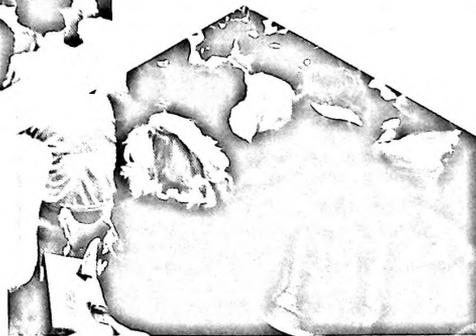
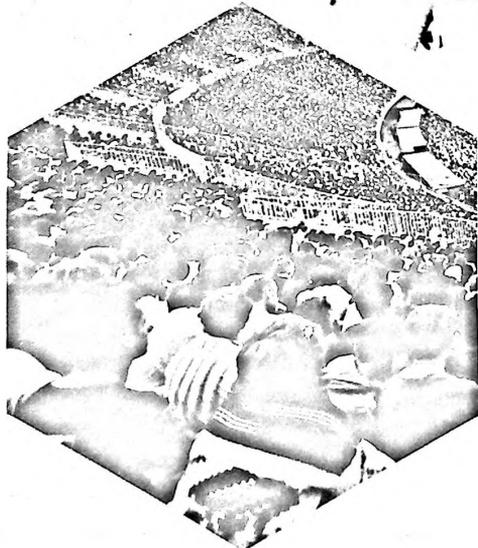
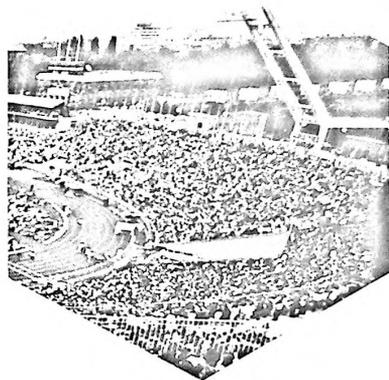
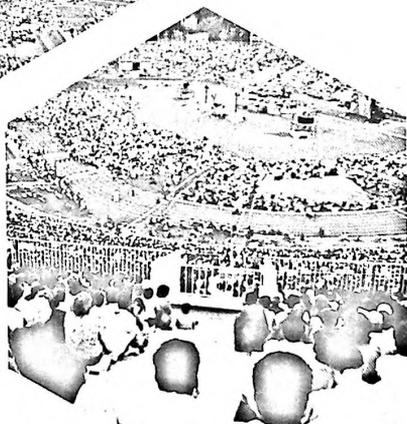


REPORT from the CAPITAL



Congress of the European
Baptist Federation
Draws 90,000 to Budapest

REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 44, No. 8

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Cover: Some 90,000 Baptists from around the world gathered in Budapest, Hungary, for the Congress of the European Baptist Federation. Reportedly, 26,000 decisions were recorded during these July meetings. (Photo, courtesy of Billy Graham Assoc.) The quotation on the cover of the July-August issue came from a letter of George Washington to the United Baptist Churches in Virginia (*Writings*, Vol. 30, p. 32).

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Politics, Protest, and Patriotism

As a sign of the times, religious groups active in American political life are giving more attention to the issues that divide them rather than to the mutual recriminations that accompanied the emergence of evangelical and para-church groups to political activism during the 1980 presidential campaign. Bashing of religious right organizations like the Moral Majority (which had its fifteen minutes of fame) or the National and World councils (perennial whipping boys) appears to be yielding to the need for some serious critiquing of each other's presence in the decision-making process. There no longer remains a question of the ability on the part of either right or left to affect national policy. Their methodologies in the public square are well known. But it has become apparent to at least one writer that those new to social activism are imitating and surpassing the older mainline groups as influential advocates of their respective faith perspectives.

Gary Wills ("The Changing Face of the Church in Politics") detects evidence of a radical change taking place. Mainline, "high-church protestantism," which he says looks back upon a singularly influential role in American politics, no longer has the arena to itself. In fact, Wills believes that the mainline is being supplanted by "low-church" protestantism.

Wills alludes to the benefits resulting from their participation and their acceptance of responsibilities in the realm of social policy of this once "private-religion" branch of American Christianity. He laments, however, that in the process it has become "establishment," and, as such, the evangelical movement may have done so at great peril to its singular witness.

Mark Parent writes from Canada of the tussle Canadians are experiencing over the proper relationship of church to state. The emergence recently of an ultra-conservative "Christian Heritage Party" goes beyond any such organization of Christians in the United States, but much of its reasoning follows on similar lines. The party claims that Canada is a Christian nation and encourages voters to focus an eye on religion as a factor to be weighed in casting one's ballot. Parent believes the concept of a Christian political party is "unhealthy, and detrimental to Christians." While affirming the participation to be legitimate and necessary, he also cautions that both state and politics are limited in their authority by the greater authority of God.

Arthur Walker's article on Baptist heritage and church-state issues, adapted for use in these pages, laments the fact that the average American takes religious liberty for granted and fails to "appreciate both liberty and the contribution of our [Baptist] spiritual forefathers." One haunting consequence of that failure is the diminishing commitment to the principle of church-state separation and along with it the clarity of understanding necessary to its practice and preservation. How to maintain that principle in a time of growing pluralism poses another problem. Williams, Leland, and Backus dealt with the critical issues before them fully convicted that full religious liberty required the separation of civil and religious authority. The problems change, but the principle must endure. □

Victor Tupitza

● **THE SENATE HAS** confirmed Thomas P. Melady, a former diplomat and an active Catholic layman, as U.S. ambassador to the Vatican.

Melady, president of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, is the third person to hold the post since the United States restored formal diplomatic ties to the Holy See in 1984. He succeeds Frank Shakespeare.

During the Nixon administration, Melady was ambassador to Burundi and Uganda. He also has served as president of Sacred Heart University in Bridgeport, Conn., and assistant secretary for post-secondary education in the U.S. Education Department.

Melady, 62, belongs to the Knights of Malta, a Catholic chivalric order with fewer than 2,000 members in the United States. He also is a board member of the Puebla Institute, a lay Catholic organization that monitors international human rights.

Several religious and church-state organizations, including the Baptist Joint Committee, opposed the appointment of a new ambassador to the Vatican.

In a statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which held a hearing on Melady's nomination, the BJC said: "This action violates perhaps the most fundamental guarantee of the establishment clause -- that government cannot act in a way that prefers one religion over another.

"As a result of this 'unholy alliance' between church and state, the Roman Catholic Church will enjoy a preferred position in this administration while other churches and religious organizations are made the objects of official governmental discrimination."

● **A COVEN OF** witches has convinced Rhode Island officials that it is a legitimate religious group entitled to tax-exempt status.

The state Division of Taxation reversed one of its own rulings and issued a sales tax exemption to the Rosegate Coven, also known as Our Lady of the Roses Wiccan Church.

The order conferring the exemption was made on the recommendation of Sandra J. Murphy, an administrative hearing officer for the Division of Taxation, and relieves the coven from payment of sales tax for equipment, sup-

plies, and other expenses connected with the running of its church.

Murphy evaluated the coven's claims by using eight factors that were the basis of a Rhode Island Supreme Court decision three years ago that denied tax-exempt status for the Church of Pan, a nudist group that sought exemption as a legitimate religious body.

The court ruled the Church of Pan appeared to be more secular in nature than religious, had no formal rituals, no trained or ordained ministers, and little in the way of formal religious worship.

Murphy said she found, however, that Our Lady of the Roses fulfilled most of the criteria set down by the court.

She found that the Wiccans constituted a nonprofit group that was not set up for the purpose of avoiding taxes; that the organization has a litany or system of prayer; that it has specific doctrines and practices all members of the coven are expected to follow; and that the church met the requirement of using sacraments and rituals. (RNS)

● **A MINNESOTA PHYSICIAN** who told some of his patients their pain was caused by demons and they needed exorcism has been reprimanded and fined \$3,000 by the Minnesota Board of Medical Examiners.

Dr. Paul Patterson, an orthopedic surgeon on the staff of a clinic in Thief River Falls, Minnesota, also reportedly provided patients with unrequested books on demonology and exorcism and referred some to a Chicago church for exorcism.

Patterson was found by the state board to have used "unethical and unprofessional conduct" in the treatment of patients.

He was ordered to abstain from offering prayer or deliverance as a form of medical treatment. He also was directed to meet monthly with a designated board member.

The board said Patterson agreed that if he fails to comply with the board's conditions he will have his medical license suspended.

A spokesman for the Minnesota Board of Medical Examiners said the board would not object to having a doctor pray with a patient, provided the patient consented.

Garry Wills

Garry Wills' articles frequently appear in national news magazines; more recently, he wrote *Reagan's America: Innocents At Home*. The article below is used by permission of *Soyourners* (Box 29272, Washington, D.C.)

