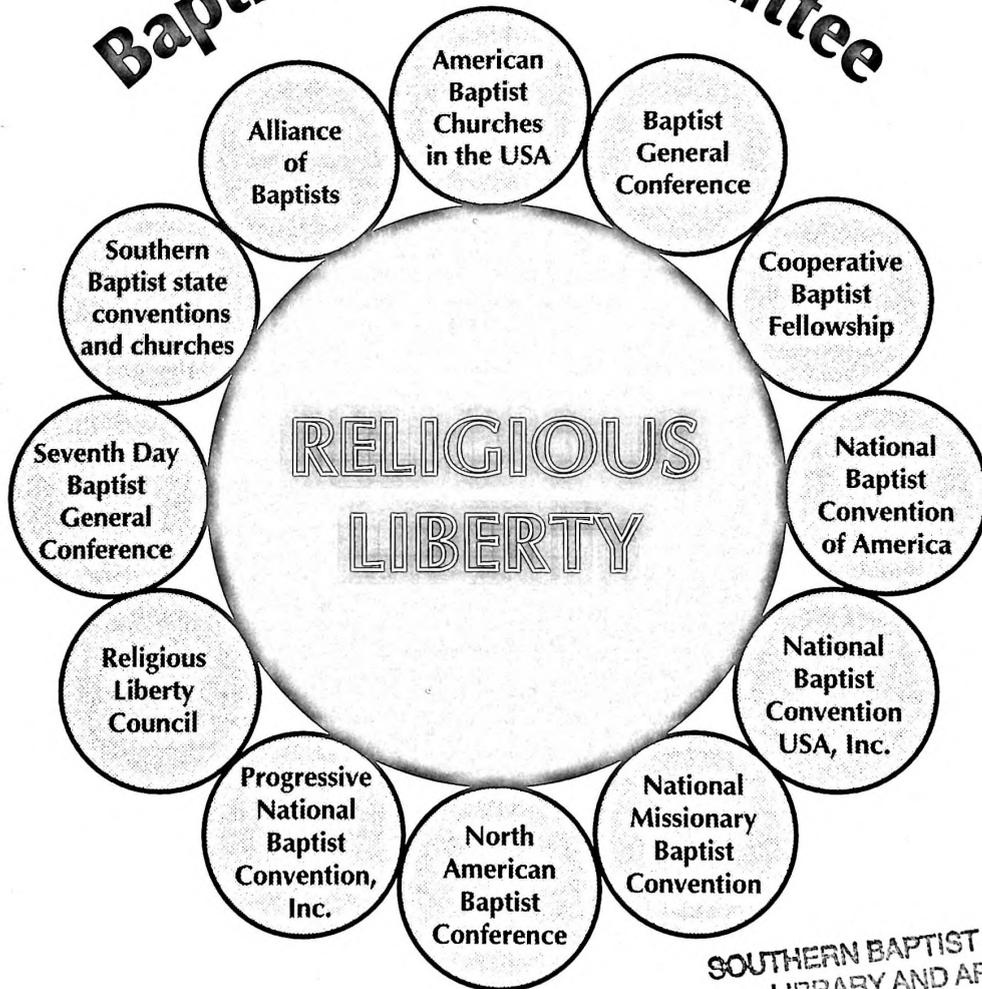


# REPORT from the CAPITAL

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Nashville, Tennessee

# REPORT from the CAPITAL

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## No 'buts' in the First Amendment

In 15 years of journalism, I thought I had done it all — until for the first time I wrote a "Letter to the Editor."

When my hometown newspaper editorialized for clergy-led prayer at high school graduation exercises and against exempting church-run day care centers from state licensing, something snapped in me. I called the paper anti-First Amendment — admittedly from one journalist to another a low blow.

However, I looked it up: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." I contended that a school district sponsoring prayer, however wholesome the intent, is establishment of religion.

An editor's note accompanying my letter responded that the paper reveres the First Amendment, applied "sensibly," but does not advocate "forgetting that we have a faith every time we walk into a public building."

Sensibleness, apparently as rare in small town politics as in Baptist debate, certainly has its appeal. But here is the rub for my editor friend — and, I suspect, for many Baptists — there is no "but" in the First Amendment.

It is hard for adherents of a majority faith not to be tempted to qualify the First Amendment. For one thing, a lot of craziness goes in the name of religious freedom. For another, religious liberty can be inconvenient.

I once received a letter from a pastor disturbed with recent Supreme Court rulings. He had had the "privilege" of leading a prayer at three of his children's graduations and wondered if he could look forward to doing the same for his fourth. Though his argument ran to the contrary, ironically, he chose the right word. In America certain "privileges" are enjoyed by the majority. The scandal of the Bill of Rights is that when a majority's privileges bump into a minority's rights, rights always prevail.

Our Baptist ancestors could have been satisfied with freedom of religion with buts — toleration of dissent within "reasonable" limits — but they weren't. With memories of persecution for their own convictions so fresh, they demanded a separation of church and state. Every person must give an account to God, they reasoned, leaving no role for government to intervene in matters of faith.

I am delighted that, at least in this country, Baptists are no longer an oppressed minority. I regret, however, that many of us can no longer grasp what was painfully clear to our forbears. Δ

— Bob Allen  
Editor, *The Baptist True Union*  
Baptist Convention of Maryland/Delaware



When Congress crossed the Potomac for its August recess, it left behind good news and bad news.

The good news first. Congress passed and the president signed the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993. Whether or not you support the final product, it's clear—as the *New York Times* pointed out—that non-profit organizations were the real winners.

- The increase in tax rates on the wealthy will make charitable deductions more valuable and, therefore, tend to encourage giving to churches and other non-profit organizations.
- Gifts of personal property that has appreciated in value are now fully deductible and no longer subject to a special tax. This change will spur giving to colleges, universities and museums.
- The disclosure and substantiation requirements for deductibility were changed to avoid troublesome church-state entanglements (i.e., churches may have to provide a receipt to donors but will not deal directly with the IRS).
- A provision that would have disallowed deductions for certain donations used for lobbying activities was dropped.

Now, the bad news. The Senate adjourned without passing the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA). The continuing flack over the prison issue (see this column July/August, 1993) and the rush of other important business as the Senate scurried to recess made RFRA a long-shot. Plus, on the last day of business prior to the recess, an unidentified Republican senator put a hold on the bill, spelling its doom for any pre-break consideration.

As the Senate returns this month, we expect RFRA will be high on the agenda—perhaps it could come to the floor in the first two weeks of September. Senators are trying to iron out an agreement to limit debate once it comes to the floor. •(JBW)

# Endangered species

## Will the Baptist tradition survive?

The Baptist tradition has not fared well in the last two or three decades in the United States, for it has fallen to Fundamentalism in the largest Baptist denomination, indeed the largest Protestant denomination, in the country. The Southern Baptist Convention is Baptist in name only and not in reality, and there is no likelihood of recovery of the Baptist tradition for the denomination as a whole.

You may dispute whether there is such a thing as "the Baptist tradition," for we Baptists have persistently protested the very word. In this protest, however, resides a clue to our tradition, that is, concerning the necessity of freedom. "To be authentic and responsible," Baptists have said over and over, "faith must be free. Coercion nullifies obedience. God alone is Lord of the conscience." From this principle stems Baptist insistence on religious liberty, on separation of church and state as the best means for guaranteeing freedom of faith and voluntary association to fulfill the Great Commission.

The heart of the Baptist tradition is freedom for the word of God, a conviction that stands in direct conflict with Fundamentalism. Like the early apostles, the early Baptists insisted that they must obey God rather than human beings, a decision for which both paid a high price. Living in a nation where freedom has become a part of our culture's clichés, we may not grasp the real issue. To be quite honest, I am not sure I caught it until I heard a Waldensian, whose forebears anticipated the Baptist tradition by several centuries, express it with incredible eloquence and clarity.

