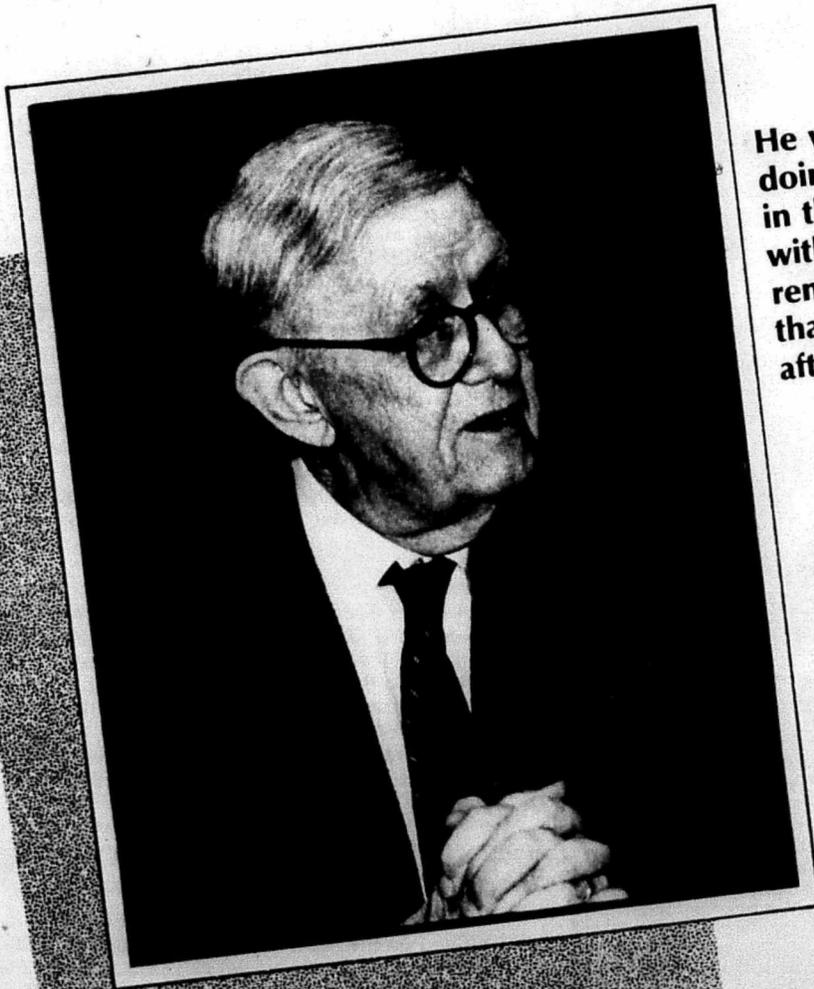


November-December 1981

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REPORT from the CAPITAL



He was one of God's journeymen,
doing the best of things
in the worst of times, and
with humor, grace and courage
reminding us, against the odds,
that we are made in His image
after all.

—Bill Moyers

== Brooks Hays ==

REPORT from the CAPITAL

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

Vol. 36, No. 10
November-December 1981

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Brooks Hays

A bittersweet month, October, for the family and friends and acquaintances of a man for whom "Christianity was a call to duty, a judgment as well as consolation," and one truly deserving of the title of recognition reserved for ranking officials, and at all times was he found to be the "Honorable" Brooks Hays.

He was to have been present, health permitting, at the National Religious Liberty Conference, but that was not possible. And just a few days later he died. Eulogized in the *Washington Post* as a person of "extraordinary courage," as a southern congressman he stood up for racial moderation and as a consequence suffered political defeat at the hands of a segregationist write-in candidate while losing none of the respect of those who appreciated his promotion of good will.

The memorial service in Washington was largely a family affair, thanksgiving and prayer led by Pastor George Hill and another dear friend, Clarence Cranford. Hays and Cranford were members of Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, and in 1958 both served their denominations as president—Brooks Hays, of the Southern Baptist Convention, Cranford, of the American Baptist Churches, USA.

On November 4, the House of Representatives will hold a Special Order of Tribute to their former colleague, Brooks Hays.

It is sufficient to say that the 18th National Religious Liberty Conference approached the theme from a variety of viewpoints. That route doesn't lead to consensus, but then that was also the openness necessary in trying to be faithful to the Conference's underlying motif—the invitation to share God's love must be extended free of coercion and manipulation. Only in the "hands" of God is evangelization a certainty. The conference is ably reported by this staff and Baptist Press.

Missed attending the conference? Tapes of each of the speakers may be ordered. See the form on page 16 of this issue.

Welton Gaddy recently addressed a meeting of Americans United on the issue of pluralism, religious and political. It is the kind of topic we can't seem to get away from at this moment in time. Advocates for religious/political liberty have their task cut out for them, writes Gaddy. Incidentally, that lesson also came from the provocative two-day conference on religious liberty.

Victor Tupitza

THE AUTHORITY OF LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS to ban what they consider objectionable books from school libraries and course use will be tested in the U.S. Supreme Court.

High court justices have been asked to decide later this term if Island Trees Union Free School District, Long Island, violated the constitutional rights of students by banning books containing sexual terms, profanity and disparagement of religion.

Among the works eventually banished were The Naked Ape, by Desmond Morris, Soul on Ice, by Eldridge Cleaver, The Fixer, by Bernard Malamud, and Best Short Stories by Negro Writers, edited by Langston Hughes.

Five students took the school board to court, arguing that their First Amendment rights had been violated. Although a federal district court in New York upheld the school board, a federal court of appeals reversed and sent the case back to the lower tribunal for further proceedings. ■

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT announced here it will decide if church-related schools which practice race discrimination on religious grounds in their admissions policies are entitled to tax-exempt status.

Also at issue in a pair of cases accepted for review Oct. 12 is whether donors may claim deductions for gifts to such institutions on their federal income tax forms.

The brief order agreeing to review the cases noted that Bob Jones University v. U.S. and Goldsboro Christian Schools v. U.S. will be consolidated and treated as one case by the high court. In something of an unusual twist, both institutions and the federal government asked the justices to take on the difficult case.

Both schools have challenged the Internal Revenue Service's announced rule that because race discrimination violated accepted "public policy," tax exemption will be denied to private institutions, including those related to churches, which practice bias in their admissions policies.

Asked if the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs will enter the case, executive director James M. Dunn said his agency is faced with the "painful dilemma" of appearing to sanction discrimination if it sides with the schools. We don't want to appear for a moment to be giving aid and comfort to the clearly unscriptural and unethical policies of these two schools," Dunn elaborated.

"At the same time, we must face with genuine ambivalence the possibility of speaking to a church-state question of far-reaching significance." ■

National Religious Liberty Conference

Leaders Accent Evangelism as 'Good News' Active in Freedom

For Baptists, religious liberty and evangelism are "like breathing out and breathing in," James M. Dunn told a conference on Faith and Freedom.

