

FEB 11 1976

## Baptists Take Hard Look At Their Own History

By W. Barry Garrett

WASHINGTON—More than 200 representatives of eight major Baptist bodies in the United States took a hard, honest look at themselves and their role in the American experience during the National Baptist Bicentennial Convocation here, Jan. 12-15.

There was unanimous recognition that Baptists were significantly influential in the formation of the national policy of religious liberty during the 30 year period, 1770 to 1800.

However, since that time, speaker after speaker asserted, Baptists did not follow through in their insistence on religious liberty for all groups.

In addition, a strong feeling was expressed by many that the concept of freedom in the United States should be expanded beyond the traditional emphasis on "separation of church and state" to include the entire gamut of human rights, justice for all groups, and equality for all races.

The Convocation was the only national all-Baptist event planned for the Bicentennial year. At the request of the North American Baptist Fellowship, the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs with offices in the nation's capital planned and coordinated the event. James E. Wood, Jr. is the executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee.

During the Convocation, the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration of which John Warner is chief presented a certificate to the Baptist Joint Committee for its contribution toward a meaningful observance of the nation's 200th birthday.

Two other significant events took place during the Convocation: a special worship service at the National Baptist Memorial Church and the unveiling of a portrait of C. Emanuel Carlson, former executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee.

The National Baptist Memorial Church in Washington was built with the joint help of the Southern Baptist Convention and the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A. as a memorial to religious liberty. R. Stuart Grizzard is the pastor.

Preacher for the service attended by 600 Convocation participants and local area Baptists was Clarence W. Cranford, pastor emeritus of the Calvary Baptist Church here. He declared that the "magnificent ob- (See CONVOCATION, p. 5)

# Report from the Capital

JANUARY 1976

## President Ford Approves CIA Use of Missionaries; Hatfield Wants It Ended

By W. Barry Garrett

WASHINGTON—The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has used missionaries from churches in the United States in intelligence gathering operations, and both William E. Colby, Director of the CIA, and President Gerald R. Ford have refused to put a stop to the practice, according to Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.)

As a result of his inability to obtain administrative orders for the CIA to stop using missionaries in intelligence operations, Hatfield has introduced legislation to prohibit the practice.

In his remarks on the Senate floor as he introduced his bill, Hatfield said "such past practices have brought charges against innocent missionaries and have violated the separation of church and state."

"When we allow the CIA or any other government agency to use our missionaries while in the mission field in foreign countries or at home to perform political and intelligence operations, we pervert the church's mission and bring discredit upon the foreign policies and credibility of the United States," Hatfield charged.

"This practice tarnishes the image of the United States in foreign countries, prostitutes the church, and violates the First Amendment separation of church and state," he continued. "In this country, the church is not an arm of the state and the state is not the tool of the church," he declared.

This type of association between the church and the state damages both institutions, the Senator emphasized. "For its part, the church jeopardizes the integrity of

its mission when it allows itself to be used for the purposes of the state rather than for the purposes for which it was created," he said.

The Oregon senator's attack on the United States policy of using clergymen for intelligence activity came after both the CIA and President Ford acknowledged that this has been official government policy which they intend to continue.

In a letter to Senator Hatfield, CIA Director Colby said, "I believe it would be neither necessary nor appropriate to bar any connection between CIA and the clergy and the churches. In many countries of the world representatives of the clergy, foreign and local, play a significant role and can be of assistance to the United States through CIA with no reflection upon their integrity nor their mission."

Following this stance by the CIA, Hatfield wrote to President Ford, asking him to prohibit the practice by executive action. The President refused and asked Philip W. Buchen, Counsel to the President, to answer for him.

Buchen wrote to Hatfield, "The President does not feel it would be wise at present to prohibit the CIA from having any connection with the clergy. Clergymen throughout the world are often valuable sources of intelligence and many clergymen, motivated solely by patriotism, voluntarily and willingly aid the government by providing information of intelligence value."

(See MISSIONARIES, p. 5)

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## From the Desk of the Executive Director

### CIA Use of Missionaries

By James E. Wood, Jr.

During the past six months shocking accounts have appeared in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Star*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *Time* magazine, and other national publications of the funding and manipulation of American missionaries by the Central Intelligence Agency. The articles alleged that CIA use of missionaries had been widespread in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Acknowledgment in recent weeks by the CIA that it has through the years used missionaries in intelligence operations can only intensify the objections to be raised against such practices.

The use of missionaries by the CIA is a flagrant violation of the Constitution of the United States. It tarnishes not only the pres-

ence of the United States in foreign countries, it erodes the credibility of missionaries themselves. Already, as a result of these disclosures, there are reports that the work of missionaries is in jeopardy in such countries as Chile, Columbia, and Peru. By using missionaries to serve the national interests of the United States overseas, the church is made an arm of the state and the role of religion is profaned.

Regrettably, disclosures of these clandestine operations of the CIA came at a time when few mission agencies in the United States had any standing policies governing possible CIA use of foreign missionaries. Even with stated policies prohibiting missionary collaboration with the CIA, the problem is compounded by the fact that in many cases missionaries themselves do not know at the time they are being interviewed by CIA operatives.

The express refusal in December of President Gerald Ford and CIA Director William Colby to halt this practice by the CIA must be regarded as deplorable and only underscores the seriousness of this use of religion by government to serve American national interests overseas. "In many countries of the world," Director Colby declared, "representatives of the clergy, foreign and local, play a significant role and can be of assistance to the United States through the CIA with no reflection upon their integrity or their mission." Such thinking is clearly motivated by political rather than religious interests.

#### II

CIA use of American missionaries has met some strong denunciations by the churches themselves. In 1967, the Division of Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches issued the following statement: "Because our ministries around the world depend upon sensitive and intimate relationships of trust with persons of many nations, we cannot afford to jeopardize these by permitting any allegation that the Division of Overseas Ministries is knowingly involved with CIA activities. We are glad to enter into appropriate discussions with other agencies of the

U.S. government, but state as a matter of policy that we do not approve staff of the Division of Overseas Ministries, either at home or abroad, reporting to CIA agents or entering into any other involvement with the CIA." Recently, a spokesman of the United Church of Christ, David M. Rowe, called for an immediate end of the practice. In a letter to Philip W. Buchen, counsel to President Ford, Rowe declared that "missionaries are guests of the countries in which they serve. They are agents of Jesus Christ; they must not be treated as agents of any government."