The central issue is not just freedom, our American idea of doing what we please, but freedom for the Word of God, freedom to hear and to respond to God. This means that there has been an intimate connection between freedom and evangelism in the Baptist experience both in England and in the American colonies.

John Bunyan ascribed his willingness to leave four small children, one a blind daughter, in the hands of his 18-year-old second wife, Elizabeth, to his exercise of freedom for the Word of God.

Behind this principle stands a profound belief in the Holy

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*This article is adopted from an address by E. Glenn Hinson, professor of spirituality, worship and church history at Baptist Theological Seminary at Richmond, delivered June 24, 1993, to "A Gathering for the Preservation of Baptist Principles" at the biennial meeting of American Baptist Churches, U.S.A., in San Jose, Calif.*

Spirit, the living God personally present, which came out still more starkly in the Baptist insistence on a voluntary approach to prayer. Bunyan would not countenance even recitation of the Lord's Prayer because it would not be prayer prompted by the Holy Spirit. Use of set prayers, he insisted, is only "a little lip labor and bodily exercise." In that he may certainly have gone too far, but he was distancing himself from the imposed conformity of the Book of Common Prayer, something we don't have to face today. But all those who paid such a price for freedom for the Word of God knew that the Spirit alone can effect heart religion and generate saints.

From this central conviction issued the most far-reaching pleas for complete religious liberty ever articulated. You've heard those words of Thomas Helwys, whiling away his last days in Newgate Prison, crying out to King James I:

Our Lord the King is but an earthly king,  
and he hath no authority as a king  
but in earthly causes, and  
if the king's people be obedient and  
true subjects, obeying all humane  
lawes made by the king, our Lord the  
king can require no more: for men's [and women's]  
religion to God, is betwixt God and  
themselves; the king shall not answer  
for it, neither may the king be judge  
between God and man. Let them be  
heretikes, Turcks, Jewes, or whatsoever,  
it apperteyns not to the earthly  
power to punish them in the least measure.

Roger Williams echoed the same principle in *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*:

It is the will and command of God that,  
since the coming of his Son the Lord  
Jesus, a permission of the most Paganish,  
Jewish, Turkish or antichristian consciences  
and worshipes be granted to all  
men [and women] in all nations and countries:  
and they are only to be fought against with  
that sword which is only, in soul  
matters, able to conquer: to wit, the  
sword of God's Spirit, the word of God.

In these words of Helwys and Williams we can discern the grounding of the third Baptist principle, separation of church and state, as a way of safeguarding religious freedom and the voluntary principle. "The king shall not answer for people's religion; that is between them and God. Magistrates cannot enforce the first three commandments," Helwys and Williams say with one voice. Williams underscored the point using his famous analogy of a ship at sea. At sea the captain has control of the physical welfare of all passengers, but he has no right to compel them to come to the ship's worship

<b>The Baptist Tradition</b>
<b>Four Principles</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Necessity of freedom</li><li>• Religious liberty</li><li>• Separation of church and state</li><li>• Voluntary association</li></ul>

nor to prevent them from worshipping according to conscience.

In these days when we have recently commemorated the 200th anniversary of the ratification of the Bill of Rights to the U.S. Constitution — surely we do not need to be reminded of the role of John Leland and other Baptists in securing the first article. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Finally, Baptists have followed the principle of voluntary association to carry out the world mission of Christ. The congregation led by John Smyth in Amsterdam, as a matter of fact, believed so strongly in the priesthood of all believers that it insisted that all members, including women, could carry out all functions in the church and that lay persons rather than pastors should do missions and evangelism. How often, too, have we heard the word "autonomy" used to describe the relationship between congregations. Some Baptists, such as Isaac Backus, have feared even associations lest they result in some kind of imposition of authority from above and thus erode the voluntary principle at other levels.

If you range denominations across a spectrum from voluntarist, wherein the Holy Spirit is believed to effect obedience through the individual's will, to corporatist, wherein the Spirit is believed to work through the hierarchical church to effect obedience, in the 17th century Baptists would have been found at the extreme voluntarist end next to Quakers and Roman Catholics at the extreme corporatist end. In recent years we have witnessed Roman Catholics sliding across the scale toward the voluntarist end. Meantime, Southern Baptists have zipped past them hurrying toward the corporatist end.

### Endangered Species

I can assure you from what I have observed in the Southern Baptist Convention in the past 30 years that the Baptist tradition is an endangered species. As a historian I would be willing to bet that some of the factors which have created confusion about Baptist identity in the Southern Baptist Convention do so in every other Baptist body. Some of these are social and cultural factors for which the churches have little insulation. Others are internal factors over which they do have some control.

One factor contributing to the confusion of Baptist identity is increasing pluralism, not merely religious but human, in modern societies. At one time Americans thought exclusively in terms of Catholic and Protestant. Today they must recognize the presence of Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus and numerous other religious groups as well as Christian sects and cults. All of these are part of the cultural mix in which we seek to live out our commitments to God.

A second factor is the mottled character of all churches. Nearly every congregation in America is a hodgepodge of religious traditions. A typical Baptist congregation will consist of persons who represent the whole gamut — Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Episcopal, Orthodox, Pentecostal and a dozen or so others. Often these

have had no exposure to the Baptist idea, and recent studies show that Baby Boomers have little concern for organized church life, although they have great interest in spirituality. Denominational consciousness which waxed strong earlier in this century has weakened in the last generation.

A third factor is the blurring effect of the so-called "electronic church." Though the ministers in these profess some kind of denominational affiliation, they deliberately downplay it to appeal to a wider audience. Inasmuch as these reach a huge segment of the church populace, even after a downward spiral brought on by the Jim Bakker scandal, it does not require a lot of expertise to calculate a decided maladjustment in the focus of the identity of denominations. Almost all of the television preachers are fundamentalists — Jerry Falwell, Charles Stanley, Adrian Rogers, James Robison — or Pentecostal — Oral Roberts, Jimmy Swaggart, Jim Bakker and Pat Robertson,

though he renounced his ordination to run for political office in 1988. If you check with members of your church you may be surprised to find how many gain their religious identity from one of these people.

A fourth factor threatening the Baptist tradition has been the surge of the Religious-Political Right. This movement emerged during the '40s and '50s

with Carl McEntire and Billy James Hargus, but it did not come into its own until the late '70s and early '80s when Ronald Reagan utilized it to his advantage. What is perilous for the Baptist tradition is the fact that this movement covets a return to the Puritan vision for America. The Puritans came to the American colonies as religious refugees, but they did not intend to extend liberty to persons of differing outlook from their own. They founded "in this wilderness" the holy commonwealth they failed to establish in England wherein dissenters such as Baptists suffered confiscation of property, fines, imprisonment and even death for their non-conformity. The New Religious-Political Right have made intolerance a virtue.

A fifth factor is the deliberate effort of some nominally within the Baptist fold to redefine and realign that tradition with "evangelical" Christianity. In their view the Baptist tradition centers on belief in the inerrancy of scriptures and a selectively literal application of their teachings. In actuality the scriptures hardly figure at all in determining their view. It is easier to be an inerrantist if you keep your Bible closed. Most fundamentalists, as James Barr points out, look to certain "safe" persons as their inerrant guides to Christian orthodoxy. A survey by Albert McClellan some years ago revealed that a majority of Southern Baptists consider Jerry Falwell the authoritative guide to Baptist views even though he is not a Southern Baptist. Pastors of certain jumbo-size churches in the Southern Baptist Convention are his satellites. Religious programming on television has given such persons an entree to many Baptist faithful all over America.

Carefully orchestrated political movements led to the takeover of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and the Southern Baptist Convention by fundamentalists. In the latter case, Paul Pressler, a Houston judge, organized most of the deep South territory covered by the SBC by precincts. He

*"The central issue is not just freedom, our American idea of doing what we please, but freedom for the Word of God, freedom to hear and to respond to God."*

— E. Glenn Hinson



and others constantly sowed seeds of suspicion about denominational employees, programs and institutions. The litmus test is belief in inerrancy of the Bible, but a whole social-political agenda carried the main weight. The object is to effect the vision of a Christian America articulated by Falwell, Stanley and others. Furthering the confusion is the fact that this new breed of fundamentalist has linked up with many other single-issue groups who share their opinion on such issues as abortion and homosexuality.