The Changing Face of the Church in Politics

The image of a Christian army rising up and remaking American politics has been exaggerated, either in hope or fear, over the last two decades. The movement's rise seemed rapid and unexplained, and its demise has been prematurely announced, whether for celebration or lament. Pat Robertson's campaign last year seemed to incorporate all the false perceptions of this phenomenon, looming with apocalyptic force for about fifteen minutes, then fading away as if it had not happened.

Beneath these moments of panic or promise, the aspects of right-wing religiosity picked out by the restless spotlight of publicity, there is a more solid and enduring religious reality that has been negotiating a new relationship with our political system. That reality is not going away, and its time of political influence is still at an early stage.

The real beginning of political activism among the low-church Protestants who make up the core of the Religious Right was in the 1950s, and was the result of court decisions and public demonstrations affecting racial segregation. This threatened deep social attitudes, large patterns of behavior, in which religion was an important factor. It had been necessary to the psychic health of white Southerners, to their self-esteem and sense of dignity, to believe that their relations with blacks were right and moral — that is, sanctioned by their own deepest beliefs. The care of blacks in their place was an act of Christian charity in their minds, not a violation of fundamental human values. Jim Crow always had a Bible in his pocket.

The challenge to the laws of the South thus became a challenge to its religion, which was forced to respond. Southern religiosity had tended to be noninstitutional when not antiinstitutional. Since everyone is open to evangelical theology, to the immediate action of the Spirit, not only for conversion but for the call to preaching, strong moral consensus could exist without priestly or hierarchical enforcement. Thus

an anti-pornography ethos precluded the need for anti-pornography laws. Sometimes laws did follow the moral consensus — for example, "dry" laws. But more often, the moral code was enforced more by social pressure than by statute.

Paradoxically, the very ease of access to evangelical churches, and even to the ministry, caused them to be rather isolated from the formal structures around them. Thus, though Baptists were in the majority among American Protestants, the public style of the nation's religion was set by high-church Protestantism — by Episcopal and other "mainline" denominations. The recognition of an "Eastern establishment" in politics was a pale reflection of the hold the mainline minority had on public styles of worship. There was a de facto establishment of religiosity, if not religion, and that establishment was certainly not based in the South, where some of the most ardent clusters of Christians worshipped.

All that began to change with integration. Southern believers felt that they had to rally to their beliefs in organized and institutional ways. The movement for separate schools was racist in its most obvious form, but it also represented a moral general attempt to "preserve Southern ways" (and, very specifically, Southern religious ways. Segregated schools were only part of the story; prayer in the schools was another part — and a part that would live longer as an issue than did the first racial reactions. The prayer in the schools would be Christian, not Jewish, and low-church in style, not mainline.

Baptists, as Jimmy Carter liked to remind people in his campaigns, have a long tradition of separating church and state. That boast was true but misleading. The churches had so much social influence in Bible areas that they did not have to establish formal political claims.

But that began to change when new institutions — schools, parties, movements — were called into being to

oppose the officially integrated institutions. Sects that had discouraged open politicking now rallied to leaders like George Wallace, who always included a touch of religion in his appeal. Keeping God in the schools was connected with keeping blacks out of them. Jerry Falwell was opposed to integration at this state; and less refined preachers more crudely opposed the "godless" Supreme Court that had, just incidentally, made the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. The "takeover" of the court was seen as a threat to patriotic and religious values; and former scruples about direct church activism began to fade.

The near-monopoly on public styles of religion was being challenged. Jimmy Carter's candidacy was a turning point in our political history, not so much because a Southerner was elected, but as because a man was elected whose religion was not "cool" and whose mainline, but marked by a "hot" fervor formerly considered unacceptable in the public realm. Those not disturbed by Nixon's church services in the White House became covertly hostile to President Carter, who never held a church service in his executive mansion. Even Billy Graham had been more an ambassador from the South to the established sects than a genuine "hot gospeler" of the sort people feared in Carter.

The low-church style had not only entered national politics; its practitioners were confident enough to punish one of their own when he did not follow political program. This program was increasingly spelled out by secular technicians who serviced religious activists by direct mail, keeping them in touch with each other and making their names available to political candidates.

The Religious Right was never a "moral majority" it claimed to be has always been misrepresented, was treated as a separate threat. The problem Pat Robertson understood and tried to obviate by turning himself from televangelist into CEO.

But the Religious Right has been a powerful and growing force as part of a new de facto religious establishment in the United States — an increasingly low-church instead of high-church Protestantism. The Religious Right gave Reagan his greatest electoral gains of 1984, after he told one of their conferences that he endorsed them though

they could not endorse him. He also made fundamentalism an acceptable posture in the White House, saying the answers to all life's problems are in the Bible and declaring the Soviet Union an evil empire.

Reagan's own denomination, the Disciples of Christ, had been so antiestablishment in its origins that it would not even call itself a church: There were no churches, only Christians. One could hardly get lower church than this "no-church" position. So Reagan, despite his casual attitude toward church attendance in later years, had a genuine childhood connection with the style and even the theology of the Religious Right — something that popped out, to some of his followers' embarrassment, when he speculated on the millennium and "all of those prophesies."

George Bush, by contrast, was educated at Andover, a prep school slavishly imitative of the Anglican "public" schools in Britain. At Andover, Bush led a missionary organization, called the Society of Inquiry, something as WASPish as Yale-in-China. Despite this background, he has spent years trying to deny that he is a member of the Eastern establishment in political terms. He dwells on his Houston years, his preference for Tex-Mex cuisine, and the ties to the Goldwater and Nixon party when it was still fighting the legacy of a Taft-Dewey-Rockefeller establishment. All this makes political sense in terms of the demographic and electoral shift of power toward the "Sunbelt," the growth of the Republican Party in formerly Democratic areas.

But a less noticed transition in Bush is even more striking for the future of American culture. Unlike Reagan, Bush was entirely mainline in his religious roots and training; yet he, too, has taken to calling himself born again (a thing offensive to many Americans as recently as a decade ago, when Carter was in the White House). Bush assures Southern evangelicals that he accepts Jesus as his personal savior, and cultivates Jerry Falwell so successfully that he got more of the Religious Right's primary votes on Super Tuesday than did Robertson himself.

Some of this, but not all, can be attributed to the blunders Robertson made in the campaign. William Scott Malone, in a December 1988 *Washington*

Post article, shows that Bush had been carefully cultivating the Religious Right for years, reaching out to many other preachers than Falwell. He even courted Jim Bakker, whose "PTL Club" show he professed to watch "from time to time." As early as 1985, Bush went to Charlottesville for a special meeting with Bakker. Tammy Faye Bakker was invited to the vice presidential mansion to visit with Barbara Bush, and Bush staffer Pete Teeley was made a consultant to PTL, receiving \$120,000 to keep the religious leader in touch with official Washington. When Bakker was driven out of the PTL and Falwell took over its management, the vice president called Falwell to offer his encouragement.

There could not be a more vivid symbol of the cultural-religious changes in recent times than this reliance on a new low-church establishment by a scion of the high-church tradition. And this could never have taken place without the increased political activism of evangelicals, fundamentalists, and others who once thought of religion as an essentially private matter, without social consequences.

So are we looking at a larger, broader, more important change in the United States than has been indicated by most studies of the Religious Right as a separate phenomenon. If the fears and hopes raised by such shallow treatments were exaggerated, there are, nonetheless, things to be regretted as well as things to be welcomed in the changes taking place.

It is probably a gain in the long run to have the private-religion branch of Christianity recognize social responsibilities, even if one disagrees with the specific political policies that recognition takes. At least the moral basis of public policy is being connected with theology and brought into the open for discussion. Already we can see this open discussion moderating and maturing the Religious Right in some areas: The bla-

It is probably a gain in the long run to have the private-religion branch of Christianity recognize social responsibilities, even if one disagrees with the specific political policies that recognition takes. At least the moral basis of public policy is being connected with theology and brought into the open for discussion.

tant racism of the George Wallace period has yielded to the conciliatory tactics of the Robertson campaign. Separate schools are now justified in terms of Christian training, not of racial purity (though the former may often coincide with the latter). Anyone familiar with the Wallace rallies of 1968 can only approve of the civilized dissent brought to the debates by Robertson.

Furthermore, a public religious style reflecting low-church views accords better with the religious character of the United States than did the incongruous high-church tone. We have historically been a country more of revivals than of ritual, and the old mainline monopoly disguised the real sources of religious energy in our people. (It is interesting that *Christian Century* placed on its list of the ten most important religious newstories in 1988 the economic and organizational shrinking of the principal mainline bodies — a development important enough to make this the magazine's second most important story, right after the return of some religious freedoms to the Soviet Union).