On December 23, 1975, the Executive Committee of the National Council of Churches urged the organization's thirty-one member denominations to issue statements repudiating any intentional contact between their personnel abroad and U.S. intelligence agencies. Eugene Stockwell, associate general secretary for overseas ministries of the National Council, has declared, "Church bodies overseas have the right to expect that the relationships of U.S. religious personnel to those Churches will be solely at the service of common worldwide Christian mission and will not be used in any way for the purpose of any one government." Unfortunately, as late as July 1975, the only denomination known to have specifically directed its foreign personnel to "avoid any relationship" with the CIA was the Church of the Brethren.

#### III

The alarming disclosures of CIA use of missionaries overseas supports the charge, often made by many throughout Africa and Asia, that Christian missions have been and are politically motivated. While frontal attacks upon Christian missions from the West have not been without gross distortions, the revelations of CIA use of missionaries only confirms for many that American missionaries should be regarded as politically suspect.

The relationship of religion and the state is always a complex one. This complexity is greatly compounded in the case of the missionary movement, which inevitably involves both churches and states: churches from which and to which missionaries are sent, and states from which and to which they go. Admittedly, the very presence of the American missionary may provoke intense resentment in the presence of the rising tide of nationalism throughout the world today.

There are surely valuable lessons to be learned for the church and the Christian world mission in facing squarely the political charges made against American missionaries. First and foremost is that the very association of missionaries with government, no matter how benevolent the stated purpose of the government may be, inevitably leads to charges against missionaries of imperialism and political motivation. Churches throughout the Third World continue to pay a heavy price, for example, for the fact that they were begun largely during the time of colonialism.

Missionaries must necessarily identify themselves with the people whom they serve. Meanwhile, the Constitution prohibits the U.S. government from using religious means for the accomplishment of secular ends. Furthermore, American missionaries are not sent overseas by the churches to serve the political interests of the United States.

For the sake of both government and the future of American missionaries, strong legislation is needed, as recently introduced by Senator Mark O. Hatfield, which would legally bar any operational connections between the CIA and the churches. Hopefully, the churches themselves will strongly support such legislation and demand an end to any CIA use of American missionaries as unconstitutional and incompatible with the true motive of Christian missions.



Wood

## A Baptist Looks at Religious Liberty

By E. Y. Mullins

(First in a special Bicentennial series)

With Baptists, religious liberty is born of the direct vision of God. Sometimes it has been a dream when, like John Bunyan in the darkness of prison, they have gazed through the bars at the far-off stars. Sometimes it has been a theme of eloquent discourse when they have expounded it to others. Sometimes it has been a solace when they have gone into exile for conscience sake, and sometimes a battle cry when they have shed their blood for it. But always it has been a passion deep as life welling up from the depths of being in eternal faith and hope.

It was expressed in immortal words in Oncken's reply to the Burgomaster: "Oncken," said he, when Oncken had been arrested, "as long as I can lift my little finger I will put you down from preaching this Gospel." "Mr. Burgomaster, as long as I can see God's mighty hand above your little finger I will preach this Gospel."

As Baptists understand it, religious liberty excludes certain things and implies certain other things. It implies certain rights and along with these involves certain duties and privileges.

Religious liberty excludes *state authority in religion*. The State depends on the use of force. Religion is moral and spiritual. The State uses coercion. Religion appeals only to freedom. The State deals with evil-doers. Religion seeks to produce righteous men and women. The State represses crime. Religion develops character.

Again, *religious liberty excludes the principle of toleration in religion*. To put the power and prestige of the State behind one form of religion and merely tolerate others is not religious liberty. It is religious coercion. God has not given the State any power to compel men in religion. Equal rights to all and special privileges to none is the true ideal.

Some do not know the difference between toleration and liberty. If a snail could speak it would say to the tortoise, "You go too fast for me." The clod would say to the snail, "You go so fast, you make me dizzy." But neither the clod nor snail nor

tortoise would know of the mighty flight of the eagle overhead. Religious toleration is the snail and tortoise. Religious liberty is the eagle.

*Religious liberty excludes the right of the State to impose taxes for the support of one form of religion* against the conscience of the people. All honor to the heroes of passive resistance who refuse to pay an obnoxious tax, which the State has no right to impose. A free church in a free State is the goal we should seek.

Again, *religious liberty excludes the imposition of religious creeds by ecclesiastical authority*. Confessions of faith by individuals or groups of men, voluntarily framed and set forth as containing the essentials of what men believe to be the Gospel are all right. They are merely one way of witnessing to the truth.

But when they are laid upon men's consciences by ecclesiastical command, or by a form of human authority, they become a shadow between the soul and God, an intolerable yoke, an impertinence and a tyranny.

*Religious liberty excludes centralized ecclesiastical government*. Men, redeemed by Christ, regenerated by his Spirit, born of Divine power and grace, are capable of dealing directly with God. Each one has a right to a voice in religious affairs. God speaks directly to men. Even the humblest believer may be a channel of the highest divine wisdom. Democracy, or self-government, in the church is the New Testament ideal. All believers are entitled to equal privileges in the church.

*Religious liberty excludes priestly mediators and sacramental power of salvation*. We have one priest, Jesus Christ, our great High Priest. All believers are priests entering into the most Holy Place. God's grace flows freely and directly to all who have faith and respond to his call. God has not limited the gift of his grace to any particular human channel. No group of men has any monopoly of God's grace, to withhold or bestow it upon their own conditions.

*Religious liberty excludes infant baptism*. Baptists refuse to treat the infant as a thing. We treat it as a potential person. We recognize its will, its intelligence, its freedom. We will not rob it of the job of conscientious obedience in baptism. Proxy faith is a counterfeit faith. The New Testament recognizes only personal faith.