A sixth factor diminishing awareness of the Baptist tradition among Baptists has been the deterioration of education in the Baptist heritage and idea. Southern Baptists once educated a majority of their constituents through Church Training, but the number of persons who participated in such programs dropped precipitously after 1970. Some casual polls I have taken indicate that a vast majority of persons under 50 neither know nor care what the Baptist tradition is. Their concern is to have their needs met. They do not want to expend energy promoting something whose relevance is doubtful when they don't know what it is.

A seventh factor stacking the odds against the survival of the voluntary tradition of Baptists is what I would call "the corporation mentality." The prevailing social model, that of the corporation, has imposed itself powerfully on all religious organizations, but it may have imposed itself more powerfully still on Baptists in America, who came of age with the corporate model. The corporation mentality is concerned to "save the institution" no matter what. Persons, truth, integrity must not stand in the way. Accordingly, saving the institution was the rationale for the resignation of W.H. Whitsitt as president of Southern Seminary in 1898, the firing of Ralph Elliott by Midwestern Seminary in 1962 and the removal of numerous other persons. It has also been the source of "doublespeak" which has become so much a part of the Southern Baptist ethos.

### How Can Baptists Respond?

My review of the many factors that threaten the Baptist species may make the prospects of its survival rather dim. There are undoubtedly those whom who would say, "So what? Does it matter? Wouldn't it be better to have one less sect in a badly splintered church?" Do not count me among them. I believe in the Baptist tradition. I believe it has made and can continue to make a critical contribution not only to world Christianity but to human civilization in the voluntary principle, religious liberty, the separation of church and state and voluntary association to discharge the world mission of Christ. Although I can concede that our Baptist forbears sometimes went too far toward autonomism and selfish privatism, I am more convinced than ever that the world and the church universal still needs those who will remind them that, if it is to be authentic and responsible, faith must be free.

All of these negatives notwithstanding, I think we have some grounds for optimism. Our central concern may well coincide with the change of human consciousness which is a consequence of an "awakening" in much the same way it coincided with what resulted from the Great Awakening in the 18th century. The Great Awakening paved the way for religious liberty embodied in the Constitution of the United

States. The present awakening, beginning in the '60s with the confusion and despair of the Vietnam War years and continuing with a deepened and broadened religious search, has produced global awareness and inspired new cries for freedom. We've seen it in the toppling of the Berlin Wall. We've seen it in the collapse of totalitarian governments of Eastern Europe. We've seen it in dramatic changes in the Roman Catholic Church.

Fundamentalism may well be seen not just as a reaction against modernity, as some historians theorize, but against the awakening. Changes of this magnitude, especially changes of consciousness of this magnitude, frighten us. They make us want to pull back into security zones. They make us want to assert

control. In the long run, nonetheless, the changes of consciousness will happen. Let us thank God that it does not conflict with but actually gives wings to the essence of our Baptist tradition.

Those concerned about the preservation of Baptist principles should not tuck their tails between their legs and run whimpering under the porch. There is hope for those principles, and there are things that can be done to ensure their survival among the heirs of those who conceived them.

First, take the threat seriously. One of the grave errors Southern Baptist leaders made early on was that they let positions in a huge corporation lull them into a feeling of security. I agree with Ralph Elliott that if some had stood up to the fundamentalists in the early '60s, the latter probably would have withdrawn as they threatened to do and thus ceased to plague the convention.

Second, educate people in the Baptist heritage and idea. Judging by the size of the challenge we face, this will require all the ingenuity and creativity we can muster, for we must teach not merely a tiny minority but the majority of our members and fire their imaginations with zeal for this tradition. In speaking to Southern Baptists, I have suggested: (1) rallies specifically devoted to the celebration of the Baptist tradition; (2) classes designed for this purpose, introductory classes for new members and refresher classes for longtime ones; (3) periodic Sunday school sessions devoted to the Baptist heritage and idea; and (4) sermons expostulating the Baptist idea.

Third, practice the voluntary principle, embody it in life as well as embrace it with your mind. People learn far more from our actions than from our words. If we don't live what we believe, it is doubtful whether we really believe it.

Consistency with the voluntary principle will require making space for people of other persuasions rather than imposing our own views by force and with violence. From the beginning of our history, we Baptists have experienced great diversity, but we have not always made room for people of different outlook. We have too often lapsed into a fundamentalist mentality: "I am right. Only if you agree with me can you be right or Christian." And Fundamentalism is a mentality. The consequence has been division after division.

Today diversity challenges us as never before. We live in a culture disastrously divided over issues of great consequence such as economic, family, children, abortion, gay/lesbian and ethnic rights. Finding solutions to strife

*'To be authentic and responsible  
faith must be free.'*

See BAPTIST TRADITION, Page 14

## VIEWS OF THE WALL

J. Brent Walker  
Associate General Counsel



The confirmation of Ruth Bader Ginsburg as the 107th justice of the U.S. Supreme Court was unusual in many ways.

- Judge Ginsburg, the first justice appointed by a Democrat in more than a quarter century, comes to the high bench with extraordinary qualifications and an unblemished reputation for fairness. The American Bar Association gave her its highest rating, and the Senate rendered near-unanimous (96-3) approval.

- In wake of the circus atmosphere surrounding the Clarence Thomas hearings, her confirmation process was remarkable in its civility and understated elegance. Only a narrow slice of the far right raised a fuss of protest.

- Ginsburg will be only the second woman and sixth Jew to sit on the court. (The first Jewish nominee, Judah Benjamin, declined an appointment in 1853 to run for the Senate.) She will be the first to have served on the law reviews of two prestigious law schools, Harvard and Columbia.

- In another twist of history, this champion of women's rights was turned down for a clerkship by the great Felix Frankfurter unabashedly because of her gender.

Based on her stellar record as an advocate (six cases argued before the Supreme Court), professor (Columbia, Rutgers) and jurist (13 years on the D.C. Circuit), we have every reason to think that Ruth Bader Ginsburg will serve with great distinction. But for all of her scholarly articles, speeches and judicial opinions, Judge Ginsburg's track record on church-state issues is rather scant.

While serving on the Federal Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, Judge Ginsburg wrote several opinions that demonstrated profound respect for religious freedom and church-state separation. In *Murray v. Buchanan*, taxpayers challenged the practice of employing congressional chaplains. Judge Ginsburg joined a unanimous panel ruling that the challenged practice does not violate the establishment clause. She reasoned that the Supreme Court in *Marsh v. Chambers* (1983)—upholding legislative chaplains at the state level—settled the issue. To the

same effect is *Kurtz v. Baker* in which Ginsburg affirmed the dismissal of a suit brought by a humanist seeking to deliver a secular speech during the time ordinarily reserved by Congress for opening prayer.

In neither *Murray* nor *Kurtz* did Judge Ginsburg discuss the *Lemon* test. Both cases were decided under *Marsh v. Chambers*, the only time the Supreme Court relied exclusively on historical practice, rather than the three-prong *Lemon* test, to decide an establishment clause issue. In applying *Marsh*, Judge Ginsburg simply was following clear and direct Supreme Court precedent.

In yet another establishment clause case, *Olsen v. Drug Enforcement Administration*, Ginsburg held that it was permissible to prohibit the Ethiopian Zion Coptic Church from using marijuana in its religious exercises even though a federal statute shielded Native Americans from prosecution for using peyote in their religious exercises. She saw compelling reasons for the difference in treatment. Judge Ginsburg did not rely on or discuss the *Lemon* case in this decision either.