Then what is to be regretted in this activism of an authentic American tradition in our politics? The thing to be regretted about the low-church establishment is the fact that it is an establishment at all. The old high-church establishment was fading in part because its representatives had come to admit that the separation of church and state is a boon to religion as well as to politics; that moral issues can be debated in politics without specific sectarian appeals; that the de facto Christian (and Protestant) style had to yield to the ecumenical politics torsewn by the creators of our First Amendment position on religion — by Madison and Jefferson and Washington. In fact, the Baptists and other low-church activists of our time have lost one important aspect of their own tradition when they soften their old view on separation of church and state.

The new Republican coalition, with its religious style endorsed by George Bush, may unite a party; but it can divide a nation. And a theology of private vision, prophecy, and apocalypse is not suited to a technological age of nuclear destruction, to an evolutionary science that must be tamed, not merely disdained.

As has normally happened in U.S. history, religious gains introduce new and subtler perils. But these cannot be addressed if we have a dismissive or diabolizing view of the Religious Right. It is here to stay; but, by the laws of change and history, it will not stay the same — any more than the rest of us can. □

VIEWS OF THE WALL



Oliver S. Thomas
General Counsel

"In the beginning," to paraphrase Genesis, "there were no zoning laws — and it was good."

Any lawyer who has run headlong into a church zoning dispute will tell you that on his bad days he has loathed the Roman who first proposed this "civilized way" of regulating the use and enjoyment of private property. While none of us would like to have a tavern, drag-strip, or slaughterhouse located next to his or her private residence, the growth and complexity of modern zoning regulations can be frustrating, to say the least.

Historically, zoning was introduced in the American colonies as early as 1692, "but its general acceptance and rapid progress was delayed until the present century." *Lumund v. Board of Adjustment*, (N.J. 1950).

Early zoning laws, of course, were relatively simple. As a general rule, commercial businesses were located in one section of a town and private residences in another. Churches, by and large, were relatively small in those days and caused very little noise or disturbance. Automobiles had not yet arrived on the scene and people walked or rode horseback to their destinations. As a result, most cities granted churches an exemption to the generally applicable zoning rules and allowed them to locate in residential neighborhoods along with schools. That's been the general pattern ever since.

Today, with larger cities and churches (i.e. more people, activities, lights, noise, etc.), and with the advent of the automobile, things once again have begun to change. Cities are enacting more restrictive zoning laws, in some cases with churches being prohibited from locating in certain neighborhoods altogether. Or, as is more common, the church may be required to obtain a special use permit in order to locate in residential areas.

How are the courts responding to these more restrictive zoning regulations when they are challenged? Unfortunately, more and more courts are holding that churches do *not* enjoy an unqualified right to locate in residential neighborhoods. In fact, the only federal appeals court decisions that have addressed the issue have been decided against the churches: *Lakewood Jehovah's Witnesses v. City of Lakewood*, (6th Cir. 1983), applicable in Michigan, Ohio,

Kentucky, and Tennessee; *Grosz v. City of Miami Beach*, (11th Cir. 1983), applicable in Florida, Georgia, and Alabama; and *Messiah Baptist Church v. Jefferson County, Colorado*, (10th Cir. 1988), applicable in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, Utah, New Mexico, and Wyoming. Even if one's church is not located in one of these three federal circuits, the decisions are likely to be persuasive authority in other jurisdictions. The rationale is that while churches have a *right* to construct a building, they do not have a right to construct it in a particular neighborhood.

The Messiah Baptist Church case was particularly disturbing because it involved a portion of the county zoned for agricultural use. In 1974, the congregation purchased an eighty-acre tract of land for construction of new church facilities, assuming it would be granted a special use permit. It was not. The church filed suit and lost. In April of this year, the Supreme court refused to hear an appeal in the case.

The most troubling case is a 1988 decision by the Supreme Court of Ohio in which a city actually encouraged a church by letter to purchase property for the construction of a new facility and then denied its application for a building permit. The denial came *after* the church had spent some \$1.5 million on its new property.

Fortunately, there is a silver lining in most of the church zoning decisions:

(1) A city's decision must, at the very least, be reasonable — the above-mentioned example from Ohio to the contrary, notwithstanding. Cities cannot bar church construction without some very good reasons. Absent traffic, water, noise, or safety concerns, the church is likely to prevail. A New York court of appeals, for example, in *First Baptist Church v. Village of North Syracuse*, held that a lack of expert testimony concerning any detrimental effect on traffic or drainage rendered the city's denial of a church's request for a special use permit unreasonable. (2) The church must be given "equal protection" under the law. When theaters, private schools, and other meeting halls are permitted in a neighborhood, churches must be permitted, too. The same is true with regard to equal treatment among churches. A United States district court in Mis-

issippi recently held that a city which had granted numerous permits to mainline churches could not deny the same treatment to a mosque.

(3) If a church is permitted in a neighborhood, child care centers, bookstores, and other ministries located on the premises generally will enjoy the same protections as sponsoring church. A recent Missouri decision held that churches have a fundamental right to operate a religious child care center despite the fact that the neighborhood in which the church was located was not zoned for schools.

The overall lesson from these cases is clear. Do *not* rely upon the free exercise clause of the Constitution to ensure your church's right to construct new facilities in certain neighborhoods. Do your homework on such issues as traffic, noise, and water drainage, and do *not* purchase property for new construction until after you have researched the law and received firm and formal assurance from the city that the proposed construction project will be approved. Oftentimes, it is necessary to hire a civil engineer or other expert to assist the church in preparing or presenting its proposal. Finally, do consult with a qualified local attorney *before* you purchase.

The days of churches being able to purchase property without consideration of zoning laws are over. No longer can churches assume that the free exercise clause ensures their right to construct buildings in any neighborhood they might wish to choose.

"Be as wise as serpents, but as innocent as doves," said Jesus. The next time your church contemplates purchasing property for the construction of its new sanctuary, remember His words.* □

*This article is designed to provide accurate information concerning the general subject of church zoning. It is provided with the understanding that the author is not engaged in rendering legal or other professional services. If the reader has specific legal questions, the services of a qualified attorney should be sought.

Congress debates constitutionality of funding church child care centers

The question of how to send federal funds to church-affiliated child care centers without violating the Constitution loomed large during recent Senate debate on child care legislation.

The bill that finally received Senate approval contains sufficient church-state safeguards, argued some members of that body. But other members countered those provisions most likely would not survive a court challenge.

The Act for Better Child Care Services — which now is substantively different than when reported out of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee — would allow parents to use federally funded child care certificates at sectarian child care centers as long as such use does not violate the Constitution. But, according to the bill, providers receiving direct grants would be prohibited from engaging in religious instruction, worship, or other sectarian activities.

The division of thought over the measure's church-state language was not divided along strict party lines or even between proponents and opponents of the bill.

"Serious questions were raised about the constitutionality of using ABC certificates to support programs that involve religious worship and instruction," said Orrin G. Hatch, R-Utah. "Some believe that federal aid can go to sectarian programs so long as the aid is paid through such certificates, which leave the choice of the child care provider to the individual parent. Others believe that any such federal payment to sectarian providers is unconstitutional, regardless of the form of the aid.

"The (bill's) compromise provides that parents receiving ABC certificates may choose sectarian programs for their children, as long as funds are spent in a manner consistent with the Constitution. This modification will permit the courts to resolve the issue in an appropriate fashion, consistent with the First Amendment."

But a number of senators objected to passing legislation that would lead to such litigation.

Minority Leader Robert J. Dole, R-Kan., complained the bill leaves the church-state issue largely unresolved and clearly subject to court challenge. He said the provision offers no guidance to

religiously-based child care centers as to the types of activities and arrangements that are permissible.

"This lack of guidance is an open invitation to litigation," Dole said. "And litigation, often expensive litigation, will force many religiously-based centers to spend more time and more resources defending lawsuits than providing child care services."

In response, Hatch — one of the bill's major co-sponsors — asked, "What program in our society today which allows churches and other religious institutions to participate will not be subject to a court challenge?"

Other senators raised objections to using federal funds — even in the form of certificates — to support sectarian programs.

"I do not question the right of other people to send their children to whatever school they want as long as they pay for it," said John Glenn, D-Ohio. "That is an option of being a free American parent. But we also say that with our separation of church and state, which is so fundamental in this nation, that we do not want to see taxpayer dollars subsidizing religious instruction.

"The prohibition that we keep the separation of church and state does not mean that you cannot have a child care facility in the church basement and does not mean it cannot be held on church property. It does mean that if they are on that property and receiving child care certificates then they must be nonsectarian. That is about as American as anything I can think of."

Sen. Wendell H. Ford, D-Ky., said he did not agree with senators who had expressed fear that the use of ABC certificates would lead to tuition vouchers for all students.