Consider next what religious liberty implies. First, religious liberty implies the greatest of human rights.

The first is the *right of direct access to God*. No cloud, no shadow of human authority, should come between the soul and its God. The second is man's *right to search for truth in religion*. Jesus recognized this. He did not compel belief by Divine authority. He so lived and taught the truth that men discovered his Messiahship for themselves.

Religious liberty implies the *right of free utterance and propagation of truth*. The evil powers of the world have ever sought to stifle men. Heroes like Martin Luther have led the way in the witness for the truth.

Religious liberty implies the *right of equal privilege in the Church*. There are no spiritual lords in the Christian religion, except the one Lord, Jesus Christ. Christ brings the common man to his rights. Under the old human systems, the Church or State was everything, the common man nothing.

Christ says: "Let the common man speak. Give him a voice in your affairs. Let God speak through him."

Religious liberty implies the *right of free association and organization for religious purposes*. All men with religious beliefs and convictions have a right to organize and propagate their views. There never has been and never will be any human government, civil or ecclesiastical, with any right to curb or hinder or thwart the utmost freedom of men to associate themselves together, to organize, and to propagate the truth as they see it.

And this leads to the statement that religious liberty implies the *right of men to demand of governments under which they live protection in the free exercise of their religion*. That government which persecutes men for religious beliefs commits a crime against God and man. That government which is partial in its treatment of religious beliefs violates the principles of common justice, transgresses eternal and inalienable human rights, and defies the will of God.

Having considered the rights which religious liberty includes, now consider the duties imposed. First is the *duty to search for and discover truth*. God gave us the Bible. God made the world. There is no conflict between truths. The city of truth

(See MULLINS, p. 5)

E. Y. Mullins delivered this address at the Third Baptist World Congress, Stockholm, Sweden, in July, 1923. At that time he was president of the Southern Baptist Convention.

## Public Affairs . . . and the Churches

### BAPTIST UNION DISCUSSES VINS

LONDON—Britain's Baptist Union will discuss with the European Baptist Federation and the Baptist World Alliance whether further representation should be made to the Soviet authorities in the case of imprisoned Georgi Vins.

Mr. Vins, a leader of the Initsiativinki, or "reform" Baptists in the Soviet Union, is serving a five-year prison sentence to be followed by five years exile for his activities. These activities are seen in the West as essentially fulfilling his duties as a Christian pastor.

Further action by Britain's Baptist Union was discussed at the latest meeting here of the Baptist Union Council, which spent an hour discussing Mr. Vins' case and also the wider issue of worldwide civil rights.

On the latter issue, the Council asked the Union's Department of Mission to continue its attention to the denial of human rights in different parts of the world.

The Council turned down a request from the West Midlands Baptist Association asking the Union to take the initiative for organizing a nationwide petition on behalf of Mr. Vins. Instead, it accepted an amendment proposing discussions with the European Baptist Federation and the Baptist World Alliance. It was moved by Dr. Ernest A. Payne, a former general secretary of the British Baptist Union and a president of the World Council of Churches. (RNS)

### ROMANIAN SPLIT FEARED

KESTON, England—Romanian Baptists may be heading for a split similar to that which divided Soviet Baptists 10 years ago, according to information received by the Center for the Study of Religion and Communism at Keston College.

The Rev. Nicolae Covaci has resigned as president of the Baptist Union of Romania, a position he has held since 1972, because of a controversy over the role of the government in church elections.

In a letter to members of the Baptist Union, Mr. Covaci expresses concern over the possibility of a split in the denomination, which has some 150,000 members, because of a growing "freedom movement."

Although he says the movement is detrimental to the "unity and discipline of the Church" and may damage its relations with the government, he adds that its actions are "not unjustified."

Mr. Covaci reports that the Romanian government recently requires church leaders to present official lists of candidates to delegates taking part in regional church elections. This precluded the possibility of nominations from the floor.

Anticipating an adverse action to this procedure, Mr. Covaci added to the official list the name of Pavel Barbatei, a lawyer and leader of the "would-be dissidents." But Mr. Barbatei's name was rejected by the Union Council, which led Mr. Covaci to resign.

In his letter, Mr. Covaci says, "This fact (the rejection of Barbatei) has saddened me, but in order that I may avoid being proven guilty before my conscience and before my church and before history of the charge that under my presidency these conflicts took place and split of the Union occurred, I took the decision to retire as from Dec. 1."

An unsigned commentary which accompanied the copy of Mr. Covaci's letter that reached Keston College says, "What is in fact happening is this, that instead of the Baptists electing their officials and leaving it to the Department of Cults to recognize them, the Department elects the officials and then the Baptists recognize them."

According to the commentary, Romanian law does not permit the Department to bar church members from serving as officials unless they have been "penalized by the courts against receiving any public position."

Warning against a possible split in the Baptist Union because of the election dispute, Mr. Covaci writes: "If the present leadership exerts pressure on the delegates to accept their list of candidates, the consequence might be a split in the Union and the creation of a dissident movement in its fold." (RNS)

### PAROCHIAL SYSTEM 'INTEGRATED'

WELLINGTON, N.Z.—Roman Catholic schools in New Zealand, after 100 years of educational autonomy, are expected to "integrate" with the state-supported system of education.

The nation's parliament recently passed a law providing the country's private schools with the opportunity to integrate into the state system, while at the same time allowing them to retain their distinctive educational characteristics and principles.

New Zealand's Catholic bishops have announced that while they still want clarifi-

cation of some of the legislation's fine points they have no serious objections to the integration effort. They said they are satisfied that Catholic educational principles will not be compromised by the proposed incorporation of Catholic schools into the state system.

The Catholic Church, which conducts 80 per cent of the country's private schools, is generally encouraging integration to escape the growing financial problems which have been making the survival of private schools increasingly difficult during the past few years. (RNS)

### N.H. TOWN TO VOTE ON PRAYER

KEENE, N.Y.—A committee of Keene's board of education here has recommended that the voters decide whether or not to exercise an option for prayer in public schools, which has been authorized by state law since last June.