On the free exercise clause, she appears to favor heightened protection for religious liberty. In *Leahy v. District of Columbia*, Judge Ginsburg applied the compelling interest test. An applicant for a driver's license alleged that requiring use of Social Security numbers violated his free exercise rights. She ruled that the government had failed to show that using Social Security numbers was the least restrictive means of accomplishing a vital public purpose.

Along with her correct ruling in this case, Judge Ginsburg exhibited her sharp eye for the nuances of precedent. In *Bowen v. Roy* (1986), the Supreme Court appeared to have adopted a "reasonableness test" for judging free exercise cases—the one it eventually adopted in *Employment Division v.*

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*"On the free exercise clause, she appears to favor heightened protection for religious liberty."*

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*Smith* (1990), the Native American peyote case. The lower court in *Leahy* relied on *Bowen* in ruling for the government. But Judge Ginsburg very astutely pointed out that the opinion in *Bowen* was really a plurality opinion (only three justices joined). Ginsburg continued to apply the traditional compelling interest test and ruled in favor of the claimant.

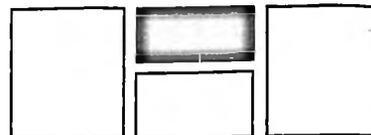
Finally, in *Goldman v. Secretary of Defense*, Judge Ginsburg urged the entire court of appeals panel to review the free exercise claim of an Air Force officer who, because of military policy, was unable to wear his yarmulke in uniform. She criticized the government's "callous indifference" to the officer's religious beliefs and traditions.

In her two days of testimony, Ginsburg refused to be pinned down on finer points of church-state jurisprudence. She did not criticize *Lemon*; nor did she explicitly endorse the neutrality concept embodied in it. Ginsburg did say that she recognized *Lemon* to be the governing law on establishment clause issues and that she was not eager to do away with it until there is a reason to replace it with another test. She also was asked about the propriety of school choice proposals that would involve public funds being used to pay for private or parochial education. She refused to be specific on the question, but deferred judgment until a voucher plan was presented to the court for adjudication.

Further, in terms of free exercise, she was not asked specifically whether she agreed with *Employment Division v. Smith*. However, her testimony generally revealed a sensitivity to the need for religious liberty and the propriety of religious accommodation on the part of government. If I had to guess at this point, I would be surprised if she didn't follow the lead of Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and David Souter in criticizing the *Smith* decision and the attenuated protections for religious liberty that it spawned.

Despite these hopeful signs, one can never tell precisely how a judge is going to turn out. Justice Souter, for

See VIEWS, Page 14



## Ginsburg joins nation's high court

**T**aking oaths of office Aug. 10 at a private Supreme Court ceremony and at a public White House gathering, Ruth Bader Ginsburg became the second woman and 107th justice to serve on the nation's highest court.

Ginsburg, considered a moderate jurist on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia for the past 13 years, replaced retired Justice Byron R. White.

Noting at the White House ceremony that "times are changing," Ginsburg praised President Bill Clinton for nominating women for six of the 14 federal court positions he has filled.

Ginsburg, 60, predicted that during her lifetime, "there will be among federal judicial nominees ... as many sisters as brothers in the law. That prospect is indeed cause for hope and its realization will be cause for celebration."

A judicial system, she said, is enriched by "diversity of background and experience" and made poorer when "all of its members are cast from the same mold."

Clinton, the first Democratic president since Lyndon B. Johnson to nominate a member of the Supreme Court, told the gathering that Ginsburg "defied labels like liberal and conservative, just as she did before the Senate, to earn a reputation for something else altogether—excellence."

Her greatest challenge, Clinton says, lies ahead—"a challenge to which she brings a powerful mind, a temperament for healing, a compassionate heart, a lifetime of experience."

Ginsburg's reputation on the federal appeals court bench as a thoughtful centrist helped pave the way for what Clinton described as the swiftest Senate confirmation of a Supreme Court nominee in nearly two decades. Ginsburg was confirmed Aug. 3 by a 96-3 vote after being nominated in mid-June to replace White.

Despite her moderate credentials, Ginsburg is expected to be less conservative than her predecessor and a more

consistent defender of church-state separation and religious liberty.

Oliver S. Thomas, general counsel of the Baptist Joint Committee and a member of the Supreme Court bar, said, "We have every reason to believe Justice Ginsburg will serve with distinction. Her background and writings also suggest she will be a strong advocate of religious liberty and the separation of church and state." Δ

### Simon warns networks to exercise self-restraint

Television networks better clean up their act or Congress may do it for them, warned Sen. Paul Simon, D-Ill., whose words proved prophetic when a bill was introduced the next day that would require regulation.

A leading advocate for reduced television violence, Simon said he continues to support self-regulation but warned that Congress and the public are growing weary waiting for results.

"When you have Senators from Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) to Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) — and that covers a pretty broad spectrum — saying that something has to happen to change things, the message should be clear."

Simon, speaking Aug. 2 to an industry wide conference on violence, was the chief architect of the Television Violence Act of 1990. The law created a three-year antitrust exemption that would allow the networks to work together to adopt voluntary policies on television violence. The exemption ends Dec. 1.

"No one suggests that there should be no violence on television," Simon said. "A film on the Civil War is likely to have violence. But there should be less violence on the screen, and more importantly, it should not be glamorized."

Simon said people understand the pain and senselessness of violence when they see it on network news. But

often, entertainment violence is made attractive.

"And just as 30 seconds of attractive portrayal of a bar of soap sells soap, and 30 seconds of the attractive portrayal of a car sells that car, 25 minutes of the attractive portrayal of violence sells violence.

"This is no longer theory. The evidence that television violence does harm is now just as overwhelming as the evidence that cigarettes do harm."

He credited the industry leaders for the steps they have taken to adopt joint standards, but those standards are very subjective, he said. The agreement to place warnings for parents on violent programs is helpful but it's not enough.

Simon said he did not want the industry to be censored, offering seven suggestions for self-regulation:

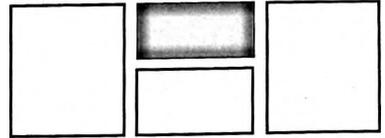
- Self-restraint.
- Involvement of entire industry.
- Establishment of non-governmental monitoring group to assure continuity of concern.
- De-glamorized violence.
- Avoid violent promotional ads.
- Use medium to educate about the harmful effects of television violence.
- Reduce exports of violent programs.

On Aug. 3, congressional colleagues validated Simon's warning.

Rep. John Bryant, D-Texas, introduced a bill (H.R. 2837) that would require the Federal Communications Commission to establish regulations to reduce violence broadcast on radio and television.

Bryant said he is "horrified" that Congress has been grappling with this issue for more than 30 years. Before the average child finishes grade school, Bryant said, he or she sees 8,000 murders and 100,000 acts of violence on television.

"More than 20 years of research has led to a compelling consensus that watching television violence increases children's aggressiveness and desensitizes them to the effects and implications of violence."



Bryant also is concerned about free expression guaranteed by the First Amendment, but he said his bill does not violate it.

"Broadcasting — the profitable use of limited public airwaves — is a privilege that carries with it a tremendous public responsibility. The courts have held that when there is such a compelling public interest, and everyone does not have access, equal access, to the use of the medium, speech can be regulated."

Reps. Edward J. Markey, D-Mass., and Jack Fields, R-Texas, also announced their intention to introduce a bill that would mandate television sets contain technology that would allow viewers to block programs labeled as violent. Δ

## Gifts to churches expected to rise under budget plan

Gifts to churches and other charitable organizations are expected to rise under the deficit reduction package signed Aug. 10 by President Bill Clinton.

The \$496 billion package barely cleared Congress, winning approval by two votes (218-216) in the House of Representatives on Aug. 5 and by one vote (51-50) in the Senate the next day.

The controversial five-year budget plan, which contained \$241 billion in new taxes and \$255 billion in spending cuts, was approved despite unanimous opposition from House and Senate Republicans.