Dunn, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, made the comment in a two-day conference on Evangelism Rooted in Religious Liberty, sponsored by the BJCPA in the nation's capital.

"We must pay attention to both or we cannot live," he said, adding that the proclamation of the gospel must be coupled with a voluntary response if it is to be valid.

During the conference, Leon McBeth, professor of church history at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas, said a new and unprecedented movement by conservative churchmen—many a part of the New Christian Right—is "joining the hue and cry to limit, adjust or redefine the nature and basis of religious liberty."

"Most of these people call themselves conservatives," McBeth said. "I challenge that designation. They are not conservative, but radical innovators who have departed from the teachings and practices of our Baptist forefathers."

McBeth, who warned that if the "government can regulate unpopular groups, it can regulate popular groups," charged that "comfortable people" may not be able to maintain the pressure necessary to retain religious liberty.

"We're not suffering any more. When we were having a rough time, we spoke out strongly for religious liberty. Historically, people under pressure have been the most ardent for religious liberty. We have yet to see whether a comfortable people can maintain religious liberty," he said.

Two Baptist members of the United States Congress also told participants about challenges to religious liberty facing the nation.

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., reminded participants that it was "the



"like breathing out and breathing in . . ."
—James M. Dunn



"people under pressure have been most ardent for religious liberty"
—Leon McBeth

moral majority of the Puritans which ran Roger Williams out of the Massachusetts Bay Colony," and urged Baptists to be in the vanguard of protecting the right to dissent.

"Madalyn Murray O'Hair has the same constitutional right to a platform as does Billy Graham," he said.

Walter E. Fauntroy, pastor of New Bethel Baptist Church of Washington, and the District of Columbia delegate

to the House of Representatives, said the growing influence of Moral Majority is "declaring bad news" to the nation.

"They are trying to apply Christian principles to a narrow range of secondary issues, but refusing to apply Christian principles to a broad range of primary issues."

He said he opposes abortion, but also is concerned with "the child after it is born," as he decried reductions in the school lunch and other federal plans designed to aid the "poor and naked and imprisoned."

Fauntroy also charged that the Reagan administration has "launched the most extraordinary attempt to redistribute the wealth of this country from the poor to the very rich."

"There is no safety net," Jim Wallis, editor of *Sojourners* magazine, told participants. "That is a lie. I want to testify to the falsehood of that public policy."

Wallis, who currently is serving a 30-day jail sentence for protesting an arms demonstration, said "God's passion for poor people" has been cut out of too much of American evangelism.

"Evangelism in the D.C. jail and in the city," he said, "must have centrally to do with the fact that the gospel is good news to the poor people. If it is not good news to the poor people, it is not good news to most of the people in this city."

Emmett V. Johnson, director of evangelism for the American Baptist Churches, U.S.A., told participants that the "magnetism of the gospel" attracts persons to Christ, not government support. "Authentic evangelism cannot stoop to illegitimate ways," he declared.

In a summary of the conference, William F. Keucher, president of the American Baptist Churches, U.S.A., and pastor of Covenant Baptist Church in Detroit, said "a faith that is free requires religious freedom."

He contrasted such freedom with the "inflexible rigidity" of the New Religious Right.

To follow their agenda, he said, "would be to return to the colonial experience when all life was under the auspices of the church," to repeal the Bill of Rights, to make conformity the law of the land, to cloud the competency of the individual soul, to limit religious freedom for nonconformists, to cripple the meaning of faith by requiring religious rituals in schools, and to "stitch up the veil in the Temple" by putting women into enforced submission.

—Dan Martin

Limits of Evangelism Exclude Proselytizing

A pair of nationally known leaders, one Southern Baptist and the other Jewish, told participants at a religious liberty conference here that evangelizing and proselytizing are contradictory methods of winning religious converts.

Jimmy R. Allen, president of the Southern Baptist Convention's Radio and Television Commission, said that Baptists are committed to "true evangelism," which he said involves by definition the freedom to accept or reject God's offer of grace in Jesus Christ. Proselytization, he said, involves "winning somebody to your point of view."

Marc Tanenbaum, national director of interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, said that while the question of evangelism is a sensitive one for the Jewish community, "Jews would join . . . in making a differentiation between witness and proselytization."

The two, long personal friends, addressed the opening session of the biennial Religious Liberty Conference sponsored by the Washington-based Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, on the legitimate limits of evangelism in the context of religious liberty.

Tanenbaum emphasized the historic kinship between Jews and Baptists as champions of religious liberty, and went on to add that his faith community has special problems with "messianic Jews" who pose as traditional Jews "as a deception to entrap people." Such deception, he said, "is not worthy of a high religion like Christianity."

Allen, noting that Jews and Baptists currently suffer persecution together, particularly in the Soviet Union, said that both "believe the faith is worth living for and dying for."

For Christians, he went on, the call to evangelize is "iron-clad." "We believe it (the gospel) and believe it enough to share it," he declared. At the same time, the voluntary response of those evangelized must be respected, the former president of the Southern Baptist Convention said.

Asked to comment on the special attention paid during his recent visit to the U.S. by Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin to television evangelist Jerry Falwell, both Allen and Tan-



enbaum said they had worked to convince the Israeli leader that Falwell does not speak for most American Christians.

After a highly publicized visit with Falwell at the Blair House here, Begin accepted a Tanenbaum suggestion to see other Christian leaders from mainline denominations in New York prior to his departure.

Another speaker, sociologist David O. Moberg of Marquette University, also hit the Religious Right as "shallowly grounded."

An active churchman from the Baptist General Conference, Moberg described as "myth" the notion that "America is a Christian nation." The nation's real religious heritage, he said, is pluralism, which he called both a source and product of religious liberty.

Pluralism "in a sense has made us all heretics," Moberg elaborated, in that no theological viewpoint is orthodox and acceptable to all, even within individual Christian congregations.

Another contemporary factor influencing evangelism, Moberg went on, is secularism, although he downplayed its influence. Holding that there is a "gloss of Christianity" even on the secular in the U.S., Moberg cited studies showing that contrary to popular assumptions more Americans worship at churches and synagogues on any given weekend than the total attendance at all sporting events for a whole year.

He said that Christians should avoid



Establishing Religious Beliefs A Threat to Liberty

Proposals to require the teaching of scientific creationism and state mandated prayer in public schools and to provide tuition tax credits for parents of parochial school children were assailed by representatives of organizations dedicated to preserving First Amendment freedoms.

Leaders from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), People for the American Way (PAW), and Americans United for Separation of Church and State (AU) warned participants at the biennial Religious Liberty Conference that such proposals constitute a serious threat to religious liberty.

John M. Swomley, chairman of the ACLU's Church-State Committee, charged that legislation requiring the teaching of scientific creationism in public schools—such as a law recently enacted in Arkansas—amounts to the establishment of a sectarian belief as law.

"Scientific creationism is sectarian because Jewish, Roman Catholic and most major Protestant groups do not teach it or accept it," said Swomley, who teaches Christian ethics at St. Paul School of Theology, Kansas City, Mo.