Assistant school superintendent Richard L. Champagne said a legal opinion suggests that the New Hampshire law is probably unconstitutional.

The law allows local districts to let elementary school children recite voluntarily the Lord's Prayer and the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag. Students not wishing to participate may refrain.

Anyone who wishes the question of school prayer brought up at the district meeting would have to collect sufficient signatures on a petition that it be added to the agenda.

Despite doubts about constitutionality of the state law, it remains in effect. It has not been challenged in court. (RNS)

### MASS. COURT REJECTS LAW

BOSTON—The Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court has rejected as unconstitutional a law establishing execution as mandatory when murder is committed in the course of rape.

Its 5 to 2 decision will allow three inmates, convicted under the law, to leave "death row." The court's decision leaves the state without a capital punishment law. Twice in recent years a gubernatorial veto has fended off attempts to enact an even broader capital punishment law involving rape murders. It was reported here that the court's decision was so worded as to preclude any appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court by the state. (RNS)

## Mullins

(Continued from page 3)

which science is building up from the earth, when completed and purified, will be seen to be a suburb of the city of God, which is descending from heaven arrayed in the glory of a bride adorned for her husband. Let us not fear that God's revelation in nature will conflict with his revelation in redemption.

Next is the *duty of sacrifice for truth*. To discover truth is one thing. To be willing to sacrifice and even die for it is another. Christ's witnesses have ever been Christ's martyrs.

A third duty is *to protect with all our souls against religious oppression*. Baptists believe in religious liberty for themselves. But they believe in it equally for all men. With them it is not only a right; it is also a

passion. While we have no sympathy with atheism or agnosticism or materialism, we stand for the freedom of the atheist, agnostic and materialist in his religious or irreligious convictions.

Baptists do not desire to share the errors of men, but we are, and ever have been, and ever will be passionate and devoted champions of the rights of men. The supreme and inalienable right of all men is the right to direct and free and unhindered approach to God.

The next duty involved in religious liberty is *loyalty to the State*. The State is ordained of God. It serves a Divine end and purpose. Baptists have ever been ardent patriots. Liberty is not license. Liberty is opportunity for service. Religious liberty is the prime condition for every kind of human progress.

Let a man have free access to God and

hear God's voice, and he will become a champion of law and order. He will become a champion of the economic rights of men. He will become an advocate of the golden rule in all industrial relations. He will become an evangelist of brotherhood among the nations, of peace on earth and goodwill among them.

He will oppose war because he knows that war is directly opposed to the gospel of Christ. He will pray for his own country and for all countries. He will live and strive and pray that his own country may become a part of God's kingdom.

Finally, religious liberty involves the *supreme duty of loyalty to Jesus Christ*. Not license, self-will, or human will, but God's will as revealed in Christ is the goal of history and of religious liberty. There is no danger in this religious liberty centered and anchored in Jesus Christ.

## Missionaries

(Continued from page 1)

The CIA is in the process of reviewing the roles of all of its intelligence activities.

"As part of this internal review," Buchen wrote, "the CIA's relationships with clergymen is one subject of discussion. I can assure you that consideration will be given to the important question of whether any regulations are needed to guide the CIA in its future relations with clergymen."

Hatfield's bill prohibits the CIA, the National Security Agency (NSA), or the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) from paying any member of the clergy or any employee or affiliate of a religious organization, association, or society for intelligence gathering or any other participation in agency operations.

The bill further prohibits any member of the intelligence community from soliciting or accepting the services of any member of the clergy or affiliate of a religious organization. Similar constraints on CIA contact and use already exist for Peace Corps volunteers and Fulbright scholars.

Hatfield became concerned about CIA use of clergymen in its intelligence activities after exposure of such practices by John Marks of the Center for National Security Studies, articles in Catholic publications, the Washington Star, the Washington Post, the Chicago Tribune, and Time Magazine.

Efforts to secure release of missionaries captured in Vietnam at the end of the Thieu regime were hindered by charges that they had been working for the CIA, Hatfield pointed out. "Though the charges were

false, the Vietnamese may have had good reason to be suspicious," he said.

According to John Marks' July 18 story for the National Catholic News Service, the Catholic bishop of a diocese outside Saigon was on the CIA payroll as late as 1971.

In August of this year, Hatfield continued, a group of missionaries were arrested in Mozambique on a variety of charges, among them suspicion of being CIA operatives. They are still in jail. "Thus, even authentic missionary activities can become suspect and frustrated by the taint of previous CIA involvement with other religious groups," he said.

Hatfield further cited reports that in 1963 the CIA gave \$5 million to Father Roger Vekemans, a Jesuit priest in Chile, to support activities of anti-communist labor unions and the presidential campaign of Eduardo Frei. He also pointed out a Washington Post story that told of CIA plans to coordinate with the Bolivian government a "plan of attack against progressive forces in the Roman Catholic Church." (BPA)

## Index

(Continued from p. 8)

### WOOD, James E., Jr.

Baptists and public affairs in 1975. 2 D  
Baptists, religious liberty, and the Bicentennial. 2 J  
Civil religion and the Bicentennial. 2 O  
Interaction and separation: a church-state paradox. 2 N  
National priorities. 2 Ap  
Religion and the body politic. 2 S  
Right to privacy, the. 2 Mr  
State aid to parochial schools. 2 My  
Why the church must be involved in public affairs. 2 Ja  
World food crisis, the. 2 F

### WOOD, JAMES E., JR.

Coalition pushes study on religion in schools. 3 D

## Convocation

(Continued from page 1)

session" of Baptists should be the cause of religious liberty. This should result in a life of love and service to all groups rather than just a demand for freedom for Baptists," he said.

Highlight of the worship service was a presentation of the musical, "Let Christ's Freedom Ring," composed and conducted by Phillip Landgrave, professor of church music at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. The musical was commissioned jointly by the Historical Commission and the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) and by the Baptist Joint Committee as part of the 1976 SBC denominational emphasis, "We Hold These Truths."