Several items in the package will have a direct impact on churches and other charitable groups. Under the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993:

— Donors will be able to deduct the full market value of appreciated property given to non-profit organizations. This change is expected to have a favorable impact on gifts to colleges, universities and other institutions dependent upon large gifts.

— Donors and recipients of charitable gifts must meet tougher substantiation requirements. Taxpayers will need written confirmation to deduct single

gifts of \$250 or more. Churches and other charities will be required to inform donors what portion of gifts over \$75 are deductible when the donor receives goods or services in return.

— A provision reducing itemized deductions, including those for charitable contributions, for high income taxpayers was made permanent.

On balance, the package is expected to spur charitable giving.

The increase in tax rates for single taxpayers earning more than \$140,000 and couples earning more than \$180,000 is expected to boost charitable gifts, according to Independent Sector, a national organization of non-profit groups.

An Independent Sector study predicts the tax rate hikes will increase charitable giving by \$1.6 billion annually.

The additional taxes paid by higher income Americans will reduce the federal deficit by an estimated \$15 billion in 1994 and by a total of nearly \$115 billion by 1998, according to congressional figures.

The package changes the tax code to make it more attractive for Americans to donate appreciated property to charitable institutions.

Appreciated property includes real estate, stocks and tangible items such as art and collectibles whose value rose after being acquired.

Gifts of appreciated property dropped after a 1986 tax revision subjected the appreciated portion of such gifts to the alternative minimum tax.

Allowing donors to deduct the full value of gifts of appreciated property is expected to cost the federal treasury \$100 million in fiscal 1994 and \$417 million over the five years covered by the budget plan.

The stiffened substantiation requirements in the package represent a compromise worked out between Treasury Department officials and church groups who objected strongly to a 1992 Bush administration proposal to require churches and other tax exempt organizations to report to the IRS the charitable contributions of donors who gave more than \$500 annually.

"This provision is a far cry from the

Bush administration proposal," said J. Brent Walker, associate general counsel at the Baptist Joint Committee and a liaison to Independent Sector. "Churches and religious organizations will not have to report to the IRS. They will deal only with their donors."

Most churches already provide written substantiation of gifts, Walker noted.

Lawmakers settled for the Senate figure of \$250 as the amount for which a taxpayer needs a written receipt for a single gift. The House bill would have required receipts for gifts of \$750 or more.

Churches and other charitable organizations receiving a contribution of \$75 or more made partly in exchange for an item of value — such as admission to a church dinner or concert — must inform the donor how much of the contribution is deductible. Only the amount the gift exceeds the value of the item received is deductible.

The substantiation requirements, which take effect after Dec. 31, 1993, are expected to save the federal treasury \$15 million in fiscal 1994 and \$469 million over five years.

The limitation on charitable contribution and other itemized deductions for higher income taxpayers was scheduled to expire at the end of 1995, but the deficit reduction package made that provision permanent. The provision reduces itemized deductions by an amount equaling 3 percent of a taxpayer's adjusted gross income exceeding \$108,450.

In resolving differences between the House and Senate versions of the package, lawmakers also dropped a Senate provision that would have disallowed a charitable deduction for any portion of a gift \$2,000 or larger that was used for lobbying activities that were of "direct financial interest" to the donor.

"This started out as a provision disallowing business deduction for lobbying expenses, but was changed to cover charitable deductions, too," Walker said. "Even though it exempted 'churches,' it was still a bad law for non-profit groups generally." Δ

Compiled from staff reports.

# Common ground

## Freedom at the heart of nation, biblical faith

The separation of church and state is one of the cardinal Baptist doctrines. It is rooted in the Scripture in the declaration of Jesus: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's" (Mk. 12:17). It was defined by Roger Williams in the 17th century when he referred to a "hedge or wall of separation between the garden of the church and the wilderness of the world." And it was codified in the First Amendment to the Constitution that says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

I believe in the separation of church and state. However, in this worship service, as we gather to celebrate our nation's 217th birthday, I want to take another approach. I want to talk about the point at which church and state come together.

The point at which church and state come together is not in our belief in God, for we have many different understandings of God prevailing in America today, and we always have. The point at which church and state come together is not in our understanding of morality, for there is a wide divergence in the ethical understanding of Americans today, from those who think it is a sin for a woman to wear makeup to those who think it is a sin for a woman not to wear makeup! Where church and state come together is not in our theology and not in our morality but in our love for and belief in and commitment to freedom.

At the heart of our nation is a commitment to freedom.

I have often quoted Alexis de Toqueville, the frenchman who came to America in the last century to determine the reason for America's greatness. He concluded, "America is great because America is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." I no longer believe that is the key to America's greatness. I believe that what makes America great, the one element that sets America apart, is our commitment to freedom. And I would change de Toqueville's statement to say, "America is great because America is free. And if America ever ceases to be free, America will cease to be great."

The force that compelled our forefathers to come to this land was not their love for God but their desire for freedom.

The power that prompted our forefathers to resist

England and establish a new nation was not a desire to be good but a desire to be free.

Freedom was one of the inalienable rights mentioned by Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, the first right guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, the name given to our nation in the closing phrase of the "Star Spangled Banner." America is the "land of the free," a nation that guarantees the right of freedom to all its citizens — freedom to choose, freedom to think, freedom to speak, freedom to be different, freedom to live.

I read again this week Patrick Henry's famous speech that was delivered in 1775 to the Second Revolutionary Convention of Virginia. He concluded the speech with these

striking words: "Is life so dear and peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!" Patrick Henry epitomized the one central commitment that has driven the grand experiment called the United States of America—our love for

and our belief in and our commitment to freedom.

Likewise, at the heart of biblical faith is a commitment to freedom.

In the Old Testament from the time God sent Moses to deliver the Hebrews from slavery, to the time God brought back the Hebrews from Babylonian captivity, he has revealed himself to be a "let-my-people-go" kind of God.

The same is true of the New Testament. Jesus announced freedom as the purpose of his life when he said, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives" (Lk. 4:18). Jesus proclaimed freedom to be the focus of his ministry when he said, "You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" (Jn. 8:32). Paul declared freedom to be the consequence of Jesus' death when he said, "It was for freedom that Christ set us free."

The central element of the Christian faith and the predominant purpose of the American politic is to provide freedom. It is at that point, not in the support of a certain theology, not in the establishment of a certain morality, but in support of freedom that church and state come together.

This raises some probing questions about freedom that I want to consider.

**Question No. 1: Do we believe in freedom enough to do what is necessary to experience it?**

A young lady said to a famous opera star, "I'd give the

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*"The central element of the Christian faith and the predominant purpose of the American politic is to provide freedom."*

— Brian L. Harbour



world to be able to sing like that!" The opera star responded, "Would you give five hours a day?"

Personal freedom is never free! Instead, it comes as the result of discipline. An olympian has the freedom to win the race because the athlete has spent years in disciplined preparation. A pianist has the freedom to play the piano because the musician has spent years in disciplined practice. A Christian has the freedom to live a victorious Christian life because he or she has spent years in disciplined obedience. Freedom is never free! Freedom comes to a person who has paid the price of discipline and commitment.

Do we believe in freedom enough to do what is necessary to experience it? Then we must oppose complacency, the tendency toward an undisciplined and unmotivated life, for complacency is the enemy of freedom.

**Question No. 2: Do we believe in freedom enough to allow others to have it?**

There is an interesting exchange between Jesus and his disciples recorded in Luke 9:49-50. The disciple John said to Jesus, "Master, we saw a man driving out demons in your name, and we told him to stop, because he doesn't belong to our group." Jesus responded, "Do not try to stop him because whoever is not against you is for you."

It is not enough just to demand personal freedom for ourselves. We must also grant personal freedom to others even if they are not in our group, even if they do not agree with us, even if they are not like us, even if they do not do things the way we do.