Noting the plurality of religious beliefs about creation, Swomley said "when religious groups differ, it is not the function of the state to be the referee and to choose one religious interpretation by making it orthodox or prescribing it for science courses in public schools."

He contended that the First Amendment prevents "any and all sectarian groups from making their doctrines the law of the state."

(Continued on P. 16)

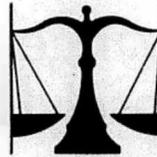
what he called "demonic dualisms" which set up false, either-or choices such as personal piety versus social involvement or evangelism versus social activism. Such "demonic dualisms" should be converted into "dynamic duos" which affirm that both are essential in the task of evangelism, he said.

—Stan Haste



John W. Baker

VIEWS OF THE WALL



The First Amendment built "a wall of separation between Church and State"—Thomas Jefferson in a letter to the Danbury Baptist Association.

"... the line of separation, far from being a 'wall', is a blurred, indistinct, and variable barrier"—Chief Justice Burger, Lemon v. Kurtzman.

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit has issued what well may be a landmark decision in dealing with cults and deprogramming. By expanding 42 U.S.C. 1985(3)—the civil rights laws—beyond the realm of racially discriminatory conspiracies to include conspiracies to interfere with the exercise of religious beliefs, the court opened the door to criminal prosecution even of parents who kidnap their own children in order to deprogram them.

A 28 year old member of the Unification church brought the action in which he claimed that he had been kidnapped and abused by his parents in an effort to deprogram him. The U.S. District Court dismissed the case saying that the parents had acted out of love and concern and not out of the discriminatory bias required by 42 U.S.C. 1985.

The Appeals court noted that in *Griffin v. Breckenridge*, 403 U.S. 88 (1971), the Supreme Court had made a favorable reference to the debate in Congress in 1871 when it was considering the act, 17 Stat. 13, which, along with an 1861 act, 12 Stat. 284, was the parent of the present Civil Rights Act. In that debate specific reference was made to religious discrimination as within the intent of the law.

Based on reasons such as this the court held that 42 U.S.C. 1985(3) provided a constitutional basis for jurisdiction over the case. Unless the Supreme Court decides to review this decision, the case will now be heard on the merits in the district court. The outcome of that trial will have profound implications for the kinds of controls parents may attempt to exert over the religious decisions of their adult children. *Ward v. Connor*, ___ F.2d ___ (CA 4 1981).

Probably the most heated debate in the House of Delegates during this summer's meeting of the American Bar Association involved the question of whether to amend the Association's standards for accrediting law schools. Most state laws require graduation from an ABA accredited law school as a prerequisite for taking the bar exam.

Standard 211 of the ABA Standards for Approval of Law Schools barred

law schools from discriminating on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex. The law school of Oral Roberts University had a policy of admitting only Christians and, as a result, was denied ABA accreditation.

The University went to court and on July 17, 1981 the U.S. District Court for Northern Illinois enjoined the ABA from denying accreditation on the basis of religious policies. The House of Delegates, after extended debate, voted 147-127 to change Standard 211 to read: "Nothing herein shall be construed to prevent a law school from having a religious affiliation and purpose and adopting policies of admission and employment that directly relate to such affiliation and purpose so long as notice of such policies has been provided to applicants, students, faculty and employees."

The House of Delegates then voted to grant provisional approval to Oral Roberts University's law school. The district court decision will not be appealed.

A Louisiana statute permitting a public school board to allow each classroom teacher to ask for student volunteers to lead in prayer and, in the absence of volunteers, to permit the teacher to pray has been held to be unconstitutional by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit.

The statute provided that prayers should not exceed five minutes and that neither students nor teachers should be compelled to participate or be present in the room during the prayers. In implementing the statute the school board in the instant case provided that each school day should begin with one minute of prayer followed by one minute of silent meditation. If there were no student volunteers for prayer and the teacher did not choose to pray, the silent meditation would begin immediately.

The Court of Appeals reversed the decision of the U.S. District Court which had held that the law and the school board's regulations met all three of the Supreme Court's establishment of religion tests. The Court of Appeals found a religious legislative purpose, determined that religion was advanced

by the exercises, and declared that the monitoring of the exercises by an agent of the state—the teacher—would excessively entangle government with religion. For these reasons the statute was held unconstitutional. There was a single dissent. *Karen B. v. Treen*, ___ F.2d ___ (CA 5 1981).

The Louisiana Supreme Court has held that First Amendment religious rights are not jeopardized by a civil court's enforcement of the rights of voting members of a church to examine the books of account of the church "in order to see for themselves how much money the church takes in and how the money is spent."

The plaintiffs, voting members of the Ebenezer Baptist Church, a Louisiana nonprofit corporation, acted under a Louisiana law which requires corporations to keep books of account and make those books available to shareholders and voting members at a reasonable time. They filed suit against the church and the pastor to secure these rights of inspection.

The trial court ruled that it did not have jurisdiction. The intermediate court of appeal affirmed, holding that because this was not a church property dispute the First Amendment denied jurisdiction to intervene. The Louisiana Supreme Court disagreed.

The court held that the legislative intention was that the members of any corporation be allowed to inspect the books at a reasonable time and that the First Amendment "commands civil courts to decide church property disputes without resolving underlying controversies over religious doctrine. This principle applies with equal force to church disputes over church polity and church administration." Further, "The court is called upon merely to order the nonprofit corporation to allow an examination at a reasonable time and perhaps to determine whether the corporation has complied with its judgment."

Because the court was not required to resolve disputes over religious doctrine, the church was required to permit members to examine its books of account. *Bourgeois v. Landrum*, 396 So.2d 1275 (1981).

Prime Time Preachers Compete; Electronic Denominations Ahead

Electronic churches may spawn electronic denominations, a sociologist told participants at the National Religious Liberty Conference.

Jeffrey K. Hadden, a professor at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, and co-author of a new book, "Prime Time Preachers," said the sophistication of new computer-based communications techniques—which allow direct communication between the broadcasters and audiences—makes possible the rise of the new denominations.

Addressing the biennial Religious Liberty Conference, Hadden said such denominations also will be hastened by an ever-increasing need for funds to keep the programs on the air.

"The propensity of the televangelists to equate their grandiose dreams with God's will, and their childlike trust that the Almighty will deliver the bucks to pay for their monumental projects, no matter how ambitious, portends a disastrous conclusion some day," he said.

He added that more and more evangelists competing for money from an audience which has not increased appreciably "may hasten the day when one or more of the major ministries collapses."

Such pressures, he said, "could eventually lead some of them into the franchising business," creating what essentially would be "branch offices" of the national organization to support the television ministry and its ancillary projects.

"A skillful blending of communications technology and face-to-face recruiting techniques developed by groups such as the Mormons could result in rapid church development. The televangelists and their local organizations could expect to receive a good bit of criticism for robbing the pews of other churches, but 'member snatching' has been going on for a long time among proselytizing evangelicals," Hadden said.