Forty students from Southern Seminary, together with local artists, combined for the choral-orchestrated production. At the conclusion of the musical the audience in a standing ovation expressed their enthusiasm for the production.

The Baptist Joint Committee unveiled a portrait of Dr. C. Emanuel Carlson, for 17 years executive director who retired in 1971. The portrait will hang in the offices of the Committee along with that of Dr. J. M. Dawson, the first executive director. Dr. and Mrs. Carlson are now living in Dundee, Fla. (BPA)

Although the Convocation is the only all-Baptist joint observance of the Bicentennial, each separate group has plans of its own which will be pursued throughout the year.

## ABORTION

Baptists and religious liberty in the United States. Elizabeth J. Miller. 3 Ap  
High Court rejects cases on free speech, abortion. Stan Hasty. 5 O  
Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 D  
Senate panel rejects proposed abortion amendments. 1 S  
Senate subcommittee resumes hearings on abortion. 5 Mr  
Supreme Court considers human rights, First Amendment cases. Stan Hasty. 3 O  
Supreme Court "in effect" affirms former abortion rule. 5 Mr  
Supreme Court: religion in schools, abortion. Stan Hasty. 4 N  
Woman granted abortion without consent of husband. 5 JI

## AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES IN THE U.S.A.

ABC asks clemency for Russian Baptist. 5 Ap  
ABC counsel faults Ford's legal board. 7 My  
Baptists and religious liberty in the United States. Elizabeth J. Miller. 3 Ap

## AMNESTY

Baptists and religious liberty in the United States. Elizabeth J. Miller. 3 Ap

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja

## ANTISEMITISM

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

## ARMED FORCES

Anti-war lectures. 8 F

## BAKER, John W.

About the *Congressional Record*. 7 D  
Child services act does not threaten family. Rosemary Brevard, jt. auth. 1 D  
Churches oppose proposed lobbying legislation. 3 JI  
Congress has many new faces but same old problems. 1 Ja  
Exposes false rumors about astronauts. 1 JI  
FCC will not eliminate religious broadcasting. 3 My  
Federal contract compliance exemption now official. 3 Mr  
Missouri case illustrates litigation cycle. 6 S  
Safety bills no threat to liberty. 5 N  
William O. Douglas: an assessment. 1 N  
Write your congressman, but understand his response. 3 F

## BAPTIST GENERAL CONFERENCE

Baptists shows concern for religious liberty. 1 Mr

## BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Baptist spokesman challenges proposed guidelines governing "bypass" provisions. 1 Ap  
Baptists and public affairs in 1975. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 D  
Baptists ask voting rights for foreign missionaries. 1 Mr  
Baptists show concern for religious liberty. 1 Mr  
BJCPA asks Religious Liberty Sunday. 1 Mr  
Committee approves policies on "rights." 7 Mr  
Corman: church tax privileges secure. 3 O  
Group proposes April 17 as National Food Day. 7 Mr  
House passes overseas voting rights measure. W. Barry Garrett. 1 D  
Joint Committee to expand its services. W. Barry Garrett. 1 O  
Pennsylvania church school aid laws declared unconstitutional. 1 My  
Renfree reviews church-state in Canada. 1 Mr  
State aid in parochial schools. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 My  
Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap  
Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

## BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE

Baptists show concern for religious liberty. 1 Mr  
Resolution on religious liberty, human rights, world peace, and public morality, adopted by the 13th Baptist World Congress, Stockholm, Sweden, July 12, 1975. 4 S

## BAPTISTS

Baptists participate in Bicentennial meet. 7 My

# Report from the Capital

Baptists, religious liberty, and the Bicentennial. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 JI

## BAPTISTS, Canada

Renfree reviews church-state in Canada. 1 Mr

## BAPTISTS, Germany

German Baptists demonstrate. 7 D

## BAPTISTS, History—U.S.

Progress made toward Bicentennial meeting. 1 My

## BAPTISTS, Ohio

Baptists show concern for religious liberty. 1 Mr

## BAPTISTS, Sweden

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 O

## BAPTISTS, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ABC asks clemency for Russian Baptist. 5 Ap

Bourdeaux reports on Vins. 6 N

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja; 8 S

Soviet court sentences Baptist leader. 5 F

## BREVARD, Rosemary

Child services act does not threaten family. John W. Baker, jt. auth. 1 D

## CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Court hears death penalty case. Stan Hasty. 8 Ap

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 O

Supreme Court: action, inaction policy seen. Stan Hasty. 1 JI

## CENSORSHIP

Profs. musical, "Hair," wins partial victory. 8 Mr

## CHAPLAINS, Prison

Chaplains resist restrictions on prison ministry. 4 Ap

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 D

## CHILD CARE

Child services act does not threaten family. John W. Baker and Rosemary Brevard. 1 D

## CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

Federal contract compliance exemption now official. John W. Baker. 3 Mr

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja

## CHRISTIANITY AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

## CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS

Changes in church-state concepts. Robert E. Van Deusen. 4 My

Religion and the body politic. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 S

Why the church must be involved in public affairs. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 Ja

## CHURCH, Mission of

Chaplains resist restrictions on prison ministry. 4 Ap

Why the church must be involved in public affairs. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 Ja

## CHURCH AND STATE

Baptist spokesman challenges proposed guidelines governing "bypass" provisions. 1 Ap

Baptists, religious liberty, and the Bicentennial. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 JI

BJCPA defends independence of churches from government. W. Barry Garrett. 1 O

Changes in church-state concepts. Robert E. Van Deusen. 4 My

Chaplains resist restrictions on prison ministry. 4 Ap

Child services act does not threaten family. John W. Baker and Rosemary Brevard. 1 D