I remember hearing years ago about a group of Christian women in Germany who were discussing the habits of some Christian women in America. When it was reported that some Christian women in America smoked, one of the German Christian women was so shocked she dropped her beer mug!

To demand that others be like us is to presume upon the prerogative of God who made them the way they are and it is to presume upon the prerogative of others to choose how they will live their lives.

Do we believe in freedom enough to allow others to have it? Then we must oppose conformity, the desire by intimidation and accusation to squeeze everyone into the same mold, for conformity is the enemy of freedom.

**Question No. 3: Do we believe in freedom enough to support the government when it upholds it?**

Our greatest threat today is not a government void of religion but a government controlled by religion. History has taught us that. When religion took control of government under Charlemagne, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, it led to the death of every Saxon who chose to remain unbaptized. When religion took control of the Spanish government under Gen. Torquemada in the Spanish Inquisition, 100,000 people were put to death in his 18-year reign, and 10,000 were burned to death. The same lessons were taught by Cromwell's Puritan England and Khomeini's Islamic Iran.

Christian control of the American government would not usher in a golden era but would instead usher in a new dark ages. For as Baptist ancestor John Leland said, "Experience, the best teacher, has taught us that fondness of magistrates to foster Christianity has done it more harm than all the persecutions ever did." That's why our greatest need and our only hope in America today is to have a government that believes in freedom and provides freedom for all people.

Do we believe in freedom enough to support the government when it upholds it? Then we must oppose control, the attempt by any religious group to control the government and determine its policies, for control is the enemy of freedom.

**Question No. 4: Do we believe in freedom enough to affirm a faith that allows it?**

When you take the element of freedom out of the expression of faith then you have moved away from biblical faith, for biblical faith always involves a free choice.

This was the point at which Jesus consistently conflicted with the religious leaders of his day. A good example is Mark 2:18-20. The religious leaders, observing Jesus' life of joyfulness and spontaneity that so contrasted to theirs, asked him the question, "Why do John's disciples and the disciples of the Pharisees fast, but your disciples do not fast?" (Mk. 2:18). They were asking Jesus, "Why are you so different?" There is something threatening about an innovator, something frightening about change, something risky about freedom.

Consequently, the Pharisees always were trying to coerce people with their rules and regulations. The kind of faith that is so often expressed today that demands that everyone believe just like they believe and

express their belief in the same terms and live out their belief in the same way, is much closer kin to the Phariseism that Jesus opposed than the faith he espoused.

Do we believe in freedom enough to affirm a faith that allows it? Then we must oppose coercion, the demand that everyone believe just like us and express their faith in our terms, for coercion is the enemy of freedom.

As we struggle with these questions, we understand what George Washington meant in his first Inaugural address when he said, "It is a strenuous thing, this living the life of a free people."

Many people today find the burden of freedom too heavy and the demands of choice too great, so they support a political philosophy and a Christian polity that replaces freedom with a tightly structured, narrowly interpreted and at times viciously applied system of control, all in the name of God.

As American citizens and as Christians, we must oppose that trend with all our energy. We must oppose coercion in matters of faith. We must oppose control in the government. We must oppose conformity in personal relationships. We must oppose complacency in our lives. We must support freedom for all people, for as our text suggests: "It was for freedom that Christ set us free." Δ

*"Christian control of the American government would not usher in a golden era but would instead usher in a new dark ages."*



## Yeltsin refuses to restrict freedom

Russian President Boris Yeltsin refused Aug. 3 to sign a controversial new law restricting religious freedom, reportedly telling lawmakers to bring it into line with international human rights agreements.

In a meeting with the Russian Orthodox priest who led the committee that wrote the law passed by Parliament, Yeltsin specifically objected to a provision allowing Russian officials to bar foreign missionaries.

The lawmaker priest, Vyacheslav Polosin, kept up his ardent campaign for the law in its current form. On Aug. 4 he was quoted in Pravda, the national news service, as still supporting it.

Yeltsin has presented Parliament with proposed changes written by his own legal advisors. The extent of those changes is unknown at this point.

The law — which has inspired Western ire, opposition from the White House and a cross section of U.S. congressmen and threats to press for cutting off monetary aid — also gives the government power to declare certain groups of Russian religious believers illegal.

Despite Yeltsin's action, many religious liberty experts believe he eventually will have to sign some form of the law to keep mainstream Russian Orthodox leaders happy.

The religion bill sailed through Parliament — dominated by Orthodox, nationalist and communist forces — with nearly no opposition July 14. To call it law, Russian lawmakers must vote for it twice more.

If that happens, opponents of the law expect Orthodox priest Gleb Yakunin, a Parliament member and reform leader, to spearhead an appeal in constitutional court. Yakunin, who originally reported Yeltsin's rejection of the bill, said Aug. 4 his case would be strengthened by Yeltsin's objections and the growing international protest.

The law would give the Russian Orthodox Church favored status in the nation, possibly returning to government officials the right to open and close churches. The Orthodox Church,

which claims 60 million members, considers itself the nation's true church by culture and heritage.

In government circles its voice is by far the most influential among religions. It has reacted bitterly to Western evangelical groups and others spreading a wide range of beliefs on Russian soil.

Western religious and human rights groups are calling Yeltsin's rejection of the law a victory — for now. Their enthusiasm is tempered by the knowledge of Russia's instability and the marriage between the mainstream Orthodox Church and communists in Parliament.

After its passage, the religion law immediately got sucked into the lawless morass of a reform struggle between Yeltsin and hard-line lawmakers left over from communist days. Religious liberty experts describe it as just one of many gambling chips in a complex poker game for power.

Seated at the table are former Russian communist leaders, democratic reformers and the Western world. At stake, observers say, is what force will prevail to guide Russia into the 21st century: the rule of law in line with United Nations standards or an authoritarian oligarchy calling itself something other than communism. U.S. officials who oppose the religion law nevertheless want Yeltsin to maintain enough of a power base to complete Russia's reform. Last spring the Russian people voted to allow him to write a new constitution, which could establish a new lawmaking body and abolish the current Parliament. It also could firmly establish commitment to the historic 1990 laws that swept away seven decades of communist repression of religion.

The new constitution is being written. But how it will be ratified — either by popular vote, a constitutional congress or the current Parliament — is yet to be determined and has become yet another struggle between Yeltsin and Parliament members.

The power structure of the current

Parliament has changed very little since the days of the Soviet Union. Stalinists have bitterly fought Yeltsin at every turn in his reform program.

Yeltsin has been strongly opposed to the religion law since it was sent to him, according to at least one source in Moscow. Before he saw the law as passed, newspaper reports indicated he supported it.

Once a communist and professing atheist, Yeltsin returned to the Orthodox Church and was baptized after he renounced communism and became president. But it is unknown whether his objections to the law stem from his personal beliefs or a desire to sustain reform and international favor.

Some non-Orthodox Christians in Parliament voted for the law. Some Orthodox members, more open to pluralism and ecumenism, voted against it. But the Orthodox Church's leader, Patriarch Alexei, saw to it that a letter voicing his support for the bill was circulated among Parliament members on the morning it was passed.

Law proponent Polosin claims evangelicals in Russia were given a chance to contribute input but chose not to do so. Evangelicals, however, say their voice was never heard on the Parliamentary Committee on Freedom of Conscience, which drafted the law under Polosin's guidance.

The law would be enforced through the Justice Department, according to Polosin. Ultimately, that would give a government agency the job of judging how and when to allow religious organizations to exist.

Many Americans see Russia as having declared free thought, and they consider the dismantling of the Soviet Union and the reorientation of its secret police force as indications that authoritarian control has passed. But liberty watchers in the United States find scant evidence of the rule of law in Russia.

Many of the nation's freedom fighters have abandoned their seats in the Parliament, according to a spokesman at the U.S. State Department. Whether



## —NEWS SCAN—

they did so by choice or were forced out by communist nationalists is unknown. Other lawmakers still in the assembly reportedly have been boycotting votes.