Hadden said Jerry Falwell "is perhaps best positioned to move in this direction. For all intents and purposes he already has the organizational structure in place," with Liberty Baptist College and Liberty Baptist Seminary.

"Among his many ambitious goals for the current decade is the establishment of 5,000 new churches," Hadden



said. "Falwell denies any interest in founding a new denomination (but) were Falwell inclined, it would take little effort to transform independent Baptists into Falwellian Baptists."

He also noted Pat Robertson of Christian Broadcasting Network also has a structure which could be transformed into local congregations, with prayer and counseling centers in 83 cities, manned by 10,000 volunteers.

"If other televangelists are not as ideally organized to create new denominations as Falwell and Robertson, they still possess considerable resources to build churches that would owe allegiance to them," he said.

He added the reasons such "branch offices" have not been created are that the electronic ministries are "very young" and that the television evangelists have a "moral hesitancy. It requires some mental gymnastics to go about the business of starting local churches and simultaneously deny that one is in competition with local churches."

The rationale, once such denominations begin, he said "will be that they are filling a need unmet by others. Their experience in referring new converts to local congregations, they will argue, was too often unsuccessful because the local church failed to shepherd the newly won souls adequately."

He said electronic churches "have moved beyond being supportive of local congregations," and that "there is clearly a structural basis for competition."

Hadden had a word of advice for Baptist executives: "Were I a church executive, especially in a conservative denomination, I would treat the electronic church franchising scenario with utmost seriousness. —Dan Martin

Quoting

I would like to suggest that we not put those events out of our minds, that we not put them on a shelf for an hour and talk about evangelism. But that we talk about evangelism in the only Biblical way to speak of evangelism, which is, in the midst of the events and circumstances that affect the lives of men and women. Violence has become the principal characteristic of our modern world. (Upon news of the assassination of Sadat).

—Jim Wallis



A faith that is free demands a climate of trust and respect for voluntary response to God. The coercive means and methods by which we are tempted must be rejected . . . I remember in history that our own Baptist forebearers fought for the secularization of America because it meant their freedom to be as a people and to come into the fullness of the heritage of their faith and their identity.

—William F. Keucher



The Gospel is not just good history; it is good news. It is good history that the master fed 5,000 people 2000 years ago. But it is good news when his followers of today act in the living present. This is the time for Christian leadership to lead the nation.

—Walter E. Fauntroy



News in Brief

BJC Brief Opposes Law; Would Regulate Religion

WASHINGTON—The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs here has asked the U. S. Supreme Court to affirm lower court decisions which strike down a Minnesota law regulating public solicitation of funds by religious groups.

The Washington-based Baptist agency, joined by the National Council of Churches and the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists filed a friend-of-the-court brief supporting claims by the Unification Church that the law amounts to an unconstitutional establishment of religion.

Baptist Joint Committee general counsel John W. Baker, who helped write the brief, said the Baptist agency entered the case not because it supports the goals or methods of the Unification Church, but because the principle at issue is "crucial."

The 1980 Minnesota Charitable Solicitations Act distinguishes between two types of religious organizations for purposes of enforcement—those which derive some of their income but less than 50 percent from soliciting the public at large, and those which receive more than 50 percent from such solicitation.

Claiming that such a distinction would inevitably entangle the state in the internal affairs of religious groups, the Unification Church challenged the law in federal district court. Both the U.S. district court for Minnesota and the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals agreed with the church, invalidating that portion of the law making the distinction.

In their brief, the Baptist Joint Committee, National Council of Churches and Seventh-day Adventists asked the high court to go beyond the lower rulings, arguing that the Minnesota law violates all three prongs of a three-part test used for the last decade to decide such "establishment" issues.

The law "seeks to regulate religious organizations" the brief argues, while its "primary effect is to inhibit the free exercise of religion" and "excessively entangles the state in church affairs."

Voting Rights Act Passed by Wide Margin

WASHINGTON—The U.S. House of Representatives has voted overwhelmingly to extend the Voting



Former BJCPA executive director James E. Wood, Jr., joined by spouse Alma, responds to the official presentation of an oil portrait commemorating his tenure as head of the Washington-based agency. The ceremony occurred during the 18th National Religious Liberty Conference.

Rights Act of 1965.

By a 389-24 vote, the House cleared the extension, including a controversial provision which requires nine states—mostly from the South—and sections of 13 others to obtain Justice Department approval before making election law changes.

The House-approved bill, however, provides new bailout standards for the affected states and jurisdictions beginning Aug. 6, 1984. At that time, states and other jurisdictions can be exempted from the pre-clearance requirements by demonstrating to the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia that they have avoided any voting discrimination during the previous 10 years.

While smaller jurisdictions such as cities and townships could seek exemption under the House bill even if the states or counties of which they are a part do not qualify, states or counties could not be exempted unless the smaller jurisdictions within them meet the nondiscrimination standards. Minor violations which are quickly corrected would not bar a state or other jurisdiction from qualifying.

The only provision in the new bill with an expiration date is the bilingual election requirement which was extended until 1992.

Action in the Senate is unlikely before early next year when the Judiciary Committee is expected to begin hearings.

Ex-ABC Ecumenical Officer Joins VA. Union Faculty

VALLEY FORGE—Pearl L. McNeil, who recently retired as ecumenical officer of American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., has accepted a post-retirement position with the School of Theology, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Va.

McNeil had served in the ABC post since 1978 and had also represented American Baptists on the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. As professor of missions and global Christianity, McNeil will be the first woman professor to join Virginia Union's theology faculty.

State Cannot Lend Books

SAN FRANCISCO—The California Supreme Court ruled yesterday that it is unconstitutional for the state to lend public school books to parochial or private schools.

The unanimous decision said that state laws challenged by the California Teachers Association and the American Civil Liberties Union violate two sections of California's Constitution prohibiting the use of public funds in support of sectarian schools.

Bible More than a Textbook

TIFFIN, Iowa—A proposal to adopt the Bible as a supplementary textbook was overwhelmingly rejected by voters in the Clear Creek School District, who turned out in record numbers to cast their ballots.

The vote was 689-to-90. Opponents hailed the defeat as a victory over "zealots."

Yearbook Honors Jesus

HOUSTON—Dedication of the new yearbook of Stratford Senior High School to Jesus Christ has caused a furor with school officials and parents who claim the book violates the doctrine of separation of church and state.

The dedication in the front of the 272-page book reads in part, "To Jesus Christ who calls all Spartans (school nickname) to take a closer look at their lives."

Tom Neuman, director of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, said the dedication violates the separation of church and state doctrine. He said, "It's an effort to teach a specific religion."

Polish Workers Assured U.S. Labor's Support

WASHINGTON—U.S. Labor's solidarity with Poland's progressive labor force, Solidarnost, was communicated against pressing odds by Lane Kirkland, president of AFL-CIO.