Churches oppose proposed lobbying legislation. John W. Baker. 3 JI

CIA is charged with using missionary personnel. 4 JI

Congress has many new faces but same old problems. John W. Baker. 1 Ja

Court agrees to hear higher education cases. Stan Hasty. 4 Mr

Court voids 2 state parochial aid plans. Stan Hasty. 6 My

Federal contract compliance exemption now official. John W. Baker. 3 Mr

High Court postpones student aid decision. 8 My

Interaction and separation: A church/state paradox. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 N

Missouri case illustrates litigation cycle. John W. Baker. 6 S

Missouri is allowed to ban textbook aid. 5 F

Missouri pressed for aid. 7 O

Pennsylvania church school aid laws declared unconstitutional. 1 My

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja; 8 S; 4 D

Public morality and policy go together. 1 F

Religion and the body politic. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 S

Renfree reviews church-state in Canada. 1 Mr

State aid to parochial schools. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 My

Why the church must be involved in public affairs. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 Ja

Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

## Index for Volume 30-1975

High Court postpones student aid decision. 8 My  
Interaction and separation: A church/state paradox. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 N  
Missouri case illustrates litigation cycle. John W. Baker. 6 S  
Missouri is allowed to ban textbook aid. 5 F  
Missouri pressed for aid. 7 O  
Pennsylvania church school aid laws declared unconstitutional. 1 My  
Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja; 8 S; 4 D  
Public morality and policy go together. 1 F  
Religion and the body politic. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 S  
Renfree reviews church-state in Canada. 1 Mr  
State aid to parochial schools. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 My  
Why the church must be involved in public affairs. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 Ja  
Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

## CHURCH AND STATE, Canada

Renfree reviews church-state in Canada. 1 Mr  
State aid for seminaries. 7 S

## CHURCH AND STATE, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

House of Lords rejects bid to force women's ordination. 5 JI

## CHURCH CAMPS

Safety bills no threat to liberty. John W. Baker. 5 N

## CIVIL RIGHTS

Resolution on religious liberty, human rights, world peace, and public morality, adopted by the 13th Baptist World Congress, Stockholm, Sweden, July 12, 1975. 4 S

## CIVIL RIGHTS, Chile

Chile seeks to ban group. 6 N

## COMMUNISM AND RELIGION

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 D

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

About the *Congressional Record*. John W. Baker. 7 D

## CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Baptists and religious liberty in the United States. Elizabeth J. Miller. 3 Ap  
Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja

## CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Senate panel rejects proposed abortion amendments. 1 S  
Senate subcommittee resumes hearings on abortion. 5 Mr

## COURTS

Supreme Court: action, inaction policy seen. Stan Hasty. 1 JI

## DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

Committee approves policies on "rights." 7 Mr  
Federal contract compliance exemption now official. John W. Baker. 3 Mr

## DOUGLAS, WILLIAM O.

William O. Douglas: an assessment. John W. Baker. 1 N

## EDUCATION, Canada

Ontario freezes school sharing funds. 5 JI

## EDUCATION, Florida

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 D

## EDUCATION, Higher

Court agrees to hear higher education cases. Stan Hasty. 4 Mr  
Federal contract compliance exemption now official. John W. Baker. 3 Mr  
High Court postpones student aid decision. 8 My  
Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja; 8 S  
Seeks federal aid to private colleges. 4 Ap

## EDUCATION, Minnesota

Court voids 2 state parochial aid plans. Stan Hasty. 6 My  
Public affairs . . . and the churches. 8 S

## EDUCATION, Missouri

Missouri is allowed to ban textbook aid. 5 F

## EDUCATION, Ohio

Court voids 2 state parochial aid plans. Stan Hasty. 6 My

**EDUCATION, Pennsylvania**

Pennsylvania again provides parochial school aid. 7 JI  
 Pennsylvania church school aid laws declared unconstitutional. 1 My

Pennsylvania tries again. 7 N

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 D

Shapp asks \$33 million for private schools. 4 Ap

**EDUCATION, Tennessee**

High Court postpones student aid decision. 8 My  
**EDUCATION, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland**

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 D

**ELECTIONS**

Congress has many new faces but same old problems.

John W. Baker. 1 Ja

**FAMILY, Ministry to**

Child services act does not threaten family. John W. Baker and Rosemary Brevard. 1 D

**FOOD SUPPLY**

Group proposes April 17 as National Food Day. 7 Mr

House bill divides food, military aid. 3 S

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 O

World food crisis, the. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 F

**FORD, GERALD R.**

President praises people for prayer. 1 F

President receives Protestant leaders. 1 F

Public morality and policy go together. 1 F

**FREEDOM OF SPEECH**

Anti-war lectures. 8 F

Court to hear case on topless dancing. 4 F

Court to hear cases on privacy, speech. 1 Ap

First Amendment used to defend topless dancing. 5 Ap

High Court rejects cases on free speech, abortion. Stan Haste. 5 O

Protest musical, "Hair," wins partial victory. 8 Mr  
 Supreme Court considers human rights, First Amendment cases. Stan Haste. 3 O

**GARRETT, W. Barry**

BJCPA defends independence of churches from government. 1 O

House passes overseas voting rights measure. 1 D

Joint Committee to expand its services. 1 O

**GOVERNMENT AID TO EDUCATION**

Baptist spokesman challenges proposed guidelines governing "bypass" provisions. 1 Ap

Court agrees to hear higher education cases. Stan Haste. 4 Mr

Court voids 2 state parochial aid plans. Stan Haste. 6 My

High Court postpones student aid decision. 8 My

Joint Committee to expand its services. W. Barry Garrett. 1 O

Missouri case illustrates litigation cycle. John W. Baker. 6 S

Missouri is allowed to ban textbook aid. 5 F

Missouri pressed for aid. 7 O

PEARL plans litigation on school aid. 4 F

Pennsylvania again provides parochial school aid. 7 JI

Pennsylvania church school aid laws declared unconstitutional. 1 My

Pennsylvania tries again. 7 N

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja; 4 D

Seeks federal aid to private colleges. 4 Ap

Shapp asks \$33 million for private schools. 4 Ap

State aid to parochial schools. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 My