The State Department says 308 people sit in the Supreme Soviet (Parliament), the lawmaking body whose members are elected from the Council of Deputies. However, the Russian Embassy in Washington puts the number at 247.

Either way, it appears supporters of the law restricting religion may have enough votes in the current Parliament to overcome rejection by Yeltsin with the necessary 50 percent margin. Δ

— Marty Croll

*Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board*

### Harlan Spurgeon joins Fellowship missions staff

Missions veteran Harlan Spurgeon has been elected associate missions coordinator for the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship.

Spurgeon, 62, was elected unanimously July 28 by the Fellowship's Global Missions Ministry Group. His responsibilities begin Aug. 1.

Spurgeon recently left his post as vice president of the office of mission personnel at the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board, citing philosophical differences with trustee leaders.

He is the third high-level FMB administrator to join the two-year-old Fellowship since February. He joins former FMB President Keith Parks, now Fellowship global missions coordinator, and former FMB Vice President for the Americas Betty Law, now Fellowship associate missions coordinator.

The trio brings an average of 34 years of missions experience to their roles. All three joined the Atlanta-based Fellowship in the wake of trustee-imposed changes at the FMB.

Spurgeon will assume three primary assignments: coordinating the missionary appointment and orientation

process, directing the Fellowship's missions program among internationals in the United States, and developing a program of urban evangelism and ministry in major urban centers in the U.S. and other parts of the world. Δ

### Koreans leave Christian Reformed church

The defection of a dozen Korean congregations from the Christian Reformed Church is a "tragedy," according to the chief home missions official of the small, conservative denomination.

Reports of the defections surfaced at a meeting recently held in Los Angeles, where 30 Korean church leaders called for formation of a new Korean denomination in response to alleged liberal trends in the Christian Reformed Church.

Details of the meeting were made public in a report from the Christian Renewal/Reformed Believers Press Service, an independent agency aligned with conservative critics in the 311,000-member denomination.

The Rev. John Rozeboom, director of the church's home missions agency, acknowledged the Korean defections in an interview, saying, "It might have been a tragedy that was unavoidable, but it's a tragedy nonetheless."

At the center of the controversy is intense dissatisfaction in the Korean community over the church's continued march in the direction of the ordination of women. The church's synod this summer approved the concept, and if the next synod in 1994 approves the measure the denomination will abandon its decades-old practice of excluding women from the pulpit.

For the past several years Korean leaders have warned that there could be a mass exodus of Korean congregations from the denomination, based in Grand Rapids, Mich., if the ordination of women were approved.

Rozeboom said about a quarter of the congregations are withdrawing. Δ

A standoff between an interreligious "peace caravan" to Cuba and the U.S. Customs recently ended its second week on the Mexican border where 12 members of the caravan remained holed up in a yellow school bus to protest seizure of the vehicle by authorities. The bus was part of a 90-vehicle Pastors for Peace caravan bound for Cuba, via the Mexican port city of Tampico, designed to challenge the 33-year-old American embargo against the communist-dominated government of Cuban President Fidel Castro. John O'Connor, a Pastors for Peace spokesman, said that the organization hopes the incident in the border town of Laredo, Texas, will point up what he termed the "brutality" of the continuing embargo. In recent years, with the overthrow of communism in the former Soviet Union and allied countries in Eastern Europe, Cuba has found it increasingly difficult to meet the needs of the population without outside help. Custom officials say they prevented the bus from crossing into Mexico after caravan leaders said it was being sent as a gift to Ebenezer Baptist Church in Havana, Cuba. Despite the holdup on the bus, approximately 100 tons of humanitarian aid made it to Cuba, according to Pastors for Peace. ... **Thieves entered a Guatemala City church Aug. 1 and stole a 16th century painting and other objects valued at \$18,000. Three armed men stole a painting of Saint Anthony of Padua in the latest of a series of thefts of Spanish colonial-era valuables from Guatemala's churches. ... Indonesian Baptists recently marked two firsts.** The Baptist World Alliance sponsored its first meeting in the strongly Muslim nation, and for the first time all six Baptist groups in Indonesia joined in a large-scale gathering at the Indonesian Baptist Theological Seminary in Semarang. Δ

Compiled from staff and news service reports.

## BAPTIST TRADITION

Continued from Page 6

generated by differing viewpoints will require more than toleration born of indifference. It will require freedom conceived out of conviction that the Holy Spirit can guide us to the truth, the axle around which the Baptist tradition turns.

For the sake of our sons and daughters, for the sake of Christ's Church and for the sake of the world, I ask whether you will pass on to another generation this fragile heritage. May it never happen that there be Baptists with memories of their heritage so dead that they never to themselves have said, "We must obey God rather than human beings." That they never to themselves have said, "God alone is Lord of the conscience." That they never to themselves have said, "The most paganish or even antichristian consciences are only to be fought against by that sword which is only, in soul matters, able to conquer: to wit, the sword of God's Spirit, the word of God." That they never to themselves have said, "To be authentic and responsible, faith must be free!" O Lord, may it not be so with our generation or with the next, or the next, or the next. Amen! Δ

## VIEWS

Continued from Page 7

example, gave good answers in his testimony and, despite some initial mixed signals, he exceeded our expectations on church-state cases. Justice Thomas, on the other hand, said that he was not out to overturn *Lemon*, but voted to do just that; he hinted that he believed in strict scrutiny for free exercise claims, but voted with Justice Antonin Scalia every time in free exercise cases.

Even if Justice Ginsburg turns out to be less than expected, she will be a far cry better than her predecessor, Justice Byron White. For all of Justice White's well-deserved reputation for even-handed justice and judicial pragmatism, he was awful on church-state issues. As someone quipped, "Justice White never saw a plan to spend public tax dollars for parochial education that he didn't like." And, of course, his vote was critical in the disastrous *Smith* case that denuded the free exercise

clause of practically any meaning.

So, we wait and see how she does. But everything that we know about Justice Ginsburg right now suggests that she will do very well. Δ

## REVIEWS

Continued from Page 16

In sum, Hertzke's book is an insightful analysis of populism, classical liberalism, Jesse Jackson, Pat Robertson and their movements. It should prod the reader to take a fresh look at the two ministers and realize that there is something to learn from both. Δ

— Brent Beasley

*BJC legislative intern, presently a senior at Baylor University in Waco, Texas*

## Harvard Divinity School announces conference on the black church

Harvard Divinity School will hold a major conference on "The Black Church's Responsibility For A New Urban Agenda" April 20-23, 1994, in Cambridge, Mass.

The conference, sponsored jointly by the Divinity School and the Progressive National Baptist Convention, will feature two case studies written specifically for the event. The studies are designed to teach methods of community development and economic empowerment.

The cases will focus on the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Gardner C. Taylor, pastor emeritus of Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn, N.Y., a church with more than 10,000 members, and on the ministry of the Rev. Michael Walker at Messiah Baptist Church in Brockton, Mass., a church with 400 members.

Taylor is co-chairman of the Religious Liberty Council, one of the supporting member bodies of the Baptist Joint Committee.

David A. Thomas, assistant professor of business administration, will lead discussion of the case studies. Δ

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Our reason for being is the affirmation, advancement, defense and interpretation of soul freedom.

## REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn  
Executive Director



Out once a year I try to keep faithful readers informed regarding the state of the Baptist Joint Committee, the agency responsible for *REPORT from the CAPITAL*.

The "jointness" always has been and is yet one great strength of the BJC's work. In no other forum are the essential distinctives of Baptistness the program, job description and reason for being of an agency.

Our reason for being is the affirmation, advancement, defense and interpretation of soul freedom. The BJC is the only church lobby in Washington, D.C., that works only on religious liberty and its necessary corollary, the separation of church and state. It is the only voice in Baptist life without other agendas.

The financial underpinning of the BJC has shifted in recent years. Now we expect constitution and bylaw changes to reflect a revitalized support base.