"I strongly believe in our public education system and do not support weakening it through federal tax credits or vouchers for private schools," Ford said. "But I feel just as strongly that while child care may have an educational component, it should not be an extension of our public education system. Those hours outside of the regular school day belong to the child and his or her parents. And if parents are unable to be with the child during that time, then they should have the right to choose the

provider that most closely reflects their own values and beliefs.

"We should not have to take God out of the life of a six-week-old child in order to comply with the Constitution. The same Constitution that protects us against government establishment of religion through separation of church and state also guarantees us the free exercise of religion. I do not believe that our founding fathers intended for those two freedoms to be mutually exclusive."

Some members of the Senate argued for the use of tax credits rather than certificates so as to avoid potential constitutional problems

Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore., said tax credits would be especially helpful for the six to eight percent of child care providers he described as "genuinely religious," whose main purpose is to teach children a particular religion. He said tax credits would avoid violation of the First Amendment's establishment clause, as well as the possible entanglement of government in church affairs.

Although admitting a tax credit approach would be less problematic constitutionally, Hatch said he could not support it as the sole approach to the nation's child care problem because it would do nothing to improve the availability or quality of child care.

Other senators cautioned against subjecting churches to government regulations.

"Do we really want the states out there to start saying, 'Well, we will monitor the First Baptist child care center for a month and we will report to the second in charge in our labor and health and human services departments and they will report to so and so and finally the governor will decide if that is religious or not?'" asked Sen. Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M.

Sen. Dan Coats, R-Ind., warned against "a morass of intricate regulation that, in the end, does nothing but make it more difficult for religiously-based child care providers to provide essential child care services."

Despite the wide variety of concerns, the Senate approved the measure without altering the basic church-state provision. □

Kathy Palen

News in Brief

Legislation would exempt religious organizations

WASHINGTON
A Senate committee has approved legislation that would extend broad antidiscrimination protections to individuals with physical and mental disabilities.

The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee unanimously passed the Americans with Disabilities Act, which would ban discrimination based on disability in employment, public accommodations, public service, transportation, and telecommunications.

Although the ADA bill would apply to both public and private sectors, it would include exemptions for religious organizations.

In the area of employment, the legislation would allow religious organizations to exercise religious preference in hiring. It also would allow a religious organization to require all applicants and employees to conform to the organization's religious tenets.

The ADA bill also excludes religious institutions or entities controlled by religious institutions from a list of categories of establishments that are considered public accommodations. The list includes restaurants, hotels, doctors' offices, pharmacists, grocery stores, museums, and homeless shelters.

In broad terms, the bill would:

— Prohibit any employer — except those with fewer than fifteen employees — from discriminating against any qualified individual with a disability. Employers would be required to make "reasonable accommodations" to the needs of a qualified individual with a disability unless such accommodations would impose an "undue hardship on the operation of the business."

— Bar discrimination against individuals with disabilities in public accommodations, such as stores, restaurants, theaters, and office buildings. The bill would not require that existing facilities be modified but would apply to new facilities or existing facilities that undergo renovation.

— Prohibit such discrimination in the provision of public services, including public transportation and telephone services.

The ADA bill now goes for consideration by the full Senate. If approved there and in the House of Representatives, it

must be signed by President Bush — who has indicated his support for the measure — before becoming law. □

Court hears arguments in polygamy adoption case

SALT LAKE CITY

The Utah Supreme Court has heard oral arguments in a case involving the practice of polygamy by Mormons who belong to a sect that broke away from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The case involves Vaughn Fischer, a polygamist and a member of the Fundamentalist Mormon Church, his wife Sharane, and their efforts to adopt the children of his late wife, Brenda.

Fischer already had two wives and about a dozen children in his home in Hildale, Utah, when Brenda Thornton married him and moved in with her children. She died shortly after, and the petition to adopt her children was approved by their father and a state social worker.

But two of Thornton's half-sisters intervened. They said the children would be subjected to pressures to practice a polygamous lifestyle if they were adopted by the Fischers. RNS

Court reduces damages to former Scientologist

LOS ANGELES

The California Court of Appeals has reduced a lower court's award of damages to a former member of the Church of Scientology from \$30 million to \$2.5 million, saying the original amount was "not just excessive but preposterous."

At the same time, the court sharply criticized the way church leaders had treated plaintiff Larry Wollersheim, saying they "made the deliberate decision to ruin Wollersheim economically and psychologically. Such conduct is too outrageous to be protected under the Constitution and too unworthy to be privileged under the law of torts."

Wollersheim, who had been a member of the church from 1969 to 1979, charged Scientology had failed to make good on promises that its counseling would make him smarter, healthier, and a business success. He asserted the church had tried to drive him out of business when he began to criticize its teachings.

In July 1986, a Los Angeles superior court jury awarded Wollersheim \$5 mil-

lion in compensatory damages and \$25 million in punitive damages. An attorney for the church filed an appeal with Judge Ronald Swearinger, who heard the original case, charging that jury bias was responsible for the huge awards. Two months later Swearinger refused to grant a new trial or reduce the damages but did not explain his reasons. RNS

Plan to limit charitable tax deductions derailed

WASHINGTON

A whirlwind lobbying effort by non-profit organizations has turned back a congressional proposal to place new curbs on the amount of tax deductions allowed for charitable giving.

Rep. Donald Pease, D-Ohio, a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, had proposed the plan as a way to raise tax revenue for the federal budget. He estimated the plan would bring in \$11.8 billion over five years.

The Independent Sector, an umbrella group for 650 religious and secular non-profit agencies, issued an urgent call to its members for action to head off the proposal.

The organization said the plan would result in the elimination of almost half of the charitable deductions and "act as a major disincentive for charitable giving." Nonprofit groups also complained that less giving would make it harder for them to fill in the gaps left by federal cuts in programs to help the poor.

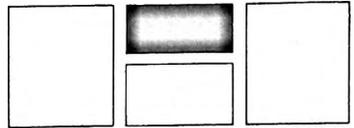
In the face of the pressure, Pease announced his withdrawal of the proposal. Rep. Dan Rostenkowski, D-Ill., Ways and Means chairman, said the committee will not look at charitable deductions when it considers proposals to raise new tax revenues. RNS

Father, church leader jailed for hiding child

HILLSBORO, Oregon

A father and an official of his church have been sentenced to indefinite jail terms for refusing to reveal the whereabouts of the man's ailing six-year-old daughter.

The Oregon Children's Services division was given temporary custody of Melinda James for medical evaluation in May after a public health nurse said the girl seemed to have symptoms of serious



health problems, possibly kidney failure. The girl disappeared the next day.

Her father, Daniel James, and Richard Hays, who is a bishop of the General Assembly and Church of the First Born in North Plains, said they follow the church teaching that healing is to be done by prayer, the laying on of hands, and anointing with oil. They do not believe in medical treatment.

A circuit judge has ordered that the men be jailed without work privileges until they provide the required information. The judge held James in contempt for refusing three orders to deliver his daughter to a state children's worker. Hays was held in contempt for refusing to answer a prosecutor's question about where he had prayed for Melinda in the girl's presence. RNS

Amish dispute reaches Minnesota Supreme Court

ST. PAUL, Minnesota

The dispute between the Amish of Fillmore County and the state of Minnesota over requiring orange triangular signs on Amish buggies has reached the Minnesota Supreme Court.

Fourteen plaintiffs who have been tagged for refusing to use the slow-moving vehicle emblem on their black, horse-drawn vehicles are asking the state court to overturn a Fillmore County District Court decision last December upholding the law.

Their attorneys, Philip Villaume and Joseph Daly, argued that the refusal to display the emblem was grounded in religious conviction and that the law infringed on free exercise of religion and freedom of conscience.

Fillmore County District Judge Clement Snyder noted in his decision that the Amish were not unified in their beliefs about the emblem dispute. This view was repeated by Fillmore County Attorney Robert Benson, who told the state court the triangles are necessary for public safety and that not all Amish agree on their use.

But Daly argued that the fact there is no consensus in the Amish community does not mean the fourteen appellants lack a sincere belief.

"A split does not lessen the depth of their convictions," he argued. Nor, he added, does it invalidate their right to religious beliefs.

Villaume said the states of Michigan, Ohio, and Kentucky have allowed

Amish to use signs other than the triangles on their vehicles. RNS

Landmarks agency rejects bid to demolish building

NEW YORK

New York City's Landmarks Preservation Commission has unanimously voted to reject a United Methodist church's application to demolish its ninety-two-year-old building.

The vote was based on what the commission called the congregation's failure to support its assertion of financial hardship, failure to consider alternatives such as the sale of air rights, and rejection of offers from the community to raise money to renovate the landmarked building.

