He resigned as pastor of First Baptist in 1936 to become the executive of the Columbia Association of Baptist Churches. In that office, as Dawson wrote, "by his consummate efforts he induced both the Northern and Southern Baptist Conventions to enter a dual arrangement in the District of Columbia existing nowhere else."

In the same month, May 1936, the Baptist Joint Committee was begun. Washington's popular newspaper, the *Evening Star*, in announcing the new committee, carried on its front page a striking cartoon (reproduced on the cover of this issue) of this zealous man, portraying him as the

nation's foremost defender of separation of church and state and advocate of full religious liberty for all.

Dawson was grateful that "the man who had persuaded the conventions to create and budget the Committee ... cared for his brain-infant," as he did until his death on January 31, 1947. Dawson recalls a private luncheon at the Cosmos Club as a part of the inauguration of the BJC, attended by "the Hon. E. Hilton Jackson, eminent constitutional lawyer," and "W. W. Everett, vice president and general manager of the huge Woodward and Lothrop Department Store and a pillar in the Calvary Baptist Church" (Washington). He goes on, "the four of us devised a plan of action."

This Rufus Weaver was a believer in church-state separation. In his book, *The Christian Faith at the Nation's Capital* (Judson Books, 1936), he wrote, "I believe in the separation of church and state on the ground that the territorial sovereignty of each, when clearly defined, makes it possible for every citizen 'to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' "

Our founding father then set himself to "clearly define" the territories:

- The government controls through an outward constraint; we control through an inward restraint.
- The government uses coercion; we use persuasion.
- The government has authority over the acts of its citizens; we have to do with the motives that inspire these acts.
- The government seeks to promote the love of country for the country's sake; we seek to promote love of country for Christ's sake.
- The government enacts laws in the interest of the public welfare; we seek to elevate the moral tone and the ethical standards of the people....
- The government will enact laws that express higher moral standards only when we have created a moral sentiment that demands the enforcement of better legislation.
- The business of government is to make good laws; our business is to make good citizens....

It's a full-time job remember. African peoples entrust the important function of memory to a griot. In our economy of time, vocation, and individual religion, it is a do-it-yourself assignment.

As Rufus Washington Weaver said, "We recognize the sovereignty of the state; but it is a limited sovereignty ... we cannot give to the state the control of our consciences." □



RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE SECULAR STATE

John M. Swomley. New York: Prometheus Books, 1987.

John M. Swomley has written a useful book for those seeking an introduction to the issues of church and state and the course of and threat to religious liberty in the United States.

The first four chapters deal insightfully with the establishment of religious liberty through the principles of separation of church and state, properly emphasizing the revolutionary character of both the objective and the method.

Chapters five and six provide examples of the somewhat wavering course of that principle throughout American history, particularly as related to decisions of the Supreme Court.

The last three chapters bring the issues into the present by discussing three contemporary threats to separation of church and state and, therefore, dangers to our religious and, in consequence, our general liberties. The three are civil religion, the treatment of secular humanism as a religion, and renewed efforts to breach the wall of separation by Fundamentalist Protestants and old-style Catholics, both aided and abetted by right-wing political movements.

Those unacquainted with this debate or wishing a review will find this volume most helpful. As in all brief books, the book contains some generalizations that may be too broad. For instance, on the first page the statement is made, "Unless a free society is controlled by constitutional limitations ... there is nothing to restrain state absolutism"; another, "... in short, secular humanism is not the equivalent of immorality or irreligion [true], but a value derived from our doctrine of separation of church and state" [questionable].

The author has been very active with the American Civil Liberties Union and writes in the tradition of that group. Some other approaches need to be explored as we face this continuing issue of our time. In a sense, raising these questions puts me in the position of wishing that a different book had been written, but it seems that the handling of the last three chapters indicates an intended exclusion of the concerns I wish to raise.

Swomley acknowledges that Americans have not been strictly consistent in maintaining Jefferson's "wall of separation" and argues that such separation is the only way of assuring religious liberty and protecting our religious and political blessings. In actuality, a jealously guarded, flexible position has not only been the fact but the most advantageous. A discussion of some guidelines for such a policy is needed.

One can assume, of course, that an absolutely rigid policy of separation cannot be maintained. Whenever Christian faith is vital, it will burst the bounds of private power and public worship and intrude into secular affairs that any state will consider its domain. Witness the Evangelical Empire of the 1830s and 1840s, the Social Gospel of the early 1900s, and the Fundamentalist re-emergence today.

Still, the author underestimates the drive of the modern secular state (the other side of the relationship) which cannot remain valueless and seeks power. Not only Rousseau, but Burke, Fichte, Mazzini, Jefferson, and others laid a strong foundation for secular absolutism in Western society; it has become the major identity factor for the West and is now strong in much of the rest of the world.

Others, as well as Rousseau, have encouraged civil religion in recognition of society's need for the religious dimension. In one sense, civil religion has been held in check in this country by the social involvement of the churches. But in another sense, it has been aided by that same diversity of American religion that in the early period of this nation's history helped to secure separation of church and state, and wide [although never complete] religious liberty.

The problems of religious liberty are

Reviewer

Dr. Hine is the retired professor of church history at the American Baptist Seminary of the West, Berkeley, California. He says he recently held an interim pastorate and does "occasional things."

Quoting

REPORT from the CAPITAL
1948

We denounce this proposed appointment as a violation of the American system which guarantees equal treatment of all religions, because it gives a preferential status to one religious group in the United States. Such preferential status would imperil the principles of equality.

Since the only nations sending full-ranking ambassadors to the Vatican are Roman Catholic countries, which is understandable, for the United States to do likewise would be interpreted as repudiation of our American heritage.

To accord a representative to the Vatican ambassadorial status will necessitate receiving a Vatican representative at Washington with a similar status. Diplomatic usage will give that ambassador priority over the ambassadors of all other powers and will be tantamount to admitting the claim of the Roman Catholic Church to be the only true Christian Church and superior to all earthly powers. □

not the same as in the eighteenth century. Then, it was believed that religion and politics, and church and state could be compartmentalized, largely because the spread of religious opinion was so narrow and it was assumed that Christian and all natural ethics agreed. Now, religious opinions are more diverse, and our most serious disagreements arise out of the realms of moral behavior on which various religions also disagree.

Certainly, in our American situation it is important to continue to stress the separation of church and state and the free exercise of religious belief and commitment. Interpretation of the Constitution will continue to be a major battlefield. But the need remains for positive guidelines for a flexible position rather than appealing solely to the "wall." I agree with John Bennett that any solution to church-state affairs is only a restatement of the problem. □

Leland B. Hine

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