Denied a visa to attend the second session of Solidarnost's congress in Gdansk, Poland, Kirkland prepared a videotape of his presentation; sent, it never reached Solidarnost. Monsignor George Higgins, who was in Poland at the time, delivered the speech on behalf of Kirkland.

Pledging the continued support of American workers, Kirkland recalled the debt Americans owe to the workers from Poland. Their strike near Jamestown, Va. for the right to vote in the election of the first American legislative assembly some 360 years ago had "far-reaching implications for the development of democracy in the New World."

The following remarks are extracted from Kirkland's speech:

"Polish workers continue to teach the world. For all who believe in peaceful relations among states, there is no task more urgent than unlinking human rights and freedom from the question of who owns the means of production.

Freedom of association, of assembly, and of expression are the indispensable means by which the people of each nation can decide for themselves which forms of social and economic organization are most appropriate to their needs, their traditions, and their aspirations.

Respect for workers' rights does not automatically flow from any economic system. It humanizes all economic systems.

To the extent that this principle is reflected in the conduct of government, doors will open on broader avenues to peace, to normal intercourse among nations, and to more just allocations of resources.

The delegates to this Congress confront many difficult, even momentous questions. The AFL-CIO would not presume to advise you on the direction you should take. You alone understand the needs of Poland's workers.

You alone are their authentic voice. Let Poland's history be made by Poles.

To Solidarity, to the workers of Poland, we pledge—in the words of an old American labor song—solidarity forever.

Dignity Bill Wins Approval

WASHINGTON—A "death with dignity" bill allowing dying patients to choose death over life on medical support systems has been approved by the District of Columbia City Council despite opposition by religious and other groups.

The bill, similar to laws in 10 states, allows patients 18 years or older to sign an affidavit declaring that they want to be allowed to die if two doctors certify they are terminally ill.

Supporters said the bill included controls to prevent abuse by doctors and relatives; and let patients revoke affidavits at any time, orally or in writing, regardless of mental state.

Clergy Assured Minimum

WASHINGTON—Members of religious orders are among those who will directly benefit from the Senate's recent decision to restore the minimum Social Security payment to most of the three million people it now helps.

Both the Senate and the House now have voted to restore the \$122 a month minimum Social Security benefit. The House bill restored the benefit the same day it passed the Reagan budget bill, for both present recipients and future retirees.

The provision virtually guarantees restoration of the minimum benefit to members of religious orders who had joined the Social Security system in the early 1970s, fully expecting to receive at least the minimum benefits upon retirement.

Russian Youth will Stay

CHICAGO—The Justice Department had reaffirmed its decision to grant asylum to a 14-year-old Russian boy who wants to stay in the United States.

The youth, Walter Polovchak, has been living with a foster family as a

ward of the court. His parents, Michael and Anna Polovchak, returned to their native Ukraine last summer.

Julian Kulas, the youth's attorney, said he had been notified that Walter was granted permanent residency. He will be eligible for citizenship in July 1985.

Previously, the American Civil Liberties Union filed an appeal in the Illinois First District Appellate Court against the juvenile court order which in effect took custody of the youth from his parents and made him a ward of the court.

The ACLU argued that the parents had a right to a hearing before their son was granted asylum. The Reagan administration, in a brief filed in response to the ACLU appeal, said it would forcibly prevent Walter from leaving the country even if his parents were granted custody.

Group Seeks Alternatives

CHICAGO—A gathering of conservative evangelicals and "mainline" Protestants has attempted to formulate an alternative for politically active Christians to what they say is the "absolutism" of the "religious New Right."

Some 50 Chicago-area clergy and laypersons met at the Chicago Temple Methodist Church and drew up a statement calling on Christians to be "pro-human, pro-justice, pro-creation, pro-morality, pro-nation, pro-family and pro-peace."

They declared that God "may not be on the side of merely the political right or the left," and said the Kingdom of God "cannot be reduced to an agenda of moral legislation, coercive measures and political power."

While failing to agree on the specifics of issues, the drafters of the statement were united in the emphasis on the need to provide an alternative to groups like the Moral Majority.

"There has been almost a singular religious voice heard in America today," said the Rev. Jack Lundin, pastor of the Community of Christ the Servant Lutheran Church in Lombard, Ill. He asserted that "people get the impression that Jerry Falwell is what Christianity looks like."

C. Welton Gaddy

Dr. Gaddy is the senior minister of Broadway Baptist Church, Fort Worth, Texas. An ethicist, he formerly served on the staff of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention.



Neither Peace nor Forgiveness

At the inception of our nationhood, the political architects involved laid the foundations for pluralism. These designers of our democratic system were familiar with the writings of John Locke and the teachings of the New Testament. *Theologically*, the dignity and worth of every individual were affirmed. Guarantees were structured around a belief in soul competence—the ability of a person to discern truth and to do it, and its corollary soul liberty—the freedom of each person to live according to the dictates of conscience. *Politically*, diversity was deemed a strength rather than a weakness. Provisions were made for the nation to grow strong through interchanges of differing opinions and the election of varying types of representatives. Freedom was more than a desirable ideology; it was a practical necessity if this political process was to be a reality.

The aspiration was better than the implementation. Though national leaders hoped admirably and planned wisely, actual historical deeds fell far short of theoretical projections. Even while some patriots wrote and spoke of the blessings of pluralism within a free society, others developed and publicized an image of the nation as a "melting pot." Some diversity was acceptable, but only within the boundaries of an over-arching uniformity.

Just as there was a gap between the national intention of pluralism and the actual implementation of it, there was also a gap between our stereotyped image of conformity and the reality of our true identity. Diligent efforts to mold a melting pot failed considerably. Many folks were what Michael Novak has called "unmeltable ethnics." Some people were suppressed while others were degraded and still others ignored. By no means, however, were all even assimilated much less mandated into sameness. "Different" people were silenced but they were not transformed. They retained their pride and their wills.

Suggestions have been made that a far better image of the nation, if we must have one, is that of a salad bowl. Citizens have been all mixed up together in our history but not made uniform. The obvious presence of multiple races and classes of people in our citizenry is indicative of an even more pervasive diversity among our populace.

The undeniable reality of diversity and the persistent desirability of conformity appeared to be on a collision course. (They always are.) A dangerous mentality developed and was eventually injected with enthusiasm provoked by a "moral" cause. Obviously, people who would not or could not fit in were not only different but wrong, wrong morally speaking. Those who did not move from the melting pot like molten metal ready to be cast into the image of a true American were considered morally inferior. Robert Bellah has pointed out that in the seventeenth century the commonest distinction between whites and blacks was that of "Christians and Negroes." Listen to a summary statement on the pulpit proclamation of Increase Mather, a Christian minister:

"The company a Godly man kept constituted a test of his regeneration: a truly Godly man . . . delighted only in the company of other Godly men; he resented wasting his time with sinners; he did not want them to throw his mental frame out of joint. The thrust of this attitude is toward a kind of moral separation, a fear of contamination."