The church has estimated that renovations to the current building would cost \$9 million. The city's Department of General Services has estimated the needed repairs would cost \$4.5 million. But church officials said there is not money to pay for even the lower estimate. RNS

High court rejects appeal in faith healing dispute

WASHINGTON

The Supreme Court has refused an appeal from a Christian Scientist who faces prosecution in California for failing to provide medical care for her four-year-old daughter who died of acute bacterial meningitis in 1984.

The high court let stand a unanimous ruling of the California Supreme Court that cleared the way for a trial of Laurie Walker on charges of manslaughter and child endangerment.

Attorneys for Walker have argued she is protected by a 1976 state law that bars criminal prosecution of parents who choose spiritual healing rather than medical care for a child. But the California court ruled the law does not necessarily cover cases where the child's life is threatened. RNS

Landlord fined in case involving unwed couple

MINNEAPOLIS

A landlord in Marshall, Minnesota, has been ordered to pay more than \$1,000 for refusing to rent a house to an unmarried couple on religious grounds.

A judge fined Layle French \$300 for

violating a state law that forbids discrimination because of marital status. He also ordered French to pay \$368 in damages to compensate Sue Parsons Jenson for the cost of finding another place to rent and to pay her an additional \$400 for mental anguish.

French, a member of the Evangelical Free Church, said he would appeal the order to the Minnesota Appeals Court. He has contended the state human rights act violates his religious freedom. RNS

Judge suggests IRS probe into teaching on taxes

INDIANAPOLIS

Testimony from an Indianapolis Baptist Bible College student during a tax evasion trial has prompted a federal judge to suggest an Internal Revenue Service investigation of the college.

The Bible college is operated by Indianapolis Baptist Temple, a fundamentalist church whose pastor, Greg Dixon, has been an outspoken critic of government interference in church affairs.

Larry K. Rosselot, a member of the church, was convicted of failing to file tax returns from the years 1984 through 1987. After Rosselot's conviction, U.S. District Judge S. Hugh Dillin remarked that the government should investigate the college to see if it was teaching students they didn't need to pay taxes.

Dixon said the college teaches a paralegal course, but he denied any tax matters ever have been covered. RNS

ABA grants provisional approval to law school

CHICAGO

The Board of Governors of the American Bar Association has granted provisional approval to CBN University School of Law.

The action was recommended by the ABA's Section of Legal Education and Admissions to the Bar, which has determined that the CBN University School of Law substantially complies with the Standards for Approval of Law Schools by the ABA and has given adequate assurance that it will be in full compliance with the standards within three years.

Last May, CBN law students filed suit in federal district court to require the ABA to accredit the school before graduation.

Mark Parent

The Rev. Parent, senior minister of First Baptist Church, Kingston, Ontario, has been concerned over church-state relations in Canada. He frequently contributes to church periodicals, including REPORT.

A Touch of Faith in the Political Arena

Amailing I received from a new federal political party outlined the policies of the Christian Heritage Party and contained the following cover letter:

Dear Pastor: Canada was founded as a Christian nation whose biblical values afforded our citizens true freedom, progress and stability. But things have changed. No longer is Canada officially recognized as a "Christian" nation. Government by public opinion polls and laws based on shifting community standards have become the order of the day....

Clearly, Canada needs righteous leaders in government who will return this nation to its moral Christian tradition. How can you and members of your congregation participate in effecting such a change... [through] the Christian Heritage Party....

Personally, I find the whole concept of the institution of a "Christian" political party to be unhealthy and detrimental to Christianity, but I respect the fact that here is a group of Christians trying to work out their own answer to Christ's puzzling and suggestive statement, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

Recorded in three of the gospels, Christ's comment on the respective claims of God and Caesar came about, Luke tells us, as a response to a "trap" set by Jewish authorities. The question involved the payment of taxes to Roman overlords.

To avoid the trap, Jesus picked up a Roman coin, asked whose image was inscribed on it, and made his now famous reply. It was a response, however, which did not offer a definitive solution to the question of the interplay between religion and politics. Luke tells us that the reply quieted Christ's opponents but it has certainly not quieted Christ's followers as thinker after thinker and community after community have tried to work out their own solutions as to the loyalty that is owed to God and the loyalty owed to Caesar.

Five basic models have been put forward over the centuries as to the nature of the relationship. One of the earliest models was champion by Tertullian, the noted theologian from North Africa, who felt that there could be no true relationship between God and Caesar or between the Church and the state.

Tertullian based his antipathy of the bridge between Church and state on the attitude of the book of Revelation which portrayed the political government as the *Great Whore of Babylon*, "drunk with the blood of the saints." This strain of thought continues to this day among various Christians who have opted out of politics and have nothing or, at least as little as possible, to do with the governmental process.

Alongside Tertullian's position, which may be labeled "Christ against the state," arose an attitude which began to marry God and Caesar together. It blossomed into being when the Roman Emperor Constantine had a vision of a cross in the sky immediately before an important battle. As a result of this vision, he had his soldiers paint the sign of the cross on their armour before proceeding into battle.

Constantine proved victorious and as a consequence elevated Christianity from a persecuted religion to an official religion of the Roman state. It was Constantine who initiated some of the taxation practices toward clergy and churches that persist in our day.

By and large, however, the Church refused to weld Christian faithfulness and loyalty to the Roman state. Instead, the characteristic attitude of both the Middle Ages and the Roman Catholic church was one which may be labeled "Christ above State." In this theory, the state had legitimate functions to perform but only under the higher authority of the institutional Church. Until as recently as Vatican II, the Roman Catholic church taught that it was the duty of the secular government to promote the establishment and welfare of the true Christian religion, that is, the Roman Catholic faith.

In reaction to this view and aided by the growing German nationalism which tired of paying taxes to help build the magnificent buildings seen in Vatican City, the Protestant Reformer Martin Luther taught that both the state and the Church had legitimate arenas of responsibility. The two should not be confused but rather exist alongside each other.

This viewpoint, known as the "two-kingdom theory," received its greatest test during the rise to power in Germany of Adolph Hitler and his Nazi philosophy. Most Christians became confused. Taught to be respectful of the claims of the state, they were faced with someone who was not respectful toward the claims of the church, much less of God Almighty. Far too many German Christians went along with Hitler and gave him their allegiance, leading to the tragic results upon which we reflect on Remembrance Sunday. Others such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer, formulated the famous "Barman Confession of 1934," which declared that Christians had only one "Fuhrer," Jesus the Christ!

A fifth response concerning the relationship between God and Caesar, Church and state, a response that has been the most influential within our own society, also came out of the Protestant Reformation. John Calvin, in his writings, taught that the state had a legitimate role to play; the Church was not simply to exist alongside the state but to seek to transform it. State and the political process were viewed by Calvin not

merely in negative terms as that which restrained evil and punished the evildoer, but also in positive terms as an institution capable of contributing to the betterment and welfare of humanity.

These distinct responses as to how to work out what it means to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's" have all been important and influential. They all tend to read more into Christ's statement than is really there, for Christ's formula really says only two things, both extremely important.

The first is that Caesar, the state, politics, do have a legitimacy and are important. Paul and Peter affirm this when in their writings they call upon the first century Christians to obey the state and to submit to its rightful authority.

It is important as Christians to recognize the legitimacy of the political process. Too often Christians stand aloof from political involvement as if it were dirty and non-Christian to become involved. And nonparticipation contributes only to an attitude toward politics which fosters some of the ethical and moral problems that afflict us.

Of course, Christians are not alone in looking down on politics. One need simply open any book of quotations to find statements such as in Shakespeare's *King Lear* where Lear gives this advice: "Get thee glass eyes, and, like a scurvy politician, seem to see things thou dost not."

Or the rather cynical statement by Simon Cameron, who noted that "an honest politician is one who, when he is bought, stays bought." Or, in a more humorous vein, the definition of a politician as based upon the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. When he started out, he didn't know where he was going. When he got there, he didn't know where he was. And when he got back, he didn't know where he had been. And he did it all on other people's money.

While we must not idolatize the state, and humour is a good way to prick the pretensions of Caesar, nonetheless, the political process is not in and of itself morally evil. Indeed, politics is an inevitable and unavoidable part of decision making among any group of people.

When Christ came into our world, he came not as a political figure, certainly, yet he was sentenced to death as a political figure by the political authorities. The sentence over his head on the cross read,

There is a legitimacy
to politics, and by voting
and becoming engaged
in political activity,
Christians 'incarnate'
their views and ideals
within the political
spectrum.

in three languages, "The King of the Jews." The Jewish authorities wanted it changed to "This man said he was the King of the Jews" but on this point Pilate proved immovable.

The Baptist emphasis on the separation of Church and state has been interpreted in various ways over the years. One thing it affirms, despite differing interpretations, is that the state has a certain legitimacy that Christians must recognize and support.

Unlike their kissing cousins, the Dutch Anabaptists, the early English Baptists were willing to serve in government if given the opportunity. They did not view participation in the political process as something inherently sinful. There is a legitimacy to politics; by voting and thus becoming engaged in political activity, Christians "incarnate" their views and ideals within the political process.