State aid voted down. 7 N

**GRAHAM, BILLY**

President praises people for prayer. 1 F

**HASTEY, Stan**

Court agrees to hear higher education cases. 4 Mr

Court hears death penalty case. 8 Ap

Court voids 2 state parochial aid plans. 6 My

FCC acts quickly: rejects religious broadcasting petition. 1 JI

High Court rejects cases on free speech, abortion. 5 O

Supreme Court: action, inaction policy seen. 1 JI

Supreme Court considers human rights, First Amendment cases. 3 O

Supreme Court: religion in schools, abortion. 4 N

**HAYS, BROOKS**

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja

**HUNGER**

Committee approves policies on "rights." 7 Mr

Right-to-food resolution gaining momentum in Congress. 3 D

World food crisis, the. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 F

**INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA, Religion and mythology**

Court declines to hear peyote case. 6 F

**INFORMATION STORAGE AND RETRIEVAL SYSTEMS**

Right to privacy, the. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 Mr

**INSURANCE, Health**

Congress has many new faces but same old problems.

John W. Baker. 1 Ja

Corman: church tax privileges secure. 3 O

**JUDAISM**

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

**LEGISLATION**

Child services act does not threaten family. John W. Baker and Rosemary Brevard. 1 D

Congress extends U.S. Voting Rights Act. 3 JI

Group proposes April 17 as National Food Day. 7 Mr

House bill divides food, military aid. 3 S

House passes overseas voting rights measure. W. Barry Garrett. 1 D

**LOBBYING**

BJCPA defends independence of churches from government. W. Barry Garrett. 1 O

Churches oppose proposed lobbying legislation. John W. Baker. 3 JI

Exposes false rumors about astronauts. John W. Baker. 1 JI

FCC acts quickly: rejects religious broadcasting petition. Stan Haste. 1 JI

Religion and the body politic. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 S

**LOUISIANA COLLEGE, PINEVILLE, LA.**

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 D

**MILITARY SERVICE**

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja

**MILLER, ELIZABETH J.**

Baptists and religious liberty in the United States. 3 Ap

**MISSIONARIES**

CIA is charged with using missionary personnel. 4 JI

**MISSIONS, FOREIGN—Policy**

CIA is charged with using missionary personnel. 4 JI

**MISSOURI, Constitution**

Missouri pressed for aid. 7 O

**MORAL CONDITIONS**

Resolution on religious liberty, human rights, world peace, and public morality, adopted by the 13th Baptist World Congress, Stockholm, Sweden, July 12, 1975. 4 S

**NATIONAL COALITION FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY (PEARL)**

PEARL plans litigation on school aid. 4 F

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.**

President receives Protestant leaders. 1 F

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 O

**NATIONAL COUNCIL ON RELIGION AND PUBLIC EDUCATION**

Coalition pushes study on religion in schools. 3 D

**NATIONALISM AND RELIGION**

Civil religion and the Bicentennial. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 O

**NORTH AMERICAN BAPTIST FELLOWSHIP**

Progress made toward Bicentennial meeting. 1 My

**OBSCENITY**

Court to hear case on topless dancing. 4 F

First Amendment used to defend topless dancing. 5 Ap

Protest musical, "Hair," wins partial victory. 8 Mr

Supreme Court: action, inaction policy seen. Stan Haste. 1 JI

**O'HAIR, MADALYN MURRAY**

Exposes false rumors about astronauts. John W. Baker. 1 JI

**PEACE**

Resolution on religious liberty, human rights, world peace, and public morality, adopted by the 13th Baptist World Congress, Stockholm, Sweden, July 12, 1975. 4 S

**POPULATION**

World food crisis, the. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 F

**PRAYER BREAKFASTS**

President praises people for prayer. 1 F

**PRIVACY, RIGHT OF**

Committee approves policies on "rights." 7 Mr

Court to hear cases on privacy, speech. 1 Ap

Joint Committee to expand its services. W. Barry Garrett. 1 O

Right to privacy, the. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 Mr

Supreme Court considers human rights, First Amendment cases. Stan Haste. 3 O

Supreme Court: religion in schools, abortion. Stan Haste. 4 N

Woman granted abortion without consent of husband. 5 JI

**PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, INC.**

Blacks want repentance. 6 S

**PUBLIC WELFARE**

Supreme Court "in effect" affirms former abortion rule. 5 Mr

**QUIE, ALBERT H.**

President praises people for prayer. 1 F

**RADIO AND TELEVISION COMMISSION (SBC)**

Public morality and policy go together. 1 F

**RADIO BROADCASTING**

Exposes false rumors about astronauts. John W. Baker. 1 JI

FCC acts quickly: rejects religious broadcasting petition. Stan Haste. 1 JI

FCC will not eliminate religious broadcasting. John W. Baker. 3 My

**RELIGION AND STATE**

Civil religion and the Bicentennial. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 O

**RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS**

Baptists and religious liberty in the United States. Elizabeth J. Miller. 3 Ap

Coalition pushes study on religion in schools. 3 D

Congress has many new faces but same old problems. John W. Baker. 1 Ja

Course in "religionology." 7 F

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 D

Supreme Court: religion in schools, abortion. Stan Haste. 4 N

**RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF CHILDREN**

Released time upheld. 3 S

**RELIGIOUS LIBERTY**

Baptists, religious liberty, and the Bicentennial. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 JI

BJCPA asks Religious Liberty Sunday. 1 Mr

BJCPA defends independence of churches from government. W. Barry Garrett. 1 O

Churches oppose proposed lobbying legislation. John W. Baker. 3 JI

Churches warned against new tax threats. 3 N

Exposes false rumors about astronauts. John W. Baker. 1 JI

FCC will not eliminate religious broadcasting. John W. Baker. 3 My

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 D

Religion and the body politic. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 S

Safety bills no threat to liberty. John W. Baker. 5 N

Supreme Court considers human rights, First Amendment cases. Stan Haste. 3 O

**RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, Baptist influence**

ABC asks clemency for Russian Baptist. 5 Ap

Baptists and public affairs in 1975. James E. Wood, Jr. 3 D

Baptists and religious liberty in the United States. Elizabeth J. Miller. 3 Ap

Baptists, religious liberty, and the Bicentennial. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 JI