Inherent in the projected course of this nation was an intention to see if pluralism could work. We knew well the alternatives and could understand the dire dimensions of its failure. What has happened? Have we altered our course? Have we changed our commitments? Are we now so fearful, so fed up with abuses, so full of closed-minded convictions that we prefer the security of a uniformity which would compromise freedom in general and

jeopardize religious freedom in particular to the creative insecurity of a pluralistic society in which all people can claim freedom and each person can practice freedom? Those who formerly saw appeals to civil involvement as the secular invitation of a social gospel recently have elevated similar appeals to the status of orthodox litanies which give expression to their personal gospel. What has happened?

The religification of political issues. That is Martin Marty's verb. A subtle but strategic shift has been made from an emphasis upon a person's moral responsibility for effective political action to identification of a specific kind of political involvement as the *prima facie* evidence of moral integrity.

Politics is a new arena for many of the people who have signed up for a holy campaign. Many are absolutists who have preached a gospel of judgment with angry faces, clenched fists, and uncompromising terms. Now, in the political sphere, where open-mindedness is essential and give-and-take a necessity, they have retained their texts, language, and methods. They still beg for decisions as they bluster about judgment: "If you are penitent, really born again, you believe in the retention of the Panama Canal as a United States possession and the expansion of our systems of defense in the face of Communist aggression." Much more than merely political issues for which people have a moral responsibility, they say, these and other concerns are religious issues for which we have political responsibility.

When political issues are made religious, pluralism is in fact denied and religious liberty is jeopardized. The appeal of this mentality is frightening and responses to it are even worse. Individuals are either right or wrong, religious or irreligious. Society has been divided into saints and sinners. Pluralism has been made the enemy of righteousness.

Simplification of the political process. Our society seems to have an aversion to complexity. Maybe we have read too many bumper stickers. Regardless of the questions or the problems involved, everyone wants easy answers and quick solutions. Incredibly, in an effort to gain a majority political vote on one particular issue, some would jeopardize the entire political system of our government.

Blind to the long-term consequences of their actions, they would replace open political dialogue and a multiplicity of candidates in the traditional electoral process with the dictated policies of a self-appointed authority who promotes political briefings disguised as spiritual revivals. In support of non-sectarian, institutionally-approved prayers some would jeopardize an individual's constitutional right to worship God or not worship God according to the dictates of conscience. Movements are underway to legislate a particular view of abortion even if it means a violation of the principle of religious liberty.

Confusion of Public Conscience. What is political and what is spiritual? The public is now confused. The President preaches sermons and evangelists give political speeches. Where is truth? Unfortunately, a confusion has developed so that toleration and appreciation are equated with affirmation. Distinction between these phenomena is absolutely essential to the preservation of religious liberty. A genuine support for freedom causes us to extend freedom to persons with whom we disagree. Toleration of their points of view does not indicate either affirmation or acceptance. Thomas Jefferson made the appropriate distinction when in his first inaugural address he pointed out that "every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle." In reality, if others do not have the freedom to be different from us, we may not have the freedom to be different from them.

An ideological denial of plurality ultimately seeks an actual eradication of diversity! A confused public conscience can support both to the detriment of all.

Now to enumerate some of the problems in contemporary movements which, knowingly or incidentally, would eradicate pluralism and thus

When political issues are made religious, pluralism is in fact denied and religious liberty jeopardized.

threaten the continuation of religious liberty:

(1) Suspicion. Movements aimed at mandated uniformity inspire, nurture, and then feed on suspicion. Witness the scare tactics related to such issues as the Equal Rights Amendment and the so-called spectre of secular humanism in public education. Actually, we are far too frantic over the status of truth. Truth can always hold its own in a free exchange of ideas. It does not require new laws or constitutional amendments to guarantee its success. In reality, truth is refined in pluralistic discussions. One wonders if the real issue is truth—moral and doctrinal—or agreement.

(2) Depersonalization. The utilization of labels destroys persons. Daniel Bell has pointed out that comity as well as constitutionalism is a part of our unique history. Comity means a mutual regard in the midst of differences. That is far different from the vitriolic tactics of contemporary label peddling.

(3) Authoritarianism. Evident in recent political caucuses convened for purposes of national uniformity is a rabid type of authoritarianism. "True believers" listen and then do as they have been told. Reinhold Niebuhr warned against such authoritarianism long ago: "it is dangerous to give any interest group (in a nation) the monopoly to define the 'truth' as was the practice in nations with established churches."

(4) Isolationism. Ultimately, movements aimed at the eradication of pluralism and the establishment of uniformity divide all persons into categories of "we and they," "good folks and bad folks. Justification is provided for withdrawal from all processes which do not aid the "righteous" cause. Within a nation the result is a damaging rift in society, a radical fragmentation. Within a global village, the result is an attempt at separatism, a form of suicidal isolationism.

(5) Messianism. In his book entitled *Our Country*, Josiah Strong described the mentality of messianism, arguing that the Anglo-Saxon is the representative of "pure spiritual Christianity." Thus, he sensed a divine commission to be "his brother's keeper." He wrote: "It is chiefly to the English and American peoples that we must look for the evangelization of the world." He promised that God was not only preparing Anglo-Saxons for this mission but also "massing . . . the mighty power with which to press it."

So, what now? Where do we go from here? Are there any hints at resolution? Two suggestions:

First, we must accept the enduring reality of the problem. Conflict will always exist in the defense and maintenance of pluralism and religious liberty. Years ago Jefferson issued a warning regarding the right-wing clergy in New England saying that "the advocate of religious freedom is to expect neither peace nor forgiveness from them." The principle persists.

Sydney Mead argues that the recognition of this truth "enables one to diagnose Protestantism's present sickness as a psychosomatic indigestion, resulting from an inability either to digest the theology on which the practice of religious freedom rests or to regurgitate the practice."

Secondly, we must reaffirm our primal principles and continue to work in support of them. In his book *The Nation with the Soul of a Church*, Mead points out the perpetual dilemma of a particularistic faith such as Christianity working in support of an inclusive faith such as is provided by the Constitution. We must not replace the common good with some narrowly-defined sectarian morality.

The time is at hand for us to recover values which gave rise to pluralism and religious liberty. Contemporary movements will not desist and pressures to the contrary will not cease while we try to recover the will to work for the preservation of these values. Thus, we must labor within the populace and within the system so that once the public will is recovered the constitutional system for accomplishing its goals will still be intact. We are only two hundred and five years into this experiment in freedom. Can we so soon forget our past and give up on our future?

INTERNATIONAL DATELINE



Scientists See Build up Becoming More Savage

BANFF, Alberta—Scientists from 40 nations have called for an immediate nuclear freeze by the super-powers, saying the nuclear arms race becomes increasingly more savage.

"It is a fallacy to believe that a nuclear war can be won," said the 133 experts in the natural and physical sciences from the United States, Soviet Union and 38 other countries who gathered here for the 31st meeting of the Pugwash movement.