Secondly, Christ's formula affirms that Caesar, the state and politics all are limited, their authority conditioned by the authority of God. This limitation requires our affirmation because among Canadian Christians the tendency is to give too much attention to the legitimacy of Caesar and too little allegiance to the limitations God sets upon the state. Luke, in the book of Acts, writes of an incident in which Peter and the other apostles came into conflict with the authorities and were strictly ordered to stop talking about Jesus the Christ. To this political pronouncement, Peter and the other replied, "We must obey God rather than men."

Does the book of Acts not come into conflict with the gospel's decree to render to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's? Does it not undercut the Baptist emphasis on the separation of Church and state? No, not if we remember that the Baptist emphasis falls upon the separation of the institutions of

Church and state, and not an attempt to privatize and marginalize Christian faith.

The Church as an institution should not attempt to use political power to force Canadian citizens to attend church or to believe certain religious doctrines. Neither should the state attempt to outlaw church attendance or to control religious doctrines. As believing Christians, however, we must acknowledge that we seek to serve God rather than human institutions.

Caesar may have a right to the minted coins, his head prominently stamped upon them, but the wealth which they represent belongs only to God. Caesar may have a claim to the statutes on the law books and to the Constitution of this country, but the justice which those laws seek to enshrine and enforce belong only to God. Caesar may have a right to punish those whom society has designated as "criminals" and to protect political sovereignty through armed force, but the lives of all people belong only to God.

Christians, therefore, must seek to be fully informed and in voting, to do so enthusiastically and responsibly, having weighed carefully the policies and character of the party and the candidate. In the final instance, though, believers in Jesus Christ must not only vote but must vote as those who have this great cry ringing in their ears: "I must obey God rather than man."

At the Great Judgement, God may not only ask, "Did you share the good news of my love, the good news of the Christ, with those with whom you came in contact?" God may also ask, "Did you care for the poor, did you feed the hungry, did you clothe the naked, did you visit the prisoner?"

And it will not be enough to reply, "I did not see the poor because they lived in the north end of Kingston, Ontario, and I lived in the west." It will not be enough to reply, "I did not know about the hungry because I was born in the country of Canada and not in the barrios of Latin America." It will not be enough to say, "I could not visit the prisoners or care for their needs because they were hidden behind stone walls." For those of us who have had the privilege of living in a democratic nation, God is going to ask one more important question, and that question is, "Tell me now, how did you vote?" □

Mark Parent



INTERNATIONAL DATELINE

Hard decisions faced by Chinese Christian leaders

NANJING, China

Chinese Christian leaders, in their first public statement since the government crackdown in June, have "resolutely endorsed" the recent decisions of the Communist Party Central Committee.

The statement, dated June 27, was released by the China Christian Council and the Chinese Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement Committee and mailed to numerous church groups in the West.

The Protestant leaders applauded the affirmation of modernization and called upon Chinese Christians to study Chairman Deng Xiaoping's speech "in order to raise the patriotic and social consciousness, and together with the broad masses of the people, struggle for the construction of a strong and prosperous motherland."

In May, the Christian council had issued a statement of strong support for the student's demands and asked the government to enter into a dialogue with them. That position, following the crackdown in Beijing, became tenuous.

Bishop K.H. Ting, head of the China Christian Council, faced a particularly precarious situation, and according to a western observer "had to make a difficult decision. He chose to find those emphases in Deng's speech — reaffirmation of modernization, a prosperous motherland, elimination of corruption — that he could call on Christians to support.

"He obviously feels that this approach will be as beneficial as any other possible approach. It's difficult to make black and white decisions when the whole world about you is gray." □

Evangelicals divided over relationship to WCC, Rome

MANILA

The 4,000 evangelical Christians taking part in a ten-day congress here on world evangelization reflected deep divisions in their final communique on how to relate to the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Roman Catholic Church.

The Manila Manifesto, a lengthy summary statement issued prior to the closing of the gathering of persons from 170 countries, said: "Evangelical attitudes to the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches differ widely. Some evangeli-

cals are praying, talking, studying scripture and working with these churches. Others are strongly opposed to any form of dialogue or cooperation with them."

With regard to the WCC, the final text of the statement said: "Some of us are members of churches which belong to the World Council of Churches and believe that a positive yet critical participation in its work is our Christian duty. Others among us have no link with the World Council. All of us urge the World Council of Churches to adopt a consistent understanding of evangelism."

A good deal of attention at Manila was given to the uniqueness of Christ. One section of the manifesto contained the affirmation that Christians "have no warrant for saying that salvation can be found outside Christ or apart from an explicit acceptance of his work through faith." □

New constitution in Spain to separate church, state

MADRID

Ten years ago, following forty-seven years of dictatorship, Spain enthusiastically engaged in formulating a new democratic constitution which incorporated the principle of church-state separation.

In so doing, their idealistic founding fathers took their example from the American experience of some two centuries earlier. The move from constitutional principle into discernable practice has proved both slow and painful.

Observers here believe it will take another ten years before the concept is fully in place and the nation has made its adjustment.

Spanish sociologist Ronaldo Cueto noted that "The (Roman Catholic) church's place for a thousand years in the nation's cultural patrimony is deeply rooted. The traditional dependence of the church on state funding could not be changed overnight."

Currently, "disestablishment" consists primarily of a fiscal adjustment. The government reported that thirty-five percent of Spanish taxpayers opted on their 1988 returns to have a percentage of their taxes allocated to the church; twelve percent chose to allocate their religious tax to other bodies; and fifty-three percent abstained from making a choice.

The new religious tax will gradually replace the state funding system which evolved during the Middle Ages and

was institutionalized during Gen. Francisco Franco's dictatorship. To comply with the constitution, the church must become financially self-sufficient by 1993.

Though the church is expected to experience some hardships as it gives up state funding, church leaders say they see a positive side to the separation — individuals will have to "think out their identity" as Catholics. RNS

Charter 77 troubled over neglect of Jewish tragedy

The unofficial Czechoslovak human rights group Charter '77 has issued a document titled "The Jewish Tragedy in Post-War Czechoslovakia," which claims that it is difficult to obtain information relating to the number of Jewish war victims.

Many articles documenting the lives of Jewish communities in the Czech lands survived the holocaust. But whereas these were freely available in the 1960s, now only select individuals have access to these articles stored in the archives of the state-run Jewish museum.

Charter '77 believes that the Czechoslovak public deserves an explanation from authorities as to why there are so few Jewish memorials and why the public continues to be so badly informed about the tragedy of Jews in their country. □

Britain's 'cult watchdog' called apologist for sects

BOURNE

A private organization that was made the British government's official cult watchdog two years ago is at the center of a bitter church-state controversy.

Known as INFORM, the group was started by families and churches who claimed that members had been brainwashed into joining new religious organizations.

With the archbishop of Canterbury as patron and nominees of the mainstream churches and civic organizations on its board, there were great expectations that INFORM would serve an important purpose when it received a government grant of about a half million dollars in 1987.

But just before receiving the grant, the organization acquired the leadership of Eileen Barker, a sociologist at the London School of Economics and an acknowledged expert on cults.



NEWS-SCAN

"WOOPIES" — those "well off older people," have become the fastest-growing and most significant group in England, according to Baptist Derek Cook. Writing in *Baptist Times*, he notes that it is this group which the church seems to be ignoring. Cook suggests that instead of a youth leader, churches might better consider a "GLAM" teacher — striking out toward the Greying Haired Affluent Middle-aged. As members of a generation that has not been part of church life, they have not been exposed to God's plan for their lives. . . . Hungarian Primate, Cardinal Laszlo Paskai has called for free access for religious groups to television and radio. Declaring that in the wake of the realization of pluralism and freedom of religious practice, he believes churches should be able to express their views through the mass media and thus contribute to the formation of public opinion. . . . The vision of a religious slate in Guatemala has all but vanished after the experience under the military government of Gen. Efraim Rios Montt. Then, conservative Christians flocked to Guatemala to lend their support, money, missionaries, and enthusiasm for rebuilding the country on a solid Christian basis. Many Christian leaders feared that it invited unwanted conflict and diverted attention from saving souls. Divisions carried over into the 1985 campaign in which evangelicals were unsuccessful in electing their presidential candidate Jorge Elias Serrano. He is running in the 1990 election but downplaying his identification as an evangelical. . . . For the first time in sixteen years, a new church — the International Baptist Church in Wadenswil — was admitted into the Swiss Baptist Union. Baptists are a minority in Switzerland, where believers baptism first became an issue with the soon-to-be martyred Anabaptists in sixteenth century Zurich. . . . Polish Baptist General Secretary Konstanty Wiasovski, reflecting on Parliament's ratification of a new law which guarantees wide-spread religious freedom in Poland, expressed his gratitude over the new law, adding, "We still don't know how it will be applied, but the atmosphere is good and everyone is trying to settle the matter in the best possible way." Reflecting the new mood in Poland, authorities have granted permission to the Katowice Baptist Church to conduct Christians services inside a prison. □

Dr. Barker has been supported by the government's Home Office and the archbishop's personal representative on the board of INFORM. But critics, including legislators and lawyers, say she has turned INFORM into an apologist for controversial sects.