Baptists show concern for religious liberty. 1 Mr

BJCPA asks Religious Liberty Sunday. 1 Mr

German Baptists demonstrate. 7 D

**RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, Canada**

Renfree reviews church-state in Canada. 1 Mr

(See INDEX, p. 8)

## Index

(Continued from page 7)

### RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, Court decisions

Court declines to hear peyote case. 6 F  
Court voids 2 state parochial aid plans. Stan Hastey. 6 My  
High Court postpones student aid decision. 8 My  
Missouri case illustrates litigation cycle. John W. Baker. 6 S  
Missouri is allowed to ban textbook aid. 5 F  
Pennsylvania church school aid laws declared unconstitutional. 1 My  
Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja  
Snake handling, poison drinking banned in church rites. 1 S  
State aid to parochial schools. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 My

### RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, History

Religious freedom basic in America. 7 Ap

### RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, India

Baptists show concern for religious liberty. 1 Mr

### RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, Legislation

Safety bills no threat to liberty. John W. Baker. 5 N

### RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, Resolutions

Resolution on religious liberty, human rights, world peace, and public morality, adopted by the 13th Baptist World Congress, Stockholm, Sweden, July 12, 1975. 4 S  
William O. Douglas: an assessment. John W. Baker. 1 N

### RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Baptists show concern for religious liberty. 1 Mr  
Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja  
Soviet court sentences Baptist leader. 5 F

### RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 O

### RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, Yugoslavia

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 D

### REPORT FROM THE CAPITAL

Index, Vol. 29, 1974. 4 Ja

### SVENSON, SVEN

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 O

### TAXATION, Churches

BJCPA defends independence of churches from government. W. Barry Garrett. 1 O  
Church agency to pay for public services. 7 F  
Churches oppose proposed lobbying legislation. John W. Baker. 3 JI  
Churches warned against new tax threats. 3 N  
Coman: church tax privileges secure. 3 O  
Religion and the body politic. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 S  
Renfree reviews church-state in Canada. 1 Mr  
Ullman: BJCPA tax report is accurate. 1 O

### TAXATION, Exemption from

BJCPA defends independence of churches from government. W. Barry Garrett. 1 O  
Churches oppose proposed lobbying legislation. John W. Baker. 3 JI  
Churches warned against new tax threats. 3 N  
Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja  
Religion and the body politic. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 S

### TAXATION, Reform

Congress has many new faces but same old problems. John W. Baker. 1 Ja  
Renfree reviews church-state in Canada. 1 Mr

### TAXATION, U.S.

National priorities. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 Ap

### TELEVISION BROADCASTING

Exposes false rumors about astronauts. John W. Baker. 1 JI  
FCC acts quickly: rejects religious broadcasting petition. Stan Hastey. 1 JI  
FCC will not eliminate religious broadcasting. John W. Baker. 3 My

### THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES, Canada

State aid for seminaries. 7 S

### UNITED NATIONS

Wood scores U.N. vote on Zionism. 5 N

### UNITED STATES, Bicentennial celebration

Baptists participate in Bicentennial meet. 7 My  
Bicentennial convocation plans finalized. 6 D  
Blacks want repentance. 6 S  
Civil religion and the Bicentennial. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 O  
Progress made toward Bicentennial meeting. 1 My

Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja  
Wood criticizes ARBA plan for church aid. 1 Ap

### UNITED STATES, Foreign policy

CIA is charged with using missionary personnel. 4 JI  
House bill divides food, military aid. 3 S  
National priorities. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 Ap  
Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 O  
Right-to-food resolution gaining momentum in Congress. 3 D

### UNITED STATES, History

Civil religion and the Bicentennial. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 O  
Religious freedom basic in America. 7 Ap

### UNITED STATES, Politics and government

Baptists and public affairs in 1975. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 D  
Congress has many new faces but same old problems. John W. Baker. 1 Ja

Court to hear cases on privacy, speech. 1 Ap  
FCC acts quickly: rejects religious broadcasting petition. Stan Hastey. 1 JI  
FCC will not eliminate religious broadcasting. John W. Baker. 3 My

National priorities. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 Ap  
Supreme Court: action, inaction policy seen. Stan Hastey. 1 JI  
Write your congressman, but understand his response. John W. Baker. 3 F

UNITED STATES, Religion  
Civil religion and the Bicentennial. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 O  
Interaction and separation: a church-state paradox. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 N

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES  
Public affairs . . . and the churches. 4 D

VAN DEUSEN, Robert E.  
Changes in church-state concepts. 4 My

VINS, GEORGI  
ABC asks clemency for Russian Baptist. 5 Ap  
Baptists show concern for religious liberty. 1 Mr  
Bourdeaux reports on Vins. 6 N  
German Baptists demonstrate. 7 D  
Public affairs . . . and the churches. 6 Ja  
Soviet court sentences Baptist leader. 5 F

VOTING  
Baptists ask voting rights for foreign missionaries. 1 Mr  
Congress extends U.S. Voting Rights Act. 4 JI  
House passes overseas voting rights measure. W. Barry Garrett. 1 D

WAR, Economic aspects  
National priorities. James E. Wood, Jr. 2 Ap

WASHINGTON, Constitution  
State aid voted down. 7 N

WOMEN, Employment  
High Court rejects cases on free speech, abortion. Stan Hastey. 5 O  
Supreme Court considers human rights, First Amendment cases. Stan Hastey. 3 O

WOMEN, Ordination  
Baptists and religious liberty in the United States. Elizabeth J. Miller. 3 Ap

WOMEN, Ordination—United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland  
House of Lords rejects bid to force women's ordination. 5 JI

WOMEN, Rights of  
Supreme Court considers human rights, First Amendment cases. Stan Hastey. 3 O  
Supreme Court: religion in schools, abortion. Stan Hastey. 4 N

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(Continued on p. 5)