The movement, formed in 1957 in Pugwash, Nova Scotia, draws together scientists seeking to find ways to limit the arms race and reduce international tensions. Participants nominally represent themselves, but some Western scientists observed that the Soviet colleagues are answerable to Soviet officials.

Soviet scientists attending the meeting this year generally resisted any direct or implicit criticism of actions by the Soviet Union or its allies. "The only obstacle on the way to arms control is the position of the United States," Georgi A. Arbatov, head of the Soviet Institute for United States and Canadian Studies, said at a public forum in Calgary.

The scientists urged "an immediate moratorium on new weapons deployment" followed quickly by agreements on weapons production and testing, a ban on all nuclear tests, and a cutoff in production of fissile material.

Methodists Reconcile

JOHANNESBURG—Black and white South African Methodists marked a "miraculous reconciliation" at a meeting here in which conservatives joined in condemning apartheid.

Some white conservatives at the church's Obedience '81 conference were urging more emphasis on spirituality and less on the political issue of the system of racial segregation enforced by the white supremacist South African government. Black leaders on the other hand, were adamant about bringing the church squarely into the apartheid debate.

After a period of confrontation and apparent personal agonizing, the 800 delegates, black and white, resolved "before almighty God and each other" that they would "henceforth live and

work to bring into reality the concept of an undivided church and a free and just Southern Africa."

"God seeks a free South Africa," the conference message said. It called upon all Methodists "to reject apartheid" and "to witness against this disease which infects all our people and leaves none unscathed in our church and country."

No KGB Tie to Shooting

VATICAN CITY—The Vatican has denied a British television report that it suspects the Soviet KGB of involvement in the May 13 attempt on Pope John Paul II's life.

"The Holy See has never made any declarations nor advanced any hypotheses regarding any organization or country as possible instigators" of the shooting of the pope, the Rev. Pierfranco Pastore, a Vatican spokesman, said.

The British report broadcast Sept. 3 on London's independent Thames Television said the Vatican and Italian security services believed that the Soviet secret police agency encouraged the assault on the pope because of the Polish-born pontiff's support for Poland's independent labor movement.

An Italian police official said there was "absolutely" no evidence of any KGB involvement in the attack on the pope.

Food Shortages Critical

LONDON—Two church aid agencies here recently told the foreign secretary that shortages of food and other basic commodities in Vietnam now are "critical," and urged the secretary to clarify British policy on the issue of aid to that country.

In a letter to Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, the Rev. Kenneth Slack, director of Christian Aid, the relief service division of the British Council of Churches, and R. A. Hood, administrator of the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development said that reports from Vietnam indicate a "serious and continuing shortage and resulting price increases of rice and other basic commodities, both in the North and in the South."

The agencies expressed concern because such shortages chiefly affect the "ordinary population" of Vietnam, the letter said. "The U.N. report states clearly that the channels for humanita-

rian food aid, on the advice of its team members during their visit, are reliable and efficient."

Baptists on Disarmament

AIGARD—Nearly 1200 persons representing some 55 congregations of the Baptist Union of Norway in annual assembly took a strong stand for disarmament.

Delegates urged that both government and civil authorities "increase their help to the humanitarian sector . . . to fight for disarmament and to reject nuclear weapons on Norwegian soil."

A resolution on human rights asked that ". . . those imprisoned on account of their faith, race, political conviction or conscience reasons be set free." The resolution also called for an end to capital punishment and torture. (EBPS)

Hunger Strike in Korea

SEOUL—The Rev. Moon Ik-Hwan, 63, a leading Korean Presbyterian minister and Bible translator, is on a prison hunger strike to protest the policies of South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan.

He has been arrested and imprisoned several times for his protest activities. In 1976, he drafted a Declaration for Democratic Salvation of the Nation, which led to his arrest along with 17 other signers.

In a statement issued from prison, Mr. Moon said his current fast, which he began in mid-August, is a protest against continuing arrests of students and what he charges is President Chun's failure to achieve a promised national reconciliation.

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Court Takes Action on BJCPA-Supported Case

WASHINGTON—Atheist Madalyn Murray O'Hair sustained two separate losses here as the U.S. Supreme Court refused to disturb lower rulings upholding the legality of invocations at city council meetings and of Christian and Jewish holiday displays in the rotunda of state capitols.

O'Hair had challenged the custom of opening each meeting of the Austin, Texas city council with prayer and the practice of displaying a nativity scene and a Jewish menorah in the Texas state capitol, also in Austin.

She and her younger son, Jon, who brought suit against the city of Austin and state of Texas in the two actions, had already lost appeals at the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

At the nation's high court, all justices agreed to deny the appeals, except for senior member William J. Brennan, Jr., who indicated he voted to hear the challenge to nativity scenes and menorahs at the capitol.

Other Court Action

The court also took action in the following religion-related cases:

—Left standing a Nebraska Supreme Court holding that church-related schools must comply with minimum state standards for teachers. A Nebraska law requiring all school teachers to have at least a baccalaureate degree is

reasonably related to the state's "compelling interest" in the quality of education, the lower court ruled earlier. The challenge to the law was brought by Faith Baptist Church, Louisville, Neb., apparently an independent congregation.

—Let stand rulings in a pair of church property disputes decided earlier in California. Both cases involved local congregations which had seceded from the Protestant Episcopal Church. In one, a state court ruled that after the split the property belonged to the congregation because nothing in its articles of incorporation or in the canons or rules of the national church ceded property rights to the mother body.

But the same court, in a separate action, held that another Episcopal congregation must give back its property to the national body because it was incorporated after the Protestant Episcopal Church enacted a new canon claiming local church property in cases of secession.

—Agreed not to review an Illinois court decision that the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (Hare Krishnas) are not entitled to collect damages or attorneys' fees they sought after the city council of Evanston, Ill. revoked the group's "special use" permit.

—Refused to review a homosexual soldier's court martial for sodomy despite his claim that the Uniform Code of Military Justice's ban on sodomy had religious origins. That fact, two lower federal courts ruled earlier, is insufficient to sustain the soldier's claim that the law amounts to an unconstitutional establishment of religion.

BJCPA Supported Case

During its first week back on the bench, the high court also heard oral arguments in what may be its most important church-state case of the term.

Attorneys for the University of Missouri—Kansas City and a student religious group known as Cornerstone argued a case that presents a direct conflict between the no establishment and free exercise clauses of the First Amendment. The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs has filed a friend-of-the-court brief in support of the students.

The university, which in 1972 issued a regulation forbidding any group to conduct religious services on campus, argued that its rule is a legitimate attempt to avoid establishing religion. But the students maintain that the regulation denies them free exercise of their religion.

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He had not set out to prove a point or make himself a hero. He was simply following the humane, Christian course . . .