Critics cited Dr. Barker's close connection with the Unification Church in judging her an unsuitable chairperson for INFORM. She admits that the Unification Church paid her expenses to attend eighteen conferences around the world.

Dr. Barker told RNS that "INFORM came into being because I was unhappy about the unnecessary suffering which a lack of easily available and accurate information about the movements was causing. I had many parents, who didn't know where to turn to, asking for information."

She first became academically interested in cults fifteen years ago. Her book, "The Making of a Moonie," was funded by the Unification Church. But she says, "I am not a Moonie. I have never been a Moonie. I don't accept their beliefs." □

No neutrality on apartheid; document calls it a heresy

JOHANNESBURG

After eighteen months of research and four international meetings, Christians from seven Third World countries have produced a document on liberation theology that accuses right-wing Christianity of idolatry, blasphemy, hypocrisy, and apostasy.

The document, called "The Road to Damascus: Kairos and Conversion," was released at a press conference attended by three well known antiapartheid activists: Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu; World Alliance of Reformed Churches President Allan Bosak; and Father Smangaliso Mkhathswa, a Roman Catholic priest who is general secretary of the Institute for Contextual Theology in Southern Africa.

Signed by thousands of Christians, both theologians and rank and file, the document stems from a 1986 meeting of Third World theologians at which participants endorsed a series of consultations on the topic of liberation theology.

"The main thrust of the Road to Damascus is the reversal of the accusation of heresy and sin," Father Mkhathswa said. "It is not the Christians who are involved in struggles for national liberation who are heretics but

those who support a right-wing oppressive government. It is not those who call for justice, freedom and radical change who are being unfaithful to Jesus Christ but those who do not want the real change."

Archbishop Tutu said, "This is an important evangelical document talking about the responsibility of Christians in a situation of oppression and about the role of churches. For a Christian, there is no neutrality in such a position. You're either on the side of the oppressed or you in fact support the oppressor."

Dr. Wolfram Kistner, a theologian formerly on the staff of the South African Council of Churches, said the question is not simply how a Christian can support apartheid. He said, "The question in fact was: Can one be a Christian and not resist apartheid?" □

Name change

Myanmar, pronounced mee-ahn-MAH, has become the new official name of Burma.

The change, recently adopted by the United Nations, was announced by Burmese radio which also noted that the nation's capital, Rangoon, would henceforth be known as Yangon (pronounced yahn-KOH).

The changes reflect use of the native language, a return from that adopted during British colonial rule. Other recent changes among nations include that of Sri Lanka, formerly Ceylon. □

Gorbachev baptized

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, responding to a journalist's question with the explanation that "I think it's quite normal," said in Paris that both he and his wife, Raisa, were Baptized.

It was known that Gorbachev's mother is an Orthodox believer who still regularly attends church. Born in 1931 in a village near Stavropol, Gorbachev said he was baptized by his Christian parents. □

Missionary asks Christians to become bearers of hope

Christian responsibility in today's world is exceedingly great. Global terrorism, accidents that take hundreds of lives, the use of drugs by the youth and adults primarily in the wealthy nations, the agony of the poor countries and the suffering of their populations because of suffocating external national debts, the pain of small countries destabilized and shamelessly intervened in by the world's powerful states, the use of naked force, the wars being waged in so many parts of the world — all are expressions pointing to the urgency for the exercise of Christian responsibility.

Nicaragua is an example of a conflicting political situation. The impact of the war imposed on Nicaragua has been devastating. The bereavement of loved

ones killed, the depression of those who have lost limbs, the uncertainty of whether those who are going to fall next in battle will be our own children, continuously prey on us Nicaraguans.

Endless spiralling inflation not curbed by devaluations of our currency, the "Cordoba," the increasing difficulty in feeding one's family as we have been used to in the past, haunts us. The exodus of family members and close friends and the void they leave in our lives leads to desperation.

The mistakes which the Nicaraguan government has made, among them the treatment of the Miskito Indians and other indigenous groups, the conducting of the economy and the ever-present bureaucracy have confounded the problems. Attacks by the U.S. government on Voice of America and by other Central American radio stations against the government of Nicaragua have led to some degree of confusion. The end result is that the Nicaraguan people are exhausted, extremely tired of war and somewhat depressed.

What should our responsibility as practicing Christians be in such a situation? Just as was true of the Apostle Paul, the responsibility of the church should be to become the bearer of hope in the midst of mourning, desolation, desparation and death. The church must proclaim insistently that Jesus overcame and conquered death and rose to life. Because of His resurrection, we are certain that God's justice, grace, and mercy will prevail and that He will listen to the clamor of those that who are afflicted

This paper was initially presented to the Commission on Christian Ethics of the Baptist World Alliance. Dr. Parajon, who was born in Nicaragua, is a medical missionary of the American Baptist Churches, USA.

and oppressed. Christians, we who have experienced changing from enemies into God's friends and thus know the power of repentance and forgiveness of sins, can be effective agents of reconciliation and of human understanding. We can influence greatly the protagonists in the conflict and persuade them to use peaceful means and not destructive physical violence to arrive at satisfactory and just situations.

Our Christian responsibility is to identify and to be in solidarity with those who are suffering from injustice, exploitation, and oppression. People should know that God suffers with them and is very near to them. Our actions have to be coherent with our faith. This means making our own the tasks that are for

Quoting

REPORT from the CAPITAL, 1967
News, Views, Trends

Flag-burners have kicked off a rash of antiflag desecration bills in Congress. A subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee is holding hearings on 100 or more bills introduced by congressmen for a federal law on abuse of the flag. Although each of the fifty states has laws against such, there has never been a federal statute on desecration of the flag.

A fundamental issue of freedom and dissent is involved in the emotion-laden reaction against recent flag-burning incidents. While most Americans are irritated to no end by the flag-burners, we must not succumb to the demands of some who shout to "forget the First Amendment" and who call for the dissenters to appear before firing squads.

A recent editorial gives good advice to us all. Warning against "hysterical patriotism," the editorial said, "Let's not inflate a nuisance into a menace The country's temperature is already feverish. Genuine patriotism will aim at cooling it down, not at heating it up." To which we would add that both the right to dissent and the sacred honor of our nation as represented by the flag need to be respected and safeguarded. This is a difficult assignment in the exercise of freedom. □

the benefit for all and for survival, following the example of the Apostle Paul.

Our responsibility as Christians is to understand and to know the real causes of the conflictive political situation in which we are immersed. With factual knowledge, we will be able to make sound decisions that will enable us to contribute toward justice, peace and reconciliation. We have the responsibility to go beyond propaganda and the unethical and irresponsible manner in which events are so often reported in the media.

Understanding the true causes of conflict brings us to our responsibility as Christians to denounce the injustice inflicted on the defenseless and disposed, and actively to work to right those wrongs by peaceful means. If more people understood what is at work in a situation, public opinion will be aroused to influence those who are responsible to stop, analyze, revise and make right what is wrong. Our Christian responsibility is to exercise our prophetic ministry as instruments of the living Christ in our service of peace-making. □

Gustavo Parajon

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He practiced the art of the possible remembering Niebuhr's notion that all laws are no more than proximate solutions with ultimate solutions coming in the great wrap-up ...

REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



Carl Emanuel Carlson spoke often of "insights." He functioned humbly not dogmatically. He knew and respected the complexity of the political process. He refused to pontificate.

Some gentle wags, friends of mine, anticipated his speeches and articles with benign humor. "Carlson's gonna share his 'insides' again," they said.

Well, maybe it wasn't totally innocent, their puns at his expense. They and I wanted "Manny" to be a bit more categorical. We wanted him to get off the dime, to be "for" or "against." Frankly, because some of us were not quite willing or as able as he to pay the price for understanding the morass of law making, we expected what cannot and should not be: a definitive "yes" or "no" on every piece of legislation.

Dr. Carlson came to direct the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs in 1954 from a distinguished teaching and administrative career at Bethel College. Perhaps it was his own teaching that taught him so much. He learned well the virtues of ambiguity. The strong Swede with active memory knew that there was at least an outside possibility that he could be wrong. He practiced the art of the possible remembering Niebuhr's notion that all laws are no more than proximate solutions with ultimate solutions coming only in the great wrap-up of all human striving.