The magazine cover displays the national Baptist bodies that back the BJC. In 1993 about 25 percent of BJC dollars will come from the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship. It is a band of Baptists profoundly dedicated to democracy, local church autonomy, inclusiveness, the priesthood of all believers, dynamic and relevant mission outreach and full throated, wholehearted religious liberty.

Jimmy and Rosalyn Carter identify with the CBF and Keith Parks directs its mission work. This fall the executive of the Fellowship, Dr. Cecil Sherman, joins the other Baptist denominational leaders that make up our board and executive committee.

One reason for constitutional change lies in the fact that after CBF giving, the next largest source of support for the BJC is state conventions and local associations, providing almost 20 percent of 1993 income. The Baptist General Convention of Texas and The Baptist General Association of Virginia deserve and have a say in governance of the BJC in the light of their strong and consistent contributions. The partnership between these two state bodies and the Washington agency is historic and mutually beneficial.

The third and fourth categories of income by dollar amount are local churches and individuals. Approximately 300 churches and 2,000 individuals contribute regularly to the BJC. Many churches make this watchdog for religious freedom a regular line item in the church budget. Without this support the BJC would not be able to continue. Personal giving and church contributions each account for about 15 percent of the BJC budget.

You can make a difference in this regard. We go on needing help from every church and every individual who believes in our work. Only by this togetherness does real freedom thrive.

The American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., one of the three founding denominations, significantly has strengthened its support of the BJC in 1993. Between regular budget support, the special responsiveness of the

Board of National Ministries and the sensitive and timely teamwork with the Ministers' and Missionaries' Benefit Board, the ABC has been responsible for almost 10 percent of the funds needed to do the job this year.

But one of the most unusual features of this Baptist witness in Washington is its genuine jointness. The measure of engagement in the cause of clinging to a proper church-state separation is not determined by dollars alone. In a money-mad culture this small slice of Baptist life, the one thing we do together, provides a place for shared expression of that which we hold most dear.

We learn from each other. The July-August issue of the *Sabbath Recorder* published diverse perspectives regarding church-state relations. Two of Seventh Day Baptists own leaders engaged in a lively discussion of the sort going on all over America. Here the smallest band of believers wearing our label have led the way in learning how to talk to each other about common concerns.

We get to know and care for one another. Harold Bennett, long on the BJC, is the object of all our prayers as he battles cancer. All varieties of Baptist who know John Binder as the gifted, compassionate and courageous executive of the North American Baptist Conference will miss his genial leadership as he shifts gears into "retirement." He served as a chairman of the BJC in challenging years.

We have fun and fellowship. A great example is the act of ultimate daring when at this year's annual meeting of the Baptist General Conference Bob Ricker put on dark glasses, took up his saxophone and tooted a tune. William Jefferson Clinton is not the only hot sax playing president. How those Conference Baptists must love each other.

We enrich and model pan-Baptist cooperation. In a nation that cries out to find ways to live together, we do. Tyrone Pitts has given wise, dynamic direction to the BJC for two years along with his heavy load as the top man at the Progressive National Baptist Convention. PNBC is pioneering a new definition of denomination.

We also make a difference in the real world of religion and government. The BJC incarnate in our two preacher-lawyers, Buzz Thomas and Brent Walker, has led the coalition of 68 organizations responsible for the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. Without this landmark legislation the free exercise of religion mentioned in the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution would be lost.

We are the outfit in Washington that has provided the staff, the space and the energy to counter Justice Antonin Scalia's unAmerican idea that the free exercise of religion is a "legal luxury" we can no longer afford.

You, all of you who are a part of this baptistic endeavor, have a piece of the action in lifting up liberty.

You who support the Baptist Joint Committee with prayers, dollars, ideas, interest and continued explanation to those who just don't "get it," you are the ones who give meaning and substance to our "jointness."

We are glad you're part of the "joint." Δ



## Echoes of Discontent: Jesse Jackson, Pat Robertson, and the Resurgence of Populism

Allen D. Hertzke, CQ Press,  
Washington, D.C., 1993, 292 pages.

In 1988 two prominent Baptist ministers ran for president. In so doing, they inaugurated movements that continued to grow and significantly shaped last fall's campaigns and election. It's hard to imagine a book big enough to hold both Pat Robertson and Jesse Jackson, but Allen Hertzke has managed to fit them both very nicely in his "Echoes of Discontent."

Hertzke classifies their campaigns and subsequent movements — Jackson's Rainbow Coalition and Robertson's Christian Coalition — as populism. Hertzke's thesis is that what ties Jackson and Robertson together is their populist uprising against the excesses of classical liberalism and individualism in the United States today. Hertzke goes on to assert that the ministers embody two types of populism. Jackson espouses an economic populism while Robertson represents cultural populism.

Hertzke asserts that today's populism has, to a certain degree, split into left and right wings. Jackson renounces the laissez faire capitalism in which the poor are exploited by the rich. Robertson decries the atomizing trends in American culture that have brought about moral decline and value relativity. Economic populism indicts multinational corporations and investment bankers while cultural populism critiques "secular educators, media moguls, snooty artists, liberal academics, ACLU attorneys and feminists bent on destroying the family."

Hertzke next presents an historical analysis of populism, focusing on 19th

century populist William Jennings Bryan. Bryan's populism had a significant evangelical flavor combined with progressive economics. Nineteenth century populists protested against the emerging liberal order at once condemning Darwin's theory of natural selection because it conflicted with traditional Christian views of creation and the new 'social Darwinism' in which capitalists emphasized an economic 'survival of the fittest.' Hertzke reminds us of the cultural and religious traditions of the populists. It is particularly easy to forget today when we have grown accustomed to seeing economic and social progressives lined up opposite cultural conservatives. Indeed, populism seems to have split in two.

Hertzke continues with an analysis of the political and spiritual development of Jackson and Robertson. Besides providing the reader with biographical data about the two men, Hertzke demonstrates that similarities do exist between the two. He shows that Robertson has an economic populist distrust of bankers and the Federal Reserve while Jackson has a cultural populist evangelical speaking style and content and an emphasis on the moral center of issues. Hertzke suggests that Robertson and Jackson agree on the importance of the family, natural law, unsafe sex and moral authority, the foundations of educational excellence, character and debt relief.

Two factors are particularly important in the political development of Jackson, Robertson and their movements. First is the role of churches in the 1988 campaign. Both ministers relied on their huge organizational base of churches. Jackson depended on the tightly knit community of black churches while Robertson used the vast network of evangelical churches held together in part by television. Second is the political assimilation of

the religious activists into their respective parties. Hertzke asserts that Democrats at the state level were able skillfully to incorporate the Jackson forces into their coalition, but Dukakis and the other leaders failed at the national level. The opposite was true for Robertson and the Republican party. Hertzke details the problems created by clashes at the state and local level between Robertson's supporters and the party regulars.

Hertzke next surveys data about Jackson and Robertson voters. In answer to most of the questions, Jackson and Robertson supporters often were similar and usually distinct from supporters of all the other candidates. For example, 53 percent of Robertson's supporters and 48 percent of Jackson's voters said the condition of the nation was "not well." Forty percent of Dukakis' voters agreed as did only 24 percent of Bush's supporters. Ninety-seven percent of Robertson's and 93 percent of Jackson's supporters said religion is important while 79 percent and 78 percent of Bush's and Dukakis' supporters agreed.

When categorizing real people and actual events it is easy to fall into the trap of separating too neatly into categories. Hertzke successfully avoids that pitfall. He has not folded Jackson neatly and placed him in the economic populism box nor has he put Robertson in a folder and filed him away under cultural populism. Hertzke realizes that real people don't fit neatly into categories.

Though Hertzke's account of the two ministers' brands of populism is largely sympathetic, he does offer a constructive critique. For example, Hertzke notes how populists sometimes wink at the niceties of church-state separation as they plow headlong to promote their policy objectives.

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