REFLECTIONS

James M. Dunn
Executive Director



For Brooks Hays both religion and politics enjoy a mission to the poor and powerless in society. As he told the Southern Baptist Historical Society in 1976, "From the glib way in which some of the zealous ones speak of Jesus in current discussions, without evidencing an interest in application of his teachings to social evils, doubt is cast on their understanding of His place in history." He joins Christian determination with Christian gentleness, detests the sin but embraces the sinner, and moves us all because he has, as Senator Sam Ervin noted, "an understanding heart." Or Martin Luther King, Jr. once said on introducing Brooks Hays to a friend: "This is Mr. Hays. He has suffered with us."*

Fleshing out the word of Truth is close to the divine mission (John 1:14). Sharing good news with poor folks, caring for the outcast (deserving or not), working at fresh starts for prisoners, and helping the sightless to see and the hurt to be free all sound like the ministry of the Master (Luke 4:18).

Programs for poor sharecroppers, a constant push for world peace, and a lifelong history of hard work for racial justice mark the career of Brooks Hays. When he titled his autobiography *Politics is My Parish* (Louisiana State University Press, 1981, \$20), he wasn't bragging or straining for a cute title. He was testifying. That's the way he saw his life work, his politics: ministry.

In his words, "One concern of my adult years has been to find ways of relating these two areas of life, religion and politics, without violating the American doctrine of separation of church and state. I believe with Thomas Carlyle that 'a man's religion or his no-religion is the most considerable part of him,' and that he should not suppress a normal and wholesome expression of faith nor stifle impulses to apply religious principles . . . merely because he carries political responsibilities." (p. 276)

Hays demonstrated his devotion to the doctrine of separation of church and state while serving in government as a Christian. He understood that "according to this doctrine, ecclesiastical power must not dominate political authorities, and at the same time the politician must never give orders to the churchman. Separation of power is in the interest of religion." (p. 175). He likes to quote Cardinal Koenig of Vienna who said, "Surely Catholics around the world can see that in countries that have separation of church and state it is easier to maintain moral power and spiritual strength than in nations where there is reliance upon a political prop." (p. 175)

He also has a positive, constructive view of government. Unlike so many moderns, he does not hate the state. One of his favorite quotations about the task of government is from Aristotle: "Politics is the chief of sciences, since it alone has the power to allocate the always scarce resources of any society to the various elements of that society."

Mr. Hays has a vision of "a dynamic and useful government that concerns itself with healing wounds, and with at-

tending to the needs of the people, particularly of disadvantaged people." That's timely. In fact, much of *Politics* . . . is as relevant as today's newspaper.

A constituent once said to him, "Brooks, I was eighty years old yesterday; I am an octogenarian now." Brooks was 83 years old August 9, 1981. He's that kind of flower. He served Arkansas in the United States House of Representatives for 8 terms. He served Southern Baptists as President of the Convention for two terms. He serves the Kingdom of God with humble good humor.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. calls him "one of the best loved men in America." It's so, for a couple of reasons. First is his wisdom and humor. Dean Francis B. Sayre of the National Cathedral says Brooks learned "that the profoundest ideas are the least pretentious and are best conveyed by the little chariots of anecdote and gentle humor." (p. 222). But Brooks Hays commends himself for much more than good sense wittily delivered. Fact is, he is ever distrustful of empty talk. He agrees with Walter Hines Page's estimate that, "Next to fried food, the South has suffered most from oratory." (p. 213). Ah, how we Baptists can identify with that.

That leads to the second reason for the impact of this Arkansas social worker: his courageous consistency. He was "involuntarily retired" from Congress in November 1958. His defeat was largely a result of his role in the desegregation crisis in Little Rock schools which had taken place in September of 1957. It is widely conceded that without a dirty, illegal smear campaign by his opponent Brooks would have won.

In an earlier book, *A Southern Moderate Speaks*, Brooks Hays outlined the philosophy that put him in conflict with the racists and extreme right-wingers of his day. We need a lot more "Southern Moderates" with his dogged conviction in the Congress today.

His loss in 1958 was not due to deliberate daring or self-conscious courage. He had not set out to prove a point or make himself a hero. He was simply following the humane, Christian course when he took the part of black children trying to enter Little Rock's Central High School. He was being himself. Brooks Hays was exactly the same friend of the disadvantaged that he had always been in racial tension. It cost him his seat in Congress.

It may come as a surprise to readers of *Politics is My Parish* to learn how many elections Brooks Hays lost. By actual count he lost about as many as he won. But wait, can one count wins and losses like football scores? He has been a man of principle rather than political expediency. He kept trying "to find ways of relating these two areas of life, religion and politics." Seems that he is the real winner.

At the time of his 1958 defeat Hays received a telegram from Bill Bolton, a faculty member at New Orleans Baptist Seminary. It called attention to a different way of looking at loss for conviction's sake, at defeat because one was unwilling to surrender. "Jesus constantly made the point that we gain by giving, we win by losing, and we live by dying. Congratulations on your victory."

*From the Foreword by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. to *Politics is My Parish*

'Inner Healing' Leads to Freedom

Ruth Carter Stapleton told participants at the 18th National Religious Liberty Conference that for her the "most frightening thing" in life was to accept the possibility of being free.

Jesus came, she said, "to set us free from all that is within us." That sense of freedom, according to the sister of former President Jimmy Carter, motivates her to help others find "inner healing." She regards herself to be an evangelist, not a faith healer.

Stapleton's talk, a personal testimony of her three-year struggle to be "set free from guilt and self-judgment,"



came during the final session of the two-day conference sponsored by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs.

(ESTABLISHING BELIEF, from P. 5)

The ACLU, joined by numerous religious leaders including Nathan Porter, domestic hunger consultant for the SBC's Home Mission Board, is challenging the Arkansas law in the courts.

Representing PAW, Baptist Joint Committee executive director James M. Dunn challenged the claim that pending school prayer proposals would restore "voluntary" prayer.

"We should be honest about the issue," Dunn said. "It is not to put prayer back in schools. It is state sanctioned prayer."

"Much of the effort is ignorant," Dunn added. "You hear it called, 'putting God in schools.' It is as if the Divine could be dumped into a wheelbarrow and carted out."

The Baptist church-state specialist further challenged the notion that the moral decay of the nation can be attributed to the absence of school prayer.

"The charge that everything went wrong because they threw prayer out of schools is patent poppycock," Dunn said, noting that mandated prayer in schools "hasn't returned purity to Sweden or peace to Northern Ireland."

R. G. Puckett, executive director of Americans United, cited a growing list of tuition tax credit proposals before Congress which would allow parents of parochial school children to deduct various portions of their educational expenses from their tax bills.

He said the rising criticism of the nation's public schools, the coalition of religious groups including Catholic and Protestant fundamentalists to push for tuition tax credits and the Reagan administration's announced support for the controversial proposals are causes for alarm.

The former editor of *The Maryland Baptist* said the proposals are unconstitutional, a threat to public schools, a source of division, fiscally unwise and an invitation for government intervention in religious affairs.

"Tuition tax credits is an idea whose time has not come," he concluded.

—Larry Chesser

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