Dr. C. Emanuel Carlson put his stamp indelibly on the BJC. He served as director for seventeen years, as long as any other two of us (so far). The Baptist agency dedicated to religious freedom functions today in his lengthened shadow.

Some of the very reasons that we '50s activists who were young and in a hurry patted our feet and were impatient with Carlson are precisely the ideas that shape this office's strategies today. It's amazing, as Mark Twain said of his father, how much wiser Carlson is now than he seemed then.

First, this second director of the BJC was determined that the national voice for Baptists would be accurate, respected, judicious. He would not be stampeded by newsmen in search of a story, preachers who saw themselves defending doctrine and the Divine, or his denominational colleagues who were often eager to speak out. Some of us were said to approach every issue with an open mouth.

Dr. Carlson insisted that the homework be done. He required disciplined intelligence of his staff and himself. That posture is still paying off.

Next, Carlson, with his predecessor J. M. Dawson and his successor James E. Wood, Jr. established a BJC reputation on Capitol Hill for absolute, unswerving integrity. He did not tell Congress or Baptists more than he knew and he put in place a policy of taking sides on proposed legislation only rarely. Both principled and practical considerations shaped that strategy.

On principle, one who works for many kinds of Baptists had better exercise restraint in serving them. As a matter of principle a small staff in Washington can hope to deal effectively with only a few issues. On principle one must work hard to understand, analyze, interpret, and communicate religious liberty concerns.

Hence, on most multifaceted pieces of legislation Carlson

and the BJC since his day do not often come out for or against an entire bill, to the great consternation of many Baptists who tend to be often in error but never in doubt. In the first place Dr. Carlson knew that he did not know enough to pose as an all-purpose expert. Then, he saw the practical perils of losing the opportunity to shape public policy by being pegged too soon as friend or foe.

If, on a multidimensional legislative package, an agency bearing the names of all Baptist groups is seen as "for" the bill in question, it is easy to take them for granted. On the other hand, if Baptists come out early with strong opposition they are written off in the process of shaping legislation.

Of course, the core issues that have constituted the basis for Baptist togetherness were never negotiable. For government to meddle in, restrain, attempt to regulate, or foster religion is always wrong. For churches to manipulate government, seek special favors, or use public dollars for parochial purposes is never acceptable. The Baptist Joint Committee has always stood for real religious freedom and genuine free exercise and has always stood against government-sponsored or prescribed religion and the use of public funds in any amount for religious purposes.

But few issues have been so blatant and obvious that the BJC has been positioned at the outset of a legislative process. Government-prescribed religious exercises, tax aid for parochial purposes, the exchange of ambassadors with the Roman Catholic Church, and taxation of the churches come to mind. On most other issues the BJC has been at work attempting to amend, striving to shape, working for change in proposed legislation.

In recent days the Civil Rights Restoration Act, the Act for Better Child Care, and the Act for Disabled Americans are all bills the BJC has worked to improve. Not eager to be dismissed as irrevocably opposed or embraced and ignored, we have maintained a posture of speaking only to the church-state issues, working only for real religious freedom. Not willing to be pigeon-holed, we know for a fact that we have been able to be heard and to be of help to legislators. The posture of expertise on a narrow range on issues, integrity to speak out only when we had something worth saying has paid off. Thanks, Dr. Carlson.

Finally, Dr. C. E. Carlson set a standard of independence that Baptist bodies have come to expect of the subsequent committees and their staffs. The BJC has never endorsed a candidate for office or a nominee for any government position. The friends of religious freedom are on both sides of the aisle. Republicans and Democrats in the Congress call on the BJC for counsel and insight.

In January 1989, Mrs. Lucille Carlson passed away, thirty-five years after Dr. Carlson came to be the executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs in 1954. Baptists everywhere owe a debt of gratitude to the Baptist General Conference for sharing C. Emanuel Carlson. The Baptist Joint Committee should probably still be paying reparations or at least doing penance for taking Bethel College's dean. The staff of the BJC are still profiting from Carlson's thoughtful insights. He gave himself so completely, maybe "insides" is not wrong. □

Religious Liberty: From Conviction to Constitution

When Isaac Backus began his work in 1771 with the Warren Baptist Association of Massachusetts, he was taking up a noble cause. A series of petitions written by Backus sought the right of religious liberty from the state assembly of that state. Leo Pfeffer, a Jewish scholar and author of *Church, State and Freedom*, wrote of these petitions, "... their plea for freedom is not predicated exclusively or even primarily on practical grounds, but on the ideological ground of the state's incapacity to intermeddle in matters of religion."

Compulsory taxation to support an unacceptable ministry was the motivation for the intense hostility of Backus toward established religion. He and other Baptists who withdrew from established churches were faced with the choice of supporting their own ministry and at the same time paying taxes to support the ministers of the established church.

Backus led opposition to the idea that the civil authorities had a responsibility to assure the worship of God in every parish. When Backus went before the First Continental Congress to plead for relief from what he considered to be religious oppression, he was charged with having no real cause and being concerned only for money. The delegates from Massachusetts, including Samuel and John Adams, charged that the complaints of the Baptists amounted to disloyalty to the colonial cause.

At the Constitutional Congress in Philadelphia in 1787, Backus defended the principle of religious liberty. He also supported the provision against religious tests that were included in the federal constitution.

The first state to declare itself for separation of state and church authority was the southern state of Virginia. Many recognized that the long struggle in that state for religious liberty was also primarily led by Baptists. Other dissenting groups that had suffered persecution by established religion made their contributions as well. Baptists and Presbyterians especially opposed the action of 1776 and 1779 which abolished required support of the established church but still required support of some religious body.

Beginning as early as 1772, the General Baptist Association in Virginia frequently sent petitions to the state general assembly, repeatedly calling for the disestablishment of all religious authority. The Baptists of Virginia also were particularly concerned that the fed-

eral constitution framed in 1787 contained no declaration of individual rights, including that of freedom of religion. Though the exact extent of Baptist influence in the writing of the Bill of Rights is often discussed and debated, there seems to be little exception taken to the fact that Baptists did influence the writing and the adoption in Virginia of the Bill of Rights.

It took a while for the new states to accept the principle of separate spheres of influence between religion and political power, even though such leaders as Thomas Jefferson insisted on a "wall of separation." The stabilizing influence of religion was generally accepted and since the majority of the populace found Christianity, in some form, acceptable, there was little opposition to general governmental support for the local religious structure as long as preference was not shown to one type of Christianity over another. "Complete" religious liberty actually came in all of the states only in 1833 when Massachusetts disestablished its state church.

The war between the states saw a limited resurgence of concern for the issue of separation of church and state. At least some forces became concerned in the years of that conflagration about the provision of religious leadership by the government. In the confederate states, there was opposition to the provision of military chaplains.

Separation of church and state became a major issue for those who had such convictions. Once again, however, national interests and the conviction of the importance of religious emphases won in the discussion. The opposition to the provision of military chaplains faded considerably. Pressing economic matters dominated thinking and even the concern for the principle of separation seemed to fade in its significance.

Baptists in the decades that followed still considered themselves to be strong advocates of religious liberty. Unfortunately, the primary concern of this advocacy had more to do with the fact that Baptists felt threatened by some stronger Christian groups within the

United States. Much of their advocacy in the closing years of the nineteenth century centered on the perception of the threat to religious liberty and to other religious bodies posed by the power and practices of Roman Catholicism.

In 1939, Baptist bodies in America adopted a major statement on religious liberty. This document was entitled, "The American Baptist Bill of Rights: A Pronouncement upon Religious Liberty." The Baptist Bill of Rights included a review of the history of Baptist involvement in the struggle for religious liberty. It also called for "absolute religious liberty" for all groups. In this concern, Baptists expressed their interest in religious liberty for Jews, Roman Catholics, and even unbelievers.

This same concern for religious liberty among Baptists resulted in the development of a group meeting in Washington, D. C. to monitor important developments affecting religious liberty. The group, convened by Rufus W. Weaver, pastor and denominational leader, organized as the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

More now than at any time in recent history, Baptists face a challenge to their conviction on separation of church and state. If the state is not to provide preferential treatment to any particular religious group, this means that the state cannot provide preferential treatment to any group. In the pluralistic society that exists in the United States today, it is to be expected that Christianity must be viewed by the government in the same way it views all other religious or non-religious positions.

Instead of asking the government to turn back the clock to the time when Christianity was a preferred religion, we must insist that the religious and non-religious positions and organizations are not given preferential treatment. It is very difficult for the human being not to overcompensate. My greatest concern in today's society is that in our effort to offset movements with which we disagree, we do not violate our basic principles.

Arthur L. Walker, Jr.

The article above was adapted for use from an address delivered by Dr. Walker to the Christian Life and Public Affairs Commission of the Alabama Baptist State Convention. He is executive director of the SBC's Education Commission.

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